



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials

**Carey Parker Interview, 09/22/2008, 10/06/2008, 10/13/2008, 10/20/2008,
10/27/2008, 11/10/2008, 11/17/2008, 12/01/2008**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents¹

- Carey Parker Timeline.
- Carey Parker Fact Sheet.
- Key Events during Parker's Tenure with Edward M. Kennedy.
- Edward M. Kennedy Foreign Travel.
- Edward M. Kennedy Civil Rights Legislative Highlights.
- Edward M. Kennedy Healthcare Legislative Highlights.

Secondary Source Materials

- Adam Clymer interview with Tom Rollins, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 04/21/1998.
- Adam Clymer interview with Robert Shrum, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 03/10/1992.
- Adam Clymer interview with Larry Horowitz, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 06/23/1995.
- Adam Clymer interview with Nick Littlefield, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 05/14/1994.
- Adam Clymer interview with Greg Craig, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 03/12/1999.
- Adam Clymer interview with Jan Kalicki, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 12/09/1993.
- Adam Clymer interview with Stephen Breyer, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 07/26/1997.

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

- Adam Clymer interview with Richard Goodwin, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 09/17/1993.
- Adam Clymer interview with Ken Feinberg, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 02/02/1995.
- Robert Shrum, *No Excuses: Concessions of a Serial Campaigner* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007) pp. 79-121, 135-137.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1999) pp. 163-167, 261-266, 276-277, 417-419, 559-562.

Oral History Interviews

- Carey Parker consultation, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/15/2006.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/03/2007, 02/27/2006.
- Jean Kennedy Smith interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/18/2007.
- Anne Strauss interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/10/2008.
- Robert Bates interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/08/2007.
- Jeff Blattner interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/30/2007.
- Stephen Breyer interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/17/2008.
- David Burke interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/19/2007, 04/08/2008.
- Charles Ferris interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/29/2006, 05/25/2007.
- Garret FitzGerald interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/28/2005.
- Jim Flug interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/27/2007, 12/04/2007, 12/18/2007.
- Larry Horowitz interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/16/2008, 04/17/2007.
- John Hume interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/29/2005.
- Nick Littlefield interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/03/2008.
- Thurgood Marshall, Jr. interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/26/2007.
- Eddy Martin interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/20/2005.
- Melody Miller interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/15/2008.

- Ellis Mottur interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/17/2006.
- Michael Myers interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 08/28/2006.
- Thomas Oliphant interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/14/2007.
- Danica Petroschius interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/13/2008.

CAREY PARKER TIMELINE (1969-PRESENT)

Prepared by Rob Martin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/12/2008

1969 Important issues EMK works in 1969 include national health insurance (NHI) and the Committee of 100, Philadelphia Plan, draft reform, Hamburger Hill, Indian education/Alaska trip, United Farm Workers and Calexico trip, Biafra refugees, the ABM treaty, Hill-Burton Act, tax reform, and the Haynsworth nomination.

January EMK defeats Senator Russell Long (D-LA) to be elected Senate Majority Whip and becomes chairman of the Senate Administrative Practices and Procedures (Ad Prac) Subcommittee and the Senate Indian Education Subcommittee.

February EMK hires **CAREY PARKER** to serve as his legislative assistant. The 34-year-old **PARKER** replaces Jim Flug, who begins serving as chief counsel to EMK on the Judiciary's Ad Prac subcommittee. **PARKER** had previously clerked for Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart. (Clymer, p. 163)

July EMK's accident at Chappaquiddick.

November The Senate rejects the Haynsworth nomination 45-55.

EMK's father, Joseph P. Kennedy, dies.

1970 Important issues EMK works on this year include the Carswell nomination, the VRA extension and 18 year-old vote, draft reform, opposition to all-volunteer army, May Day anti-war demonstrations, post-war economic conversion, home heating oil shortage and import quotas on oil from Canada, Indian education, Cambodia invasion, OSHA, census under-counting, school bus safety, state of the Judiciary resolution, aid to Israel, air safety, family medicine, the elderly, the Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities Act, and reelection campaign.

February EMK circulates a memo among his colleagues advocating the lowering of the minimum voting age to eighteen. The memo, drafted by **PARKER**, argues that although states have been given primary responsibility for determining voter eligibility, under the Fourteenth Amendment Congress has the power to legislate voter qualifications if it finds that the states are imposing unreasonable or discriminatory requirements. Bayh, who is chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, has been advocating a constitutional amendment lowering the voting age and is allegedly sympathetic to EMK's proposal. EMK indicates that he might tie the minimum voting age legislative amendment to the VRA extension bill in early March, although there are concerns that this might hamper efforts to defeat a Southern filibuster on the VRA, which expires this year. Because of these concerns, EMK suggests he will withdraw his amendment if it will jeopardize passage of the VRA. (*The Washington Post*, 02/26/1970)

March EMK and eight other co-sponsors introduce a compromise VRA extension, engineered by Senator Philip Hart (D-MI) and Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R-PA), which is supported by a majority of Judiciary Committee members. The bill includes a five-year extension and two provisions from the administration's bill: a five-year nationwide ban on literacy tests and a uniform sixty-day residency requirement (this requirement was later shortened to thirty days on the recommendation of Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ), a measure reflected in the final bill). The bill has the backing of the LCCR. The Senate is also considering the House VRA bill, which had passed the House in late 1969. (1970 *CQ Almanac*, p. 196)

Throughout February and March, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments holds hearings on a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to eighteen. EMK and Goldwater testify on the 9th. Though Goldwater agrees with EMK that the voting age can be reduced by statute, he prefers introducing it as a separate bill rather than attaching to the VRA. Mansfield and EMK favor introducing it as an amendment. So far, state and local politicians have expressed concern that the amendment could change the composition of school boards and spark a move to reduce minimum ages for drinking and jury service. The Nixon administration, reflecting these concerns, endorses an amendment or statute that is limited to national elections only. (1970 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 713-714; *The New York Times*, 03/10/1970)

Mansfield introduces an amendment to the VRA proposing to lower the minimum voting age to eighteen for federal, state, and local elections. The amendment is co-sponsored by EMK, Senator Warren Magnuson (D-WA), and six other Senators. Despite resistance from some members of the House, who are reportedly concerned with how the amendment could affect their districts, and from some civil rights groups, who are reportedly concerned about the tactic of attaching the amendment to the VRA extension, the Mansfield proposal passes 64-17. On the 13th, the Senate passes the VRA extension 64-12, extending the VRA for five years, suspending literacy tests in all states, and lowering the minimum voting age to eighteen. (1970 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 195-197)

April The Senate rejects the Carswell nomination 51-45. Harry Blackmun goes on to be nominated and confirmed by the Senate within the next month.

June The House agrees to the Senate amendments to the VRA extension on the 17th, and Nixon signs it into law. (1970 *CQ Almanac*, p. 192)

Summer In the wake of Chappaquiddick, **PARKER** and Flug spend much of the summer in Massachusetts working on EMK's reelection campaign against Josiah Spaulding.

- August* Working with the Committee of 100, EMK introduces his NHI proposal. **PARKER** has been serving as EMK's informal liaison with the technical committee that drafted the proposal since EMK had joined with the Committee in late 1969.
- November* EMK defeats Spaulding to win reelection to the Senate with 61 percent of the vote. EMK thanks the voters for expressing a "sense of confidence" in him. EMK's staff reportedly interprets the margin of victory as enough to preserve his national reputation despite Chappaquiddick. (*The New York Times*, 11/05/1970)
- December* The Supreme Court rules that the VRA law can only lower the voting age in national elections. Congress begins work on a Constitutional amendment to lower the voting age in all elections to 18. (Clymer, pp. 165-166)
- 1971** Important issues EMK works on this year include ending the war in Vietnam, draft reform, NHI and NHI field hearings, war on cancer, sickle cell anemia and funding for health/medical programs, nurse training, Public Health Service Hospitals, refugees in India and East Pakistan, Rhodesian chrome, northern Ireland, Israel trip, postcard voter registration, Butz nomination for Agriculture Secretary, opposition to Supersonic Transport, independence of Peace Corps and VISTA, Indian education, off-shore drilling, gun control/crime, Cape Cod National Seashore Extension, and the Rehnquist nomination.
- January* EMK loses his position as Senate Majority Whip to Senator Robert Byrd.
- EMK becomes chairman of the Senate Health Subcommittee.
- March* Congress passes a Constitutional amendment lowering the voting age in all elections to 18, which is ratified in June. (Clymer, pp. 165-166)
- October* Nixon nominates Lewis Powell and William Rehnquist to the Supreme Court. Both are confirmed in December, despite EMK's opposition to Rehnquist.
- 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, Rep. Hugh Carey (D-NY), and Senator Abe Ribicoff (D-CT) draft the 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** Important issues EMK works on this year includes the Equal Rights Amendment, Title IX of 1972 Education Amendments and sex discrimination, amnesty hearings, Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, ITT investigation, the Kleindienst nomination and Watergate, creation of the OTA, Bangladesh and Sahel, northern Ireland and Fort Worth Five, Indian education, health programs for seniors and families including Meals on Wheels, health danger of DES,

medical libraries, worker alienation, revenue sharing, National Health Service Corps, pocket veto legislation, Nantucket Sound Islands Trust, postal rate reform, police life insurance, lead paint, HMOs, as well as the beginning of many years of fighting anti-busing legislation.

August EMK declines McGovern's offer to be his running mate as vice president. McGovern goes on to later select Sargent Shriver.

November Nixon defeats McGovern in the presidential election.

EMK first meets John Hume while traveling in Germany to discuss Ireland. Hume plays a major role in leading EMK to modify his views on the conflict.

1973 Important issues EMK works on this year include ending the war in Vietnam, the War Powers Act, public financing of congressional elections, oil import quotas, emergency aid to Israel, emergency health services, ethics in medical experiments, education/aid/civil rights for the handicapped, use of highway trust funds for mass transit, Gray nomination for FBI Director, Colby nomination for DCI, public service employment, legal services for the poor, Saturday Night Massacre/Special Prosecutor and Watergate, and human rights in Chile.

January EMK's Ad Prac subcommittee turns over all materials from its Watergate investigation the previous fall to a newly created Senate select committee.

May EMK helps draft legislation creating a special prosecutor to investigate the Watergate affair. The Senate confirms Archibald Cox as special prosecutor.

October Nixon fires Archibald Cox, abolishes the special prosecutor's office, and accepts the resignations of Attorney General Elliot Richardson and Deputy AG William French Smith in what would become known as the "Saturday Night Massacre."

CAREY PARKER, Jim Flug, Burke Marshall, Stephen Smith and Milt Gwirtzman meet with EMK to discuss how EMK should respond to the Saturday Night Massacre and a potential 1976 presidential run. (Lippman, Theo. *Senator Ted Kennedy: The Career Behind the Image*. 1976. p. 211)

November Teddy Kennedy Jr. is diagnosed with cancer in his leg. He begins a two-year methotrexate cancer treatment in February.

1974 Important issues EMK works on during this year include ending funding for the war in Vietnam, Kennedy-Mills NHI bill, health manpower act, Health Planning and Resources Development Act, Indian health care, campaign finance, consumer protection, an anti-recession tax cut, FOIA, Vietnam clemency, airline deregulation and hearings on charter flights, trips to Israel and the Soviet Union, and the situations in Cyprus, Nicaragua and Chile.

In *Kennedy v. Sampson*, the U.S. Court of Appeals for Washington, D.C. bars the President's use of the pocket veto during short congressional recesses, provided an officer is appointed by Congress to receive an ordinary Presidential veto message. EMK and **PARKER** had challenged Nixon's use a pocket veto during a short recess by using a senatorial power which allows a senator to sue in order to protest an unconstitutional violation. Years later Flug will attempt to use this ruling to challenge Bush's recess appointment of William Pryor.

August Nixon resigns as president. Ford is sworn into office.

1975 Important issues EMK works on this year include the VRA extension, CAB/airline deregulation, revision of the Senate seniority rule, filibuster reform, Israel trip, Health Security Act S. 3, medical malpractice, defense spending, opposition to Persian Gulf arms sales, oil, criminal code reform, tax shelter reform, aid to Portugal, Age Discrimination Act, Family Planning, Migrant health care, aid to fishing industry, and family, senior and migrant health issues.

EMK becomes a member of the Joint Economic Committee.

1976 Important issues that EMK works on in 1976 include tax reform, election reform, extension of revenue sharing act, 200-mile limit, recombinant DNA, swine flu, regulation of clinical labs and medical devices, Northeast corridor rail improvement, agency budget set-asides for small business R&D, and humanitarian situations in Italy and South Korea, and reelection to the Senate.

PARKER works on tax reform in effort to cut loopholes and tax shelters.

November Jimmy Carter is elected president.

EMK defeats Michael Robertson to win reelection to the Senate with 69 percent of the vote. (Clymer, p. 250)

1977 Important issues that EMK works on during this year include criminal law and sentencing reform, lobbying reform, election day voter registration, public participation in agency proceedings, FDA ban on saccharin, sunset on tax spending, lobbying and voter reform, anti-recession jobs program, minimum wage, NSF reauthorization, small business innovation research program, and the situations in Argentina and northern Ireland, including the Four Horsemen.

EMK becomes chairman of the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee.

March On St. Patrick's Day, EMK, House Speaker Tip O'Neill (D-MA), 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 **PARKER**, who think that together the four politicians will have a greater impact. The proclamation 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. EMK and O’Neill in particular put pressure on the Carter Administration to take a stand on Northern Ireland and to promise \$50 million in economic aid for Northern Ireland contingent upon the acceptance of a negotiated settlement. (Clymer, p. 255)

- December* EMK travels to China over New Years’ with a large group that includes his wife, three children, Patricia Lawford, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Stephen Smith, Caroline Kennedy, Michael Kennedy, and aides Jan Kalicki and **PARKER**. **PARKER** reportedly plays an important behind-the-scenes role in securing EMK’s meeting with Deng Xiaping. (Clymer, pp. 261-266)
- 1978** Important issues that EMK works on in 1978 include airline deregulation act, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, labor law reform, extension of ERA ratification deadline, Vietnamese family reunification, China and Soviet trips, hospital cost containment, Nurse Training Act, capital gains tax reform, Community Mental Health Centers, Commission on Biomedical Ethics, D.C. representation in Congress, opposition to military sales to Middle East, opposition to budget cut for the F-18, Soviet emigration, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, the Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy and extension of the Civil Rights Commission.
- July* EMK has a phone conversation with Carter about NHI, during which the President recommends against bringing up a specific proposal prior to the fall elections.
- EMK and Horowitz meet with Carter at the White House, where Carter unveils his incremental approach to NHI. EMK breaks publicly with Carter later that day.
- December* In a speech at the midterm Democratic Convention in Memphis, EMK assails Carter for proposing cuts in domestic spending while increasing spending on defense. EMK pledges his support for “decent quality health care” for all Americans, attacking the conservatism of the Carter administration. “Sometimes a party must sail against the wind,” EMK explained to an enthusiastic audience. “We cannot afford to drift or lie at anchor. We cannot heed the call of those who say it is time to furl the sail.” The dramatic line was added that morning by **PARKER**. Following his performance, rumors begin that EMK will challenge Carter for the 1980 nomination. (Clymer, pp. 276-277)
- 1979** Important issues that EMK works on in 1979 include judicial nomination for women and minorities, Illinois Brick Antitrust Reform, conglomerate mergers, oil company mergers and acquisitions, court improvement/reform, capital punishment, opposition to restrictions on Supreme Court jurisdiction, regulatory

reform, Higher Education Student Loan Reform, Three Mile Island, FBI charter, women in science, offshore drilling, FDA reform, windfall profit tax, Cambodian refugees, and the Taiwan Security Act.

- January* EMK becomes chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.
- February* With “Draft Kennedy” movements continuing to pick up steam across the country, EMK meets with family and advisors at his home in McLean, Virginia to discuss whether to challenge Carter in 1980. The meeting includes Steve and Jean Kennedy Smith (JKS), Joe Kennedy, Paul Kirk, David Burke, Richard Burke, **PARKER**, Horowitz, Arthur Schlesinger, John Seigenthaler and Ted Sorensen.
- May* Carter decides not to appoint Archibald Cox to the First Circuit Court of Appeals.
- EMK unveils a comprehensive “womb-to-tomb” NHI plan for all Americans. Carter unveils his own plan the next month.
- July* Carter gives his “malaise” speech.
- September* On the 7th, EMK informs Carter at a White House lunch that he will run for president. EMK’s staff is reportedly surprised, as no concrete campaign preparations had been made. (Clymer interview with Horowitz, 05/29/1992)
- October* On the 20th, EMK and Carter appear together at the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. (Clymer, pp. 289-290)
- On the 29th, EMK authorizes the formation of “Kennedy for President,” an exploratory committee to be headed by Stephen Smith.
- November* On the 4th, EMK’s interview with Roger Mudd is broadcast on *CBS Reports*.
- EMK announces from Faneuil Hall on the 7th that he will challenge Carter for the Democratic nomination. **PARKER** and Shrum write the announcement. Richard Goodwin had also reportedly written a stronger announcement attacking Carter which was not used. **PARKER** reportedly leaves the Senate office staff to work on the campaign full-time. Tom Susman fills in for **PARKER** as legislative assistant.
- December* EMK draws heavy criticism for his comments on the Iranian hostage crisis.
- 1980** Important issues that EMK works on in 1980 include the Stephen Breyer Circuit Court Nomination, the Protection of Rights of Institutionalized Americans, Fair Housing bill, Mental Health Systems Act and bill of rights, trucking deregulation, Cuban and Haitian refugees, Refugee Act, attorney fees in agency proceedings, Low Income Energy Assistance, Biomedical Research Authorization, and the presidential campaign.

- January* On the 21st, Carter defeats EMK in the Iowa caucuses, 59 to 31 percent. EMK spends the next several days conferring with advisors about whether to continue his campaign, and asks **PARKER** and Shrum to draft a concession speech. Martin Katz, the campaign's finance chairman, and EMK pollsters Gary Orren and Peter Hart indicate that continuing the effort will be difficult. EMK meets with his closest advisers in a series of meetings at EMK's Senate office and home. Included in this inner circle are Horowitz, Stephen Smith, Richard Burke, **PARKER**, Shrum, and Carl Wagner. Kalicki, Peter Edelman and EMK's new press secretary Thomas Southwick also attend some of the meetings. At one point, EMK invites John Tunney, Eddy Martin, John Douglas, John Seigenthaler and William Dunfey, a New England hotel owner, to attend an issues dinner on the campaign at his house. EMK decides on the 24th to continue the campaign, but "on the kind of terms [he] wants," taking more authentically liberal positions. (*The Washington Post*, 02/05/1980)
- On the 29th, EMK gives a speech at Georgetown University that reveals a change in campaign strategy. In addition to attacking Carter's foreign policy towards Iran and the Soviet Union, EMK emphasizes more liberal themes such as wage-price controls and regulation of oil. EMK's return to liberal themes is reportedly an attempt to justify EMK's challenge to Carter, and was worked out by Smith, Kirk, Jan Kalicki and Peter Edelman, as well as **PARKER** and Shrum who had written the speech. (Clymer, p. 301; *The New York Times*, 01/30/1980)
- February* Carter defeats EMK in the New Hampshire primary on the 26th.
- Spring* EMK reportedly attempts to minimize brother-in-law and campaign manager Stephen Smith's role in the campaign but does not replace him. Horowitz and other staffers support a greater role for Paul Kirk, whose influence in the campaign continues to grow. Shrum and **PARKER** continue to shadow EMK and share speechwriting duties. (Hersh, p. 48; *The Washington Post*, 10/26/1982)
- March* On the 4th, EMK wins the Massachusetts primary but loses to Carter in Vermont.
- Carter wins the Illinois primary on the 18th, taking 155 delegates to EMK's 11. Commentators speculate that Chicago Mayor Jan Byrne's endorsement may have been a liability for EMK. EMK's chief delegate counter, Rick Stearns, tells EMK that he cannot win enough delegates in the remaining primaries to take the nomination. (Clymer, pp. 303-304; *The New York Times*, 03/19/1980)
- On the 25th, EMK overcomes a recent string of losses to win the New York and Connecticut primaries. (Clymer, pp. 305-307; *The New York Times*, 03/26/1980)
- April* On the 1st, Carter wins a landslide victory in Wisconsin. Brown subsequently withdraws from the race. (*The New York Times*, 04/02/1980)
- On the 22nd, EMK edges out the Pennsylvania primary. (Clymer, p. 309)

- May* EMK wins the District of Columbia primary but loses in eleven states. EMK offers to release his delegates if Carter will agree to a debate. (Clymer, p. 310)
- On the 2nd, DNC Chairman White declares the party's presidential contest resolved and says he will direct DNC efforts under the assumption that Carter will be the nominee. EMK's campaign challenges White's assertion that the contest is resolved and calls for White's resignation. (*The New York Times*, 05/02/1980)
- June* EMK wins the New Jersey, California, South Dakota, New Mexico, and Rhode Island primaries, but Carter's victories in Ohio, West Virginia, and Montana clinch the nomination. (Clymer, p. 312; *The New York Times*, 06/05/1980)
- During a White House meeting on the 5th, EMK tells Carter that he would consider releasing his delegates if Carter would agree to a debate. Carter tells EMK he would have the opportunity to present minority planks at the convention. After the meeting, EMK declares that he is still "a candidate for the nomination." (*The Washington Post*, 06/06/1980) Carter reportedly decides the next day to agree to a debate with EMK, but is talked out of it by his aide Charles Kirbo. (Clymer, pp. 313-314)
- July* EMK helps to block new Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey's 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.
- August* EMK meets with Representative John B. Anderson (R-IL) who is running for president as an independent to discuss if he will drop out if EMK wins the nomination. (*The Washington Post*, 08/08/1980)
- At the Democratic National Convention, EMK loses a procedural vote that would have permitted delegates to switch their vote, effectively ending EMK's campaign. EMK gives a rousing speech written by Shrum and **PARKER**. EMK asks Shrum and **PARKER** to operate the teleprompter as they best understand the rhythm of the speech. EMK pushes for Carter to support a plank calling for a \$12 billion jobs program. While Carter refuses to support this plank, he announces an economic recovery program that will create new jobs. Subsequently, EMK announces that he will work for the re-election of the President and formally releases his delegates. After Carter's acceptance speech, EMK arrives late to join Carter on the podium. The formality of the interaction between the two men leads some to doubt EMK's enthusiasm for the Carter campaign. (Clymer, pp. 316-318; *The New York Times*, 08/13/1980)
- November* Reagan wins the 1980 presidential election. The Republicans win control of the Senate and EMK loses chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee.

1981 Important issues that EMK works on in 1981 include opposition to the Reagan tax cuts, opposition to health care block grants, small business tax reform, Watt nomination as Interior Secretary, energy conservation, oil price de-control, the Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan nomination, infant formula, opposition to AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia, military aid to El Salvador, handgun control, opposition to martial law in Poland, food and medical aid to Poland, the formation of Friends of Ireland in Congress, the U.S.-Canada Maritime Treaty, 1981 legislation to extend VRA (successfully extended in 1982), Senate policy reforms, and the creation of EMK's pac, the Fund for a Democratic Majority.

EMK becomes Ranking Democrat on the Senate Labor Committee.

Horowitz replaces Richard Burke as EMK's chief of staff. EMK instructs Horowitz to proceed as if EMK is going to run for president in 1984.

January EMK and Joan Kennedy announce they are getting divorced.

February **PARKER** and Hume meet with Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and Rep. Thomas Foley (D-WA) and decide the best way to counter republican groups in the U.S. is to create a formal group within Congress. (Wilson, p. 180)

March 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 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)

1982 **PARKER**'s title is formally changed to chief legislative assistant. However, he has been commonly referred to in the press as EMK's chief legislative aide for years. (*1982 Congressional Staff Directory*; *The National Journal*, 12/03/1977)

Important issues that EMK works on in 1982 include the Voting Rights Act Extension, opposition to the Reagan budget cuts, the "nuclear freeze" resolution, the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act, opposition to tax credits for segregated schools, the Job Training Partnership Act, the extension of unemployment compensation, emergency public works jobs, summer jobs for youth, the Orphan Drug Act, opposition to means-testing for Medicare, Medicare Part B Deductible, a waiting period for handgun purchases, the Small Business Innovation Development Act, opposition to arms sales to Jordan, opposition to funds for Contras, MX missile, and reelection to the Senate.

PARKER and Shrum write EMK's book calling for a nuclear freeze.

- September* EMK's new media advisor, Michael Kaye, launches a series of campaign ads featuring longtime friends of EMK talking about how the Senator has dealt with tragedy in his life. (*The New York Times*, 09/26/1982)
- November* EMK defeats Raymond Shamie to win reelection with 61 percent of the vote.
- EMK meets with family members in Hyannis Port over Thanksgiving to make a final decision about the 1984 presidential race. Attending are EMK's three children, JKS, Patricia Lawford, Joseph P. Kennedy II, Stephen Smith, Jr., and Stephen Smith. Horowitz, who had organized the meeting, summarizes the outlook for a 1984 EMK presidential run. Coupled with the poor state of the economy, Horowitz points to the readiness of the EMK campaign apparatus as evidence that EMK can capture not only the Democratic nomination over likely rival Mondale, but that he stands a chance of defeating Reagan in the general election. Horowitz's presentation highlights the political considerations of a presidential bid, but following the wishes of his children, EMK decides not to run. (Clymer, pp. 3-8; Clymer interview with Horowitz, 05/29/1992, pp. 2-3)
- Following the family meeting, EMK asks Horowitz to arrange a meeting in Washington with his senior staffers in order to give them one final opportunity to argue for his candidacy. Much as he had in Hyannis Port, Horowitz outlines the case for running. He later recalls thinking that most of the staff were already aware that a decision had been made and of what that decision was. Following the staff meeting, Shrum and **PARKER** begin to draft a statement. (Clymer interview with Horowitz, 05/29/1992, p. 3)
- December* EMK announces at a press conference that he will not run for president in 1984.
- 1983** Important issues that EMK works on in 1983 include the MLK national holiday, the Civil Rights Commission, Liberty Baptist College/separation of church and state, Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution, reintroduction of the ERA, the Industrial Policy Task Force, health care for the unemployed, youth unemployment, hunger field hearings, withholding on interest and dividends, and defense/foreign policy issues including marines in Lebanon, opposition to SDI, nuclear warheads on conventional missiles, the B-I and stealth bombers, Ireland and the New Ireland Forum, Contra Aid, and the assassination of Philippines opposition leader Aquino.
- EMK becomes a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee.
- 1984** Important issues that EMK works on in 1984 include *Grove City*, the Wilkinson nomination, the line item veto, the Omnibus Crime Control Act, Kennedy-Gephardt Medicare Cost Control, the Women's Educational Equity Act, El Salvador elections, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, and the Sudan.

- April* Rose Kennedy suffers a debilitating stroke. She spends much of the next year recovering at the family's home in Hyannis Port.
- November* Reagan defeats Walter Mondale in landslide to win reelection.
- 1985** Important issues that EMK works on in 1985 include South Africa, the Drug Export Act, the Arms Control Observer Group, the Meese and Reynolds nominations, the McClure-Volkmer Gun Control Act, NIH, the Boland Amendment on Nicaragua, Social Security cuts, Medicare-Medicaid fund restoration, emergency hospital care for the poor, D.C. statehood, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and Philippine democracy.
- 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.
- December* EMK informs Horowitz that he will not run for President in 1988. Though Horowitz had developed a travel and fundraising plan in the event that EMK did pursue the presidency, he reportedly did not expect the Senator to run. EMK's decision is reportedly influenced by the counsel of his Democratic economic advisers, who forecasted that the nation's economic growth should continue through 1988. (Clymer, p. 385; *The London Times*, 12/22/1985)
- EMK begins the process of informing key aides that he will not pursue the presidency in 1988. He first informs Michael Kaye, who will assist him in taping an announcement that will air on a Boston television station, and calls **PARKER** and Shrum to Hyannis Port in order to inform them. The following day, he meets with Cooper and Carrick in his Boston office. (Clymer interview with Horowitz, 12/09/1998, p. 1)
- EMK announces in a televised statement that he will not seek the presidency. The segment had been taped the previous day; even after many takes, Horowitz later recalls that EMK "just couldn't get it right." (Clymer, p. 386; Clymer interview with Horowitz, 12/09/1998, p. 1) The announcement had been written by Shrum with help from **PARKER**. At a press conference the next day, EMK acknowledges that his decision may mean that he will never again run for president. EMK notes that, unlike in 1984, his family would have been supportive of a presidential bid. (Clymer interview with Horowitz, 05/29/1992, pp. 9-10)
- 1986** Important issues that EMK works on in 1986 include trips to Latin America, Israel, and the Soviet Union, intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), South Africa sanctions, the nominations of William Rehnquist as Supreme Court Chief Justice and Daniel Manion to the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals, immigration reform, economic aid to Northern Ireland, Bradley-Gephardt tax reform,

Superfund, Medicare deductible, the Omnibus Health Act, infant mortality, catastrophic health insurance, and AIDS research.

Fall At **PARKER**'s suggestion, EMK personally meets with members of the Congressional Black Caucus to ask them to accept the weaker Senate version of the South Africa sanctions legislation. The Senate version is passed, and Reagan's veto of the legislation is overridden.

November The Democrats regain control of the Senate in the mid-term elections.

The Iran-Contra scandal breaks in the media.

1987 Important issues that EMK works on in 1987 include fair housing, literacy corps, Irish immigration, Chernobyl, coal mine safety, minimum wage increase, minimum health benefits for workers, savings bonds for college education, satellite education, welfare-to-jobs incentives, G.I. bill of rights, nuclear aircraft carriers, Panama, Poland, and the Bork nomination.

January EMK becomes chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, as well as the Judiciary's Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee. **PARKER** works with staff director Tom Rollins to set legislative priorities; **PARKER** later work with Littlefield after Littlefield replaces Rollins in February, 1989, to write one major policy speech a year from the late 1980s through the early 1990s to frame EMK's legislative priorities.

Fall EMK leads the fight in the Senate to defeat the Bork nomination. **PARKER** works with EMK Judiciary staffer Jeff Blattner, who had handled the opposition research on Bork, to draft EMK's controversial "Robert Bork's America" speech that he gives in July on the Senate floor. (Clymer, p. 417)

1988 Important issues that EMK works on in 1988 include *Grove City*/civil rights, Fair Housing, education issues including ESEA and minority medical education, the Older Americans Act, the Developmental Disabilities Act, infant mortality, Comprehensive Child Development Centers, child abuse, polygraph tests in the workplace, hunger, and health manpower.

November George H.W. Bush is elected president.

EMK wins reelection to the Senate. EMK's son, Patrick Kennedy, is elected to the Rhode Island House of Representatives, becoming the youngest Kennedy elected to public office.

1989 Important issues EMK works on this year include national service legislation, the minimum wage, NHI, the Employee Pension Protection Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), flag burning, aid to Poland and Hungary, the Motor Voter

Act, elderly health care, air travel smoking ban, the Tower nomination, aid to El Salvador, SDI, Tienanmen Square, nurse immigration, and VISTA.

Fall Communism collapses in Eastern Europe. EMK speaks at Schoeneberg City Hall in Berlin, where JFK had spoken in 1963.

1990 Important issues EMK works on in 1990 include the ADA, civil rights legislation, the Ryan White Comprehensive Aids Act of 1990, Nutrition Labeling and Education Act of 1990, Head Start Improvement Act of 1990, child care, vocational education, the National Community Service Act of 1990, NEA funding, the National Health Service Corps Revitalization, NIH funding for women's research, Housing Trust Fund, aid to Chile, trip to Soviet Union, organ transplantation, TB, home health care, Family and Medical Leave, Immigration Act of 1990, Ireland, age discrimination, math-science education, the Souter nomination, and the homeless.

June EMK invites the recently-freed Nelson Mandela to Boston.

July David Souter is nominated by President George H.W. Bush to replace William Brennan as Associate Justice. Souter has most recently spent four months on the U.S. First Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston, and is dubbed by the media as the "stealth justice," an unknown judge with uncertain values. Pundits speculate that the nomination of Souter is related to Souter's close friendship with Senator Warren Rudman (R-NH). The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which had fought Bork and remained silent on Kennedy, opposes Souter, whereas the ACLU and the People for the American Way do not express opposition. During the summer, senators scour whatever material they can find on Souter, from his tenure in the New Hampshire courts to his four-month stint on the U.S. Court of Appeals, in order to flesh out his views on judicial activism, abortion, and civil rights. EMK speaks for hours with aides **PARKER**, Carolyn Osolinik, and Blattner, as well as with Harvard Law School professors Kathleen Sullivan and Tribe. (1990 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 510-511; Clymer, p. 481)

The Kennedy family celebrates Rose Kennedy's 100th birthday. (Clymer, p. 473)

August EMK's brother-in-law and close friend, Steve Smith, dies of cancer on the 19th.

September During confirmation hearings, EMK questions Souter on some positions he took as New Hampshire Attorney General, including defending the state's refusal to provide the federal government with a racial breakdown of its employees. EMK argues that there is little in Souter's record that demonstrates a dedication to civil rights. Souter is confirmed in October, with EMK voting against confirmation.

October The Senate votes 96-3 to support Bush in Iraq, which had invaded Kuwait in August. EMK votes against the resolution, comparing it to the Tonkin Resolution.

1991 **PARKER's** title formally changes to legislative director.

Important issues EMK works on this year include higher education legislation, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, Gulf War, emergency unemployment benefits, CFE, free trade with Mexico, economic stimulus, Soviet aid, family planning, capital punishment, habeas corpus, women in combat, comprehensive health reform, WIC, the Thomas nomination, and Medicare funds for hospitals.

January The Senate votes 52-47 to give Bush authority to use force against Iraq. EMK votes against the resolution. The Gulf War begins later this month.

Spring EMK's nephew, William Kennedy Smith, is charged with sexual battery in Palm Beach. EMK had been with Smith earlier on the night in question and is later called to testify. (Clymer, pp. 488-491)

June EMK attends an anniversary dinner for Kennedy family friends, Edmund and Doris Reggie, hosted by Vicki Reggie. EMK and Vicki begin dating soon after.

October The Senate holds confirmation hearings for Clarence Thomas.

EMK gives a speech at the Kennedy School at Harvard University in which he acknowledges that he has made mistakes in the conduct of his private life.

December EMK testifies at William Kennedy Smith's trial. **PARKER**, Cooper and Craig had helped EMK prepare to testify. Smith is found not guilty. (Clymer, pp. 504-505)

1992 Important issues EMK works on this year include national health care and fetal tissue research, Family and Medical Leave, Older Americans Act, abortion, women's health, fetal tissue research, FDA prescription drugs, Religious Freedom Restoration Act, L.A. riots, bilingual voter assistance, campaign finance reform, law enforcements and education issues, including aid to higher education and school reform,

July EMK marries Vicki Reggie in McLean, Virginia.

November Clinton is elected president, as the Democrats win the House, Senate, and White House.

EMK, very likely at **PARKER's** suggestion, urges Clinton to nominated JKS as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.

1993 Important issues EMK works on this year include national health care, NIH reauthorization, family and medical leave, abortion access, Stephen Breyer nomination to the Supreme Court, and national service legislation.

March Clinton nominates JKS as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.

- 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** Important issues EMK works on this year include the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Reauthorization, the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, the Clinton health care plan, and abortion clinic access.
- January* At O'Neill's funeral, Hume convinces EMK to support Adams visa. After Republicans communicate to Clinton that they are prepared to moderate their positions through the O'Dowd-Vargo-Soderberg link, Clinton accepts EMK's and JKS' recommendation and grants the Adams visa.
- May* EMK delivers the eulogy at the funeral for Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis.
- After Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun announces his retirement and George Mitchell says he will not accept the nomination, **PARKER** relays a message from Hatch that Hatch will oppose Bruce Babbitt, who is thought to be the other major candidate; Hatch urges EMK to lobby for Breyer. Breyer goes on to be nominated and later confirmed by the Senate to replace Blackmun.
- August* EMK and JKS lobby Clinton to grant the Cahill visa, leading to the IRA ceasefire.
- September* EMK and Vicki meet Adams in Boston at airport.
- November* The GOP wins control of both the House and Senate in the "Republican Revolution." EMK loses his chairmanship of the Labor Committee.
- EMK narrowly defeats Mitt Romney to win reelection to the U.S. Senate.
- December* EMK meets with the President in the White House and argues that the Democrats should not give in to the Republicans. According to Littlefield, EMK is worried that the President will "give away the store." He tells Clinton that he won the 1994 election as a fighter for working families and that that theme could work for Clinton, too. EMK assures the President that Democrats can win an increase in the minimum wage and limited health care reform. After the meeting, EMK leaves the President a copy of talking points he had worked out with Littlefield and **PARKER**. The talking points urge Clinton not to make cuts in student aid, Medicare, and other core Democratic programs. (Clymer interviews with Littlefield, 08/06/1996, 01/17/1999, p. 2; Clymer, pp. 560-562)

1995	Important issues EMK works on in 1995 include the minimum wage, budget reconciliation (EMK tries to restore funding for education and limit spending reductions), and health insurance portability.
<i>January</i>	EMK gives a speech at the National Press Club, in which he emphasizes the need for Democrats to “stick to their basic guns of fighting for Democratic principles.” It is the first of many he will make in 1995 rallying Democrats to oppose Republican budget cuts. According to Littlefield, EMK felt he had to “organize the resistance.” At the time, Littlefield typically wrote the first draft of EMK’s speeches and PARKER and Bob Shrum reworked the draft into its final form. “ CAREY would make the prose and Shrum would make them sing.” (Clymer interviews with Littlefield, 08/06/1996, 01/17/1999; Clymer, pp. 560-562)
	Rose Kennedy dies.
<i>Winter</i>	EMK and Dodd send letter to Clinton arguing Adams should be allowed to raise funds in U.S. Clinton agrees. Around this time, EMK meets with Adams, who warns of impending deadlock in peace process.
1996	Important issues EMK works on in 1996 include health insurance portability and the minimum wage.
<i>March</i>	EMK refuses to meet with Adams after collapse of IRA ceasefire and bombing in London. EMK meets with loyalists the next month and commends them for not retaliating to IRA bombing.
1997	Important issues EMK works on in 1997 include the State Children’s Health Insurance Program (S-CHIP), the Presidential Race Initiative and affirmative action, the tobacco case, reauthorization of religious worker visas, and the nomination of Bill Lee to the Civil Rights Commission.
<i>July</i>	IRA reinstitutes the ceasefire; Sinn Fein agrees to the Mitchell Principles and enters talks in September, but talks deadlock for next six months.
1998	Important issues EMK works on in 1998 include the new teacher legislation, Children’s Firearm Safety Act, opposition to Crime Victims’ Constitutional Amendment, baseball antitrustbill, and the Clinton impeachment and trial.
<i>April</i>	The landmark Good Friday Agreement is reached, which establishes a new government in Northern Ireland based on the principle of self-determination.
<i>August</i>	Clinton admits “inappropriate intimate contact” with White House intern Monica Lewinsky in his grand jury testimony.
<i>December</i>	The House votes to impeach Clinton.

- 1999** Important issues EMK works on include the Juvenile Justice Act, post-Columbine gun control measures, the tobacco lawsuit and the Clinton impeachment trial.
- January* EMK and Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX) reach compromise to begin Senate impeachment trial. **PARKER** had helped to advise EMK on how to proceed with the Senate trial and worked with Judiciary staffers on the negotiations with Senate Republicans. The Senate goes on to reject both articles of impeachment against Clinton in February, 45-55 and 50-50.
- July* JFK, Jr. and his wife, Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, die in an airplane accident.
- 2000** Important issues EMK works on include the Religious Liberty Protection Act.
- November* George W. Bush defeats Al Gore in a contested presidential election. The Democrats pick up seats in the Senate to force a 50-50 split.
- 2001** Important issues EMK works on in 2001 include No Child Left Behind, opposition to the Bush judicial nominations and the Ashcroft attorney general nomination, Uniting and Strengthening America Act, Immigration Reform/INS reorganization, military tribunals and indefinite detentions and Robert F. Kennedy Department of Justice.
- January* The Democrats regain control of the Senate for 17 days until Gore, who has been the tie-breaking vote in the evenly split Senate as Vice President, is replaced by Dick Cheney, giving the GOP control of the House, Senate, and White House.
- May* The Democrats regain control of the Senate when Jeffords leaves the Republican Party to caucus with the Democrats as an Independent. EMK regains chairmanship of the HELP Committee, as well as the Judiciary's Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee.
- September* 9/11 terrorist attacks.
- 2002** Important issues EMK works on in 2002 include opposition to the Bush judicial nominations, Unaccompanied Alien Child Protection Act, Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act, extension of Section 245(i) of immigration law, Prison Rape Reduction Act and the Department of Homeland Security.
- September* In speech at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), EMK argues that a preemptive strike is unnecessary, that Iraq does not pose an imminent threat, and that we should not go to war without the clear support of the international community.
- October* The Senate votes 77-23 to authorize the use of force in Iraq. EMK votes against it.

- November* The Republicans regain control of the Senate in the midterm elections, returning to the GOP control of the House, Senate, and White House. EMK loses chairmanship of the HELP Committee.
- 2003** Important issues EMK works on in 2003 include Head Start bill, opposition to the Bush judicial nominations, submitted brief in SCOTUS affirmative action case, opposition to medical malpractice reform, Amber Alert Bill, Military Naturalization Bill, and renewal of Undetectable Firearms Act.
- January* In his annual speech at the National Press Club, EMK attacks the Bush administration for its preoccupation with war in Iraq, argues that weapons inspections are working, and that North Korea and domestic terrorism are more immediate threats. (*The Washington Post*, 01/22/2003)
- March* The U.S. launches Operation Iraqi Freedom.
- July* After conferring with Kofi Annan and others, EMK makes a second speech at SAIS calling for greater international cooperation in Iraq. EMK argues that if current policies continue, we may “lose the peace.”
- 2004** Important issues EMK works on in 2004 include IDEA reauthorization, opposition to the recess appointments of Charles Pickering and William Pryor, opposition to Federal Marriage Amendment, opposition to Bush judicial nominations, theft of confidential computer files related to judicial nominations, increase in H-2B visa cap, resettlement for Vietnamese refugees in the Philippines, asbestos legislation, Crime Victims’ Rights Act, Safe, Orderly, Legal Visas and Enforcement Act, hate crimes, abuse at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay, and expiration of the Assault Weapons Ban.
- January* In a speech to the Center for American Progress, EMK says the war in Iraq was a “war of choice,” and that the buildup to the war began in the earliest days of the Administration, months before 9/11.
- February* Flug tries to draw on Parker’s work on the 1974 *Kennedy v. Sampson* to challenge Bush’ recess appointment of William Pryor to the U.S. Court of Appeals.
- April* EMK makes a speech at the Brookings Institution, in which he calls Iraq Bush’s Vietnam.
- July* EMK successfully works to bring the 2004 Democratic National Convention to Boston. John Kerry is nominated as the Democratic presidential nominee.
- September* In a speech at George Washington University, EMK says Iraq could devolve into “outright civil war” by the end of 2005 and that, according to the National Intelligence Estimate, even the best case scenario is that “our soldiers will be

bogged down in a continuing quagmire with no end in sight.” (Kennedy Senate office website)

November Bush defeats Kerry in the presidential election.

2005 Important issues EMK works on in 2005 include Higher Education Act, opposition to Bush judicial nomination, including John Roberts for Chief Justice and the Alberto Gonzalez nomination as attorney general, opposition to bankruptcy reform, opposition to the “nuclear option,” opposition to Class Action reform, asbestos legislation, increase in the H-2B Visa cap, opposition to reauthorization of the Patriot Act, funding for off-site judicial security, Kennedy-McCain and comprehensive immigration reform, opposition to liability protections for gun manufacturers, and the tobacco settlement.

January In a speech at SAIS, EMK calls for “a timetable for a drawdown of American combat forces with the new Iraqi Government,” with withdrawal to be completed in 2006.

September John Roberts is nominated as Chief Justice by Bush and confirmed later in the month. He had been nominated as Associate Justice in July. After Parker had learned that Roberts’ wife’s family had come from a part of Ireland close to EMK’s, EMK presents Roberts with a map of Ireland highlighting where the families were from during their meeting.

IRA disarmament is confirmed by an independent commission. EMK hails this “dramatic and historic step” as a “new dawn in the peace process.”

October Bush nominates Harriet Miers as Associate Justice, but the nomination is withdrawn later in the month. Bush goes on to nominate Samuel Alito.

2006

January The Senate confirms the Alito nomination 58-42, with EMK voting against.

November The Democrats regain control of the House and Senate. EMK regains chairmanship of the HELP Committee.

May EMK travels to Stormont as part of a special Presidential delegation to witness the opening of the new, power-sharing government.

2007

January EMK gives a speech at the National Press Club in which he calls on Congress to act action to prevent an escalation of the war in Iraq. Bush announces a “surge” in troop levels later in the month.

2008

- January* EMK endorses Senator Barack Obama (D-IL) for the Democratic presidential nomination over Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY).
- May* EMK is diagnosed with a malignant brain tumor.
- August* EMK makes surprise appearance to speak at the Democratic National Convention in Denver. EMK, who had only recently completed chemotherapy and radiation treatment, had planned to give speech by prerecorded videotape.

CAREY PARKER FACT SHEET (1969-PRESENT)

Prepared by Rob Martin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/15/2008

Parker's early experience

- Clerk to Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart

Parker's work with EMK

- 1969-1979: legislative assistant
- 1980: works full-time on presidential campaign (Susman reportedly serves as acting l.a.)
- 1980-1981: legislative assistant
- 1982-present: chief l.a./legislative director (though had been *de facto* l.d. for years)
- Late 90s-early 2000s?: Parker recovers from heart condition; away from office for 1 year
- Responsibilities include: strategic adviser, speechwriting, vetting public statements, hiring staffers, Irish conflict and civil rights legislation

Select issues and events Parker has worked on over the years:

- Feb 1969: Parker is hired by Dave Burke and Jim Flug to replace Flug as l.a.
- 1969-70: Parker serves as EMK's liaison to Committee of 100's technical committee, which drafts EMK's 1970 NHI proposal
- 1970: Parker works with EMK on giving voting representation to D.C.
- 1970: Parker works with EMK to lower voting age to 18 in amendment to VRA
- 1970: Parker and Flug spend summer in MA working on EMK's Senate campaign against Spaulding
- 1973: Parker helps advise EMK on how to respond to Saturday Night Massacre
- Early-mid 70s: Parker works with EMK to protest of Nixon's pocket veto during a short cong. recess; U.S. Court of Appeals rules in '74 for EMK in *Kennedy v. Sampson*
- 1976: Parker works with EMK on tax reform in effort to cut loopholes and tax shelters
- 1977: at suggestion of Parker and Hume, EMK joins with Four Horsemen to issue first statement on Irish conflict; Parker continues working with Hume and Michael Lillis to draft statements on Irish conflict in subsequent years
- 1977: Parker travels with EMK to China; Parker arranges for meeting with Deng Xiaping
- 1978: Parker helps write EMK's speech at Democratic midterm convention in Memphis
- 1979-80: Parker joins EMK's campaign staff full-time; Parker and Shrum are key speechwriters and travel with EMK throughout campaign
- 1979: Parker and Shrum write EMK's Fanueil Hall speech announcing his campaign; disagreement with Goodwin, who had written a more aggressive draft attacking Carter
- Jan 1980: EMK loses in Iowa; asks Parker/Shrum to draft concession speech; Parker at key meeting which is split 4-4 over whether to continue; EMK decides to continue on own terms embracing liberal principles; Parker helps write Georgetown speech announcing shift
- 1980: Parker and Shrum write EMK's speech at Democratic National Convention; they also work teleprompter for EMK during the speech
- 1982: Parker and Shrum write EMK's book calling for nuclear freeze
- 1982: EMK decides not to run for president in '84; asks Parker/Shrum to draft statement

- Early-mid 80s: Parker works with EMK to urge Reagan to address Irish conflict with Thatcher; helps lead to historic 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement
- 1985: EMK decides not to run for president in 1988; Parker helps Shrum to write announcement; EMK requires repeated takes on taping of announcement
- 1986: South Africa sanctions/veto override (Parker suggests that EMK personally meet with Cong. Black Caucus to encourage House to accept more moderate Senate bill)
- 1987: EMK becomes Labor Chairman after Democrats retake Senate in 1986 (Parker works with staff director Tom Rollins to set legislative priorities; Parker works with Rollins' successor, Littlefield, to write one major policy speech a year from late 80s to early 90s to frame priorities)
- 1987: Bork nomination (Parker, with help from Blattner who had handled the research, writes EMK's "Robert Bork's America" Senate floor speech)
- 1989: EMK gives speech at Schoeneberg City Hall where JFK had spoken in Berlin
- 1990: Souter nomination (Parker, Osolinik, Blattner advise EMK on whether to oppose)
- 1991: William Kennedy Smith charged with sexual battery in Palm Beach (Parker, Cooper and Craig work with EMK to help him prepare to testify at trial)
- 1991: EMK gives speech at Harvard acknowledging mistakes in private life
- 1993: Clinton nominates JKS as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland (it was likely Parker's idea for EMK to lobby Clinton for the appointment)
- 1994: Gerry Adams visa; Cahill visa
- 1994: Breyer nomination (Parker relays messages from Hatch about opposition to Babbitt, helping to clear path for EMK to lobby again for Breyer)
- 1994: EMK defeats Romney in tough Senate reelection campaign
- 1995: EMK gives speech urging Democrats to "stick to their guns" and challenge Gingrich revolution; personally appeals to Clinton to fight cuts
- 1996: Kassebaum-Kennedy bill (Parker learns that Archer has 94 year old mother; to gain Archer's support, Parker gives her an inscribed copy of Rose Kennedy's autobiography)
- 1998/1999: Parker helps advise EMK on Clinton impeachment trial
- Sep 2002: EMK gives Johns Hopkins speech arguing against Bush doctrine on preventive war
- Jan 2003: EMK gives speech at National Press Club arguing that Bush should focus less on Iraq and more on North Korea and the war on terrorism
- July 2003: EMK gives speech at Johns Hopkins calling for more international cooperation on Iraq
- 2004: EMK gives series of speeches criticizing Bush on Iraq, including Brookings speech in April calling Iraq Bush's Vietnam
- 2004: EMK campaigns for John Kerry
- 2005/06 four-year fight over Bush judicial nominations peaks in debate over nuclear option and Roberts and Alito nominations; Flug tries to draw on Parker's work in 1974 *Kennedy v. Sampson* to challenge Bush's Feb 04 recess appoint of Pryor; Parker learns that Roberts' wife's family had come from part of Ireland near Kennedy's and presents him with map
- 2008: EMK supports Obama campaign
- 2008: EMK makes surprise appearance to speak at Democratic National Convention after undergoing chemotherapy and radiation for malignant brain tumor

KEY EVENTS DURING PARKER'S TENURE WITH EMK (1969-PRESENT)

Prepared by Rob Martin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/15/2008

- 1969 Parker joins EMK's Senate staff
- 1969 Chappaquiddick
- 1969 Haynsworth nomination
- 1969 Joe Kennedy dies
- 1969-70 EMK works with Committee of 100 on NHI
- 1970 Carswell nomination
- 1970 EMK works to give voting representation to D.C.
- 1970 Voting Rights Act (VRA)/18 year old voting age
- 1970 Senate campaign vs. Spaulding
- 1971 EMK loses Whip fight to Byrd
- 1971 EMK becomes chairman of Health subcommittee
- 1971 Rehnquist nomination
- 1971 Kennedy/Ribicoff resolution on Irish conflict
- 1972 EMK turns down offer to be McGovern's running-mate
- 1973 EMK's Ad Prac turns over materials to Ervin's Watergate Committee
- 1973 Saturday Night Massacre
- 1973 Teddy Jr. is diagnosed with leg
- 1974 U.S. Court of Appeals rules in favor of EMK's protest of Nixon's use of a pocket veto during a short congressional recess in *Kennedy v. Sampson*
- 1974 Nixon resigns; Ford sworn in as president
- 1975 VRA to broaden protection to language minorities
- 1976 EMK Senate campaign against Robertson; Carter elected president
- 1977 EMK becomes chairman of Antitrust subcommittee
- 1977 EMK/Four Horsemen issue first statement on Irish conflict
- 1977 Parker travels with EMK to China
- 1978 EMK speech at Democratic midterm convention in Memphis
- 1979 EMK becomes chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee
- 1979/80 EMK presidential campaign
- 1980 EMK speech at Democratic National Convention
- 1981 Reagan elected president; EMK loses Judiciary chair; begins fighting Reagan cuts
- 1982 VRA to establish a results (vs. intent) test
- 1982 Parker/Shrum write EMK's book calling for nuclear freeze
- 1982 EMK campaign against Shamie; decides not to run for president in 1984
- 1985 EMK urges Reagan to address Irish conflict with Thatcher; Anglo-Irish Agreement
- 1985 EMK decides not to run for president in 1988
- 1986 South Africa sanctions/veto override
- 1986 Rehnquist nomination as Chief Justice
- 1986 Iran-contra story breaks
- 1987 EMK becomes Labor Chairman after Democrats retake Senate in 1986
- 1987 Bork nomination

- 1988 Civil Rights Restoration Act to overturn *Grove City*; veto override
- 1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act to strengthen 1968 law
- 1988 Bush is elected president
- 1989 Communism falls in eastern Europe; EMK speaks at Schoeneberg City Hall, Berlin
- 1990 Souter nomination
- 1990 Stephen Smith dies
- 1991 Gulf War
- 1991 William Kennedy Smith charged with sexual battery in Palm Beach
- 1991 EMK gives speech at Harvard acknowledging mistakes in private life
- 1991 Clarence Thomas nomination
- 1991 Civil Rights Act passed on discrimination/harassment in workplace
- 1992 VRA to build on 1975 act and further expand protection to language minorities
- 1992 EMK marries Vicki Reggie
- 1992 Clinton is elected president
- 1993 Clinton nominates Jean Kennedy Smith as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland
- 1994 Gerry Adams visa; Cahill visa
- 1994 Breyer nomination
- 1994 EMK defeats Romney; EMK loses Labor chair in “Republican Revolution”
- 1995 EMK gives speech urging Democrats to “stick to their guns” and challenge Gingrich revolution; personally appeals to Clinton to fight cuts
- 1995 Rose Kennedy dies
- 1996 Kassebaum-Kennedy bill
- 1998 Good Friday Agreement
- 1998/1999 Clinton impeachment
- 1999 JFK Jr. dies in plane accident
- 2000 Bush wins presidential election; Florida contested; EMK reelected to Senate
- 2001 Democrats retake Senate with Jeffords defection; EMK takes Labor chair
- 2001 9/11 terrorist attacks; immigration and border security reform; military tribunals
- 2002 Senate authorizes Bush to use force in Iraq
- 2002 Republicans retake Senate; EMK loses HELP chair
- 2003 U.S. invades Iraq; EMK gives series of speeches opposing the war
- 2004 EMK brings Dem. convention to Boston; supports Kerry; Bush is elected president
- 2005/06 four-year fight over Bush judicial nominations peaks in debate over nuclear option and Roberts and Alito nominations
- 2005 IRA disarmament/2006 Stormont ceremony
- 2006 VRA to extend VRA for 25 years; passed 98-0
- 2006 Democrats retake Senate; EMK is reelected; becomes HELP chairman
- 2008 EMK supports Obama campaign
- 2008 EMK diagnosed with brain tumor
- 2008 EMK makes surprise appearance to speak at Democratic National Convention

SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY FOREIGN TRAVEL (1962-PRESENT)

Prepared by Rob Martin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/30/2009

- 1962** **Europe/Israel:** EMK and Claude Hooton travel to London, Brussels, Israel, Greece, Vienna, Poland and West Berlin; EMK meets Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion in Israel, has lunch with President DeValera in Dublin, and meets RFK in West Berlin for EMK's 30th birthday.
- 1963** **Yugoslavia:** Traveling with Joan Kennedy, EMK speaks to the Interparliamentary Union in Belgrade on civil rights and has lunch with Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of the South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem.
- 1964** **Europe:** EMK travels to Ireland, Bonn, Munich, Frankfurt and Italy with William vanden Heuvel to raise money for the John F. Kennedy Library; during the trip EMK meets British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and French Premier Georges Pompidou, and retraces the steps JFK had taken in Ireland the previous year when JFK had promised "to come back in the springtime."
- 1965** **Vietnam/Philippines:** EMK leads a Refugees and Escapees Subcommittee inspection tour of South Vietnam.
- Hong Kong:** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy.
- Geneva:** EMK attends a session of the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration and speaks on Vietnamese refugees to the International Council of Voluntary Agencies.
- 1966** **London, Frankfurt, Geneva, Rome:** Traveling with William vanden Heuvel, EMK speaks in Geneva with the Red Cross about U.S. POWs in Vietnam and meets with Pope Paul VI at the Vatican.
- Jordan:** EMK travels to meet with Palestinian refugees in Jordan.
- 1968** **Vietnam:** EMK takes his second inspection tour of Vietnam.
- Spain:** EMK travels with Claude Hooton, Chuck McDermott and Joe Kennedy.
- Greece:** EMK travels to Skorpios with Jacqueline Kennedy, who is to marry Aristotle Onassis later in the year.
- 1969** **Belgium:** EMK attends a NATO meeting.
- 1970** **Bangladesh:** EMK travels to Bangladesh, which is seeking independence from Pakistan and is suffering from a harsh famine.

Netherlands: EMK, Joan Kennedy and staff travel to The Hague to attend a NATO meeting.

1971 **India:** EMK travels with Jerry Tinker, John Lewis and Dr. Nevin Scrimshaw to inspect the refugee situation stemming from Pakistan's suppression of the Bangali independence movement; EMK cancels his stop in Pakistan after the government declares EMK "persona non grata" for criticizing the government's actions.

Europe: EMK and Joan Kennedy travel to Europe on first of two trips in 1971.

Europe/Israel: EMK tours Israel, England and Finland with Joan Kennedy to study the health care systems of other industrialized countries; in England, a woman asks EMK he has spoken out against violence at Kent State but not Northern Ireland; EMK goes on to give his first speech to the Senate on Irish conflict the next month.

1972 **Bangladesh:** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy, Joe Kennedy, Jerry Tinker and Dale DeHaan to the new independent state and meets President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who had been imprisoned in Pakistan during the fight for independence.

Germany and France: EMK travels with Joan Kennedy and Mark Schneider for a NATO meeting; EMK meets John Hume for the first time in Bonn.

1973 **Belgium:** EMK travels to NATO headquarters with Mark Schneider.

Europe: EMK travels with Joan Kennedy and Bob Hunter to Zurich, Venice, London and Salzburg.

1974 **Soviet Union/Europe:** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy, Teddy, Jr., Bob Hunter, Jim King and Ken Regan to the USSR, Yugoslavia, Rumania and West Germany. EMK meets with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, as well as a group of Soviet dissidents in Alexander Lerner's apartment, and with Chancellor Willy Brandt in Germany.

Europe/Middle East: Traveling with Joan and Rose Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, John Tunney and Bob Hunter, EMK attends a NATO meeting in London, has lunch with President Valery Giscard d'Estaing in Paris, meets with Premier Anwar Sadat in Egypt, with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and his predecessor Golda Meir in Israel, with President Francisco da Costa Gomes in Portugal, and with King Hussein in Jordan.

- 1975** **Mexico:** During trip, EMK calls for the lifting of trade sanctions against Cuba; *The New York Times* reports the next month that EMK is planning a trip to Cuba.
- Israel/Persian Gulf:** Traveling with Kara Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, Pat and Victoria Lawford, Edward P. Morgan, Ken Regan and Bob Hunter, EMK meets with King Khalid in Saudi Arabia, the Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi and Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda in Iran, and with Premier Yitzhak Rabin in Jerusalem; EMK also had meetings scheduled in Iraq with President Akbar and Saddam Hussein.
- 1976** **Canada:** EMK travels with Bob Hunter.
- Italy/Corsica/Greece:** Traveling with Joe Kennedy, Claude Hooton and staff, including Bob Hunter and Dale DeHaan, EMK meets with Prime Minister Karamanlis in Greece and President Leoni in Rome.
- 1977** **China:** EMK travels over New Years' with a large group of family and staff, including Ken Regan; EMK meets with foreign minister Huang Hua and vice premier Teng Hsiao-ping, discussing normalization of relations and Taiwan.
- 1978** **Soviet Union:** Travelling with Jan Kalicki, Larry Horowitz, Richard Burke and Ken Regan, EMK attends an international health conference and meets with Brezhnev to discuss refuseniks and Carter's views on arms control and human rights.
- 1979** **London/Mexico:** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy and Teddy, Jr.
- 1983** **Panama:** EMK travels with Patrick Kennedy.
- 1984** **Ethiopia/Sudan:** EMK visits the famine-struck region with Teddy, Jr. and Kara Kennedy, as well as Jerry Tinker, Jay Kingham, and John Wise. Ken Regan may have also accompanied EMK on this trip.
- 1985** **South Africa:** EMK travels with Teddy, Jr. and Kara Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, Steve Smith, Jr., Kathleen Townsend, Chris Kennedy and numerous staff including Greg Craig and Ken Regan. He meets with Reverend Desmond Tutu, Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, and Nelson Mandela's wife, Winnie Mandela, but is not allowed to visit Nelson Mandela in prison; Kathleen Townsend presents Tutu with the 1985 Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award; EMK also travels to Zambia to meet with Oliver Tambo, the exiled acting head of the African National Congress.
- Switzerland/Germany:** EMK travels with Jerry Tinker to Geneva to attend the UN Conference on Famine and to Germany to discuss arms control issues.

Rome: EMK travels with Amanda and Jean Kennedy Smith, Alexandra Schlesinger, and Eddy Martin, and meets with Pope John Paul II.

1986 **South America:** EMK travels to Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile and Argentina with Jean Kennedy Smith, Pat Lawford and staff, including Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg and Mark Schneider; EMK meets with President Alan Garcia in Peru and is confronted by hostile protesters in Chile.

Soviet Union: Traveling with Larry Horowitz and Tom Longstreth, EMK meets with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shervardnadze, and again with dissidents in Alexander Lerner's apartment in Moscow.

Middle East: EMK travels to Egypt, Jordan and Israel in the wake of Iran-Contra with Jean Kennedy Smith, William Barry, and staff, including Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg and Chuck Stein; EMK meets with President Mubarek in Egypt and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in Israel.

1987 **Panama:** EMK travels with Greg Craig and Jim Rooney.

Poland: EMK travels with his three children, Jean Kennedy Smith, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Patricia Kennedy Lawford, Ethel Kennedy and five of her and RFK's children to present the Robert F. Kennedy Award to three Solidarity activists. EMK is also accompanied by Lee Fentress, Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg, Jim Rooney, Chris Doherty, Caroline Croft, and John Robinson of the *Boston Globe*. EMK meets with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and the Polish foreign and defense ministers, but not General Jaruzelski. EMK then travels to Rome to discuss his trip to Poland with Pope John Paul II.

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

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

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

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

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

- 1992** **St. Croix:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit Patricia Kennedy Lawford over Easter; while snorkeling, EMK gives Vicki her engagement ring.
- 1993/94** **Ireland:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith; JKS sets up a meeting with Taoiseach Albert Reynolds to discuss the Adams visa.
- 1995** **Israel:** EMK and Patrick Kennedy attend Rabin's funeral.
- 1996** **Italy:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy travel to Florence to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Florence Flood.
- 1998** **Ireland/Northern Ireland:** Traveling with Vicki Kennedy, as well as Trina Vargo, Kathy McKiernan and Chris Doherty, EMK meets with Protestant UUP leader David Trimble in Northern Ireland to discuss the stalled peace talks; the Good Friday Agreement is reached later that spring.
- 2000** **U.K.:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy travel to give the first Smith Memorial Lecture; EMK meets with Prime Minister Tony Blair to discuss the 2000 election and the situation in Northern Ireland.
- 2002** **Paris:** EMK, Kara Kennedy, Caroline Kennedy and Ed Schlossberg attend the opening of the Jackie Exhibit at the Louvre.
- 2003** **Netherlands:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit the Freysingers.
- 2006** **Rome/Florence/London:** Traveling with Vicki Kennedy, Pam Covington and Steve Engelberg, EMK meets with Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi, Tony Blair and then-British Labour Party leader/current Prime Minister Gordon Brown.
- 2007** **Northern Ireland:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy attend the opening ceremony of the new power-sharing government at Stormont and are seated next Baroness Eileen Paisley, the wife of the incoming First Minister Ian Paisley.

EMK'S CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATIVE HIGHLIGHTS

*Prepared by Rob Martin, Anne Mariel Peters, and Emily Jane Charnock
Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/11/2007*

(Successful legislation in bold)

<i>1963 Civil Rights Bill</i>	JFK's attempt to broadly improve civil rights protections for African-Americans. Little progress before his death.
1964 Civil Rights Act	Landmark legislation introduced by Mansfield to prohibit discrimination in public places, employment, and at the polls. It allows the AG to sue to force school desegregation. EMK votes in favor, only hours before his plane crash.
1965 Voting Rights Act	Sent to Congress by LBJ; outlaws literacy tests & allows DOJ to oversee voter registration. In his first legislative initiative, EMK tries unsuccessfully to add a poll-tax ban to the bill. The Supreme Court rules the poll tax unconstitutional in '66.
<i>1966 Civil Rights Bill</i>	Unsuccessful LBJ-requested legislation to strengthen protection of civil rights; includes controversial fair housing legislation.
<i>1967 Civil Rights Bill</i>	LBJ's follow up on '66 legislation also unsuccessful; EMK fights to keep controversial fair housing provisions in bill.
1968 Civil Rights Act	Landmark fair housing legislation, co-sponsored by EMK.
1969 Philadelphia Plan	EMK-supported bill requiring govt. contractors to hire minority workers according to quotas; bill passes.
1970 VRA Extension	EMK calls for legislation lowering voting age to 18 to be legislation as an amendment with EMK and Magnuson as cosponsors; the bill easily passes. Supreme Court rules it constitutional only in federal elections; Congress passes it as 26 th Amendment in '71.
<i>1970 Indian Education Bill</i>	Legislation from Sen. Interior & Insular Affairs Com. to allow Dept. of Interior to improve classrooms in Native American schools, place students in local public schools rather than boarding schools, & specify equal standards; EMK supports the bill, but it fails.

1970 Mental Retardation & Developmental Disabilities Act	EMK-sponsored legislation to improve federal programs to help the developmentally disabled; the bill passes 69-0 and the conference report is adopted by voice vote.
1971 Indian Education Act	EMK & others introduce bill to improve education for Native Americans, particularly in non-reservation schools; gives Native Americans greater role in setting their own education policy; the bill passes the Senate & is eventually incorporated into the 1972 Education Amendments.
<i>1972 Equal Rights Amendment</i>	Bayh proposes Senate version of legislation to prevent discrimination on account of sex. EMK switches his position to support it; the amendment passes 84-8 in Senate, but fails to gain ratification in 3/4 of US states.
Title IX of 1972 Education Amendments	Bayh proposes an amendment to the aid-to-education bill, prohibiting sex discrimination in most education programs receiving federal funds. EMK votes against the education bill itself because strong anti-busing provisions have been added in conference.
1970s Anti-busing Amendments	After federal courts rule in the early 70s that busing can be used to integrate public schools, EMK fights a series of anti-busing amendments in '72, '74 & '75 aimed at limiting the ability of courts and HEW to order busing. EMK successfully fights some of the stronger anti-busing amendments, but is unable to stop compromise legislation in '74 & '75 that placed limits on the ability of the courts and HEW to force busing. EMK had first proposed a bill in 1966 to provide federal aid for busing and to withhold funds from segregated schools, but the bill wasn't reported.
1973 Rehabilitation Act	EMK co-sponsors legislation to extend aid to the handicapped and prohibit discrimination in federal programs or those receiving federal funds.
1975 Voting Rights Act Ext.	EMK supports successful legislation to extend the VRA, and to bring language minorities under its protection.
1975 Older Americans Act Ext.	EMK supports successful legislation from the House to extend and strengthen the 1965 Older Americans Act.
1975 Age Discrimination Act [Title III of Older Americans Act]	EMK supports successful legislation prohibiting age discrimination in programs receiving federal aid.

1980 Protection of Rights of Institutionalized Individuals	Bayh and Kastenmaier legislation allowing the federal govt. to file suits against states to protect prisoners, mental patients, etc. EMK is a co-sponsor on the Senate measure, announces for the bill, but does not vote; the bill passes.
1980 Mental Health Systems Act	EMK-sponsored legislation to expand and restructure federal aid for mental health services; EMK & Javits are unable to include a patients' "bill of rights" and EMK does not vote on the final bill.
<i>1980 Fair Housing Bill</i>	EMK and Byrd unsuccessfully attempt to pass a bill to strengthen the enforcement mechanisms of the 1968 Fair Housing Act by making it easier for the fed. govt. to sue. EMK is cosponsor and floor manager of the Senate version.
1982 VRA Extension	EMK helps draft compromise legislation (forged by Dole) to extend the VRA for 25 years and establish a "results" test; making it easier to find that election laws are discriminatory. Previously, proof was required that the "intent" behind the election laws was discriminatory. The 1982 Act follows stronger but unsuccessful legislation that EMK and a group of other senators had introduced in '81.
1983 MLK Holiday	EMK and Mathias lead the Senate fight to make King's birthday a national holiday (EMK is a cosponsor, though the House version passes); EMK and Helms enter a bitter and personal debate; the legislation passes.
1983 Civil Rights Commission Reauthorization	An EMK-supported bill to extend mandate of the Civil Rights Commission for 6 years; delayed by Hatch's attempts to secure Reagan nominees; a compromise passes but, reportedly, it is not fully honored.
<i>1983 Equal Rights Amendment</i>	O'Neill unsuccessfully tries to resurrect the ERA, which has failed to gain ratification by the required 3/4 of states. EMK co-sponsors a companion Senate measure, but the attempt fails in the House.
<i>1984 Civil Rights (Restoration) Act</i>	EMK-sponsored proposal to overturn <i>Grove City</i> – a Supreme Court decision which hampers the fed govt's ability to restrict educational aid eligibility on the grounds of discrimination. Byrd tries to attach it to the FY 1985 appropriations bill, but the amendment is tabled.

<i>1985 Anti-Apartheid Legislation</i>	EMK sponsors a resolution condemning Apartheid in South Africa, which passes 89-4 but does not make it to the House floor. EMK also sponsors a sanctions bill, but a weaker bill is supported in committee, passing the Senate 80-12. Amid parliamentary maneuvering, the conference report is “lost,” preventing further action.
1986 Anti-Apartheid Act and Veto Override	EMK-supported bill imposing sanctions on S. Africa; it passes 84-14, is vetoed by Reagan, but overridden 78-21.
1988 Civil Rights Restoration Act and Veto Override	EMK-sponsored bill prohibiting discrimination by organizations receiving fed assistance (with an amendment exempting medical organizations from being required to carry out abortions). Bill passes (75-14) and is vetoed by Reagan, but then overturned 73-24.
1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act	EMK-supported bill to strengthen fed law against housing discrimination and increase housing options for the disabled (wider doors, lower light switches in new units). EMK sponsors the Senate version and recruits Muhammad Ali to persuade Hatch; Reagan signs the bill.
1990 Amer. w/ Disabilities Act	After a similar bill fails in '89, a measure sponsored by Harkin (and co-sponsored by EMK, among others) passes. It gives broad protection to the disabled against bias in public accommodations and housing.
1991 Civil Rights Act	Danforth legislation making it easier for victims of discrimination or sexual harassment to sue their employers for damages; Bush had vetoed a similar bill, sponsored by EMK, in '90 (for including employment quotas). Quotas are dropped, EMK votes in favor, and Bush signs into law.
<i>1991 Crime Bill</i>	Authorizes the death penalty for more than fifty federal crimes, restricts habeas corpus petitions by those already convicted, and imposes a 5-day waiting period on handgun purchases; the bill fails, due in part to an EMK-sponsored provision to allow defendants to challenge death penalty sentences on grounds of racial discrimination.
1992 VRA Extension	Extends and expands the bilingual assistance provision of the VRA, which was first extended to language minorities in '75; EMK supports the bill (co-sponsoring the Senate version, though the House version is substituted).

1993 Family & Medical Leave Act	Allows an employee to take unpaid leave to care for a sick family member or a newborn child without losing employee benefits; the act was drafted by the National Women's Defense Fund and supported by EMK; Dodd had been leading the fight for the bill in the Senate since 1983.
1996 Defense of Marriage Act	Allows states to refuse to recognize gay marriages. EMK opposes the bill and threatens to add an amendment to extend employment discrimination protection under '64 CRA to sexual preference, but is persuaded to offer it as a separate bill. EMK's bill is defeated 49-50, while the Defense of Marriage Act is passed 85-14. EMK votes nay.
<i>2000 Hate Crimes Bill</i>	EMK sponsors an amendment to the defense authorization bill to expand federal hate crimes laws to include sexual orientation, gender and disability, but the bill is dropped in conference.
2006 VRA Extension	EMK co-sponsors the Senate bill to extend the VRA for 25 years, following House action. The bill maintains the requirement for certain states to obtain DOJ approval before changing precinct boundaries, polling places, legislative districts, ballot formats and other voting procedures. It is approved 98-0 and becomes law in July.

EMK'S LEGISLATIVE HEALTH CARE HIGHLIGHTS

Prepared by Rob Martin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/13/2008

- 1961** *EMK's father, Joseph P. Kennedy, suffers a stroke, leaving him partially paralyzed and unable to speak.*
- 1964** *EMK's back is broken in a plane crash. He spends much of the next six months recovering in a hospital Stryker frame.*
- 1967** **Neighborhood Health Centers:** After visiting a neighborhood health center in the Columbia Point public housing project in Boston in 1966, EMK sponsors legislation creating a nation-wide network of neighborhood health centers, providing medical care for mostly low-income families. Clymer identifies this as the beginning of EMK's work on the "cause that distinguished him in the Senate - healthcare." EMK sponsors legislation creating neighborhood mental health centers in 1970 and continues sponsoring legislation to strengthen both programs over the years.
- 1969-74** **NHI initiatives during Nixon Administration:** After joining Reuther's Committee of 100 to help develop and support the groups' national health insurance (NHI) plan, EMK goes on to take the leading role in the campaign for NHI after Reuther dies in a plane crash in 1970. Set to become the next chairman of the Senate Health subcommittee, EMK introduces the Committee of 100's bill in the Senate that summer and proposes an NHI bill again in 1971. During this time, the Nixon Administration presents its own NHI plan, which is largely based on employer mandates. With the Committee of 100 committed to a single-payer system, EMK works with House Ways and Means Chair Wilbur Mills in 1972 to develop a plan that is more in line with the Nixon proposal. However, labor remains unwilling to compromise, as Watergate promises to give the Democrats a big win in the next midterm elections. Stan Jones holds secret talks with Assistant HEW Secretary Stu Altman on NHI in the spring of 1974 after the Administration and Kennedy-Mills both introduce new proposals, but no agreement is reached. Momentum is lost when Mills loses support for his plan on Ways and Means to a weak, AMA-backed plan and, later in the year, Mills is forced to resign. His successor, Al Ullman, does not support NHI.
- 1971** *EMK becomes chairman of the Senate Health Subcommittee after James Yarborough (D-TX) loses his primary campaign to Lloyd Bentsen in 1970.*
- EMK holds health crisis field hearings in the spring and tours England, Finland and Israel in the fall to study the health care systems of other industrialized countries.*
- The National Cancer Act of 1971:** As the new chairman of the Senate Health Subcommittee, EMK continues Yarborough's work fighting cancer. EMK and Jacob Javits work with Mary Lasker to build support within the Nixon Administration for their legislation to increase funding for cancer research and to create a new, independently-budgeted cancer program within the NIH.

- 1971-74 The Health Professions Education Acts of 1971 and 1974:** EMK authors legislation to provide educational funding for medical students willing to serve in high-need areas, such as rural and inner city areas.
- 1972 Health care for migrant workers:** EMK strongly supports legislation to extend family health services to migrant workers.
- 1973** *EMK's son, Teddy, Jr., is diagnosed with cancer. EMK spends much time over the next two years in hospitals speaking with the parents of other sick children, who are forced to take unpaid leave from work while struggling to pay high medical bills. These experiences later lead EMK to support new legislation, including the Family and Medical Leave Act.*
- 1973 The Lead-Based Paint Act of 1973:** EMK passes legislation regulating the use of lead-based paint, which can cause severe health problems for children.
- 1973 The Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973:** EMK champions legislation to create non-profit staff and group model HMOs that would provide a wide range of medical services comparable to a comprehensive NHI plan while controlling costs. EMK fights Nixon's efforts to limit funding and Peter Dominick's AMA-backed efforts to broaden the definition of HMOs to include "independent practice associations." A compromise bill is passed which includes Dominick's broadened definition. (Caper later notes this was probably a mistake.) Congress also later passes legislation over EMK's strong objections to ease federal restrictions on HMOs.
- 1974 The National Health Planning and Development Act of 1974:** EMK sponsors a bill to create a national system of local health planning agencies, which would help contain costs by preventing the overdevelopment of unneeded hospitals and expensive specialized health facilities. Caper later suggests this bill was intended as a first step to help make the passage of NHI legislation possible by making it more affordable. Although the bill is passed, it never receives the necessary funding and is repealed under Reagan in 1986.
- Mid '70s EMK's oversight hearings:** EMK holds hearings to examine ethical guidelines and set regulations for human experimentation, as well as medical malpractice and the pharmaceutical industry.
- 1977-80 NHI initiatives during Carter Administration:** Working with HEW Secretary Joe Califano, Rep. Jim Corman (D-CA) and labor, EMK spends much of 1977 pushing Carter to start moving on NHI. EMK convinces labor to drop their demand for a single payer system, but Carter is unwilling to drop cost containment as his first priority. Carter presents his proposed health insurance plan to EMK at a White House meeting in mid-1978, which would be implemented in phases contingent on economic conditions. EMK and Carter continue private negotiations on a compromise plan, but no agreement is reached. EMK breaks with Carter, unveiling his NHI plan with Rep.

Henry Waxman (D-CA) in May 1979. Carter unveils a new proposal limited to mandatory catastrophic coverage in June 1979, which is never acted on. Historic opposition from organized medicine, business, and the insurance industry continues to block forward progress on NHI, as does Reagan's victory in the 1980 presidential election.

1980 *Reagan wins the 1980 presidential election, the Republicans win control of the Senate, and EMK loses chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee.*

Early 80s EMK fights **Reagan's budget cuts for health care spending**, including Reagan's 1981 health block grant proposal which would cut funding by 25%. EMK is unable to prevent many of the cuts but is able to limit their scope.

1986 **Comprehensive Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 (COBRA):** EMK sponsors a provision allowing employees who have left their jobs or been laid off to extend their health insurance benefits for 18 months. EMK coordinates with Stark and Waxman in the House to help his legislation to be passed.

1986 *The Democrats regain control of the Senate in the mid-term elections; EMK becomes chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee in January, 1987.*

1987 **Spousal impoverishment provision:** EMK and Barbara Mikulski sponsor a spousal impoverishment amendment to the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act, which guarantees that when one spouse goes to a nursing home the other does not need to become impoverished before Medicaid coverage will begin. The spousal impoverishment provision is passed, and is also retained after the catastrophic coverage act is repealed in 1989.

1980s/90s **AIDS Legislation:** EMK plays a leading role in fighting discrimination towards people with HIV, and works to pass legislation to fund AIDS research, health services and treatment, including the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act of 1990.

1988-92 **The Pepper Commission and the "Play or Pay" approach to NHI:** After becoming chairman of the Labor Committee in 1987, EMK sponsors the first NHI bill ever to be passed out of a committee. EMK is named to the Bipartisan Commission on Comprehensive Health Care Reform, created by Reagan and Democratic congressional leaders in 1988, which issues recommendations on universal access and long-term care. Though employer mandates remain controversial, the commission supports a plan that would require employers to either provide health insurance for their employees or contribute to a government insurance fund. EMK works with Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell to build on the commission's recommendations and sponsor a "play or pay" bill in 1992, which is passed by the Labor Committee. The "play or pay" approach is similar to Nixon's NHI proposals.

- 1993-94 Clinton and Health Care Reform:** EMK works closely with the Clinton Administration on the development of its health care reform proposal and is a lead Senate sponsor of the Administration's plan. Progress is reportedly impeded by Clinton's initial decision to give first priority to deficit reduction, inept Administration management of the political process, Rostenkowski's resignation from House Ways and Means, opposition from the insurance industry, organized medicine and business, and controversy in the Senate over employer mandates. A number of Senate committees develop their own plans, including EMK's HELP Committee, which passes a plan with some bipartisan support. However no consensus emerges behind any single plan. Mitchell proposes a modified plan in the summer, 1994, to expand coverage to 95% of the population without requiring an employer mandate, which Clinton says would now be acceptable. EMK negotiates on behalf of the Mitchell plan with John Chafee's bipartisan "Mainstream Coalition" to produce a compromise agreement, but Mitchell declares health care reform dead on September 26th after failing to attract enough votes for the new proposal. The GOP goes on to win control of both houses in the midterm elections; no health care reform legislation is passed.
- 1994** *The GOP wins control of the House and Senate in the 1994 mid-term elections. EMK loses chairmanship of the Labor Committee.*
- Mid-90s Blocking the Gingrich cutbacks:** EMK works to prevent the Republicans, who have just won control of the House and Senate in the "Republican Revolution," from cutting funding for numerous programs including Medicare, Medicaid and the FDA.
- 1996 The Kennedy-Kassebaum Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPPA):** EMK and Labor chairman Nancy Kassebaum cosponsor legislation protecting health insurance coverage for workers and their families when they change or lose their jobs. HIPPA is part of EMK's efforts to keep health insurance reform moving forward after the collapse of NHI by refocusing on a smaller initiative that can gain bipartisan support. It is passed after EMK battles Dole over Medical Savings Accounts, which EMK is able to keep limited to a small, temporarily pilot program.
- 1996-97 State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) of 1997:** EMK works with Orin Hatch and Hillary Clinton to pass legislation creating federal coverage of children's health care. The bill is passed as part of the Balanced Budget Amendment and is funded in part by a cigarette tax increase. SCHIP, along with HIPPA, is one of the proposals that EMK pulls from the various failed NHI proposals to keep health insurance reform moving forward.
- 1997-02 Patients' Bill of Rights:** EMK makes repeated attempts to enact legislation to strengthen patients' rights including giving patients the right to sue their HMOs to hold their health plans accountable for harm done. The Senate passes the McCain-Edwards-Kennedy Patients' Bill of Rights after the Democrats retake the Senate in 2001 but, unlike in 2000, the House bill contains weaker provisions. Negotiations with the Bush White House are unable to resolve the issue of damages and no legislation is enacted.

- 2001** *EMK regains chairmanship of the HELP Committee in May when Jeffords leaves the Republican Party to caucus with the Democrats as an Independent, giving the Democrats control of the Senate for a year and a half, until the GOP retakes the Senate in the 2002 midterm elections.*
- 2003** **Medicare prescription drug bill:** Starting in the late 1990s, EMK plays a leading role in the fight to add prescription drug coverage to Medicare. EMK works to build support within the drug industry and Clinton Administration, and fights to have prescription drug provisions attached to various tax bills. Unable to get his preferred plan through the Senate, EMK ultimately supports Baucus-Grassley compromise legislation in 2003. EMK works to bring Democrats on board to gain passage in the Senate, but changes made in conference lead EMK to oppose the conference report. EMK's attempted filibuster fails and the legislation is passed and signed by Bush into law.
- 2003** *EMK's daughter, Kara, is treated for lung cancer.*
- 2006** *The Democrats regain control of the House and Senate. EMK regains chairmanship of the HELP Committee.*