EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer’s Briefing Materials
Sean O’Huiginn Interview, 11/08/2010

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents

- Sean O’Huiginn Timeline.
- Sean O’Huiginn Fact Sheet.
- EMK Key Events in Northern Ireland.
- Northern Ireland Key Events.
- EMK Abbreviated Northern Ireland Timeline.
- Key Actors in Northern Ireland Peace Process.

Secondary Source Materials


---

These are original documents created by Miller Center researchers for the Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project. Please acknowledge credit for any use of these materials.
Oral History Interviews

- Jean Kennedy Smith interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/18/2007.
- Jean Kennedy Smith interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/28/2005.

Other

1980-1983  **Sean O’Huigin** serves as Irish consul general in New York City. (http://www.irishecho.com)

1985


*November*  On the 15th, the Anglo-Irish agreement is signed at Hillsborough. The agreement is groundbreaking because it gives the Irish government for the first time an official role in Northern Ireland. A joint Anglo-Irish council is created so that officials from Dublin and London can meet regularly to discuss issues such as policing, the prisons, and the legal system. The settlement also establishes an Anglo-Irish secretariat near Belfast, a position which is first occupied by Michael Lillis. In return the Irish government officially recognizes the right of the Protestants in Ulster to remain a part of the United Kingdom. As a part of the agreement, the U.S. government promises tangible aid to Northern Ireland. (Cronin, p. 321; Jack Holland, *The American Connection*, New York: Viking, 1987, pp. 147-148; Wilson, p. 248)

EMK praises the Anglo-Irish Agreement as “a treaty that can work, if the extremists will put aside their prejudices and give it a chance.” (Clymer, p. 384)

1987-1990  **O’Huigin** serves as head of the Anglo-Irish Secretariat in Belfast. (http://www.washingtoninternational.com)

1991  **O’Huigin** begins to serve as head of the Anglo-Irish Division in the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs. (http://www.washingtoninternational.com)

1992
January

The Irish gives the British a draft version of what would become the Downing Street Declaration. O’Huiginn was one of the officials who worked on the draft. (Eamonn O’Kane, Britain, Ireland and Northern Ireland since 1980, London: Routledge, 2007, p. 104)

April

O’Huiginn revises the declaration from a Sinn Fein draft response in February. It states Britain would declare its readiness to Irish unity if the majority in Northern Ireland desired it. (Eamon Mallie and David McKittrick, The Fight For Peace: The Secret Story Behind the Irish Peace Process, London: Heinemann, 1996, p. 150)

1993

March


Taoiseach Albert Reynolds meets with Clinton to dissuade him from appointing a peace envoy. Reynolds divulges that he has been secretly conducting negotiations with Prime Minister John Major and Sinn Fein member Martin McGuinness, and that he is concerned that the envoy would disrupt the progress being made. Despite Clinton’s desire to fulfill his promise, Reynolds persuades him to temporarily shelf the envoy initiative. (O’Clery, pp. 46-48)

April

Gerry Adams applies for a U.S. visa. (O’Clery, pp. 69-70)

The John Hume-Adams talks become public as the two men meet in their capacities as party leaders of the Social Democrat and Labour Party (SDLP) and Sinn Fein, respectively, on the 10th. Adams and Hume issue a joint statement on the 23rd, calling for the initiation of a peace process. The talks are met with controversy and hostility, particularly from unionists. (The New York Times, 05/18/1993; BBC News Online, 08/30/2000; http://sinnfein.ie/peace/hume_adams)

June

Reynolds and Major meet over the proposed Downing Street Declaration. O’Huiginn and Dermot Nally represent Ireland in the discussions with the British. Major becomes more cautious as he aligns his government with Unionist MPs. (Mallie and McKittrick, pp. 185-186)

July

Brendan Scannell of the Irish Embassy arranges a meeting with O’Dowd and EMK’s foreign policy adviser, Trina Vargo. O’Dowd states afterwards, “I told Trina I would tell her everything that was happening and she said she would pass the information on to Nancy [Soderberg],” who is one of Clinton’s senior foreign policy advisers in the White House and a former EMK staffer. (O’Clery, p. 66)
**September**  
In an effort to gain the support of Irish-American businessmen, the IRA orders a ten-day ceasefire when a group of Americans led by former Congressmen Bruce Morrison (D-CT) visits Ireland. The group also includes Niall O’Dowd, Bill Flynn, Chuck Feeny. They meet with Adams and intimate that political and economic support may be forthcoming if the republicans announce a ceasefire. O’Dowd communicates with the White House through the Vargo-Soderberg back-channel. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 280; O’Clery, pp. 62-68)


**October**  
During a visit to Washington, Hume and Soderberg discuss the progress of the peace process. (*The Irish Times*, 10/04/1993)

One the 23rd, ten people die in an IRA bombing of a store on Shankill Road in Belfast, diminishing the likelihood that the Hume-Adams initiative will progress. Adams provokes further opposition by carrying the coffin of a Shankill bomber. (Loughlin, p. 151; Mallie and McKittrick, p. 282; O’Clery, p. 70)

**November**  
Clinton refuses Adams’ first application for a visa to the U.S. In a letter to New York Mayor David Dinkins, an advocate for Adams, Clinton explains: “Credible evidence exists that Adams remains involved at the highest level in devising IRA strategy. Moreover, despite his recent talks with John Hume, Adams still has not publicly renounced terrorism.” (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 282; O’Clery, pp. 70-71)

It becomes public that the British government has been involved in secret talks with Sinn Fein. This contradicts Major’s public reassurances that his government will not negotiate with Irish republicans, and angers Reynolds, who now pushes Major towards a joint British-Irish initiative. O’Huigin continues to help negotiate a joint declaration. (Loughlin, p. 153; Mallie and McKittrick, pp. 225-226)

**December**  
Major and Reynolds issue the Downing Street Declaration, which promises self-determination for Northern Ireland and announces that their governments will negotiate with any group that renounces violence. The declaration is borne out of the British and Irish governments’ hopes that the IRA will declare a ceasefire and adopt a diplomatic strategy. Sinn Fein responds by asking for clarification of the
declaration—which Major refuses—leading to deadlock. (Clymer, p. 536; Loughlin, pp. 154-155)

EMK and Vicki Kennedy travel to Ireland to visit with JKS, where they discuss the possibility of issuing a visa for Adams to travel to the U.S. While EMK is initially hesitant to support this initiative, he begins to change his position after meetings with author Tim Pat Coogan and Reynolds. Reynolds explains to EMK that the idea behind extending a visa to Adams is to demonstrate to him and the IRA that they could advance their cause without violence. In order to move the Irish Republicans toward peace, Reynolds tells EMK that “he’s [Adams is] our best hope.” (Clymer, pp. 536-537; Thomas Maier, The Kennedys: America’s Emerald Kings, New York: Basic Books, 2003, pp. 572-579)

1994

January

On the 2nd, EMK leaves Ireland still undecided about what to do about the Adams visa. Shortly thereafter, EMK speaks to Hume at O’Neill’s funeral, and the Irish politician convinces EMK that granting Adams the visa is the right course of action. EMK begins to rally support for Adams, and when Adams applies for the visa on the 14th, EMK sends a letter to President Clinton arguing, “It is important for the United States to facilitate the emerging dialogue as an alternative to violence.” Thirteen other Senators and twenty-eight representatives also sign the letter. (Clymer, pp. 536-537)

Flynn and O’Dowd try to force the Adams’ visa issue by arranging for the National Committee on American Foreign Policy to hold a one-day peace conference on February 1st, and to invite all five of Northern Ireland’s party leaders, including Adams. (O’Clery, p. 85)

The republican movement works to persuade Irish-Americans that it is moving towards peace. The message is communicated through O’Dowd to EMK, who then relays it to Soderberg. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 284)

On the 27th, three practice grenades without explosives are found in San Diego, allegedly planted by the Southern California IRA. The president decides that if Adams denounces the attempted violence in California, he will be given the visa. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 285)

JKS recommends granting a visa to Adams. Despite the opposition of the State Department and the British government, Clinton follows this advice, and grants Adams a forty-eight hour visa. Critics denounce Clinton’s decision as an attempt to gain the support of EMK and Pat Moynihan (D-NY) for his health care initiative. Clinton, however, explains his actions to the Irish Times: “It was one of those points where there had to be some tangible evidence that there could be a reward for the renunciation of violence and beginning to walk toward peace.”
On the 31st, Adams arrives in New York. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 276)

**March**

There are a series of IRA mortar attacks at Heathrow airport, which fail to explode. Although the mortars were designed not to explode, the incidents hurt the image of Adams and the republican movement in the U.S. (Mallie and McKittrick, pp. 287-289; O’Clery, p. 131)

**Summer**

To convince the IRA to announce a ceasefire, a number of Irish American businessmen, led O’Dowd, pressure Sinn Fein and promise future assistance if they obtain the truce. (Clymer, p. 548)

**June**

At a Sinn Fein conference held in Letterkenny, the party expresses views that are highly critical of the Downing Street Declaration and are interpreted as signs that they are not committed to the peace process. (Loughlin, p. 157; O’Clery, p. 145)

**August**

The IRA agrees to a ceasefire, but under the condition that the U.S. grants a visa to Joe Cahill, an IRA activist and convicted terrorist. The IRA leadership believes that only Cahill has the standing to persuade hard-line supporters that this is the right course of action. While vacationing in France, JKS is contacted by Reynolds who apprises her of the situation. JKS then returns to Dublin, and repeatedly calls the president, urging him to grant the visa. She also convinces EMK to lobby the president. Before making a decision, Clinton once again contacts Reynolds who assures the President that this will result in a “complete cessation” of violence. Clinton agrees to authorize Cahill’s entry and the ceasefire is announced within hours. (Clymer, p. 548; O’Clery, pp. 155-157; The Washington Post, 08/31/1995; The Irish Times, 03/09/1996)

**September**

On the 19th, Clinton approves the visa applications of Adams and two other Sinn Fein members. (O’Clery, p. 167)

When Adams arrives in Boston, EMK and Vicki greet him at the airport. This event is interpreted as a signal that Adams is now acceptable to moderates Irish-Americans. While in Washington, Adams spends a night as a guest at Hickory Hill, the home of Ethel Kennedy. Traveling around the country, Adams is treated as a celebrity; however, he is not permitted to visit the White House or to have contact with high-ranking officials. EMK lobbies for Adams, having a reportedly “angry” phone call with National Security Adviser Tony Lake. The White House eventually caves into the pressure; Vice President Al Gore calls Adams and informs him that the ban on American officials having contact with Sinn Fein has been rescinded. (O’Clery, pp. 168-175)

**October**

A joint loyalist paramilitary command announces a ceasefire on the 13th. (O’Clery, p. 153)
December

On the 6th, Adams makes another trip to the U.S., and this time is allowed to visit the White House and to meet with Lake. Adams is still banned from fundraising in the U.S., but EMK and Christopher Dodd (D-CT) push the White House, arguing that now that he has accepted peace, Adams should receive the same treatment as other Irish politicians. On this issue, however, Clinton promises Britain not to allow fundraising. (O’Clery, pp. 190-192; The New York Times 12/07/1994)

Reynolds’ government collapses and he is replaced as Taoiseach by John Bruton. (Loughlin, p. 162)

Clinton appoints former Senate majority leader, George Mitchell, as special economic envoy to Northern Ireland. (O’Clery, p. 212)

1995

February

The British and Irish governments publish the Frameworks for the Future documents, which present guidelines for creating a government in Northern Ireland acceptable to all parties. It includes the removal of articles 2 and 3 from the Irish constitution laying claim to Northern Ireland. O’Huiginn is one of the principle creators. (Loughlin, p. 162; Roger Mac Ginty and John Darby, Guns and Government: The Management of the Northern Ireland Peace Process, New York: Palgrave, 2002, pp. 30-31; Mallie and McKittrick, p. 347)

March

Hardening the British position, Secretary of State Sir Patrick Mayhew announces that arms decommissioning is an official prerequisite for Sinn Fein’s inclusion in negotiations. The statement, which is made in Washington, D.C. and includes two other demands, becomes known as the Washington Three. (Loughlin, p. 163; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 31)

Winter

After Adams applies for another visa to visit the U.S., the White House debates whether to invite Adams to the annual St. Patrick’s Day lunch with the President and Taoiseach. The British government adamantly maintains that Adams not be permitted to fundraise and that he should be excluded from the lunch. EMK and Dodd send a letter to Clinton arguing that Adams should be able to raise funds in the U.S., and that unilateral conditions, such as decommissioning of weapons by the IRA, are unfair. JKS also phones the President and a number of congressmen pleading for Adams. Clinton opts to invite Adams to the lunch and to remove the ban on fundraising, precipitating a serious rift between the president and Major. (O’Clery, pp. 187-201)

May

Clinton holds an investment conference on Northern Ireland in Washington. The event brings together unionist and republican leaders, including Adams. While interactions are generally friendly, a fierce unionist supporter shouts at JKS for her assistance to republicans. (O’Clery, pp. 215-221)
**November**

Lake and Gore meet with David Trimble, the new leader of Northern Ireland’s biggest Protestant party, the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP). Clinton joins them for roughly 15 minutes as they discuss ways to break the impasse in the Northern Ireland peace process. *(The Washington Post, 11/02/1995)*

The British and Irish governments announce the adoption of a twin-track scheme, a new approach designed to break the current deadlock. Under this formula, an independent decommissioning body, led by George Mitchell, pursues options for disarming the paramilitaries and simultaneously holds multi-party discussions. *(Loughlin, pp.165-166; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 31)*


**Nov.-Dec.**

Clinton visits Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland with several Irish Americans, including Maryland Lieutenant Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend. In Dublin, Clinton meets with Irish President, Mary Robinson, and Bruton. Clinton stays with JKS at the Ambassador’s residence. *(O’Clery, p. 241; Maier, pp. 584-585; The Boston Globe, 12/02/1995; www.state.gov)*

**1996**

**January**

The International Body on Arms Decommissioning releases the Mitchell Report on the 24th which recommends that arms decommissioning and talks begin concurrently. Major rejects the report and calls for elections to a forum for Northern Ireland. *(Loughlin, p. 166; Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 31-32)*

**February**


On the 9th, The IRA ceasefire collapses when a bomb goes off at Canary Wharf in London’s Docklands, killing two. That evening Adams calls Lake and EMK in order to pledge to them that he was not involved in the bombing. *(Clymer, p. 577; David Sharrock and Mark Devenport, *Man of War, Man of Peace*, London: Macmillan, 1997, p. 400)*

**March**

JKS is reprimanded by the State Department for retaliating against two subordinates who disagreed with her recommendation to grant a visa to Adams. *(The New York Times, 03/08/1996)*

Adams travels to the U.S. for St. Patrick’s Day, but he is not invited to the White House party and EMK refuses to meet with him. *(Sharrock and Devenport, p. 404)*
April
On the 17th, EMK meets with loyalist Protestant politicians, and commends them for not retaliating to the IRA bombs. (Clymer, p. 577)

June
EMK attends a state dinner at the White House for Irish Americans to honor the Irish President and UN Secretary General candidate Mary Robinson. (The Washington Post, 06/14/1996)

After elections to select representatives for a forum, all-party talks that are chaired by Mitchell begin in Northern Ireland. The demise of the ceasefire, however, leads to the exclusion of Sinn Fein. (Loughlin, pp. 168-169; Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 33-34)

July
The annual Unionist Orange Order parade in Dumcree leads to rioting, widespread civil disorder, and sectarian attacks. As a result of the turmoil, the SDLP leaves the talks and a serious disagreement occurs between the British and Irish governments. (Loughlin, pp. 169-170; Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 35-36)

1997

Winter
Lake and Soderberg do not remain in the NSC for Clinton’s second term. The new NSC adviser is Sandy Berger and his second in command, who will deal most directly with Northern Ireland, is another former EMK aide, Jim Steinberg. (The Irish Times, 02/03/1997)

March
In a speech EMK urges the British government to establish a date for Sinn Fein to enter into negotiations if there is an IRA ceasefire. (Adams, pp. 237-238)

During a visit to the U.S., Hume discusses with Clinton the possibility of obtaining another IRA ceasefire. Hume is also the keynote speaker at Irish America magazine’s Person of the Year awards, which is being given to EMK. During his acceptance speech, EMK reaffirms America’s commitment to the peace process and argues that the British government should abandon preconditions to including Sinn Fein in return for an unconditional ceasefire. EMK denounces decommissioning as a “phony issue” because there is nothing stopping the paramilitaries from quickly rearming. (The Irish Times, 03/08/1997, 03/19/1997)

May
The British Labour party wins a majority in Westminster and Tony Blair becomes Prime Minister. The new government abandons the prerequisite of decommissioning, works to bring Sinn Fein into talks, and sets May 1998 as a deadline for concluding negotiations. (Loughlin, p. 172; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 36)

June
Fianna Fail leader Bertie Ahern becomes Taoiseach. (Loughlin, p. 172)
July
The IRA reinstitutes the ceasefire. (Clymer, p. 594; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 37)

September
 **O’Huigin** begins to serve as Irish Ambassador to the U.S. (http://www.washingtoninternational.com)

Sinn Fein agrees to the Mitchell principles and enters the peace talks. (Clymer, p. 594; Loughlin, p. 180; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 38)

Adams and Martin McGuinness travel to the U.S. for a fundraising event and to meet with Berger, Secretary of Commerce William Daley, EMK, Dodd, and New York Mayor Rudolph Guilliani. *(The Irish Times, 08/30/1997, 09/01/1997, 01/04/1998)*

December
In Boston, EMK meets with Ahern. *(The Irish Times, 12/13/1997)*

After Christmas, a republican paramilitary group assassinates a leader of the Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF), a unionist paramilitary, setting off a spiral of violence which results in ten deaths. (Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 39)

1998

January
EMK visits Northern Ireland and addresses an audience at the University of Ulster in which he makes a concerted effort to reach out to Irish Protestants. EMK next travels to Belfast and speaks with Trimble. (Clymer, pp. 594-295)

March
While visiting Washington, Ahern meets with EMK in order to urge him “to assist us in going that extra mile to try to find a conclusion to what we have been doing.” *(The Irish Times, 03/17/1998)*

April
On Good Friday, leaders in Northern Ireland agree to a framework for establishing a new government. To reach this point, Mitchell, Clinton, Blair, and Ahern intervene repeatedly in the negotiations. (Clymer, p. 595; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 40; *The Irish Times*, 04/11/1998; *The New York Times*, 06/26/1998)

On the 30th, the IRA refuses to disarm as stipulated by the Good Friday Agreement. *(The New York Times, 05/01/1998)*

May
Vargo leaves her job as EMK’s foreign policy adviser in order to work for the U.S.-Ireland Alliance. *(The Irish Times, 06/20/1998)*

On the 22nd, the Good Friday Agreement is voted on in a referendum. 71% of Northern Ireland’s voters support the agreement with unionists evenly split and 94% of voters within the Republic of Ireland favor of the agreement. (Loughlin, p. 194; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 44)
June  Elections for the new Northern Ireland Assembly are held with the UUP and SDLP winning the largest and second largest number of seats, respectively. (Loughlin, p. 196; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 44)

July  The Northern Ireland Assembly holds its inaugural meeting and elects Trimble as First Minister. (Loughlin, p. 195; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 44)

JKS is asked to extend her stay in Ireland until September when Clinton plans a second trip to Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. (The Irish Times, 07/21/1998)

August  A republican splinter group, the Real IRA, plants a bomb in Omagh, killing twenty-nine people. Sinn Fein condemns the bombing and for the first time denounces the actions of other republicans. (Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 45)

September  Clinton makes his second trip to Ireland and Northern Ireland and again stays at the U.S. ambassador’s residence. While in Ireland, Clinton also meets Ahern. (The Irish Times, 09/04/1998; www.state.gov)

For the first time, Adams and Trimble meet face-to-face, but refrain from shaking hands. Their meeting indicates a shift in the structure of the peace process; the British and Irish governments are to be less involved with the burden of solving the decommissioning issue among the parties themselves, especially the UUP and Sinn Fein. The UUP maintains that Sinn Fein should not join the government until decommissioning has begun, while Sinn Fein claims that their electoral victory is sufficient for their entry into the government. (Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 45-46)

On the 17th, JKS ends her ambassadorship and leaves Ireland. (http://usembassy.state.gov/ireland/former.html)

November  While fighting over the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement continues, the Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to Hume and Trimble. (Loughlin, p. 201; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 46)

December  On the 7th, the John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award is presented to eight political leaders including Trimble, Hume, Adams, and Mitchell. O’Huiginn helps organize the event. (http://www.jfklibrary.org)

1999  March  The tenth deadline for devolving power to the Stormont Executive passes without breaking the impasse in negotiations. One of the most divisive issues remains decommissioning, as the IRA refuses to comply and the UUP will not form a “government before guns.” (Loughlin, p. 202; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 48)
The 7th annual American Ireland Fund dinner is a tribute to EMK and his efforts to achieve peace in Northern Ireland. *(The Washington Post, 03/17/1999)*

**April**

After three telephone calls from Clinton, the multi-party talks agree on the Hillsborough Declaration, a plan consisting of a series of steps culminating in the creation of Stormont Executive. Sinn Fein rejects the plan because it requires decommissioning prior to their inclusion in the government. (Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 48-49)

**September**

In a desperate attempt to salvage the stalled peace process, Mitchell is recalled to Northern Ireland in order to review the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. (Loughlin, pp. 203-204; Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 49-50)

**November**

On the 16th, **O’Huiginn** is a guest speaker at the JFK Institute of Politics. The program is part of a series of study groups put together by JKS for her fellowship at the institute. (http://news.harvard.edu/gazzette/1999)

The Mitchell review—his proposal to save the peace process—is released. Mitchell advises that the UUP concede to the formation of a power sharing executive in return for the IRA sending a representative to the Independent International Decommissioning Council led by John de Chastelain. The agreement stipulates that if the IRA does not decommission or devolution fails to take place, the institutions will be suspended. On the 27th, the Ulster Unionist Council—the governing body of the UUP—passes the Mitchell plan. (Loughlin, p. 205; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 51)

**December**

Devolution takes place on the 2nd. Trimble is again First Minister, but still refuses to take part in cabinet meetings with Sinn Fein. In addition, the North-South and British-Irish Councils are also created, the Irish Republic removes articles 2 and 3 of its constitution (which assert claims to Northern Ireland), and the IRA appoints an interlocutor to the Chastelain Commission. (Loughlin, p. 206)

**2000**

**February**

Northern Ireland Secretary Peter Mandelson suspends the Stormont Executive in response to the Chastelain commission report that the IRA has not set a date to begin decommissioning. Direct rule by Britain is reinstuted. (Loughlin, p. 206; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 52)

**March**

A serious challenge is mounted by hardliners to Trimble’s leadership of the UUP. (Loughlin, p. 210; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 52)

**May**

On the 7th, the IRA releases a statement promising to “completely and verifiably” place their arms beyond use. This breakthrough impels the UUP to reenter the Executive and results in another devolution of power. (Loughlin, p. 211; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 52)
June  The IRA allows the third party inspectors to look over their arms dumps. They verify that the weapons cannot be used without detection. (Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 52-53)

October  Seeking to help the challenged Trimble, Mandelson asks nationalists to accept less than full implementation of the Patten report on policing reforms. Mandelson contends that nationalists received 95% of what they asked for, and that EMK supports compromise on this issue. (*The Irish Times*, 10/06/2000)

December  Clinton makes his last visit as President to Northern Ireland in an effort to end the deadlock. (*The Irish Times*, 12/09/2000)

2001

February  EMK is among the thirty-six members of Congress that sign a letter urging President Bush to remain involved in the Northern Ireland peace process. (*The Irish Times*, 02/24/2001)

March  EMK attends the White House’s annual St. Patrick’s Day reception. (*The Irish Times*, 03/17/2001)

June  Adams visits Congress amidst fears that Trimble is going to resign as first minister. During this trip, Adams meets with EMK, Dodd, and Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY). (*The Irish Times*, 06/22/2001)

June  For the first time, Sinn Fein and the DUP earn more votes than the SDLP and UUP. (Loughlin, pp. 217-218)

July  Trimble resigns as First Minister to protest the IRA’s intransigence towards decommissioning. (Loughlin, p. 216; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 54)

          EMK downplays reports that he opposes the appointment of the U.S. Ambassador to Ireland, Richard Egan. (*The Irish Times*, 07/19/2001)

October  The IRA announces that it has completed a significant act of decommissioning, which is verified by Chastelain. After meeting with Dodd and McGuinness, EMK hails the IRA decision as “a new day of liberation for all the people of Northern Ireland.” (Loughlin, p. 221; *The Irish Times*, 10/24/2001)

November  Hume retires as leader of the SDLP. (*The Irish Times*, 09/18/2001)

2002
March  The Irish government honors EMK’s involvement in Irish Affairs by funding a chair in his name in Health Service Management at Trinity College Dublin. (*The Irish Times*, 03/14/2002)

April  Chastelain announces that the IRA has completed a second act of decommissioning. (*The New York Times*, 04/09/2002)

July  **O’Huiginn** begins to serve as the Irish Ambassador to Germany. (*The Washington Post*, 06/29/2002)

September  EMK and Congressmen Jim Walsh (R-NY) host the congressional reception for delegates to the U.S.-Ireland Business Summit. (*The Irish Times*, 09/05/2002)

October  Devolution is suspended again over the lack of progress on decommissioning and the IRA spy ring found in Stormontgate. The suspension would last until 2007. (Loughlin, pp. 231-232; *The Irish Times*, 10/15/2002)

December  Adams visits the U.S. in order to meet with EMK, Rep. Peter King (R-NY), and President Bush’s special envoy to Ireland Richard Haass. After the meetings, Adams announces that the talks with the British and Irish governments have not made any progress, and that “if progress is to be made, the British government will have to come forward with a comprehensive, time-framed programme for implementing outstanding aspects of the Good Friday agreement.” (*The Irish Times*, 12/07/2002, 12/12/2002)

2003

March  EMK meets with Ahern in Washington, D.C. Ahern also meets with Trimble.

May  EMK criticizes the postponing of Northern Ireland elections by the unionists.

November  EMK meets with the Northern Ireland Secretary Paul Murphy.

2005

January  Robert McCartney is killed by IRA members.

February  EMK announces his continued support for Sinn Fein’s inclusion in peace process.

EMK commemorates Hume’s retirement from parliament.

March  EMK refuses to meet with Adams, citing ongoing IRA criminal activity. The U.S. Senate passes EMK’s resolution condemning IRA violence.

June  EMK tables a Senate resolution calling for IRA to disarm and the DUP to commit to power sharing.
**July**  
McGuinness requests a meeting with EMK during trip to Washington, D.C. IRA later announces it will disarm.

**September**  
IRA disarmament is confirmed by an independent commission. EMK hails this “dramatic and historic step” as a “new dawn in the peace process.” *(The Irish Times, 09/27/2005)*

**2006**

**March**  
In a statement issued on the eve of St. Patrick’s Day, House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), EMK, and other members of the Friends of Ireland Executive Committee reiterate the importance to the peace process of the Good Friday Agreement and call for justice in the case of McCartney. EMK meets with the McCartney’s mother and promises to raise the issue of pursuing his murderers with Adams while the latter is in Washington for St. Patrick’s Day festivities. *(Capitol Hill Press Releases, 03/16/2007; The Sun, 03/17/2007)*

**June**  
EMK issues a public statement upon the death of former Taoiseach Charles J. Haughey (1925-2006), describing him as “a profile in courage for his time.” *(The Irish Times, 06/14/2006)*

**2007**

**May**  
EMK travels to Stormont as part of a special Presidential delegation to witness the opening of the new, power-sharing government. At the May 9th inauguration ceremony, he is seated in the spectator’s gallery next to Paisley’s wife, Baroness Eileen Paisley. *(States News Service, 05/04/2007; US Fed News, 05/08/2007; The Boston Globe, 05/09/2007)*

On the 17th, EMK, Dodd, and Susan Collins (R-ME) introduce a Senate resolution commending the creation of the new government. *(US Fed News, 05/17/2007)*

**December**  
EMK meets with First Minister Paisley and McGuinness in Washington. *(The Irish Times, 12/03/2007)*

**2008**

**April**  
EMK meets with Paisley in Washington. *(The Irish Times, 04/10/2008)*

Ahern addresses a joint session of Congress. *(The Irish Times, 05/01/2008)*

**May**  
EMK is diagnosed with a brain tumor.

**2009**
March  EMK is awarded an honorary knighthood for his work in the Northern Ireland peace process. *(The Irish Times, 03/05/2009)*

August  EMK dies at his home in Hyannis Port.
Relevant Positions:
- Retired in 2009.
- 2006-2009: Irish Ambassador to Italy.
- 2002-2006: Irish Ambassador to Germany.
- Special advisor to Taoiseach Albert Reynolds and Bertie Ahern.

Key Issues:
- 1997: involved in IRA ceasefire negotiations and negotiations which would eventually lead to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.
- 1994: worked with Jean Kennedy Smith and EMK on the Adams and Cahill visas.
- 1993: involved in negotiations leading to Downing Street Declaration.
- 1987-1990: headed Anglo-Irish Secretariat in Belfast, a diplomatic structure set up by 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement.
EDWARD M. KENNEDY KEY EVENTS
Prepared by Rob Martin and Stacie L. Pettyjohn, Miller Center, 09/17/05

‘71  Kennedy/Ribicoff resolution criticizes Britain and calls for Irish unification.

‘72  EMK meets John Hume in Germany; Hume helps moderate EMK’s positions.

‘77  Four Horsemen (EMK, O’Neill, Carey and Moynihan) release St. Patrick’s Day statement renouncing violence and calling for Americans to stop funding IRA.

Carter issues important statement promising U.S. aid to all parties in N. Ireland to support a peacefully negotiated democratic settlement.

‘80  Four Horsemen force Taoiseach Haughey to rescind Donlon transfer to UN.

‘81  EMK helps form Friends of Ireland in Congress.

‘85  Thatcher-Fitzgerald sign Anglo-Irish Agreement giving Irish govt. a say in N. Ireland; (EMK had pressed Reagan to pressure Thatcher to moderate her position.)

‘93  JKS becomes U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.

Major-Reynolds sign Downing Street Declaration promising self-determination in N. Ireland and willingness to negotiate with any group renouncing violence (ie. Sinn Fein.)

‘94  EMK visits Ireland; JKS, Reynolds push for Adams visa; EMK meets with Hume back in U.S.; Hume convinces EMK to support the visa; Clinton agrees.

JKS, Reynolds, EMK push for Cahill visa, paving way for IRA cease-fire.

‘95  EMK/JKS get Clinton to overturn ban preventing Adams from raising funds in U.S.

Clinton visits Ireland and N. Ireland; stays with JKS.

‘96  EMK works to reinstate the collapsed IRA cease-fire.

‘98  EMK meets Trimble in Belfast; meets Ahern in D.C.; discusses stalled peace process.

Good Friday Agreement is signed; talks chaired by George Mitchell.

Clinton makes second visit to Ireland; stays with JKS, who resigns after visit.

‘05  EMK refuses to meet with Adams after renewal of IRA violence; EMK sponsors bills denouncing IRA violence, calling for IRA to disarm & DUP to commit to powersharing.

IRA announces it will disarm and to outside verification.
NORTHERN IRELAND KEY EVENTS
Prepared by Rob Martin, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/17/05

‘21-72 N. Ireland governed by simple majority rule; Unionists control govt, treat Catholics poorly.

‘72 London introduces direct rule in N. Ireland amidst escalating violence.

‘73 Sunningdale Agreement attempts to end direct rule by providing power-sharing executive in N. Ireland and establishing links with Rep. of Ireland (ROI), but Unionist strike brings down government in 1974; direct rule is reintroduced.

‘85 Anglo-Irish Agreement (Thatcher/Fitzgerald) gives ROI a formal voice in N. Ireland.

‘88 Hume and Adams begin secret face-to-face talks; London initiates secret talks with IRA and with Sinn Fein in 1990 and ’92.

‘91/92 Brooks/Mayhew talks involving four main parties in N. Ireland break down.

‘93 Hume and Adams issue joint statement calling for initiation of peace process.

Downing Street Agreement (Major/Reynolds) affirms self-determination in N. Ireland and willingness to negotiate with any group renouncing violence (i.e. Sinn Fein can enter talks if IRA agree to ceasefire.)

‘94 Adams and Cahill visas help clear way for IRA ceasefire in August.

‘95 London issues precondition for Sinn Fein formal entry into talks: IRA must first disarm.

‘96 Mitchell Report recommends disarming and talks begin concurrently; is rejected by IRA.

IRA cease-fire collapses; talks with Sinn Fein halted by unwillingness to disarm.

‘97 Newly elected Labour government drops IRA precondition; Sinn Fein accepts Mitchell Principles; IRA ceasefire is restored; Sinn Fein enters talks.

‘98 Good Friday Agreement establishes new govt. in N. Ireland based on self-determination (they’ll remain in U.K. until they vote otherwise); calls for elections; GFA is ratified in referendums in Ireland and N. Ireland; agreement later bogs down over IRA disarming.

‘99 Mitchell helps overcome impasses on IRA disarming, set up of police force, but questions on these issues continue to stall peace process over next several years as violence renews.

‘05 IRA announces it will disarm and to verification.
EMK Abbreviated Ireland Timeline
Prepared by Rob Martin and Stacie L. Pettyjohn
Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/19/2007

1964
May
Senator Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) retraces the steps of President Kennedy’s visit to Ireland eleven months earlier.

1969
March
EMK meets with Irish civil rights activists in U.S.
June
Prime Minister James Chichester-Clark of Northern Ireland condemns EMK’s interference in Irish issues after EMK makes comments supporting civil rights in Northern Ireland.

1971
August
EMK meets with Representative Hugh Carey (D-NY) to discuss Carey’s recent trip to Belfast.
September
EMK visits Britain, where a woman asks EMK why he has spoken about the shootings at Kent State but has remained silent on British policy in Northern Ireland, especially internment.
October
On the 20th, EMK makes his first speech on Northern Ireland to the Senate. The London Daily Express subsequently publishes a cartoon which is critical of EMK.

EMK, Carey, and Senator Abe Ribicoff (D-CT) draft Kennedy/Ribicoff resolution which advocates temporary direct rule by Britain, but is very critical of the British treatment of Catholics. It calls for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and ultimately unification of the island.

1972
February
EMK criticizes the British investigation into Bloody Sunday.

November
EMK first meets John Hume while traveling in Germany to discuss Ireland.

1973
September
Influenced by Hume, EMK writes an article for Foreign Policy in which he moderates his early statements, now calling for power sharing, as well as denouncing violence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>JKS travels to Northern Ireland and stays with Hume.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Fall The Kennedys host Hume while he visits U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>March On St. Patrick’s Day, Four Horsemen (EMK, O’Neil, Carey and Moynihan) release a joint statement (drafted in large part by Hume) encouraging a peaceful resolution to the conflict and to discourage Americans from aiding IRA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August Under pressure from EMK, Carter releases a statement offering aide to Northern Ireland should they reach a peaceful, negotiated power-sharing settlement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>March Four Horsemen release their annual statement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>July EMK helps to block the new Irish Prime Minister’s (Haughey) attempt to transfer Sean Donlon, the ambassador to the U.S., to the United Nations. Donlon is an ally of EMK and, after Reagan’s election, Bill Clark in the White House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>February Carey Parker meets with Dodd, Foley and Hume and decide to create a group in Congress to counter IRA aid in U.S.; Friends of Ireland is formed the next month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June EMK encourages Reagan to discuss treatment of prisoners in Northern Ireland with Thatcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>March Friends of Ireland issue a “United Ireland” resolution advocating peaceful means.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>October Friends of Ireland propose Reagan appoint a special envoy to Northern Ireland; Reagan rejects the proposal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>March EMK attends St. Patrick’s Day lunch at White House with Taoiseach Fitzgerald.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>December Friends of Ireland push Reagan to pressure Thatcher on Ireland.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1985

May  EMK, O’Neill and Clark convince Reagan to push Thatcher on Ireland.

November  Anglo-Irish Agreement is signed, giving Republic of Ireland an official role in Northern Ireland.

1986

Winter  EMK meets with Don Regan to discuss details of Northern Ireland aid bill.

1992

November  EMK advocates JKS’s appointment as Ambassador to Ireland. She is nominated the following March.

1993

December  Major and Reynolds issue the Downing Street Declaration, which promises self-determination for Northern Ireland and announces they will negotiate with any group that renounces violence.

EMK and Vicki travel to Ireland; JKS and Reynolds argue EMK should push Clinton to grant Adams visa.

1994

January  At O’Neill’s funeral, Hume convinces EMK to support Adams visa.

Republicans communicate to Clinton that they are prepared to moderate their positions through the O’Dowd-Vargo-Soderberg link.

JKS recommends that Clinton grant Adams visa. Clinton agrees.

August  EMK and JKS lobby Clinton to grant the Cahill visa, paving the way for the IRA ceasefire.

September  EMK and Vicki meet Adams in Boston at airport.

1995

Winter  EMK and Dodd send letter to Clinton arguing Adams should be allowed to raise funds in U.S. Clinton agrees.

November  EMK meets with Adams, who warns of impending deadlock in peace process.
Clinton visits Northern Ireland with Kathleen Kennedy Townsend; Clinton stays with JKS in Dublin.

1996

March EMK refuses to meet with Adams after IRA ceasefire collapses and sets off bomb in London.

April EMK meets with loyalists and commends them for not retaliating to IRA bombing.

1997

December EMK meets with Ahern in Boston; IRA had reinstituted the ceasefire in July and Sinn Fein agreed to the Mitchell Principles and entered talks in September.

1998

January EMK meets with David Trimble in Belfast to discuss the stalled peace talks.

March Ahern meets with EMK and asks for his help to push talks forward.

April The landmark Good Friday Agreement is reached, which establishes a new government in Northern Ireland based on the principle of self-determination.

May Trina Vargo leaves EMK’s office.

September Clinton makes his second trip to Ireland and Northern Ireland; stays with JKS, who had agreed to stay on specifically until Clinton’s visit. She leaves this month.

2001

February EMK signs letter urging Bush to remain involved in Northern Ireland.

June EMK meets with Adams.

2003

March EMK meets with Ahern in Washington, D.C. Ahern also meets with Trimble.

May EMK criticizes the postponing of Northern Ireland elections by the unionists.

November EMK meets with the Northern Ireland Secretary Murphy.
2005

February  EMK announces his continued support for Sinn Fein’s inclusion in peace process.
          EMK commemorates Hume’s retirement from parliament.

March    EMK refuses to meet with Adams, citing ongoing IRA criminal activity; Senate passes EMK’s resolution condemning IRA violence.

June     EMK tables a Senate resolution calling for IRA to disarm and the DUP to commit to power sharing.

July     McGuinness requests a meeting with EMK during trip to D.C. IRA later announces it will disarm.

September IRA disarmament is confirmed by an independent commission. EMK hails this “dramatic and historic step” as a “new dawn in the peace process.” (The Irish Times, 09/27/2005).

2006

March    In a statement issued on the eve of St. Patrick’s Day, House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), EMK, and other members of the Friends of Ireland Executive Committee reiterate the importance to the peace process of the Good Friday Agreement and call for justice in the case of Robert McCartney. EMK meets with the McCartney’s mother and promises to raise the issue of pursuing his murderers with Gerry Adams while the latter is in Washington for St. Patrick’s Day festivities. (Capitol Hill Press Releases, 03/16/2007; The Sun, 03/17/2007)

June     EMK issues a public statement upon the death of former Taoiseach Charles J. Haughey (1925-2006), describing him as “a profile in courage for his time.” (The Irish Times, 06/14/2006)

2007

May      EMK travels to Stormont as part of a special Presidential delegation to witness the opening of the new, power-sharing government. At the May 9th inauguration ceremony, he is seated in the spectator’s gallery next to Paisley’s wife, Baroness Eileen Paisley. (States News Service, 05/04/2007; US Fed News, 05/08/2007; The Boston Globe, 05/09/2007)

          On the 17th, EMK, Christopher Dodd (D-CT), and Susan Collins (R-ME) introduce a Senate resolution commending the creation of the new government. (US Fed News, 05/17/2007)
KEY ACTORS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS
Prepared by Rob Martin, Stacie Pettyjohn and Anne Mariel Peters
Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/18/2005

Ad Hoc Committee on Irish Affairs
Irish-American group founded by U.S. Rep. Mario Biaggi in 1977 to pressure Congress to hold open hearings on N. Ireland and to grant visas to Irish republicans. They’ve been criticized by the Irish Government and moderates who claim that it supports violence.

Adams, Gerry
Leader of Sinn Fein for the last eighteen years; was reportedly a regional leader for the IRA in the 1970s, though he denies this accusation.

Ahern, Bertie
Becomes Irish prime minister in 1997; member of Fianna Fail; active in lead-up to Good Friday Agreement.

American Committee for Ulster Justice (ACUJ)
Irish-American republican group whose membership includes U.S. Rep. Hugh Carey (D-NY) who later becomes a member of the Four Horseman.

The American Congress for Irish Freedom (ACIF)
Irish-American group which sponsors lectures in the U.S. by leading civil rights activists such as Austin Currie and Gerry Fitt, who later founds the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), and meets with American leaders, including EMK and Hubert Humphrey.

Americans for a New Irish Agenda (ANIA)
Irish-American group founded in 1991 and led by Niall O’Dowd. ANIA attempted to initiate a peace process in Northern Ireland by bringing Sinn Fein into talks. ANIA also sought to involve the U.S. in the conflict in Northern Ireland by lobbying for a visa for Gerry Adams and for a peace envoy.

Ancient Order of the Hibernians (AOH)
Irish-American group founded in 1836 - AOH is one of the oldest Irish American groups. It organizes the St. Patrick’s Day parade in NY and is Catholic and often accused of supporting the IRA.

Atkins, Humphrey
British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland under Thatcher.

Brooke, Peter
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland who publicly announces that Britain has “no selfish strategic or economic interest” in Northern Ireland; initiates the Brooke/Mayhew talks with four main parties in N. Ireland in 91/92. (Mayhew is Brooke’s successor).
Cahill, Joe
An IRA activist and convicted terrorist for whom Reynolds, EMK and JKS convince Clinton to grant a visa to win IRA hardliner support for a ceasefire in 1994.

Carey, Hugh
Governor of NY and member of the Four Horsemen.

Chichester-Clark, James
N. Irish Prime Minister in early 1970s who criticizes EMK for interfering in N. Ireland.

Clark, William
Reagan National Security Advisor who was friends with Irish official Sean Donlon, who encouraged Reagan to help moderate Thatcher’s position on the Irish conflict.

Coogan, Tim Pat
Irish historian who works with Albert Reynolds to convince EMK to support the Adams visa while EMK is visiting Ireland.

Cosgrave, Liam
Irish Prime Minister in the early 1970s who helps to create the Council of Ireland in 1973 which creates links between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)
The most hard-line loyalist party in N. Ireland - it was founded and continues to be led by Reverend Ian Paisley. Although initially involved in the Good Friday negotiations, the DUP withdrew once Sinn Fein joined, and continues to oppose the agreement. In 2003, the DUP became the largest unionist party in Northern Ireland.

Donlon, Sean
Donlon served as Irish Ambassador to the U.S. from 1978-1981 and later as the head of the Irish Foreign Affairs Department while Fitzgerald is prime minister in the 1980s. Donlon has a close relationship with William Clark and worked with EMK and the Four Horsemen to get Reagan to pressure Thatcher to moderate her position, culminating in the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Faulkner, Brian
Prime Minister of Northern Ireland in early 1970s who institutes a policy of internment with the consent of the British government of Edward Heath.

Friends of Ireland
Group of Irish-American Congressmen that originated as the Four Horsemen—Senator Kennedy, Moynihan, Rep. O’Neill and former NY Governor Carey. Associated with constitutional nationalism—especially John Hume. Irish Ambassador Sean Donlon was also a close ally and instrumental in founding this group. The group makes annual St. Patrick’s Day statements commenting on the situation in Northern Ireland and in support of moderate groups and the Republic of Ireland.
Haughey, Charles
Irish prime minister at various times from the late 1970s through early 1990s; member of Fianna Fail party, like Albert Reynolds; Reynolds takes over as prime minister in 1992 after a scandal forces Haughey to leave office; Haughey attempts to take a more hard-line approach towards N. Ireland upon first coming to power under the advisement of Biaggi and Father Sean McManus; at times at odds with moderates like Sean Donlon, Four Horseman.

Irish National Caucus (INC)
The group was founded in 1973 in order to lobby Washington for Irish-republicans. In 1975 Father Sean McManus takes over the organization. The group was criticized for supporting violent republican groups in N. Ireland and is associated with Rep. Biaggi.

Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAID)
An organization committed to raising money in the U.S. to support the families of incarcerated IRA activists. Moderates, such as Hume and EMK, denounce NORAID as a fundraiser for the IRA.

Lillis, Michael
An official at the Republic of Ireland’s embassy in Washington, D.C. in the 1970s and 80s who works with moderates like Donlon & Fitzgerald who favor consensus approach.

Loyalists
Mainly Protestants in N. Ireland who are also somewhat confusingly called unionists because of their desire to remain a part of the union with the United Kingdom (which is not to be confused with the nationalists who seek to unify the entire Irish island.)

Lynch, Jack
Irish Prime Minister in the late 1970s.

MacBride Principles
Set of principles advocating fair employment and an end to economic discrimination in northern Ireland against Catholics.

McManus, Sean
Reverend and Chairman of the Irish National Caucus, an Irish-American group created to lobby Congress. The group is criticized for supporting violent republican groups in Northern Ireland and is also associated with Representative Mario Biaggi.

McGuinness, Martin
Currently a representative for Sinn Fein in the suspended Northern Ireland Assembly. McGuinness joined the Provisional IRA after the Troubles broke out and has been imprisoned twice for terrorist related activity. Once the IRA chief of Staff, McGuinness later became increasingly involved in Sinn Fein and served as their chief negotiator.
during the negotiations for the Good Friday Accord. Before the suspension of the Stormont Executive, McGuinness was a part of the cabinet as the minister of education.

**Mitchell, George**
Clinton’s special economic envoy to Northern Ireland; later heads independent decommissioning body and goes on to play key role in the Good Friday Agreement.

**Moynihan, Daniel Patrick**
U.S. Senator (D-NY) and member of the Four Horsemen.

**Nationalists**
Those in N. Ireland that seek Irish independence and to unify the island or the entire Irish nation, by peaceful or violent means.

**New Ireland Forum**
Group created by the leaders of Fine Gael, Labour, Fianna Fail, and the SDLP to explore how peace can be reached democratically in Northern Ireland and what strategies exist to achieve this goal; active in the lead-up to the 1985 Anglo-Irish agreement.

**Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA)**
N. Irish group calling for an end to discrimination against Catholics and Nationalists; one of first groups EMK supports early on in his involvement.

**O’Dowd, Niall**
Prominent Irish-American journalist, leader of ANIA who encourages EMK and Clinton to support the Adams visa; while meeting with Adams in Ireland, O’Dowd communicates with White House through the Trina Vargo-Nancy Soderberg connection.

**O’Neill, Tip**
Speaker of the House (D-MA) and member of the Four Horsemen.

**Paisley, Ian**
Loyalist leader of the DUP and leads the Protestants who reject the Good Friday Agreement. Paisley is known for being an extremely effective obstructionist who does not have many constructive ideas. He has played this role for many decades and led the recent denouncements of Trimble, the Good Friday Agreement, Sinn Fein and the IRA. Paisley refuses to accept the IRA’s July statement that they are fully disarming and continues to foster acrimony between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland.

**Provisional IRA**
Republican party which broke away from the IRA in 1970 in response to the beginning of the troubles in N. Ireland. Unlike the original IRA, the provisionals remained committed to violent struggle against the British and the Loyalists. Until recently (July), the IRA had refused to rid itself of what is believed to be a very extensive arsenal.

**Real IRA**
An extremist splinter group that split with the provisional IRA in 1997.

**Republicans**

Republicans are a sub-group of nationalists in N. Ireland that employ a strategy of armed struggle to expel the British (who are seen as colonial oppressors) in order to unify the entire Irish nation.

**Robinson, Mary**

Irish President in the 1990s in lead up to Good Friday.

**Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)**

The Northern Ireland police force comprised almost entirely of Protestants. It was often the target of the IRA and policing continues to be a divisive and unsettled issue.

**Sands, Bobby**

IRA prisoner who leads a hunger strike in 1981.

**Sinn Fein (Provisional)**

A republican party associated with the Provisional IRA; was excluded from any negotiations until the mid 1990s. Sinn Fein became active after the hunger strikes made it apparent that the party could make gains politically, leading to the armalite and the ballot box strategy (pursuing the armed struggle while also using nonviolent political tactics).

**Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)**

Nationalist party in N. Ireland founded by Gerry Fitt in 1970 and since led by John Hume until 2001; advocates non-violent means to achieve unity—has been largest nationalist party in N. Ireland for most of its existence.

**Soderberg, Nancy**

Clinton NSC foreign policy advisor and former EMK staffer who helps to create an important backdoor link to Clinton through Trina Vargo in EMK’s office.

**Steinberg, Jim**

Former EMK staffer who joins Clinton’s NSC with Berger after Lake and Soderberg leave; Steinberg works heavily on Northern Ireland.

**Trimble, David**

Loyalist leader of the UUP from 1995-2005. Initially believed to be a hard-line protestant because of his involvement in the Dumree Orange Order Parade, Trimble negotiates and signs Good Friday Agreement. This settlement, however, is not accepted by half of his party, and Trimble’s position as head of the UUP was constantly threatened by hard-liners.

**Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)**
The loyalist party in N. Ireland in power from 1921-1972 until British direct rule was imposed; led by Trimble from 1995-05; was the largest unionist party until 2003 when it was overtaken by the DUP following dissatisfaction with the Good Friday Agreement.

**Ulster Workers Council (UWC)**

Loyalist league of unions, politicians, and paramilitaries in N. Ireland which organized a strike in 1974 to bring down the power sharing executive created by Sunningdale.