



## EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

### **Interviewer's Briefing Materials** **Edward M. Kennedy Interview, 2/27/2006, 3/20/2006**

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

- U.S. Role in Northern Ireland Timeline.
- Edward M. Kennedy Northern Ireland Key Events.
- Abbreviated Edward M. Kennedy Northern Ireland Timeline.
- Northern Ireland Key Events.
- Key Actors in Northern Ireland Peace Process.
- Edward M. Kennedy-Jimmy Carter Northern Ireland Timeline.
- Abbreviated Gerry Adams Timeline.
- Gerry Adams Visa Timeline.

#### **Secondary Source Materials**

- John Darby, "Northern Ireland: The Background to the Peace Process, *CAIN Web Service*, 2003.
- 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**

- Excerpts from the Kennedy Oral History Project Interview with Garret Fitzgerald, Dublin, Ireland, 09/28/2005.
- Excerpts from the Kennedy Oral History Project Interview with John Hume, Dublin, Ireland, 09/29/2005.
- Excerpts from the Kennedy Oral History Project Interview with Dermot Ahern, Dundalk, Ireland, 09/30/2005.

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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.

### **Documents Provided by Senator Kennedy**

- “Northern Ireland Timeline.”
- “Introduction and Nixon Administration.”
- “Carter Administration.”
- “Reagan Administration.”
- “Clinton Administration.”
- “Northern Ireland Briefing Materials.” (Supplement.)

### **Other**

- William Shannon interview with Edward M. Kennedy, dictated 06/30/1988, pp. 1-2.
- Jimmy Carter, “Northern Ireland Statement on U.S. Policy,” 8/30/1977.
- Mary Holland, “Carter, Kennedy & Ireland: The Inside Story,” *Magill Magazine* (Dublin), 10/1977.

## U.S. ROLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND TIMELINE

Prepared by Stacie L. Pettyjohn and Rob Martin

Miller Center of Public Affairs, 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; Adam 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*, 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 (NORAI). (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 NORAIID. 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*, 5/18/1993; *BBC News Online*, 8/30/2000; “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* 12/7/1994)

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*, 9/14/1995)

*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*, 11/2/1995)

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. (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. (<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, George 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. (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*, 10/06/200)

*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)

*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)

## **EDWARD M. KENNEDY KEY EVENTS**

*Prepared by Rob Martin and Stacie L. Pettyjohn, Miller Center, 9/17/05*

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

## **ABBREVIATED EMK TIMELINE**

*(Condensed from U.S. Role in Northern Ireland Timeline located under Tab 3)*

*Prepared by Rob Martin and Stacie L. Pettyjohn*

*Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 06/19/2007*

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### **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 20<sup>th</sup>, 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.

<b>1974</b>	JKS travels to Northern Ireland and stays with Hume.
<b>1976</b>	
<i>Fall</i>	The Kennedys host Hume while he visits U.S.
<b>1977</b>	
<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.
<b>1978</b>	
<i>March</i>	Four Horsemen release their annual statement.
<b>1980</b>	
<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.
<b>1981</b>	
<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.
<b>1983</b>	
<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.
<b>1984</b>	
<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 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*, 05/04/07; *US Fed News*, 05/08/07; *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)

## **NORTHERN IRELAND KEY EVENTS**

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

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- '21-72 N. Ireland governed by simple majority rule; Unionists control govt, treat Catholics poorly.
- '72 London introduces direct rule in N. Ireland amidst escalating violence.
- '73 Sunningdale Agreement attempts to end direct rule by providing power-sharing executive in N. Ireland and establishing links with Rep. of Ireland (ROI), but Unionist strike brings down government in 1974; direct rule is reintroduced.
- '85 Anglo-Irish Agreement (Thatcher/Fitzgerald) gives ROI a formal voice in N. Ireland.
- '88 Hume and Adams begin secret face-to-face talks; London initiates secret talks with IRA and with Sinn Fein in 1990 and '92.
- '91/92 Brooks/Mayhew talks involving four main parties in N. Ireland break down.
- '93 Hume and Adams issue joint statement calling for initiation of peace process.  
  
Downing Street Agreement (Major/Reynolds) affirms self-determination in N. Ireland and willingness to negotiate with any group renouncing violence (i.e. Sinn Fein can enter talks if IRA agree to ceasefire.)
- '94 Adams and Cahill visas help clear way for IRA ceasefire in August.
- '95 London issues precondition for Sinn Fein formal entry into talks: IRA must first disarm.
- '96 Mitchell Report recommends disarming and talks begin concurrently; is rejected by IRA.  
  
IRA cease-fire collapses; talks with Sinn Fein halted by unwillingness to disarm.
- '97 Newly elected Labour government drops IRA precondition; Sinn Fein accepts Mitchell Principles; IRA ceasefire is restored; Sinn Fein enters talks.
- '98 Good Friday Agreement establishes new govt. in N. Ireland based on self-determination (they'll remain in U.K. until they vote otherwise); calls for elections; GFA is ratified in referendums in Ireland and N. Ireland; agreement later bogs down over IRA disarming.
- '99 Mitchell helps overcome impasses on IRA disarming, set up of police force, but questions on these issues continue to stall peace process over next several years as violence renews.
- '05 IRA announces it will disarm and to verification.

## **KEY ACTORS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS**

*Prepared by Rob Martin, Stacie Pettyjohn and Anne Mariel Peters*

*Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 09/18/2005*

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### **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 (NORAIID)**

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 NORAIID 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.

## EMK-CARTER NORTHERN IRELAND TIMELINE

Prepared by Stacie L. Pettyjohn and Rob Martin

Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 03/16/2006

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### 1972

*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. 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.” (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 Hume, EMK condemns the IRA’s use of violence and urges political dialogue. (Edward M. Kennedy, “Ulster Is An International Issue,” *Foreign Policy*, 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 and develops a close relationship with Hume. (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 statements provoke the anger of the British, as well as 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, including reported human rights violations. Despite evidence of a growing number of convictions based upon forced confessions, 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 Moynihan 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, Biaggi writes to Lynch to praise his “recent call for a declaration of intent from Great Britain to withdraw her troops from Ireland.” The ROI sees the letter as 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. This time, O'Neill does not block Biaggi's initiative, and the House approves the amendment. A few days later, Carter halts the arms sale. (Cronin, pp. 316-317; Holland, pp. 139-141)

*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 Horsemen 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 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)

## **ABBREVIATED ADAMS VISA TIMELINE**

*Prepared by Stacie L. Pettyjohn and Rob Martin*

*Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 03/15/2006*

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**Mid 1988** Hume and Adams begin secret talks.

**March, 1993** Clinton nominates JKS as Ambassador to Ireland.

**April, 1993** Hume and Adams announce that they have been meeting and release their Joint Declaration calling for the initiation of a peace process.

**Dec. 1993** Major and Reynolds issue the Downing Street Declaration, which promises self-determination for N. Ireland and announces both governments will negotiate with any groups (IRA) that renounce violence.

EMK and Vicki travel to Ireland; meet with JKS, Coogan and Reynolds who argue for the Adams visa; they argue that Adams and moderates in Sinn Fein favor peaceful negotiations and are close, but need help to bring the IRA along.

**Jan. 1994** EMK meets with Hume at Tip O'Neill's funeral on the 10<sup>th</sup>. Hume convinces EMK to support the Adams visa.

Flynn and O'Dowd force the Adams visa issue by inviting Adams to speak at a peace conference on Northern Ireland in New York on Feb. 1<sup>st</sup>.

EMK begins political work in D.C. to build support for the Adams visa; brings many senators and other political leaders along to push Clinton (and provide him with political cover) to grant the visa. EMK and White House also negotiate with Adams the exact "renunciation of violence" language.

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, practice grenades found in San Diego; Clinton signals that he will grant the visa if Adams renounces the violence by Southern CA IRA.

Clinton grants Adams a 48-hour visa; Adams arrives in NY on the 31<sup>st</sup>.

**Mid 1994** IRA is pressured to announce cease-fire; IRA criticizes Downing St. Dec in July.

**Aug. 1994** IRA announces it will agree to cease-fire if terrorist Joe Cahill is given U.S. visa.

Clinton grants Cahill a visa; visa was supported by JKS, EMK, and Reynolds. The IRA ceasefire is announced within hours.



## GERRY ADAMS VISA TIMELINE

Prepared by Stacie L. Pettyjohn and Rob Martin

Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 03/15/2006

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### 1988

Winter-  
Summer

John Hume and Gerry Adams begin a series of secret groundbreaking talks. These are the first face-to-face talks between the SDLP and Sinn Fein. (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)

### 1991

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 April, 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, Clinton nominates Kennedy Smith as U.S. ambassador to Ireland in a White House ceremony. (O'Clery, p. 46)

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

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

The Hume-Adams talks become public as the two men meet in their capacities as party leaders of the SDLP and Sinn Fein, respectively, on the 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*, 5/18/1993; *BBC News Online*, 8/30/2000; "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. (*The Boston Globe*, 04/26/1993, 06/10/1993)

*September* In an effort to gain the support of Irish-American businessmen, the IRA orders a ten-day ceasefire when the group visits Ireland. The group of businessmen includes O'Dowd, Bill Flynn, Chuck Feeny, and is led by former Congressmen Bruce Morrison (D-CT). They meet with Adams and intimate that political and economic support may be forthcoming if the republicans announce a ceasefire. O'Dowd communicates with the White House through EMK's office, specifically Trina Vargo to Soderberg to Clinton. (Mallie and McKittrick, p. 280; O'Clery, pp. 62-68)

On the 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 appries 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)