EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer’s Briefing Materials
Niall O’Dowd Interview, 11/11/2010

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Miller Center Documents
- Niall O’Dowd Timeline.
- EMK Key Events in Northern Ireland.
- Northern Ireland Key Events.
- Key Actors in Northern Ireland Peace Process.

Secondary Source Materials

Oral History Interviews
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/20/2006.

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1 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.
• Trina Vargo interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/07/2008.
• Albert Reynolds interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/27/2005.
• Jean Kennedy Smith interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/18/2007.
Niall O’Dowd Timeline
Prepared by Rob Martin
Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/15/2010

1953  Niall O’Dowd is born in Thurles, County Tipperary in Ireland.

1977  O’Dowd earns his BA degree from University College Dublin. He had also attended Drogheda CBS and Gormanston College.

1978  O’Dowd emigrates to the U.S. in June. He moves to San Francisco, where he founds *The Irishman Newspaper*, the first new Irish newspaper in California in 50 years.

1985  O’Dowd moves to New York where he founds the *Irish America* magazine, the first ever national Irish American magazine.

1987  O’Dowd founds the *Irish Voice* newspaper.

1991  O’Dowd takes on a more active role in politics and helps to found the Irish Americans for Clinton campaign in support of Governor Bill Clinton’s 1992 run for president. (www.anirishvoice.com)

1992

April  During the New York primary, Clinton attends an Irish forum and promises that, if elected, he will send a peace envoy to Ireland, support a visa for Gerry Adams, and endorse the MacBride Principles on fair employment. (Clymer, p. 520; Conor O’Clery, *Daring Diplomacy*, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1997, pp. 15-16)

September  In a meeting with Clinton, O’Dowd raises the issue of granting a visa to Adams. (Mallie and McKittrick, pp. 279-280)

October  In a letter to Bruce Morrison, co-chairman for Irish Americans for Clinton/Gore, Clinton goes farther than any other presidential candidate in promising U.S. involvement in Northern Ireland. Nancy Soderberg drafts the letter, which reaffirms the pledge to appoint a peace envoy and to support the MacBride Principles. Angered by the letter, the British Conservative Party Office interferes in the American campaign in an effort to discredit Clinton. (O’Clery, pp. 29-32)

November  EMK pushes president-elect Clinton to nominate his sister, Jean Kennedy Smith, for the coveted position of Ambassador to Ireland. (Clymer, p. 521; O’Clery, pp. 43-45)
March  On St. Patrick’s Day, President Clinton nominates Kennedy Smith as U.S. ambassador to Ireland in a White House ceremony. (O’Clery, p. 46)

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

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

The Hume-Adams talks become public as the two men meet in their capacities as party leaders of the 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. Hume, whose strategy is to persuade Sinn Fein that the problem is not so much the British presence in Northern Ireland, but divisions amongst the Irish people, says he does not care “two balls of roasted snow” about the criticism he faces. (The New York Times, 05/18/1993; BBC News Online, 08/30/2000; “Hume-Adams Statements,” Sinn Fein Homepage, 2005, http://sinnfein.ie/peace/hume_adams)

June  According to press reports, Kennedy Smith appears confident at her hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and committee members predict a favorable vote on her confirmation. Some commentators question Kennedy Smith’s knowledge of Irish issues and view her nomination as a favor to EMK. (The Boston Globe, 04/26/1993, 06/10/1993)

September  In an effort to gain the support of Irish-American businessmen, the IRA orders a ten-day ceasefire when the group visits Ireland. The group of businessmen includes O’Dowd, Bill Flynn, Chuck Feeny, and is led by former Congressmen Bruce Morrison (D-CT). 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 EMK’s office, specifically Trina Vargo to Soderberg to Clinton. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 280; O’Clery, pp. 62-68)

On the 25th, Hume and Adams release a second statement reporting progress in their discussion and vowing to forward a position report to Dublin. Major dismisses the proposal. (Loughlin, pp. 150-151; Sinn Fein Homepage)

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 the republican party, and angers Reynolds, who now pushes Major towards a joint British-Irish initiative. (Loughlin, p. 153)

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 Downing Street 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)

**O’Dowd**, Bill Flynn and a third party with connections to Sinn Fein meet in New York City to discuss strategies for obtaining a visa for Adams to come to America in the wake of the failed Dinkins invitation. They decide that the New York-based National Committee on American Foreign Policy, of which Flynn was chairman and Henry Kissinger honorary chairman, would invite all the Northern party leaders, including Adams, to attend a one-day conference on Northern Ireland in New York’s Waldorf Astoria Hotel on February 1st. (*The Irish Times*, 09/01/1994)

EMK and Vicki Kennedy travel to Ireland to visit with Jean Kennedy Smith. They discuss the possibility of issuing a visa for Adams to travel to the United States. While EMK is initially hesitant to support this initiative, meetings with author Tim Pat Coogan and Reynolds help to persuade him that this is a wise course of action. 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; Maier, pp. 572-579)
January

On the 2nd, EMK leaves Ireland still undecided about what to do about the Adams visa. Shortly thereafter, EMK speaks to Hume at Tip 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)

The republican movement works to persuade Irish-Americans that it is moving towards peace. The message is communicated through O’Dowd to Vargo/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)

Kennedy Smith 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 Moynihan 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.” (Clymer, p. 537; O’Clery, pp. 94-95; The Washington Post, 08/31/1995; The Irish Times, 03/09/1996)

On the 31st, Adams arrives in New York. (Mallie 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. grant 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, Kennedy Smith is contacted by Reynolds who apprises her of the situation. Kennedy Smith 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, President 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 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 Dodd 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. (Loughlin, p. 162; Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 30-31)
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. As the statement, which includes two other demands, is made in Washington, it becomes known as the Washington Three. (Loughlin, p. 163; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 31)

Winter  Adams applies for another visa to visit the U.S. around St. Patrick’s Day, which presents a dilemma: should he be invited to the annual 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 St. Patrick’s Day 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. Kennedy Smith 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. 192-201)

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

September  Adams meets with Lake and Gore to ask for assistance in the stalled Northern Ireland peace process. (*The Washington Post*, 09/14/1995)

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)


November-December  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 Robinson and Bruton. Clinton stays at Kennedy Smith’s residence and makes several references to JFK’s trip to Ireland. From the
American embassy in Dublin, Clinton calls EMK and tells him “Now I know how President Kennedy felt.” (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, or the Mitchell Report, is released on the 24\textsuperscript{th} and recommends that arms decommissioning and talks begin concurrently. Major rejects the report and calls for elections to a forum for Northern Ireland instead of simultaneous negotiations and decommissioning. (Loughlin, p. 166; Mac Ginty and Darby, pp. 31-32)

February
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
Kennedy Smith is reprimanded by the State Department for retaliating against two subordinates who disagreed with her recommendation to grant a visa to Gerry 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 17\textsuperscript{th}, 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, 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 Duncree 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 the 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**

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 as well as 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 at a time in which the negotiations have stalled and violence is rising. EMK addresses an audience at the University of Ulster in which he makes a concerted effort to reach out to Irish Protestants. In his message, EMK concludes that the “two communities in Northern Ireland must reach out and do what must be done—and join hands across the centuries and chasms of killing and
pain.” EMK next travels to Belfast and speaks with David Trimble, the UUP leader. (Clymer, pp. 594-295)

March
While visiting Washington, Taoiseach 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 the 30th, the IRA refuses to disarm as stipulated by the Good Friday Agreement. (The New York Times, 05/01/1998)

May
Trina 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)

Kennedy Smith 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, Kennedy Smith ends her ambassadorship and leaves Ireland. She is succeeded by Michael J. Sullivan. (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 John Hume and David Trimble. (Loughlin, p. 201; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 46)

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 party is, however, somber as violence threatens the Good Friday Agreement. (The Washington Post, 03/17/1999)

April After three telephone calls from President 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 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. Mitchell steps down as Special Envoy in 2000 to serve as chairman of the Sharm el-Sheikh International Fact-Finding Committee which is set up to study the Middle East Peace Process. (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 reinstituted. (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)

Bush appoints Richard Haass as Special Envoy to Northern Ireland. Mitchell had stepped down as Special Envoy the year before.

**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)*


**March** The Irish government honors EMK’s involvement in Irish Affairs by funding a chair in his name in Health Service Management in 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)*

**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** When police raid Sinn Fein’s Stormont offices, they find an intelligence gathering operation likely used to aid terrorists. In response to Trimble’s threats to collapse the government if Sinn Fein is not excluded, Britain assumes direct control of Northern Ireland and suspends devolution. (Loughlin, pp. 231-232; *The Irish Times*, 10/15/2002)

**December** Adams visits the U.S. in order to meet with EMK, Representative 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
In Washington, Ahern and Trimble meet at the Mayflower Hotel. The parties have been using the gatherings to celebrate St. Patrick’s Day as a venue for informal contacts. Ahern also meets with EMK and Dodd. EMK later praises Ahern as “an indispensable figure in the march towards peace," and comments that “We are very hopeful that we are coming to a closure in the coming days.” (The Irish Times, 03/14/2003)

May
After elections in Northern Ireland are postponed, Haas claims that this is not a setback for the peace process, and that the republican movement is being intransigent about relatively small concessions. EMK states that he is disappointed at the decision to delay elections and comments that “in the recent negotiations, the IRA had responded to every reasonable request to clarify its commitment to end its support for violence. The unionists cannot forever have a veto on the peace process.” (The Irish Times, 05/03/2003)

November
EMK meets with Northern Ireland Secretary Paul Murphy. (The Irish Times, 11/06/2003)

2004

O’Dowd is granted an honorary doctorate by his alma mater University of College Dublin. (Wikipedia.com)

February
An all-party review of the Good Friday Agreement begins. (The Irish Times, 02/04/2004)

September
Blair and Ahern host a three-day summit which is held at Leeds Castle, but the parties reach no agreement. (The Irish Times, 09/20/2004)

November-December
Talks between the DUP and Sinn Fein continue through the British and Irish governments. Eventually the two governments put forward their own blueprint for the parties to consider. President Bush calls DUP leader Ian Paisely and pressures him to accept power sharing. Adams recommends that Sinn Fein accept the proposal; they stall, however, when the DUP demands photographic evidence of IRA decommissioning. (The Irish Times, 12/07/2004, 12/15/2004; The New York Times, 11/27/2004)

2005

O’Dowd helps to found the Irish Lobby for Immigration Reform, which is set up to lobby Congress to support comprehensive immigration reform. (www.anirishvoice.com) EMK and McCain have recently begun working with the White House to cosponsor a comprehensive immigration bill that would tighten border patrols and establish a temporary visa and legalization program. The EMK-McCain immigration reform plan is also supported by the Ahern government in Ireland, since it would create a temporary work status for illegal Irish immigrants. (The Irish Times, 02/07/2005, 10/07/2005) The bipartisan legislation clears the
Senate in 2006 but meets strong opposition in the House, which has passed its own, more conservative bill focusing on border enforcement. House GOP leaders are particularly critical of what they dub as the Senate’s “amnesty” provision. EMK and Kyl work with the White House in 2007 in an effort to revive the immigration bill, agreeing to shift the U.S. visa system from family- to merit-based, in which a point system would evaluate visa candidates on the basis of job skills, education and English language proficiency. However, the bill dies in the Senate in 2007.

**February**

EMK announces his continued support for the inclusion of Sinn Fein in the peace process, but he cautions that the parties themselves must act responsibly and cannot have paramilitary branches. He also expresses concern about the Northern Bank raid, which was allegedly perpetrated by the IRA and also sanctioned by Sinn Fein. Despite these problems, EMK argues that the peace process must move forward. *(The Irish Times, 02/12/2005)*

To commemorate Hume’s retirement from parliament, EMK tables a resolution in the Senate and hosts a reception in Washington for the SDLP leader. The resolution praises Hume: “In a very real sense, it was John who, in large part, became the glue that held Northern Ireland together, halted the descent into anarchy and civil war, and produced realistic hope for peace and further progress.” *(The Irish Times, 02/17/2005)*

**March**

The Bush Administration bans Adams from the annual White House lunch on St. Patrick’s Day, and he is also excluded from the speaker’s lunch on Capital Hill. EMK notes that it is at the speaker’s discretion to extend invitations to the lunch, and that “There is no place for a paramilitary organisation and criminal activity in a democratic political party, and I will tell Gerry Adams that.” Sinn Fein also refrains from applying for permission to fundraise in the U.S. because the party believes that its request will be turned down. *(The Irish Times, 03/07/2005, 03/12/2005)*

EMK cancels his scheduled meeting with Adams during his upcoming visit to the U.S. His spokesperson, Melissa Wagoner, states that "Senator Kennedy has decided to decline to meet with Gerry Adams, given the IRA's ongoing criminal activity and contempt for the rule of law." In particular, Wagoner points to "the IRA murder of Robert McCartney and subsequent calls for vigilante justice” which “underscore the need for IRA violence and criminality to stop and for Sinn Fein to co-operate with the police service of Northern Ireland." Instead of meeting with Adams, EMK visits with Robert McCartney’s sisters and partner. McCartney was slain by the IRA, and his murder symbolizes to many the growing lawlessness in Northern Ireland and the need for decommissioning. *(The Irish Times, 03/14/2005, 03/16/2005; The New York Times, 03/15/2005)*

On the 19th, the Senate passes a resolution initiated by EMK, which denounces IRA violence and criminal activity and calls on Sinn Fein to cooperate with the authorities in apprehending the murderers of McCartney. *(The Irish Times, 03/19/2005)*
April
The Bush Administration is “strongly encouraged” by Gerry Adams’ speech urging the IRA to end the violence, but it is cautiously waiting for “concrete actions” to be taken. (The Irish Times, 04/08/2005)

June
EMK tables a Senate resolution calling on the IRA to disarm and the DUP to commit itself to power sharing. The resolution is co-sponsored by Senators Dodd, Biden, Leahy, John McCain (R-AZ) and Susan Collins (R-ME). The resolution recognizes the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement as “the blueprint for lasting peace in Northern Ireland” and demands that the IRA “immediately complete the process of decommissioning, cease to exist as a paramilitary organisation and end its involvement in any way in paramilitary and criminal activity.” (The Irish Times, 06/20/2005)

July
McGuinness travels to Washington to brief numerous officials, including the Special Envoy to Northern Ireland Mitchell Reiss, on the IRA’s future plans. McGuinness also reportedly requested a meeting with EMK. This visit raises speculation that the IRA is planning on making a big announcement soon. (The Irish Times, 07/28/2005)

On the 28th, the IRA announces an end to the armed campaign and that “all IRA units have been ordered to dump arms.” The decommissioning will be verified by the Chastelain Commission and a Protestant and Catholic minister, but not by photographic evidence. (The New York Times, 07/28/2005)

September
The Chastelain Commission verifies that the IRA has completely disarmed. EMK hails this “dramatic and historic step” as a “new dawn in the peace process.” (The New York Times, 09/26/2005; The Irish Times, 09/27/2005)

October
The LVF announces that it will decommission its weapons arsenal in response to the IRA’s decision to disarm. (Press Association, 10/31/2005)

Hain proposes the Terrorism (Northern Ireland) Bill in an effort to extend by at least one year the existing anti-terrorism legislation governing the province. This move is met with criticism from unionists, who note the ambivalence implicit in the government’s assessment of the security situation. While acknowledging the dramatic improvement in the security situation following Sinn Fein’s decision to disarm, Hain insists that the bill is a “prudent safety mechanism.” (Press Association, 10/31/2005)

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
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, 03/16/2006; The Sun, 03/17/2006)

**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)

**October**
Following a three-day summit in St. Andrews, Scotland, the British and Irish governments unveil the St. Andrews Agreement on the 13th. The agreement establishes a timetable for the reinstatement of a power-sharing government at Stormont in March 2007. (The Irish Times, 10/14/2006)

**November**
The Northern Ireland Assembly fails to meet a November 24th deadline to constitute a power-sharing executive. The session collapses as a result of Paisley’s refusal to serve as head of a future government before Sinn Fein accepts the authority of the Northern Ireland police force, a key stipulation of the St. Andrews Agreement. A bomb threat at the Stormont Parliamentary Building sends members of the Assembly scattering minutes following Paisley’s announcement. (Associated Press Worldstream, 11/24/2006)

**2007**

**January**
Sinn Fein declares its support for the Police Service of Northern Ireland, removing a significant obstacle to the progression of the peace process. Following his party’s vote, Adams states, “This shows that the war is over. And if the war is over, we have to build the peace.” (Financial Times, 01/30/2007)

**March**
The DUP wins a plurality in the March 7th National Assembly elections and Sinn Fein receives the second most votes. Provided he concedes to share power with Sinn Fein, Paisley will become First Minister of the new government while McGuinness is expected to become Deputy First Minister. (Chicago Tribune, 03/06/07; Reuters News, 03/09/2007)

**May**
On the 8th, local authority is reconstituted as Paisley and McGuinness form a power-sharing government, becoming First Minister and Deputy First Minister, respectively. EMK travels to Stormont as part of a special Presidential delegation to mark the occasion. At the May 9th inauguration ceremony, he is seated in the spectator’s gallery next to Paisley’s wife, Baroness Eileen Paisley. (Associated Press, 05/08/2007; The International Herald Tribune, 05/09/2007; 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)
2008  **O’Dowd** is appointed an adjunct professor at Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. (Wikipedia.com)

*May*  EMK has a seizure in his Hyannis Port home. Three days later, he is diagnosed with a malignant brain tumor. After his release from the hospital, EMK goes sailing as he thinks about treatment, while Horowitz talks to specialists. EMK and Vicki discuss treatment options deciding to undergo surgery. (Clymer, 2009, p. 618; Bzdek, pp. 232-233)

2009  **O’Dowd** launches his new website, Irish Central, as a companion website to his two publications. (www.anirishvoice.com)

*August*  EMK dies at his home at Hyannis Port. O’Dowd writes, “Teddy, they hardly knew you. To call you the greatest of all the Kennedys might strike some as lofty rhetoric. But it isn’t. You gave your life to your country, as surely as those patriots of old gave theirs for the United States and your beloved Ireland. A great Irish chieftain has passed.” (www.irishcentral.com)

Edward M. Kennedy Key Events
Prepared by Rob Martin and Stacie L. Pettyjohn, Miller Center, 09/17/2005

‘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, 09/17/2005

‘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.
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 Stornmont 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**
Republican 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 Dumgree Orange Order Parade, Trimble negotiate 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.