



## EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

### **Interviewer's Briefing Materials** **Nancy Soderberg Interview, 10/09/2008**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

#### **Miller Center Documents<sup>1</sup>**

- Nancy Soderberg Timeline.
- Nancy Soderberg Fact Sheet.
- U.S. Role in Northern Ireland Timeline.
- EMK Foreign Travel (1984-2007).

#### **Secondary Source Materials**

- Adam Clymer interview with Nancy Soderberg, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 3/31/1997.
- Nancy E. Soderberg, *The Superpower Myth: The Use and Misuse of American Might* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2005) pp. 14-16, 68-75.
- Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004) pp. 578-581.
- Conor O'Clery, "Why U.S. Is Set to Remain an Intimate Player in NI," *The Irish Times*, 02/02/1995.
- John Aloysius Farrell, "Bridge to Irish; '94 U.S. Opening to Adams a Tale of Deliberations and High Drama," *The Boston Globe*, 02/10/1995.
- Mark Matthews, "IRA Meeting Signals End to Ulster Policy," *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), 03/17/1995.
- Conor O'Clery, "The Little Sister Who Was Back in Spring," *The Irish Times*, 03/09/1996.
- Nancy Soderberg, "The IRA Must Choose: Make Peace or Return to Chaos," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 10/18/1996.

#### **Oral History Interviews**

- Nancy Soderberg interview, Clinton Presidential History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/10/2007.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/27/2006.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/20/2006.
- Jean Kennedy Smith interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/18/2007.
- Garret Fitzgerald, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/28/2005.
- Michael Frazier, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/29/2007.
- John Hume, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/29/2005.
- Albert Reynolds, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/27/2005.

## NANCY E. SODERBERG TIMELINE

*Prepared by Dustin Cable, Allison Elias and Rob Martin*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/18/2008*

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- 1980** Nancy Soderberg receives her B.A. from Vanderbilt University. (Shirley Anne Warshaw, *The Clinton Years*, New York: Facts On File, 2004, p. 298)
- 1982-1984** Soderberg works in Boston as a Budgets and Reports Analyst at the Bank of New England. (Warshaw, p. 298)
- 1984** Soderberg receives her M.S. in Foreign Service from Georgetown University. (Warshaw, p. 298)
- Soderberg works as a foreign policy adviser in the presidential campaign of Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN). (*Federal Staff Directory 1996*, Mount Vernon: Staff Directories, Ltd., 1996, p. 1325)
- 1985** Soderberg begins work for EMK as his foreign policy advisor. (*Federal Staff Directory 1996*, p. 1325)
- March* EMK travels to Geneva with the Senate Arms Control Observers Group for the Geneva arms control talks with the Soviets. Max Kampelman heads the U.S. negotiating team. The arms talks are intended to open a dialogue between the U.S. and Soviet Union on space, strategic and intermediate nuclear arms. In April, Gorbachev announces a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles. Reagan and Gorbachev hold their first summit meeting in Geneva later this year.
- May* EMK, O'Neill, and Secretary of the Interior William Clark convince Reagan to push Thatcher to modify her position on Northern Ireland. (Clymer, p. 384)
- November* The Anglo-Irish Agreement is signed, giving Republic of Ireland an official role in Northern Ireland.
- 1986**
- January* EMK travels to Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina with JKS, Pat Lawford and staff. Soderberg and Mark Schneider split up responsibilities for the different countries, with Soderberg traveling to Peru and Brazil. Greg Craig travels to all of the countries with EMK. In Chile, EMK is confronted by hostile protesters organized by the country's military rulers. EMK alters his itinerary after his car is pelted by eggs at his first scheduled stop at a local hospital. He meets with opposition leaders and family members of "disappeared" persons. EMK praises them for their courage to meet with him, saying: "You have spoken out on behalf of those condemned to silence." (Clymer, pp. 387-388)

*February*           EMK travels to the Soviet Union.

*December*           EMK travels to the Middle East with Jean Kennedy Smith, William Barry, and staff, including Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg and Chuck Stein. The State Department asks EMK to help calm angry Arab allies in the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal. In Amman, Jordan, EMK calls for more U.S. money to help Jordan's efforts to develop the West Bank for its Palestinian inhabitants. In Egypt he quotes King Hussein of Jordan as saying the arms deal "undermines his own position in working towards peace in that part of the world." In Israel, EMK among other things raises the issue of Israeli arms export to the South Africa-backed UNITA rebels in Angola, which could mean congressional cut-off of aid to Israel per apartheid sanctions legislation just passed. (Clymer, p. 408; *The Financial Times*, 12/11/1986)

## 1987

*May*                   EMK travels to Poland with his three children, JKS, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Patricia Kennedy Lawford, Ethel Kennedy, and five of RFK and Ethel's children to present the Robert F. Kennedy Award to three Solidarity activists. EMK is also accompanied by Soderberg, Greg Craig, Lee Fentress, Jim Rooney, Chris Doherty, Caroline Croft, and John Robinson of the *Boston Globe*. EMK meets with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and the Polish foreign and defense ministers, but not General Jaruzelski. Jaruzelski only would have met with EMK had EMK agreed to play down the award ceremony. Soderberg recalls EMK's visit to Gdansk Shipyard where thousands of Polish people came to hear him speak despite government restrictions on what EMK was allowed to do during his visit:

I'll never forget that he was masterful. He walked out and none of us had any idea what he was going to do or say. I mean he sat there and first he just sort of said 'hello, I'm happy to be here.' And then he started to interview some families. And telling little stories about them and making them human. And just all of a sudden it wasn't a political rally it was a personal event, and the crowd...you could just feel the tension dissipate (Clymer interview, March 31, 1997).

EMK then travels to Rome to discuss his trip to Poland with Pope John Paul II. (Clymer, pp. 413-14)

*December*           After dozens of Haitian citizens were killed during national elections, Soderberg represents EMK and travels to the impoverished country along with 30 other members of an observation delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. (*The Washington Post*, 12/01/1987)

**1988**               Along with Michael Frazier, Soderberg travels to South Africa to speak with the African National Congress and other South African government officials.

Soderberg serves as Deputy Issues Director for Foreign Policy in the presidential campaign of Governor Michael Dukakis. (*Federal Staff Directory 1996*, p. 1325)

## 1989

EMK travels to Mexico with Steve Smith, William Smith, Eunice Shriver, Jean Kennedy Smith, and staff including Nancy Soderberg, Mark Schneider, Michael Myers, Chris Doherty, John Douglas and Charles Stein.

EMK travels with staff and Tom Oliphant to Berlin to see the remains of the Berlin Wall. Soderberg arranges for EMK to meet with Willy Brandt and speaks at Schoeneberg City Hall, as JFK had done in 1963, and lays down two white lilies for JFK and RFK.

## 1990

### *March*

EMK returns to Chile to attend the inauguration of Patricio Aylwin as the elected successor to Pinochet. EMK travels with Nancy Soderberg, John Douglas, Mark Schneider and as well as Vice President Dan Quayle in Air Force Two. The finale of the inauguration is held in the infamous national stadium as a tribute to those executed there. (Clymer, p. 466)

EMK returns to the Soviet Union with Nancy Soderberg, Larry Horowitz, Bill Lynn and Tom Oliphant to meet with Gorbachev to discuss Lithuanian independence. EMK urges Gorbachev not to resort to the use of force in order to prevent Lithuania from declaring its political independence from the Soviet Union. Gorbachev responds that Bush is imposing a “double standard” when he claims the right to invade Panama but denounces Soviet rights to invade Lithuania. He also argues he is trying not to be undermined by reactionaries, and asks EMK to tell his colleagues in Congress that these are watershed times and not to rush things on the Soviet Union. Back in the U.S., EMK meets with Bush, who agrees with EMK’s conclusion that Gorbachev is under severe internal pressure. (Clymer, pp. 468-70; *The Boston Globe*, 03/28/1990)

## 1992

### *January*

Governor William J. Clinton (D-AR) promises to appoint a special representative to push for an end to the violence in Northern Ireland on terms that are fair to the Catholic minority. Soderberg drafts this statement, which calls for U.S. facilitation of an end to discrimination against Northern Ireland’s Catholics in a range of areas, particularly in the business sector. (Bill Clinton, *My Life*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004, p. 401)

### *March*

George Stephanopoulos approaches Soderberg with an offer to join Governor Clinton’s staff. Soderberg reportedly accepts the offer after EMK tells her that he thinks Clinton will win the nomination and that she should go.

- June* Clinton hires Soderberg as Director of Foreign Policy for his presidential campaign. Soderberg coordinates foreign policy issues for Clinton out of the campaign's headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas, and works closely with the campaign's Senior Foreign Policy Advisor, Anthony Lake. (*The Boston Globe*, 06/11/1992)
- October* In a letter to Bruce Morrison, Chairman of Irish-Americans for Clinton and Gore, Clinton promises greater U.S. involvement in peace efforts in Northern Ireland. Soderberg is a central figure in the drafting of the letter. (*The Irish Times*, 10/28/1992)
- November* Clinton defeats Bush in the general election to become the 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the United States.
- Clinton announces his transition team. Berger is named Assistant Director for National Security. Soderberg and Fuerth are named Deputy Assistant Directors for National Security. (*The New York Times*, 11/13/1992)
- EMK strongly lobbies for Clinton to nominate his sister, Jean Kennedy Smith (JKS), as Ambassador to Ireland.

## 1993

- January* *The Washington Post* reports that Soderberg will serve as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Staff Director of the National Security Council (NSC). Lake is named Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Berger is named Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. (*The Washington Post*, 01/15/1993)
- March* Clinton nominates JKS as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.
- On the 17<sup>th</sup> Soderberg meets with Morrison, telling him that the idea of an emissary to help build a peace process in Northern Ireland is still being considered. (*The Irish Times*, 03/20/1993)
- April* Irish Republican Movement leader Gerry Adams applies for a U.S. visa. (Conor O'Clery, *Daring Diplomacy*, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1997, pp. 69-70)
- May* Morrison, Chairman of the newly-named Americans for an Irish Agenda, reports that he maintains contact with the Clinton Administration through Soderberg. (*The Irish Times*, 05/13/1993)
- On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Soderberg attends a meeting between Clinton and Irish President Mary Robinson. The meeting concerns a range of issues affecting the United

States and Ireland, including U.S. involvement in the peace process in Northern Ireland. (*The Irish Times*, 05/17/1993)

*September* In an effort to gain the support of Irish-American businessmen, the IRA orders a ten-day ceasefire when the Irish-American group visits Ireland. The group includes journalist Niall O'Dowd, Bill Flynn, Chuck Feeny, and is led by former Congressman Bruce Morrison (D-CT). They meet with Gerry 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. (Eamon Mallie and David McKittrick, *The Fight For Peace: The Secret Story Behind the Irish Peace Process*, London: Heinemann, 1996, p. 280; O'Clery, pp. 62-68)

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

*November* *The Irish Times* reports that the White House "has been sending conflicting signals about its policy in Northern Ireland." The U.S. and Ireland are in disagreement about the U.S. refusal to issue a visa to Gerry Adams, President of Sinn Féin. Lake and Soderberg are reportedly "sympathetic to Dublin's views" and are concerned about Irish-American opinion of the situation. (*The Irish Times*, 11/16/1993)

*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.

EMK and JKS recommend that Clinton grant Adams visa. Clinton speaks with Soderberg on the day he has to decide whether or not to grant a visa to Adams. Soderberg supports the visa because she is convinced that Adams is serious about peacemaking. Clinton claims that he has "developed great respect for her judgment" and is also impressed that Anthony Lake agrees with her. At the end of the conversation, Clinton approves granting the visa, issuing it to Adams on the 30<sup>th</sup> (*The Washington Post*, 08/31/1995; *The Irish Times*, 03/09/1996; Nancy Soderberg, *The Superpower Myth: The Use and Misuse of American Might*,

Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2005, pp.71-72; Bill Clinton, *My Life*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004, pp. 579-580; *The New York Times*, 02/02/1994).

*February*      *The Washington Post* reports that the White House views Adams' two-day visit to New York as a mixed success. While some officials have a wait-and-see attitude, one senior U.S. official reports, "We are disappointed. He has said a lot, but we are sorry he has not gone farther to publicly embrace peace or renounce violence." (*The Washington Post*, 02/03/1994)

*May*            Supporting Clinton's decision to issue a visa to Adams, Soderberg reports, "We wanted to expose Adams to American opinion that is opposed to violence and try to reach out in favor of moving the peace process forward." (*Financial Times-London*, 05/30/1994)

*August*        The Clinton Administration urges Sinn Fein to accept the Downing Street Declaration and end Irish Republican Army (IRA) violence. A letter from the National Security Council that expresses support for the proposal is delivered in April by Val Martinez, the American Consul-General in Belfast, to a close associate of Gerry Adams. (*The Independent-London*, 08/09/1994)

*The Irish Times* reports that the United States is considering a reconstruction package for Northern Ireland of at least \$120 million and possibly as much as \$200 million in the event of an overall peace settlement following an IRA ceasefire. (*The Irish Times*, 08/30/1994)

Sinn Fein requests that the usual visa process be bypassed so that Joseph Cahill of the IRA can be in the U.S. when the IRA announces a truce. Soderberg claims that she will consult British and Irish officials before deciding whether or not to support the Sinn Fein request. (*The Boston Globe*, 08/30/1994)

JKS contacts Soderberg to urge her to persuade Clinton to make an exception to the immigration law by granting a visa to Joseph Cahill, one of the founders of the Provisional IRA who was convicted in 1942 of killing a police officer. Later, Soderberg comments, "[JKS] was the driving force in pushing us to grant the visa." Hours after Clinton authorizes Cahill's entry, a ceasefire is declared (*The Irish Times*, 03/09/1996).

*September*    Soderberg chairs and interagency group that studies how the U.S. can best aid the Northern Ireland economy in peacetime. The group includes members from the NSC, the State Department, the Treasury Department, The Office of Management and Budget and the Agency for International Development. It requests that the British and Irish governments submit proposals within two weeks on how the U.S. can best help (*The Irish Times*, 09/12/1994).



Hume meets with Soderberg, Lake, EMK, Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley (D-WA), and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff to brief them on the IRA ceasefire. (*The Irish Times*, 09/20/1994)

EMK meets Adams at the Boston airport for Adams' two-week tour of the U.S. Adams plans to visit Irish-American communities before going to Washington to speak with key policy leaders such as Soderberg. (*The Guardian-London*, 09/24/1994)

*The New York Times* reports that Secretary of State Warren Christopher's willingness to allow people outside the State Department to dominate certain policy areas has allowed Soderberg to take control of the Administration's agenda in Northern Ireland. (*The New York Times*, 09/25/1994)

*October* Clinton allows Adams to meet with top government officials at the State Department. He declines to receive Adams at the White House, reportedly upholding a promise to British Prime Minister John Major (*Houston Chronicle*, 10/04/1994).

Soderberg is promoted from Special Assistant to Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. (*The Washington Post*, 10/31/1994)

*November* After two months of discussions, Soderberg's interagency group announces an aid package to revive the Northern Ireland economy, boosting the annual U.S. contribution to Irish economic development by \$20 million over the next two years. Soderberg reports that the economic package is designed to show the Administration's support for the ceasefires declared by loyalist and republican militants in Northern Ireland and the ongoing efforts by political leaders in Ireland, Northern Ireland, and Britain to end 25 years of violence and civil unrest (*The Irish Times*, 11/02/1994; *The Boston Globe*, 11/02/1994).

*December* On the 1<sup>st</sup>, Clinton announces his appointment of retiring Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell to Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland. Clinton says that Mitchell will oversee the White House conference on trade and investment in Ireland and ensure implementation of initiatives announced in November that aim to increase U.S. involvement in Northern Ireland's economic, academic and political life. Mitchell will consult with the International Fund for Ireland and Congress, as well as begin a dialogue with the European Union to "to promote economic development in all these areas." (*The Irish Times*, 12/02/1994)

Adams visits the White House on the 6<sup>th</sup>. Soderberg is responsible for negotiating the terms of his visit. (*The Irish Times*, 12/06/1994)

Soderberg and Lake meet with Adams for seventy-five minutes at the White House, discussing matters from fund raising to the upcoming investment

conference in Belfast. Adams is initially refused admission upon arrival because he has no identification. (*The Irish Times*, 12/07/1994)

## 1995

*January* Relations between the White House and Sinn Fein come under strain over U.S. support for the British claim that progress must be made on the decommissioning of IRA arms before Adams is permitted to raise funds in the U.S. *The Irish Times* reports that Soderberg supports the British concern over the arms issue. (*The Irish Times*, 01/30/1995)

*February* *The Irish Times* reports that the White House will hold a conference in May on trade and investment in Ireland. The idea for the forum emerges from the interagency group chaired by Soderberg. (*The Irish Times*, 02/02/1995)

*March* Clinton permits Adams to raise funds in the U.S. and invites Adams to the White House for a St. Patrick's Day reception for Irish Prime Minister John Bruton. According to U.S. and Irish Republic officials, Lake and Soderberg are instrumental in convincing Clinton to allow Adams fundraising rights in the U.S. They believe that the IRA is ready to end its 25-year campaign of anti-British violence in Northern Ireland. EMK and Dodd had also sent letters to Clinton urging him to allow Adams to raise funds. (*The Washington Post*, 03/15/1995; *The Irish Times*, 03/15/1995)

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Britain announces that it is withdrawing a regiment of 400 men from Northern Ireland, which is the largest reduction of British troops in the province in a decade. (*Houston Chronicle*, 03/15/1995)

*October* Soderberg travels to Ireland. On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Soderberg and U.S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James William Crowe have separate meetings with Adams, Social Democratic and Labour Party leader John Hume, Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble, and Democratic Unionist Party deputy leader Peter Robinson in Belfast. The discussions involve the impasse on decommissioning IRA weapons. Soderberg continues meetings in Belfast on the 5<sup>th</sup> and travels to Dublin for talks on the 6<sup>th</sup> with Bruton and Ireland's Foreign Affairs Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring, in an effort to get the peace process moving before Clinton's visits to London, Belfast, and Dublin in late November. (*The Irish Times*, 10/05/1995)

Lake and Soderberg meet with Mayhew and Minister of State at the Northern Ireland Office Michael Ancram in London on the 17<sup>th</sup>. On the 18<sup>th</sup>, Mayhew reaches an agreement with the Irish government at a meeting in Belfast, stating that the IRA might now have to disarm before its representatives are permitted at the negotiation table. The next step in the peace effort is declared to be the establishment of a disarmament panel and the start of bilateral talks involving

the two governments and all the parties in Northern Ireland, including Sinn Fein. (*The Irish Times*, 10/17/1995; *The New York Times*, 10/18/1995)

Democratic Unionist Party leaders Ian Paisley and Peter Robinson meet with Gore, Lake, and Soderberg on the 27<sup>th</sup>. Paisley tells Gore to not interfere in the internal affairs of Northern Ireland. (*The Irish Times*, 10/28/1995)

*November* On the 1<sup>st</sup>, Trimble meets with Clinton, Gore, Lake, and Soderberg to press his idea of an elected assembly as the next step in the peace process. Trimble links the assembly idea to an international commission on disarmament in a new twist on the twin track proposal. (*The Irish Times*, 11/02/1995)

Adams meets with Lake and Soderberg at the White House on the 15<sup>th</sup> about what he perceives to be a stalled peace process. Adams and others revive the proposed plan for a U.S. peace envoy. (*The Irish Times*, 11/15/1995)

In an unscheduled visit to the White House on the 17<sup>th</sup>, Adams meets with Soderberg to be briefed on Clinton's upcoming trip to Ireland. (*The Irish Times*, 11/20/1995)

EMK meets with Adams, who warns of an impending deadlock in the peace process.

On the desire to achieve formal talks before Clinton's visit to Ireland, Soderberg says, "The press seems to be focusing on the President pulling a rabbit out of the hat. I don't think that's helpful or realistic." Soderberg continues, "Ultimately, we can help those who take risks for peace. But the parties in Northern Ireland will have to deal with their hundreds of years of hatred and mistrust. There are issues they can deal with. That's why we believe twin-track can work." (*The Boston Globe*, 11/26/1995)

Soderberg works through the weekend, aiming to bridge the gap in the British-Irish peace process before Clinton's visit. She has been working on "every symbolic detail" of Clinton's visit to Northern Ireland for several months. (*The Irish Times*, 11/27/1995, 12/01/1995)

Secretary of State Christopher drops out of the party accompanying Clinton to Britain and Ireland, remaining behind to lobby Congress to support the Bosnian peace agreement. Among those traveling with Clinton are First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Lake, Soderberg, White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry, and George Mitchell. (*The Irish Times*, 11/28/1995)

Following a flurry of phone calls on the 28<sup>th</sup>, Bruton and Major agree to set aside their disagreement over disarming the IRA and set a date for negotiations that they hope all parties in Northern Ireland will join. While still in the U.S.,

Lake and Soderberg are instrumental in lobbying the leaders to reach some sort of an agreement before Clinton's arrival. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/29/1995)

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, Clinton visits Northern Ireland, meeting separately with the main leaders of the political parties including Adams, Trimble and Paisley. *The Boston Globe* reports that Clinton received an "overwhelmingly positive response...from both traditions in Northern Ireland and from the governments in Dublin and London." With understatement, Soderberg claims that it was a "pretty good day." (*The Boston Globe*, 12/03/1995)

## 1996

*January* Clinton welcomes the report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning chaired by George Mitchell, which is released in late January, as a "valuable tool" in reaching the goal of all-party talks. Clinton encourages all parties to use the report to advance the peace process. (*The Irish Times*, 01/25/1996)

*February* Adams visits the White House on the 1<sup>st</sup> to meet with Lake and Clinton. *The Irish Times* reports that Lake and Soderberg accompany Adams outside of the White House to the waiting press, confirming that they want to listen to him and that they are not pressuring him to endorse Major's election proposal as an alternative route to all-party talks on Northern Ireland. (*The Irish Times*, 02/02/1995)

Following a bomb blast in London on the 9<sup>th</sup>, Lake and Soderberg telephone political leaders in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland, indicating that the blast demonstrates the urgency of beginning formal peace negotiations. The IRA is suspected to be responsible for the bombing and questions surround Adams' knowledge of and involvement in the attack. "Sick, I felt sick. This is truly horrible," Soderberg says in reaction to the bombing. (*The Washington Post*, 02/10/1996; *The Irish Times*, 02/10/1996) *The Daily News* reports that Adams calls Soderberg prior to the explosion on the 9<sup>th</sup>, claiming that he was "hearing some very disturbing news." Yet, *USA Today* reports that Adams disavows advance knowledge of the attack. (*The Daily News-New York*, 02/11/1996; *USA Today*, 02/12/1996)

Following the bombing, Administration officials, including Soderberg, participate in a conference call with some thirty representatives of *Irish America* magazine, assuring that the Administration is fully committed to the peace process and continues to regard Adams as a key player. (*The Irish Times*, 02/12/1996)

Clinton meets with Trimble at the White House for a working lunch with Lake and Soderberg. During the visit, which had been arranged prior to the bombing, they discuss Trimble's proposals for elections in Northern Ireland as a prelude

to all-party talks. Clinton declares that he is not endorsing any specific plan. (*The Irish Times*, 02/13/1996)

A second bomb goes off in London on the 15<sup>th</sup>. (*The Irish Times*, 02/16/1996)

*The Irish Times* reports that Lake and Soderberg have been engaged in telephone contacts with British and Irish officials, including Sinn Fein, in recent days. Although Hume and Adams strongly oppose the idea of elections, they believe that a compromise form of elections can be worked out. (*The Irish Times*, 02/24/1996)

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

Fianna Fail leader Bertie Ahern meets with Soderberg and Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and EMK during a visit to Washington. Adams, who is also in Washington at this time, fails to have a scheduled meeting with Soderberg. Seeking to dispel notions that Adams was snubbed by the Administration, Soderberg affirms, "We are in constant contact with Mr. Adams and will remain in contact with him." (*The Irish Times*, 03/14/1996, 03/15/1996)

*April* EMK meets with loyalists and commends them for not retaliating against the IRA bombing.

*December* Soderberg says she believes peace talks will resume early next year and will involve Sinn Fein and a new ceasefire agreement, but warns that "this ceasefire needs to be different from the last one." She also says the Administration will continue to encourage both sides to lay out the agenda for the next round of talks and to include the most difficult issues. Earlier in the day, in a meeting with the Women's National Democratic Club, Soderberg admits that the peace process has been "harder than we had hoped." (*The Irish Times*, 12/11/1996)

Bruton and Spring hold a meeting in the Oval Office with Clinton, Gore, Christopher, Lake, Soderberg, and Kennedy Smith. Speaking to reporters before the meeting, Clinton concedes that the peace process is going through "a rough patch," but promises that it will remain a priority in the second term. He also offers support to Bruton's position that Sinn Fein should be readmitted to the peace talks once the IRA agrees to a ceasefire. (*The Irish Times*, 12/18/1996)

## **1997**

*September* On the 9<sup>th</sup>, Sinn Fein accepts the Mitchell Principles and formally renounces violence. The IRA had reinstituted the ceasefire in July. On the 15<sup>th</sup>, the IRA enters Northern Ireland's peace talks for the first time while the Ulster Unionist

Party fails to appear. All-party talks for peace are set to begin in Belfast. (*The Independent-London*, 09/09/1997; *The Washington Post*, 09/16/1997)

*December* Soderberg assumes responsibilities as U.S. Alternate Representatives for Special Political Affairs at the UN and as U.S. Alternate Representative to the Sessions of the UN General Assembly. (Warshaw, p. 298)

## **1998**

*January* Traveling with Vicki Kennedy, as well as Trina Vargo, Kathy McKiernan and Chris Doherty, EMK meets with Protestant UUP leader David Trimble in Northern Ireland to discuss the stalled peace talks.

*April* The landmark Good Friday Agreement is signed, 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. Clinton stays with JKS, who had agreed to stay on until Clinton's visit. She resigns later this month.

**2001** Soderberg joins the International Crisis Group (ICG) as Vice President and Director of the New York office. The International Crisis Group is an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organization that works through field-based analysis and high-level advocacy to prevent and resolve deadly conflict. (Warshaw, p. 298)

## **2005**

*February* 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** Soderberg accepts positions as a Distinguished Visiting Scholar and Director of Public Policy Initiatives at the University of Northern Florida, Jacksonville, Florida.

*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)

**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 9<sup>th</sup> inauguration ceremony, he is seated in the spectator's gallery next to Paisley's wife, Baroness Eileen Paisley. (*States News Service*, 05/04/2007; *The Boston Globe*, 05/09/2007)

## NANCY E. SODERBERG FACT SHEET

*Prepared by Dustin Cable*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, April 7, 2008*

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### *Positions w/ EMK:*

1985-1992 Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to EMK

### *Issues she worked on w/ EMK:*

1986 EMK trip to South America (Peru and Brazil; Schneider covers Chile)  
1986 EMK trip to Middle East  
1987 EMK trip to Poland  
1987 Represents EMK in trip to Haiti  
1988 Represents EMK in trip to South Africa with Michael Frazier  
1989 EMK trip to the Berlin Wall  
1989 EMK trip to Mexico  
1990 EMK trip to Chile with Quayle  
1990 EMK trip to the Soviet Union  
Unknown Represents EMK in trip to Cuba to discuss prisoner release  
All years Irish conflict, including 1994 Adams visa while serving in Clinton White House

### *Other positions:*

2006- Distinguished Visiting Scholar and Director of Public Policy Initiatives, University of Northern Florida, Jacksonville, Florida. Guest lecturer for Global Issues Spring 2006, teaching Global Issues Fall 2006.

2001-5 Vice President for Multilateral Affairs, International Crisis Group, New York, New York.

2002-6 President of the Sister Cities Program of the City of New York. Appointed by Mayor Michael Bloomberg. Volunteer service.

2004 Adjunct Professor at Columbia University, New York, New York.

1997-2001 Alternate Representative to the United Nations, Presidential Appointee with rank of Ambassador, New York, New York.

1993-1996 Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (1994-1996) and Staff Director of National Security Council (1993-1994), Washington, DC. Responsible for day-to-day crisis management, briefing the President, developing U.S. national security policy and handling issues regarding the press and Congress.

1992 Foreign Policy Director of the Clinton/Gore 1992 Presidential Campaign.

1988 Foreign Policy Director, Dukakis/Bentsen presidential campaign, Boston, Massachusetts.



## NORTHERN IRELAND TIMELINE

Prepared by Stacie L. Pettyjohn and Rob Martin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/19/2007

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### 1964

*May* While traveling through Europe in order to raise money for the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) retraces the steps of JFK's visit to Ireland eleven months prior. Addressing a crowd, EMK says that he is joyful to be in Ireland but also sad "because today is the President's birthday. My brother will not be able to come back and enjoy any more spring days." (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy*: New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999, pp. 56-57)

### 1968

*October* On the 5<sup>th</sup>, a series of clashes between civil rights protestors and the police begins in Londonderry, Northern Ireland. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) organizes the demonstrations, which call for an end to discrimination against Catholics and Nationalists. (Sean Cronin, *Washington's Irish Policy 1916-1986*, Dublin: Anvil Books, 1987, p. 282)

### 1969

*March* Representative James Hanley (D-NY) sends the Nixon Administration a letter urging it "to speak out against religious hatred and discrimination practiced in Northern Ireland against Irish Catholics." The official State Department response asserts that Britain is a close ally, a democracy, and that Northern Ireland is a domestic matter. (Cronin, pp. 291-292)

To publicize the Ulster conflict, the American Congress for Irish Freedom (ACIF) sponsors lectures in the U.S. by leading civil rights activists such as Gerry Fitt and Austin Currie. Fitt, who later founds the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), meets with American leaders, including EMK and Hubert Humphrey. (Andrew J. Wilson, *Irish America and the Ulster Conflict, 1968-1995*, Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1995, pp. 25-26)

Representatives Allard Lowenstein (D-NY), Tip O'Neill (D-MA), and Edward Boland (D-MA) condemn the Special Powers Act and demand that the British repeal it. (Wilson, p. 57)

*June* In response to a letter from one hundred Congressmen led by Representatives O'Neill and Philip Burton (D-CA), the State Department sends a telegram to its embassies in London and Dublin and the Consul-General in Belfast to request early information and analysis on events occurring in Northern Ireland. (Cronin, pp. 294-295)

EMK sends a telegram to the NICRA in support of their efforts to gain equal rights. Northern Irish Prime Minister James Chichester-Clark condemns EMK's interference, but encourages him to use his "great influence to encourage further industrial development" in Ulster. (Cronin, p. 295; Barry White, *John Hume Statesman of the Troubles*, Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1984, p. 184)

*August* Representative Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ) sends a letter to Secretary of State William Rogers, entreating him to express concern about the repression of Catholics in Northern Ireland. The State Department, however, ignores the request, responding that "official intervention on our part in the affairs of Northern Ireland would be objected to in much the same manner as we would object to outside intervention in civil rights problems within the United States." (Cronin, p. 301)

## 1971

*August* Brian Faulkner, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, institutes a policy of internment with the consent of the British government under Edward Heath. (Cronin, p. 303)

Representative Hugh Carey (D-NY), a member of the Irish-American republican group the American Committee for Ulster Justice (ACUJ), visits Belfast to personally assess the situation there. Upon his return, he meets with EMK and informs him about the torture inflicted upon internees. EMK's personal aide, James King, who later visits Northern Ireland, corroborates Carey's report. (Wilson, p. 58)

*September* While visiting Britain, 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. EMK later states that this meeting impels him to become more involved in Northern Irish politics, and he sends James King to visit the refugee camps in Northern Ireland. (Clymer, p. 180; Clymer Interview with Edward M. Kennedy, JFK Library, 06/02/1997, p. 3)

*October* On the 20<sup>th</sup>, EMK makes his first speech on Northern Ireland to the Senate. He asserts that "Ulster is becoming Britain's Vietnam," and insists that the British stop fighting another colonial war. "Without a firm commitment to troop withdrawal and unification" EMK claims, "there can be no peace in Northern Ireland. The killing will go on, and the intolerable mounting violence will continue." EMK's speech provokes denouncements from Faulkner, Heath, and sixty British Tories who release a statement: "This house deeply resents the quite unwarranted incursion of Sen. Kennedy into the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom but is confident that it does not reflect the views of responsible American leaders." (Clymer, pp. 180-181)

In response to EMK's statement that British troops should leave Northern Ireland, *The London Daily Express* publishes a cartoon mocking EMK and the Chappaquiddick incident. President Nixon is reportedly delighted with the

disparaging portrayal of EMK, and attempts to circulate the cartoon within the U.S. (Clymer, pp. 178-179)

EMK, Carey, and Senator Abe Ribicoff (D-CT) draft a congressional resolution, which advocates temporary direct rule by Britain, but also the withdrawal of British troops and ultimately, unification of the island. The statement, dubbed the Kennedy/Ribicoff resolution, also condemns the methods employed by British troops. (Clymer, p. 182; Wilson, pp. 58-61)

*December* In response to the bombing of a Catholic bar in Belfast, EMK writes the *Times* of London and asks “How many more men, women and children must die?” (Clymer, p. 182)

## 1972

*January* On the 30<sup>th</sup>, a demonstration against internment in Derry turns violent as protestors and British paratroops face off. In the end, thirteen demonstrators are killed by British troops, who claim to have fired only in response to fire aimed at them. The incident is called Bloody Sunday and attracts unprecedented amounts of international attention to the Ulster conflict. (Wilson, p. 62)

*February* During the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee hearings on the Kennedy/Ribicoff Resolution, EMK criticizes the official British investigation into the events on Bloody Sunday, the Widgery Report, which largely cleared the British paratroopers of wrongdoing. EMK compares British paratroopers’ actions on Bloody Sunday to the massacre of three hundred Vietnamese civilians by American troops, calling the incident “Britain’s My Lai.” (Clymer, p. 182; Wilson, pp. 64-65)

*March* On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Heath announces that Northern Ireland’s Stormont Parliament is prorogued, and that the British government will directly rule Northern Ireland until a political solution can be reached. While the high level of violence is the primary reasons for London’s actions, Heath is also reportedly influenced by EMK’s criticism. (Cronin, p. 306; Wilson, p. 68, 77)

*July* As a part of the IRA’s campaign against commercial targets, twenty-two bombs explode in Belfast’s city center, killing nine people and earning the day the name Bloody Friday. (Wilson, p. 81)

*November* While traveling in Germany, EMK meets with John Hume, a member of the SDLP, in order to learn more about the situation in Northern Ireland. EMK tells Hume, “I need to know what’s really going on in Northern Ireland and I am told that you are the person I should talk to.” Hume meets with EMK in Bonn for dinner on the 21<sup>st</sup>, during which he stresses that his goal is “to get equality of treatment and civil rights for everybody in Northern Ireland.” This is the beginning of a close friendship between the two men. (Clymer, pp. 182-183; White, p. 186; Clymer Interview, p. 5)

## 1973

- March* The British government issues a White Paper proposing the creation of a seventy-eight member parliament to govern Northern Ireland, elected by proportional representation and including unionist and nationalist leaders. The initiative, dubbed the “Sunningdale Agreement,” is intended to force unionists to share power with nationalists in the hopes of ending the troubles. (Wilson, p. 78)
- June* Elections are held for the new parliament and negotiations to form a government begin. (Wilson, p. 79)
- September* EMK writes an article for *Foreign Policy* in which he moderates his earlier criticism and praises the power sharing initiative. In moving closer to the constitutional nationalist position espoused by John Hume, EMK condemns the IRA’s use of violence and urges political dialogue. (Edward M. Kennedy, “Ulster Is An International Issue,” *Foreign Policy*, 11 (Summer, 1973), pp. 57-71; Wilson, pp. 115-116)
- December* The SDLP, moderate unionists, and the Alliance Party reach an agreement for a power-sharing executive. Prime Minister Heath and Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave agree to form a Council of Ireland, composed of a Council of Ministers and a Consultative Assembly, which serves as a link between the new Northern Ireland Assembly and the Republic of Ireland. Many Unionists oppose the agreement because they view the Council of Ireland as an effort by nationalists to unify the island. (Roger Mac Ginty and John Darby, *Guns and Government: The Management of the Northern Ireland Peace Process*, New York: Palgrave, 2002, p. 19; Wilson, p. 79)
- 1974** Jean Kennedy Smith travels to Northern Ireland and stays at the home of Hume in Derry. (Clymer, p. 520)
- January* The power sharing executive takes office. (Wilson, p. 79)
- April* While visiting Boston, Hume attacks Americans who financially support the IRA: “dollars mean Irish lives. . . In 300 years, violence has not solved our problem. It will not do so now.” (White, p. 189)
- May* On the 15<sup>th</sup>, the Ulster Workers Council (UWC), a league of loyalist unions, politicians, and paramilitaries, organize a strike to bring down the power sharing executive. By focusing on utilities, and using barricades and coercion to stop individuals from working, the UWC cuts off power supplies in Ulster, forcing Chief Executive Brian Faulkner to resign on the 27<sup>th</sup>. This is the end of the Sunningdale Agreement, and direct rule resumes. (Wilson, p. 81)

## 1976

*March* Hume fosters a change in the relationship between Irish-Americans and the Irish government. Traditionally, the two had remained distant as Dublin was perceived as collaborating with partition. This year, however Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave addresses Congress on St. Patrick's Day and issues a joint communiqué with President Ford. (White, pp. 190-191)

At the New York St. Patrick's Day parade, Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter sports a button with the slogan "Get Britain out of Ireland." (Clymer, p. 254; Wilson, p. 126)

*Fall* Hume accepts an associate fellowship at Harvard's Center for International Affairs. The Kennedy family hosts a reception in Hume's honor in Washington. During his stay Hume develops a close relationship, not only with EMK, but with the entire Kennedy family, including Ethel Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy Jr., Jean Kennedy Smith, and the Shriver children. (White, p. 191; Wilson, p. 129)

*October* After meeting with Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH)-Irish National Caucus (INC) delegation in Pittsburgh, presidential candidate Carter announces the Democratic Party's commitment to Irish unity and advocates U.S. involvement in the conflict. Carter's actions and statements provoke the anger of not only the British, but also Irish moderates such as Hume and Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald who believe that Carter's statements are not only unrealistic but also encourage radicals, like the IRA and the Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAIID). (Clymer, p. 254; Cronin, p. 312)

## 1977

*Fall* Representative Mario Biaggi (D-NY) works to gain congressional support for his Ad Hoc Committee for Irish Affairs. Biaggi wants to use the committee to hold open hearings on Northern Ireland, especially the reported human rights violations. Despite evidence of a growing number of convictions based upon forced confessions, Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill and the Irish government oppose Biaggi's committee because they believe that it will boost support for the IRA. Using his influence with the head of the Congressional Foreign Relations Committee, O'Neill blocks Biaggi's efforts to hold hearings. (Jack Holland, *The American Connection*, New York: Viking, 1987, pp. 130-131)

*Winter* EMK and O'Neill attempt to get President Carter to make a more moderate statement on Northern Ireland. (Clymer, p. 254-255)

*March* On St. Patrick's Day, EMK, O'Neill, New York Governor Hugh Carey and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) release a joint statement on the conflict in Northern Ireland. The statement is the idea of Hume and EMK's adviser, Carey Parker, who think that together the four politicians will have a greater impact. The proclamation, which is crafted with guidance from Hume, asserts that "continued violence cannot assist the achievement of such a settlement," and pleads with

“Americans to embrace this goal of peace and to renounce any action that promotes the current violence or provides support or encouragement for organizations engaged in violence.” Though not mentioned by name, the main target of this statement is the NORAID. EMK, O’Neill, Carey and Moynihan are dubbed the Four Horsemen. (Clymer, p. 255; Cronin, p. 313; Holland, pp. 45-46, 123-124; White, pp. 191-192; Wilson, p. 132)

To maximize the impact of the Four Horsemen’s statement, Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs Garret FitzGerald travels to Washington and meets with Carter and high-ranking administration officials. During this meeting, Carter claims to fully support the efforts to eliminate Irish-American support for the IRA. (Wilson, p. 132)

- Spring*      EMK and Hume publicly condemn American financial support for the IRA at dinners for the Ireland Fund and Democratic Party. (Wilson, p. 133)
- May*          Hume urges the Four Horsemen to convince President Carter to make a statement on Northern Ireland and to offer financial aid as an incentive for reaching an agreement. (Wilson, p. 135)
- June*          The Four Horsemen meet with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to discuss Northern Ireland. Vance promises that he will work with them in order to produce a presidential “initiative” on the conflict. (Holland, p. 126; Wilson, p. 135)
- August*      On the 30<sup>th</sup>, Carter releases a statement on Northern Ireland, which condemns violence and the groups that support it, and calls for the creation of a government that could “command widespread acceptance throughout both parts of the community.” Going further, Carter states, “In the event of a settlement the United States Government would be prepared to join with others to see how additional job-creating investment could be encouraged to the benefit of all the people of Northern Ireland.” This pledge of job investment eight years later becomes the Hillsborough aid package. EMK is pleased with Carter’s statement, and publicly lauds it as the first time a “United States President has spoken out for the human rights of the minority in Northern Ireland.” In a hand-written note, EMK tells Carter “No other President in history has done as well by Ireland.” (Clymer, p. 255; Cronin, pp. 312-313; Holland, pp. 126-128; White, pp. 192-193-)

## **1978**

- Winter*      After Taoiseach Jack Lynch gives a radio interview interpreted as being anti-British, Representative Biaggi, as head of the Ad Hoc Committee, writes to Lynch to praise his “recent call for a declaration of intent from Great Britain to withdraw her troops from Ireland.” The Irish government sees the letter for what it is: an obvious attempt by the Ad Hoc Committee to curry favor with the prime minister. In response, the Irish government seeks to publicly reproach a supporter of the pro-IRA INC. Sean Donlon, head of the Anglo-Irish section of the Foreign Affairs

Department, and Michael Lillis, an official at the embassy in Washington, persuade Lynch to compose a harshly worded reply to Biaggi, which is made public. The letter has the unintended effect of increasing Biaggi's fame and cooling relations between many Irish-Americans and the Irish government. (Holland, pp. 131-133)

Sean Donlon is appointed the Irish ambassador to the United States. (Holland, p. 134)

*March* The Four Horsemen issue their annual statement, which is also signed by Senators Gary Hart (D-CO), Thomas Eagleton (D-MO), George McGovern (D-SD), Joseph Biden (D-DE), and Patrick Leahy (D-VT). Their main target is still Americans who support the IRA, but for the first time, the letter also criticizes the British government, asking them to seek a "settlement that is fair to Protestants and Catholics alike." (Holland, p. 134; Wilson, p. 154)

*June* EMK calls for the appointment of a special prosecutor to look into the accusations of brutality against the predominately Protestant Northern Irish police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). (Wilson, p. 154)

*Summer* Amnesty International investigates allegations of RUC brutality during interrogations of suspects. Their report finds seventy-eight cases in which suspects experienced serious physical injury while in custody of the RUC. (Wilson, p. 155)

## **1979**

*March* In response to the findings of the Amnesty International report, the British government initiates an independent inquiry into interrogation procedures. The investigations findings are outlined in the Bennett Report, and confirm that prisoners suffered physical mistreatment during RUC interrogations. To prevent further abuses, the report recommends closed-circuit televisions to monitor interrogations and regular physical examinations of prisoners. (Wilson, p. 155)

The Four Horsemen's St. Patrick's Day statement argues that "The time is long past for the British government to reappraise its failing policies in Northern Ireland and to initiate a more effective effort to end the violent impasse." This emphasis on a British initiative and the call for "bolder alternatives" departs from previous declarations, which focused on American support for the IRA and power sharing in Northern Ireland. (Holland, pp. 134-135)

*July* In the House, Biaggi proposes an amendment to a State Department appropriations bill, which would halt weapons sales to the RUC. He opposes the shipment of weapons on the grounds that the U.S. is officially impartial in the conflict, and because it violates a clause of the Foreign Assistance Act which prohibits the sale of arms to groups that have violated human rights. On three previous occasions, a number of human rights organizations had found the RUC to be guilty of violating prisoners' human rights with torture. This time, O'Neill does not block Biaggi's

initiative, and the House approves the amendment. A few days later, President Carter—who is currently battling with EMK for the Democratic Presidential nomination—halts the arms sale. (Cronin, pp. 316-317; Holland, pp. 139-141; Wilson, pp. 159-160)

*August* Carey meets with British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Humphrey Atkins in London. Upon his return to New York, Carey announces that he will host discussions between Atkins and Irish Foreign Minister Michael O’Kennedy in September, and that the Thatcher government is prepared to significantly alter its policies in Ulster. EMK, O’Neill and the Irish government proclaim their support for the “Carey initiative,” but the talks do not take place because of the reported opposition of Thatcher. (Wilson, p. 162)

*Fall* Biaggi and Father Sean McManus, the chairman of the INC, hold a peace-conference which brings together Protestant and Catholic paramilitary groups in an effort to reach a settlement. The IRA refuses to join a truce because this initiative does not include the British, making it appear as if the conflict is purely sectarian. (Holland, pp. 140-141; Wilson, pp. 148-159)

*October* In an *Irish Times* interview, presidential candidate Ronald Reagan claims that he has no views on Irish unity, supports the idea of granting economic aid to end the conflict, but that he does not want to “interfere” by “sticking our noses in where we are not wanted.” (Cronin, p. 320)

On the 25<sup>th</sup>, Atkins reveals that discussions will begin next year in an effort to reach an agreement between Ulster’s political parties. In his speech, Atkins praises Carter and the Four Horseman for stemming the flow of money from America to the IRA. It is speculated that American pressure is the main reason for Atkins’ initiative. (Wilson, pp. 163-164)

## **1980**

*July* The new Taoiseach, Charles Haughey, attempts to take a more hard-line approach towards Northern Ireland under the advisement of Biaggi and Father McManus. As a symbol of this new strategy, Haughey reassigns Ireland’s Ambassador to the U.S., Sean Donlon—an advocate of the consensus policy, which is supported by the Four Horsemen—to the United Nations. EMK, O’Neill, and Moynihan object to the transfer of Donlon and threaten to not work with Haughey if he takes this action, compelling him to rescind the transfer order. Donlon is seen as essential because of his close relationship with National Security Adviser William Clark, which is an important link between the White House and the Irish government. (Cronin, pp. 318-319; Holland, pp. 143-144; Wilson, pp. 165-166)

## **1981**



- February* Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT), Representative Thomas Foley (D-WA), and Carey Parker meet with Hume. During this meeting, they decide that the best way to counter republican groups in the U.S. is to create a formal group within Congress. (Wilson, p. 180)
- March* On the 1<sup>st</sup>, IRA prisoner Bobby Sands begins his hunger strike in an effort to gain status as a political prisoner. (Holland, p. 49; Wilson, p. 179)
- On St. Patrick's Day, twenty-four senators, congressmen, and governors form the Congressional Friends of Ireland. (Wilson, p. 180)
- EMK accompanies President Reagan during his St. Patrick's Day visit to the Irish embassy. Reagan issues a statement endorsing the Friends of Ireland and criticizing Americans who support groups that use violence. (Wilson, p. 180; *The Washington Post*, 03/18/1981)
- April* The hunger strike draws the attention of the international media to Northern Ireland, and leads to a swell of support for the republican cause in Ireland as well as the U.S. The strike's leader, Bobby Sands, uses his fame to win a parliamentary seat in Westminster. (Holland, p. 49; Wilson, pp. 181-184)
- May* Sands dies after a sixty-five day hunger strike. (Cronin, p. 320)
- June* EMK urges Reagan to speak to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher about the conditions of the prisons in Northern Ireland. Additionally, EMK warns Reagan that the refusal of the British to give in to the demands for political status of IRA prisoners and the subsequent deaths of these prisoners who were on hunger strikes is fueling American support for extremist organizations. Reagan decides not to directly intervene. (Clymer, p. 327; Wilson, pp. 194-195)
- July* Newly elected Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald writes Reagan, requesting that he intercede with Thatcher on the issue of Northern Irish prisoners. Similarly, the Friends of Ireland request that Reagan "convince the British government to moderate their policy of inflexibility and intransigence." (Cronin, p. 320)

## 1983

- April* The leaders of Fine Gael, Labour, Fianna Fail, and the SDLP create the New Ireland Forum in order to explore how peace can be reached democratically in Northern Ireland and what strategies exist to achieve this goal. (Cronin, p. 322; Holland, p. 144)
- March* On St. Patrick's Day, the Friends of Ireland issue a "United Ireland" resolution, which strongly supports the New Ireland Forum. EMK introduces the legislation to the Senate, and emphasizes that "violence is not the road to peace." He ends by

asking the president to impress upon the British and Irish governments the need for progress towards peace. (Wilson, p. 240; *The Irish Times*, 03/18/1983)

*October* The Friends of Ireland attempt to help the New Ireland Forum by sponsoring a resolution which requests that Reagan appoint a special envoy to Northern Ireland. EMK claims that an American envoy could facilitate Anglo-Irish talks. Reagan, however, rejects the proposal. (Wilson, p. 241)

## 1984

*March* On St. Patrick's Day, Reagan hosts a luncheon for FitzGerald, which EMK and O'Neill attend. At the lunch, Reagan praises FitzGerald and the New Ireland Forum, and encourages more high-level meetings between the Irish and the British governments on the issue of Northern Ireland. (*The Washington Post*, 03/17/1984)

*May* The New Ireland Forum proposes three possible settlements to the conflict: a unified Irish state, a federal state, and joint sovereignty in the North. (Cronin, p. 322)

*November* Thatcher responds to the New Ireland Forum's solutions with the devastating retort, "that's out...that's out...that's out." Donlon, now head of the Irish Foreign Affairs Department, tells O'Neill that the U.S. must convince the British to soften their position. (Cronin, p. 322; Holland, p. 145)

*December* In a Friends of Ireland letter, EMK, O'Neill and Moynihan tell Reagan that "the destructive alienation and violence that plague the people of that land are also unfortunately becoming an increasing source of contention between the United States and Great Britain" and they once again push him to "give priority to the issue of Northern Ireland" in his conversations with Thatcher. Additionally, former National Security Adviser William Clark, who is also close to Donlon, presses the president to raise the issue with Thatcher. Before Christmas Reagan and Thatcher meet at Camp David, and it is reported that they come to some understanding on the issue of Northern Ireland. (Cronin, p. 322; Holland, p. 146; Wilson, pp. 243-244)

## 1985

*January* Thatcher proposes working towards a new Anglo-Irish agreement. FitzGerald and Donlon state that American pressure was "decisive...in persuading Thatcher to modify her position." (Wilson, pp. 244-245)

*February* Addressing a joint session of Congress, Thatcher softens her stance on Northern Ireland: "So long as a majority of the people of Northern Ireland wish to remain part of the United Kingdom their wishes will be respected...If there ever were to be a majority in favor of change, then I believe that our parliament would respond accordingly." Thatcher continues to say that she and FitzGerald will continue to work together in "the quest for peace and stability in Northern Ireland." She also

requests that Congress support efforts at progress and denounce the IRA as enemies of democracy. (Cronin, pp. 322-323; Holland, p. 146)

*May* On a twelve-day tour of North America, FitzGerald rallies American support for whatever agreement may be reached in Anglo-Irish negotiations. While dining in Cape Cod, EMK and O'Neill guarantee that Congress will financially support an Anglo-Irish settlement. (Cronin, p. 323; Wilson, p. 247)

EMK, O'Neill, and Secretary of the Interior William Clark convince Reagan to push Thatcher to reconsider her position on Northern Ireland. In the end, Thatcher heeds Reagan's advice and begins negotiations with FitzGerald. (Clymer, p. 384)

*October* Irish opposition leader Charles Haughey refuses to accept the current status of Anglo-Irish negotiations and attempts to persuade the Friends of Ireland to also oppose the impending settlement. EMK and O'Neill, however, rebuff Haughey's appeal, and silence a potentially significant challenge. (Wilson, p. 248)

*November* On the 15<sup>th</sup>, the Anglo-Irish agreement is signed at Hillsborough. The agreement is groundbreaking because for the first time it gives the Irish government 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; Holland, 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)

## 1986

*Winter* The Ireland aid bill is held up in Congress. EMK meets with Chief of Staff Donald Regan to discuss the details of the bill and requests alterations to the proposed bill so that 80% of the aid would be administered in cash payments with the rest in guarantees and loans. Regan tells EMK that the changes are contingent upon Congressional Democrats adopting a more cooperative stance on assistance to the Nicaraguan Contras. (Holland, pp. 148-149; Wilson, p. 254)

*March* O'Neill guides the Ireland aid bill through the House by St. Patrick's Day. The Congressional bill and the one created by the administration, however, are held up in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) who demands the approval of an extradition treaty between the U.S. and U.K., making possible the extradition of IRA fugitives from America. (Holland, pp. 148-149; Wilson, p. 255)

*July* On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Reagan signs the bill to grant Ireland financial support in the amount of \$50 million for one year. (Cronin, p. 326; Holland, p. 149)

*August* Congress augments the Irish aid package by \$35 million per year for two years. (Cronin, p. 326)

*November* French customs officials board the fishing boat, *Eksund*, and discover 150 tons of armaments destined for Belfast. This ends the secret military shipments from Libya to the IRA, and shocks the British and Irish governments who had no idea about the arms shipments and the amount of weapons the IRA had amassed. (Eamon Mallie and David McKittrick, *The Fight For Peace: The Secret Story Behind the Irish Peace Process*, London: Heinemann, 1996, pp. 61-63)

An IRA bomb explodes in Enniskillen, killing eleven and injuring sixty-three. The civilian casualties diminish support for the IRA and Sinn Fein. (Mallie and McKittrick, pp. 57-58)

## 1988

*Winter-Summer* Hume and Adams begin a series of groundbreaking face-to-face talks. (Mallie and McKittrick, pp. 74-85; James Loughlin, *The Ulster Question Since 1945 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 144)

*Fall* In response to IRA violence, Thatcher bans Sinn Fein and Gerry Adams from radio and television airwaves. When Adams speaks, his words are now read by an actor, or appear as sub-titles. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 95)

## 1990

*November* In an effort to promote an IRA ceasefire, Hume prompts Peter Brooke, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, to publicly announce that Britain has “no selfish strategic or economic interest” in Northern Ireland. (Loughlin, p. 146)

## 1991

*February* On the 7<sup>th</sup>, the IRA fires mortars at Downing Street during a meeting of the Cabinet with Prime Minister John Major. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 113)

*October* Hume and Adams agree upon the first draft of a document calling for the initiation of a peace process and which later becomes their Joint Declaration of 1993. (Loughlin, p. 147)

## 1992

- April* During the New York primary, democratic candidate Bill 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, Niall O’Dowd, a prominent Irish-American journalist who founded the *Irish American* magazine and the *Irish Voice*, 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)

## 1993

- 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* Gerry 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 10<sup>th</sup>. Adams and Hume issue a joint statement on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 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](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 Congressman 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 25<sup>th</sup>, 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)
- Kennedy Smith travels to Belfast, upsetting U.S. diplomats in London who worry she is interfering in the conflict in Northern Ireland, an area traditionally under the jurisdiction of the U.S. embassy to the U.K. (*The Irish Times*, 09/16/1993; *The New York Times*, 07/29/1994)
- October* During a visit to Washington, Hume and Soderberg discuss the progress of the peace process. (*The Irish Times*, 10/04/1993)
- On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 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 Gerry 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)

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)

## 1994

*January* On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup>, 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 Niall O’Dowd to EMK, who then relays it to Soderberg. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 284)

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, 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 31<sup>st</sup>, 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 19<sup>th</sup>, 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 13<sup>th</sup>. (O’Clery, p. 153)



*December* On the 6<sup>th</sup>, 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)

While visiting New York and Washington, Adams meets with Morrison and his group as well as EMK and Dodd in order to warn them about an impending breakdown in the peace process. (Gerry Adams, *An Irish Voice*, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1997, pp. 187-188)

*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<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>th</sup>, 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 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 "phoney 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 Giuliani. (*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 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. Mitchell returns to the U.S. after the agreement is reached. (Clymer, p. 595; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 40; *The Irish Times*, 04/11/1998, *The New York Times*, 06/26/1998)

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, 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 22<sup>nd</sup>, 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](http://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 17<sup>th</sup>, 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 Féin 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 27<sup>th</sup>, 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 2<sup>nd</sup>. Trimble is again First Minister, but still refuses to take part in cabinet meetings with Sinn Féin. 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 7<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 12/9/2000)

## **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)

## **2002**

*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**

- 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

*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 19<sup>th</sup>, 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 28<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 09/27/05)

*October* The LVF announces that it will decommission its weapons arsenal in response to the IRA’s decision to disarm. (*Press Association*, 10/31/05)

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*, 10/31/05)

## 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*, 03/16/06; *The Sun*, 03/17/06)
- 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*, 06/14/06)
- October* Following a three-day summit in St. Andrews, Scotland, the British and Irish governments unveil the St. Andrews Agreement on the 13<sup>th</sup>. The agreement establishes a timetable for the reinstitution of a power-sharing government at Stormont in March 2007. (*The Irish Times*, 10/14/06)
- November* The Northern Ireland Assembly fails to meet a November 24<sup>th</sup> 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*, 11/24/06)

## 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*, 01/30/07)
- March* The DUP wins a plurality in the March 7<sup>th</sup> 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*, 03/09/07)
- May* On the 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 9<sup>th</sup> inauguration ceremony, he is seated in the spectator's

gallery next to Paisley's wife, Baroness Eileen Paisley. (*Associated Press*, 05/08/07; *The International Herald Tribune*, 05/09/07; *The Boston Globe*, 05/09/07)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, EMK, Christopher Dodd (D-CT), and Susan Collins (R-ME) introduce a Senate resolution commending the creation of the new government. (*US Fed News*, 05/17/07)

## SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY FOREIGN TRAVEL

*Prepared by Rob Martin*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/17/2007*

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- 1984**      **Ethiopia/Sudan:** EMK visits the famine-struck region with Teddy, Jr. and Kara Kennedy, as well as Jerry Tinker, Jay Kingham and John Wise.
- 1985**      **South Africa:** EMK travels with Teddy, Jr. and Kara Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, Steve Smith, Jr., Kathleen Townsend, Chris Kennedy and numerous staff including Greg Craig. He meets with Reverend Desmond Tutu, Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, and Nelson Mandela's wife, Winnie Mandela, but is not allowed to visit Nelson Mandela in prison; Kathleen Townsend presents Tutu with the 1985 Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award; EMK also travels to Zambia to meet with Oliver Tambo, the exiled acting head of the African National Congress.
- Switzerland/Germany:** EMK travels with Jerry Tinker to Geneva to attend the UN Conference on Famine and to Germany to discuss arms control issues.
- Rome:** EMK travels with Amanda and Jean Kennedy Smith, Alexandra Schlesinger, and Eddy Martin, and meets with Pope John Paul II.
- 1986**      **South America:** EMK travels to Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile and Argentina with Jean Kennedy Smith, Pat Lawford and staff, including Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg and Mark Schneider; EMK meets with President Alan Garcia in Peru and is confronted by hostile protesters in Chile.
- Soviet Union:** Traveling with Larry Horowitz and Tom Longstreth, EMK meets with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shervardnadze, and again with dissidents in Alexander Lerner's apartment in Moscow.
- Middle East:** EMK travels to Egypt, Jordan and Israel in the wake of Iran-Contra with Jean Kennedy Smith, William Barry, and staff, including Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg and Chuck Stein; EMK meets with President Mubarek in Egypt and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in Israel.
- 1987**      **Panama:** EMK travels with Greg Craig and Jim Rooney.
- Poland:** EMK travels with his three children, Jean Kennedy Smith, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Patricia Kennedy Lawford, Ethel Kennedy and five of her and RFK's children to present the Robert F. Kennedy Award to three Solidarity activists. EMK is also accompanied by Lee Fentress, Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg, Jim Rooney, Chris Doherty, Caroline Croft, and John Robinson of the *Boston Globe*. EMK meets with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and the Polish foreign and defense ministers, but not General Jaruzelski. EMK then travels to Rome to discuss his trip to Poland with Pope John Paul II.

**Persian Gulf/Geneva:** EMK travels with Greg Craig, Bill Lynn, Jim Rooney and military escorts to Kuwait, Oman, Israel, Bahrain and Geneva.

**1989 Mexico:** EMK travels with Steve Smith, William Smith, Eunice Shriver, Jean Kennedy Smith, and staff including Nancy Soderberg, Mark Schneider, Michael Myers, Chris Doherty, John Douglas and Charles Stein.

**Berlin/Geneva/Brussels:** EMK travels with staff and Tom Oliphant to see the remains of the Berlin Wall; EMK meets with Willy Brandt and speaks at Schoeneberg City Hall, as JFK had done in 1963, and lays down two white lilies for JFK and RFK.

**1990 Chile:** EMK travels with John Douglas, Mark Schneider, Nancy Soderberg, and Vice President Dan Quayle in Air Force Two to meet with and attend the inauguration of Pinochet's democratically-elected successor, Patricio Aylwin.

**Soviet Union:** Traveling with Larry Horowitz, Bill Lynn, Nancy Soderberg and Tom Oliphant, EMK meets with Gorbachev to discuss Lithuanian independence.

**1992 St. Croix:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit Patricia Kennedy Lawford over Easter; while snorkeling, EMK gives Vicki her engagement ring.

**1993/94 Ireland:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith; JKS sets up a meeting with Taoiseach Albert Reynolds to discuss the Adams visa.

**1995 Israel:** EMK and Patrick Kennedy attend Rabin's funeral.

**1996 Italy:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy travel to Florence to commemorate the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Florence Flood.

**1998 Ireland/Northern Ireland:** Traveling with Vicki Kennedy, as well as Trina Vargo, Kathy McKiernan and Chris Doherty, EMK meets with Protestant UUP leader David Trimble in Northern Ireland to discuss the stalled peace talks; the Good Friday Agreement is reached later that spring.

**2000 U.K.:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy travel to give the first Smith Memorial Lecture; EMK meets with Prime Minister Tony Blair to discuss the 2000 election and the situation in Northern Ireland.

**2002 Paris:** EMK, Kara Kennedy, Caroline Kennedy and Ed Schlossberg attend the opening of the Jackie Exhibit at the Louvre.

**2003 Netherlands:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit the Freysingers.

- 2006**      **Rome/Florence/London:** Traveling with Vicki Kennedy, Pam Covington and Steve Engelberg, EMK meets with Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi, Tony Blair and then-British Labour Party leader/current Prime Minister Gordon Brown.
- 2007**      **Northern Ireland:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy attend the opening ceremony of the new power-sharing government at Stormont and are seated next Baroness Eileen Paisley, the wife of the incoming First Minister Ian Paisley.