



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials Gerry Adams Interview, 11/11/2010

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents¹

- Gerry Adams Timeline.
- Gerry Adams Fact Sheet.
- EMK Key Events in Northern Ireland.
- Northern Ireland Key Events.
- EMK Abbreviated Northern Ireland Timeline.
- Key Actors in Northern Ireland Peace Process.

Secondary Source Materials

- Gerry Adams bio, www.sinnfein.org.
- Gerry Adams, *A Farther Shore: Ireland's Long Road to Peace* (New York: Random House, 2003) pp. 154-155.
- Adam Clymer interview with Edward M. Kennedy, 06/02/1997, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, pp. 1-5.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow, 1999) pp. 180-183, 254-255.
- Conor O'Clery, *Daring Diplomacy: Clinton's Secret Search for Peace in Ireland* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1997) pp. 65-68, 82-86, 94-109, 168-169.

Oral History Interviews

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/20/2006.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/27/2006.

¹ These are original documents created by Miller Center researchers for the Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project. Please acknowledge credit for any use of these materials.

- Nancy Soderberg interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/9/2008.
- Trina Vargo interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/07/2008.
- Dermot Ahern interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/30/2005.
- Carey Parker interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/20/2008.

Other

- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Background for your oral history project: Northern Ireland Peace Process Notes," March 9, 2006, pp. 1-25.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Recap of Three Meetings on Ireland," September 28, 1993.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Northern Ireland Update," December 1, 1993.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Update on Ireland," December 2, 1993.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Visa for Gerry Adams," December 7, 1993.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Northern Ireland Situation," December 22, 1993.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Gerry Adams," December 29, 1993.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Northern Ireland Update," January 5, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Adams Visa Letter for Clinton," January 12, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to Nancy Soderberg, "Update on Gerry Adams Visa," January 13, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Update on Adams Visa," January 13, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Adams Visa Update," January 14, 1994.
- Unauthored, "Talking Points for Foley," January 14, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Senators on Gerry Adams Visa Letter," January 24, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Northern Ireland," January 25, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Gerry Adams Update," January 25, 1994.
- Unauthored, "Talking Points for Pat Griffen on Gerry Adams," January 26, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Dodd's Staffer Read on the White House Meeting," January 26, 1994.
- Unauthored, "Talking Points for Tony Lake," January 27, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Gerry Adams Appearance in New York," January 27, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Gerry Adams," January 27, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Gerry Adams Update," January 28, 1994.
- Trina Vargo Memo to EMK, "Gerry Adams and Ireland Update," February 4, 1994.

GERRY ADAMS TIMELINE

Prepared by Bryan Craig

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/02/2009

1948 Gerard “Gerry” Adams is born in Belfast West, Northern Ireland.

1973-1977 Adams is arrested and charged with being a member of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Adams maintains that there is no evidence to support the charges. (Gerry Adams, *Before the Dawn: An Autobiography*, London: Heinemann, 1996, p. 267)

1978-1982 Adams serves as vice president of Sinn Féin. (Adams, *Before the Dawn*, p. 275)

1981

March-June Adams’ friend and IRA prisoner Bobby Sands begins his hunger strike in an effort to gain status as a political prisoner. The hunger strike makes international news. Sands dies in May. In June, EMK urges President Ronald Reagan to speak to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher about the conditions of prisoners in Northern Ireland. EMK and other Senators also send a letter directly to Thatcher. (Adams, *Before the Dawn*, p. 297; Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy*, New York: William Morrow & Co., 1999, p. 327; Andrew J. Wilson, *Irish America and the Ulster Conflict, 1968-1995*, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1995, pp. 194-195; Sean Cronin, *Washington’s Irish Policy, 1916-1986*, Dublin: Anvil Books, 1987, p. 320)

1983 Adams is elected as president of Sinn Féin. He is also elected as a Minister of Parliament from Belfast West, but refuses to sit in Parliament. (Sinn Féin website; *World Who’s Who*)

1984

March Adams is shot five times, allegedly by the unionist Ulster Defence Association. (Gerry Adams, *A Farther Shore: Ireland’s Long Road to Peace*, New York: Random House, 2003, pp. 23-27)

1985

November On the 15th, 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. (Cronin, p. 321; Jack Holland, *The American Connection*, New York: Viking, 1987, pp. 147-148; Wilson, p. 248)

John Hume, leader of the Social Democrat and Labour Party (SDLP), reacts positively to the Anglo-Irish agreement by saying that the agreement erases any

reason for the British use of armed force in Northern Ireland, as Britain has essentially denied any strategic interest in the region. Adams claims that the agreement simply reinforces partition. (*The New York Times*, 11/17/1985)

1988

Winter-Summer

Hume and Adams begin a series of groundbreaking face-to-face talks. (Eamon Mallie and David McKittrick, *The Fight for Peace: The Secret Story Behind the Irish Peace Process*, London: Heinemann, 1996, pp. 74-85; James Loughlin, *The Ulster Question Since 1945 2nd Edition*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 144)

Fall

In response to IRA violence, Thatcher bans Sinn Féin and 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)

1991

February

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

July

The Ulster talks collapse after nine weeks of stalling over procedural issues. In a statement issued from Belfast, Adams says, "...it is clear that there can be no political solution built on a British political agenda which underwrites the unionist veto and partition." (*The New York Times*, 07/04/1991)

October

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

1992

April

Adams loses his British Parliament seat to Joe Hendron of the SDLP.

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 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)

July

EMK marries Vicki Reggie in McLean, Virginia.

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. Former EMK staffer 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 Clinton is elected president, as the Democrats win the House, Senate and White House. EMK reportedly urges president-elect Clinton to nominate his sister, Jean Kennedy Smith (JKS), as Ambassador to Ireland. She is confirmed in June. (Clymer, p. 521; O'Clery, pp. 43-45)

1993

March 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 Féin leader Martin McGuinness, and that he is concerned that the envoy would disrupt the progress being made and sour relations with Britain. Despite Clinton's desire to fulfill his promise, Reynolds persuades him to temporarily shelf the envoy initiative. (O'Clery, pp. 46-48)

April Adams applies for a U.S. visa and is subsequently denied in November. 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. 69-71)

On the 10th, the Hume-Adams talks become public. Adams and Hume issue a joint statement on the 23rd, calling for the initiation of a peace process. The talks are met with controversy and hostility, particularly from unionists. (*The New York Times*, 05/18/1993; *BBC News Online*, 08/30/2000; "Hume-Adams Statements," http://sinnfein.ie/peace/hume_adams)

July Brendan Scannell of the Irish Embassy arranges a meeting with O'Dowd and EMK's foreign policy adviser, Trina Vargo. O'Dowd states afterwards, "I told Trina I would tell her everything that was happening and she said she would pass the information on to Nancy [Soderberg]," who is one of Clinton's senior foreign policy advisers in the White House. (O'Clery, p. 66)

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 O'Dowd, Bill Flynn, Chuck Feeny, and is led by former Congressmen Bruce Morrison (D-CT). They meet with Adams and intimate that

political and economic support may be forthcoming if the republicans announce a ceasefire. O'Dowd communicates with the White House through EMK's office, specifically Vargo to Nancy Soderberg to Clinton. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 280; O'Clery, pp. 62-68)

On the 24th, EMK meets with the O'Dowd, Flynn, and Morrison delegation to discuss their recent trip and the possibility of a peace envoy. Shortly afterward, EMK meets with Hume.

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

JKS 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 7th, Reynolds endorses a peace initiative devised by Hume and Adams and says he will discuss it with the British. (*The New York Times*, 10/08/1993)

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

November In the last of their joint statements before the Dublin and London governments issue the Downing Street Declaration, Hume and Adams announce that they have made proposals to both governments on how the conflict should be resolved. They do not release the content of their recommendations. (Sinn Féin Website)

It becomes public that the British government has been involved in secret talks with Sinn Féin. This contradicts Major's public reassurances that his government will not negotiate with the Irish Republican Party, and angers Reynolds, who now pushes Major towards a joint British-Irish initiative. (Loughlin, p. 153)

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 Adams. Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, 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 that their governments will negotiate with any group that renounces violence. Sinn Féin responds by asking for clarification of the declaration—which Major refuses—leading to deadlock. (Clymer, p. 536; Loughlin, pp. 154-155)

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

1994

January The republican movement communicate to Clinton that they are prepared to moderate their positions through the O’Dowd-Vargo-Soderberg link. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 284)

On the 2nd, EMK leaves Ireland still undecided about what to do about the Adams visa. Shortly thereafter, EMK speaks to Hume at Tip O’Neill’s funeral, and Hume convinces EMK to support the visa. (Clymer, p. 536)

Adams is invited to the U.S. by O’Dowd for a conference in New York City and applies for another visa on the 14th. EMK sends a letter to Clinton in support of the visa, which is eventually signed by 50 members of Congress. The letter argues, “It is important for the United States to facilitate the emerging dialogue as an alternative to violence.” (Clymer, pp. 536-537) EMK and Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) meet with Deputy National Security Advisor Sandy Berger and Chief of Staff Thomas “Mac” McLarty. House Speaker Thomas Foley (D-WA) announces he opposes the visa.

On the 25th, Soderberg tells Vargo that the White House is leaning against the visa and recommends that EMK and his office begin calling to build support. Vargo and some staff make a series of phone calls to the White House and to Senator Pat Moynihan’s (D-NY) staff. On the same day, Clinton calls EMK and EMK uses the moment to urge him to give Adams the visa.

On the 26th, Soderberg tells Vargo that a visa will only be granted if Adams renounces violence. Over the next few days, Vargo continues communicating with Adams through O’Dowd to find language that is acceptable to both parties. Adams agrees to state he would not advocate violence, and he has moved Sinn Féin toward the peace process.

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

On the 29th, Soderberg informs Vargo of the bombing threats in San Diego. Vargo believes that the IRA was not involved, but Soderberg insists that Adams denounce the incident in San Diego and condemn attacks on innocent civilians. O'Dowd tells Vargo that Adams will agree to Soderberg's terms.

On the 30th, despite the opposition of the State Department and the British government, Clinton grants Adams a forty-eight hour visa to visit New York City. 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)

Adams visits New York City on the 31st. EMK sends Vargo to meet with Adams and O'Dowd.

- March* There are a series of IRA mortar attacks at Heathrow airport that fail to explode. (Mallie and McKittrick, pp. 287-289)
- Summer* A number of Irish-American businessmen, including O'Dowd, ramp up efforts to get Sinn Féin to accept a cease fire, promising future assistance if they obtain a truce. (Clymer, p. 548)
- August* The IRA agrees to a ceasefire, but under the condition that the U.S. grants a visa to Joe Cahill, an IRA activist and convicted terrorist. The IRA leadership believes that only Cahill has the standing to persuade hard-line supporters that this is the right course of action. Reynolds, JKS, and EMK lobby Clinton for the visa. Clinton agrees to authorize Cahill's entry and the ceasefire is announced within hours. After the announcement, the Dublin government invites Hume and Adams to discuss ways of advancing the peace process. EMK's office also releases a statement congratulating Hume, Reynolds, Adams, Major, and JKS on the ceasefire. (Clymer, p. 548; O'Clery, pp. 155-157; *The Washington Post*, 08/31/1995; *The Irish Times*, 03/09/1996; Sinn Féin Website)
- September* On the 19th, Clinton approves the visa applications of Adams and two other Sinn Féin 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 Lake. The White House gives in and Vice President Al Gore calls Adams to inform him that the ban on American officials having contact with Sinn Féin has been rescinded. (O’Clery, pp. 168-175; Adams, *A Farther Shore*, pp. 185-186)

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

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

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

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

1995

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

March Adams attends Congress’ annual St. Patrick’s Day luncheon where he publically shakes Clinton’s hand for the first time. EMK and JKS are in attendance. (*The New York Times*, 03/17/1995)

Hardening the British position, Secretary of State Sir Patrick Mayhew announces that arms decommissioning is an official prerequisite for Sinn Féin’s inclusion in peace negotiations. The statement, which is made in Washington, D.C. and includes two other demands, becomes known as the Washington Three.

(Loughlin, p. 163; Roger Mac Ginty and John Darby, *Guns and Government: The Management of the Northern Ireland Peace Process*, New York: Palgrave, 2002, p. 31)

- September* In another U.S. trip, Adams meets with Lake and Gore to ask for assistance in the stalled Northern Ireland peace process. (*The Washington Post*, 09/14/1995)
- October* On the 19th and 20th, Hume and Adams present proposals for all-party talks to the British government, setting November 30th as the deadline for substantive negotiations to begin. Mitchell is designated to moderate the talks. (Sinn Féin Website)
- November* EMK meets with Adams, who warns of impending deadlock in the peace process. (Loughlin, pp.165-166; Mac Ginty and Darby, p. 31)
- Major and Bruton announce on the 28th the creation of an international advisory panel to examine the process of decommissioning paramilitary arms in Northern Ireland, and set a date in February 1996 to open all-party peace negotiations. Mitchell is selected to head the commission. (*The Washington Post*, 11/29/1995)
- Clinton visits Dublin, Ireland, where he stays with JKS. Clinton calls EMK and tells him, "Now I know how President Kennedy felt." (O'Clery, p. 241) During his stay Clinton visits Northern Ireland with Kathleen Kennedy Townsend. (Maier, pp. 584-585; *The Boston Globe*, 12/02/1995)

1996

- January* The International Body on Arms Decommissioning releases the Mitchell Report on the 24th which recommends that arms decommissioning and talks begin concurrently. Major rejects the report and calls for elections to a forum for Northern Ireland 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* JKS is reprimanded by the State Department for retaliating against two subordinates who disagreed with her recommendation to grant a visa to Adams. An investigation also claims that JKS had encouraged diplomats to grant more visas so Ireland could qualify for a program to allow visitors to travel to the U. S. without a visa. A spokesman for Clinton announces there are no plans to dismiss JKS. (*The New York Times*, 03/08/1996)

EMK refuses to meet with Adams on his U.S. trip. (Sharrock and Devenport, p. 404)

April EMK meets with loyalists and commends them for not retaliating to IRA bombing. (Clymer, p. 577)

November Hume announces that, after discussions with Adams, he has delivered proposals to revive the peace process to Major. Hume suggests that if the British were to allow Sinn Féin into talks, the IRA might be persuaded to return to a cease-fire. (*The New York Times*, 11/11/1996)

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 Féin to enter into negotiations if there is an IRA ceasefire. Adams calls this a "very important" speech. (Gerry Adams, *An Irish Voice: the Quest for Peace*, Niwot Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1997, pp. 237-238)

During a visit to the U.S., Hume discusses with Clinton the possibility of obtaining another IRA ceasefire. During his acceptance speech at *Irish America* magazine's Person of the Year awards, EMK reaffirms America's commitment to the peace process and 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. Adams wins back his Belfast West seat in Parliament. The new government abandons the prerequisite of decommissioning, works to bring Sinn Féin 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 A joint statement from Ahern, Adams, and Hume on the 25th emphasizes the commitment of the three leaders to lasting peace and the principles set out in the New Ireland Forum and the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation. (Sinn Féin Website)

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

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

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

1998

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

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

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

May Trina Vargo leaves EMK's office.

September Clinton makes his second trip to Ireland and Northern Ireland, where he stays with JKS. She has been planning on stepping down as U.S. Ambassador, but agreed to stay on until Clinton's visit. She resigns later this month.

2001

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

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)

2002

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

2003

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

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

November EMK meets with the Northern Ireland Secretary Paul Murphy.

2005

February EMK commemorates Hume's retirement from parliament.

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 Adams that." Sinn Féin 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. EMK's spokesperson Melissa Wagoner states, "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." Wagoner specifically points to the alleged "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 Féin to co-operate with the police service of Northern Ireland." Instead of meeting with Adams, EMK visits with Robert McCartney's sisters and partner. (*The Irish Times*, 03/14/2005, 03/16/2005; *The New York Times*, 03/15/2005)

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

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

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

2006

March In a statement issued on the eve of St. Patrick's Day, House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), EMK, and other members of the Friends of Ireland Executive Committee reiterate the importance to the peace process of the Good Friday Agreement and call for justice in the case of McCartney. EMK meets with McCartney's mother and promises to raise the issue of pursuing his murderers with Adams while the latter is in Washington, D.C. for St. Patrick's Day festivities. (*Capitol Hill Press Releases*, 03/16/2006; *The Sun*, 03/17/2006)

2007

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

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

2009

March EMK receives an honorary knighthood by Queen Elizabeth II in part for his work on the peace process in Northern Ireland. (*The Times*, 03/05/2009)

Adams speaks at the Kennedy School of Government stressing the importance of working toward peace and renouncing the recent killing of two British soldiers and one policeman. (*The Boston Globe*, 03/19/2009)

GERRY ADAMS FACT SHEET

Prepared by Bryan Craig

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/02/2009

Positions:

- 1978-1983: Vice-president of Sinn Féin
- 1983-present: President, Sinn Féin
- 1983-1992; 1997-present: Member of Parliament, West Belfast

Topics:

- 1994 visa: EMK and his staffer Trina Vargo worked closely with Nancy Soderberg and the Clinton Administration to get Adams a visa to enter the U.S.
- 1995 lifting of the fundraising ban: when Adams applied for a second visa in early 1995, EMK lobbied the White House to lift the ban on fundraising for Sinn Féin in the U.S., arguing that Adams should get the same treatment as other Irish politicians.
- 1995 Adams' public audience with President Clinton: EMK and JKS were at the White House when Adams shook hands with Clinton for the first time in March 1995.
- 1996 Canary Wharf bombing: Adams called EMK to stress that he was not involved in the bombing that killed two people and temporarily derailed the peace talks. EMK refused to meet with Adams during his U.S. trip later that year.
- 1997 EMK's Ireland speeches: EMK gave two speeches urging the British to drop decommissioning as a precondition and to negotiate with Sinn Féin. Adams later wrote that one of the speeches was particularly important.
- 1997 Adams-EMK meeting: The two met shortly after EMK's speeches supporting Sinn Féin in the peace process.
- 2001 Adams-EMK meeting: The two met again in June 2001.
- 2002 Adams-EMK meeting: The two met again in December 2002 amidst stalled peace talks.
- 2005 visa: EMK was concerned that there was a Sinn Féin connection to the Northern Bank heist and the murder of Robert McCartney. EMK canceled his meeting with Adams on his trip to the U.S.
- 2007 Stormont ceremony: Adams and EMK both attended the ceremony to open the new power-sharing government.

EDWARD M. KENNEDY KEY EVENTS

Prepared by Rob Martin and Stacie L. Pettyjohn, Miller Center, 09/17/05

- '71 Kennedy/Ribicoff resolution criticizes Britain and calls for Irish unification.
- '72 EMK meets John Hume in Germany; Hume helps moderate EMK's positions.
- '77 Four Horsemen (EMK, O'Neill, Carey and Moynihan) release St. Patrick's Day statement renouncing violence and calling for Americans to stop funding IRA.
- Carter issues important statement promising U.S. aid to all parties in N. Ireland to support a peacefully negotiated democratic settlement.
- '80 Four Horsemen force Taoiseach Haughey to rescind Donlon transfer to UN.
- '81 EMK helps form Friends of Ireland in Congress.
- '85 Thatcher-Fitzgerald sign Anglo-Irish Agreement giving Irish govt. a say in N. Ireland; (EMK had pressed Reagan to pressure Thatcher to moderate her position.)
- '93 JKS becomes U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.
- Major-Reynolds sign Downing Street Declaration promising self-determination in N. Ireland and willingness to negotiate with any group renouncing violence (i.e. Sinn Fein.)
- '94 EMK visits Ireland; JKS, Reynolds push for Adams visa; EMK meets with Hume back in U.S.; Hume convinces EMK to support the visa; Clinton agrees.
- JKS, Reynolds, EMK push for Cahill visa, paving way for IRA cease-fire.
- '95 EMK/JKS get Clinton to overturn ban preventing Adams from raising funds in U.S.
- Clinton visits Ireland and N. Ireland; stays with JKS.
- '96 EMK works to reinstate the collapsed IRA cease-fire.
- '98 EMK meets Trimble in Belfast; meets Ahern in D.C.; discusses stalled peace process.
- Good Friday Agreement is signed; talks chaired by George Mitchell.
- Clinton makes second visit to Ireland; stays with JKS, who resigns after visit.
- '05 EMK refuses to meet with Adams after renewal of IRA violence; EMK sponsors bills denouncing IRA violence, calling for IRA to disarm & DUP to commit to power sharing.
- IRA announces it will disarm and to outside verification.

NORTHERN IRELAND KEY EVENTS

Prepared by Rob Martin, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 9/17/05

- '21-72 N. Ireland governed by simple majority rule; Unionists control government, treat Catholics poorly.
- '72 London introduces direct rule in N. Ireland amidst escalating violence.
- '73 Sunningdale Agreement attempts to end direct rule by providing power-sharing executive in N. Ireland and establishing links with Rep. of Ireland (ROI), but Unionist strike brings down government in 1974; direct rule is reintroduced.
- '85 Anglo-Irish Agreement (Thatcher/Fitzgerald) gives ROI a formal voice in N. Ireland.
- '88 Hume and Adams begin secret face-to-face talks; London initiates secret talks with IRA and with Sinn Fein in 1990 and '92.
- '91/92 Brooks/Mayhew talks involving four main parties in N. Ireland break down.
- '93 Hume and Adams issue joint statement calling for initiation of peace process.

Downing Street Agreement (Major/Reynolds) affirms self-determination in N. Ireland and willingness to negotiate with any group renouncing violence (i.e. Sinn Fein can enter talks if IRA agree to ceasefire.)
- '94 Adams and Cahill visas help clear way for IRA ceasefire in August.
- '95 London issues precondition for Sinn Fein formal entry into talks: IRA must first disarm.
- '96 Mitchell Report recommends disarming and talks begin concurrently; is rejected by IRA.

IRA cease-fire collapses; talks with Sinn Fein halted by unwillingness to disarm.
- '97 Newly-elected Labour government drops IRA precondition; Sinn Fein accepts Mitchell Principles; IRA ceasefire is restored; Sinn Fein enters talks.
- '98 Good Friday Agreement establishes new govt. in N. Ireland based on self-determination (they'll remain in U.K. until they vote otherwise); calls for elections; GFA is ratified in referendums in Ireland and N. Ireland; agreement later bogs down over IRA disarming.
- '99 Mitchell helps overcome impasses on IRA disarming, set up of police force, but questions on these issues continue to stall peace process over next several years as violence renews.
- '05 IRA announces it will disarm and to verification.

EMK ABBREVIATED IRELAND TIMELINE

Prepared by Rob Martin and Stacie L. Pettyjohn

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

1964

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

1969

March EMK meets with Irish civil rights activists in U.S.

June Prime Minister James Chichester-Clark of Northern Ireland condemns EMK's interference in Irish issues after EMK makes comments supporting civil rights in Northern Ireland.

1971

August EMK meets with Representative Hugh Carey (D-NY) to discuss Carey's recent trip to Belfast.

September EMK visits Britain, where a woman asks EMK why he has spoken about the shootings at Kent State but has remained silent on British policy in Northern Ireland, especially internment.

October On the 20th, EMK makes his first speech on Northern Ireland to the Senate. *The London Daily Express* subsequently publishes a cartoon which is critical of EMK.

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

1972

February EMK criticizes the British investigation into Bloody Sunday.

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

1973

September Influenced by Hume, EMK writes an article for *Foreign Policy* in which he moderates his early statements, now calling for power sharing, as well as denouncing violence.

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

1985

- May* EMK, O'Neill and Clark convince Reagan to push Thatcher on Ireland.
- November* Anglo-Irish Agreement is signed, giving Republic of Ireland an official role in Northern Ireland.

1986

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

1992

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

1993

- December* Major and Reynolds issue the Downing Street Declaration, which promises self-determination for Northern Ireland and announces they will negotiate with any group that renounces violence.
- EMK and Vicki travel to Ireland; JKS and Reynolds argue EMK should push Clinton to grant Adams visa.

1994

- January* At O'Neill's funeral, Hume convinces EMK to support Adams visa.
- Republicans communicate to Clinton that they are prepared to moderate their positions through the O'Dowd-Vargo-Soderberg link.
- JKS recommends that Clinton grant Adams visa. Clinton agrees.
- August* EMK and JKS lobby Clinton to grant the Cahill visa, paving the way for the IRA ceasefire.
- September* EMK and Vicki meet Adams in Boston at airport.

1995

- Winter* EMK and Dodd send letter to Clinton arguing Adams should be allowed to raise funds in U.S. Clinton agrees.
- November* EMK meets with Adams, who warns of impending deadlock in peace process.

Clinton visits Northern Ireland with Kathleen Kennedy Townsend; Clinton stays with JKS in Dublin.

1996

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

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

1997

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

1998

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

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

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

May Trina Vargo leaves EMK's office.

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

2001

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

June EMK meets with Adams.

2003

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

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

November EMK meets with the Northern Ireland Secretary Murphy.

2005

- February* EMK announces his continued support for Sinn Fein's inclusion in peace process.
- EMK commemorates Hume's retirement from parliament.
- March* EMK refuses to meet with Adams, citing ongoing IRA criminal activity; Senate passes EMK's resolution condemning IRA violence.
- June* EMK tables a Senate resolution calling for IRA to disarm and the DUP to commit to power sharing.
- July* McGuinness requests a meeting with EMK during trip to D.C. IRA later announces it will disarm.
- September* IRA disarmament is confirmed by an independent commission. EMK hails this "dramatic and historic step" as a "new dawn in the peace process." (*The Irish Times*, 09/27/05).

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 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*, 03/16/07; *The Sun*, 03/17/07)
- 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)

2007

- May* EMK travels to Stormont as part of a special Presidential delegation to witness the opening of the new, power-sharing government. At the May 9th inauguration ceremony, he is seated in the spectator's gallery next to Paisley's wife, Baroness Eileen Paisley. (*States News Service*, 05/04/07; *US Fed News*, 05/08/07; *The Boston Globe*, 05/09/07)
- On the 17th, EMK, Christopher Dodd (D-CT), and Susan Collins (R-ME) introduce a Senate resolution commending the creation of the new government. (*US Fed News*, 05/17/07)

KEY ACTORS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS

Prepared by Rob Martin, Stacie Pettyjohn and Anne Mariel Peters

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/18/2005

Ad Hoc Committee on Irish Affairs

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

Adams, Gerry

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

Ahern, Bertie

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

American Committee for Ulster Justice (ACUJ)

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

The American Congress for Irish Freedom (ACIF)

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

Americans for a New Irish Agenda (ANIA)

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

Ancient Order of the Hibernians (AOH)

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

Atkins, Humphrey

British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland under Thatcher.

Brooke, Peter

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland who publicly announces that Britain has "no selfish strategic or economic interest" in Northern Ireland; initiates the Brooke/Mayhew talks with four main parties in N. Ireland in 91/92. (Mayhew is Brooke's successor).

Cahill, Joe

An IRA activist and convicted terrorist for whom Reynolds, EMK and JKS convince Clinton to grant a visa to win IRA hardliner support for a ceasefire in 1994.

Carey, Hugh

Governor of NY and member of the Four Horsemen.

Chichester-Clark, James

N. Irish Prime Minister in early 1970s who criticizes EMK for interfering in N. Ireland.

Clark, William

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

Coogan, Tim Pat

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

Cosgrave, Liam

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

Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)

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

Donlon, Sean

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

Faulkner, Brian

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

Friends of Ireland

Group of Irish-American Congressmen that originated as the Four Horsemen—Senator Kennedy, Moynihan, Rep. O'Neill and former NY Governor Carey. Associated with constitutional nationalism—especially John Hume. Irish Ambassador Sean Donlon was also a close ally and instrumental in founding this group. The group makes annual St. Patrick's Day statements commenting on the situation in Northern Ireland and in support of moderate groups and the Republic of Ireland.

Haughey, Charles

Irish prime minister at various times from the late 1970s through early 1990s; member of Fianna Fail party, like Albert Reynolds; Reynolds takes over as prime minister in 1992 after a scandal forces Haughey to leave office; Haughey attempts to take a more hard-line approach towards N. Ireland upon first coming to power under the advisement of Biaggi and Father Sean McManus; at times at odds with moderates like Sean Donlon, Four Horseman.

Irish National Caucus (INC)

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

Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAI)

An organization committed to raising money in the U.S. to support the families of incarcerated IRA activists. Moderates, such as Hume and EMK, denounce NORAI as a fundraiser for the IRA.

Lillis, Michael

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

Loyalists

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

Lynch, Jack

Irish Prime Minister in the late 1970s.

MacBride Principles

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

McManus, Sean

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

McGuinness, Martin

Currently a representative for Sinn Fein in the suspended Northern Ireland Assembly. McGuinness joined the Provisional IRA after the Troubles broke out and has been imprisoned twice for terrorist related activity. Once the IRA chief of Staff, McGuinness later became increasingly involved in Sinn Fein and served as their chief negotiator

during the negotiations for the Good Friday Accord. Before the suspension of the Stormont Executive, McGuinness was a part of the cabinet as the minister of education.

Mitchell, George

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

Moynihan, Daniel Patrick

U.S. Senator (D-NY) and member of the Four Horsemen.

Nationalists

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

New Ireland Forum

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

Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA)

N. Irish group calling for an end to discrimination against Catholics and Nationalists; one of first groups EMK supports early on in his involvement.

O'Dowd, Niall

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

O'Neill, Tip

Speaker of the House (D-MA) and member of the Four Horsemen.

Paisley, Ian

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

Provisional IRA

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

Real IRA

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

Republicans

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

Robinson, Mary

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

Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)

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

Sands, Bobby

IRA prisoner who leads a hunger strike in 1981.

Sinn Fein (Provisional)

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

Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)

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

Soderberg, Nancy

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

Steinberg, Jim

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

Trimble, David

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

Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)

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

Ulster Workers Council (UWC)

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