



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials **Robert Hunter Interview, 02/11/2009**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents¹

- Robert Hunter Timeline.
- Robert Hunter Fact Sheet.
- Edward M. Kennedy Foreign Travel.

Secondary Source Materials

- Robert Hunter bio, <http://www.rand.org>.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 2000) pp. 211-215, 231-233.
- Adam Clymer interview with Edward M. Kennedy, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 10/31/1997.
- Theo Lippman, Jr., *Senator Ted Kennedy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976) pp. 182-189.

Oral History Interviews

- Carey Parker interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/13/2008.
- Robert Bates interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/08/2007, 07/26/2007.
- Garret FitzGerald interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/28/2005.
- Milt Gwirtzman consultation, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/21/2005.

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ROBERT HUNTER TIMELINE

Prepared by Bryan Craig; revised by Janet E. Heininger, 02/10/09

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

1973

September According to Lippman, EMK meets Robert E. Hunter, an editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine, through Richard Holbrooke, who is the managing editor of the magazine. EMK hires Hunter as a full-time foreign policy aide. According to Clymer, this is part of a conscious effort to assert a voice in foreign affairs. Because of the legacy of JFK, EMK has unusual access to foreign leaders without having to hold formal positions on foreign policy-related committees. Hunter is brought on in order to create a more organized and less “episodic” foreign policy approach. (Theo Lippman, Jr., *Senator Ted Kennedy: The Career Behind the Image*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1976, pp. 179; Adam Clymer, *Edward Kennedy*, New York: William Morrow & Co., 1999, pp. 211)

Influenced by the Irish politician, John Hume, EMK writes an article for *Foreign Policy* in which he moderates his early statements on Northern Ireland from temporary direct rule to calling for power sharing, as well as denouncing violence.

On the 11th, the military junta in Chile led by Augusto Pinochet ousts democratically elected Prime Minister Salvador Allende. The U.S. government quickly recognizes the new regime despite human rights violations such as mass executions. Less than three weeks later, EMK convenes a hearing with witnesses who have escaped and who describe mass executions in the national stadium. Later in the year EMK wins congressional adoption of a resolution calling on Chile to permit the International Committee of the Red Cross access to prisoners. (Clymer, pp. 196-197)

October Hunter travels with EMK and Joan Kennedy to Zurich, Venice, London, and Salzburg.

November Teddy Kennedy Jr. is diagnosed with cancer in his leg.

December On the 6th, EMK gives a speech on energy and foreign policy, arguing the long-term solution to the current oil crisis in wake of the Yom Kippur War is for the U.S., Europe, and Japan to work together and avoid cut-throat competition as well as work with the Arab oil states to create greater stability in oil production and trade. This goes against the Nixon Administration’s response to the hike in oil prices, which is to make the U.S. independent of foreign oil. (Clymer, pp. 211)

On the 17th, the Senate debates a series of amendments to the foreign aid bill for FY 1974. EMK proposes an amendment to bar any use of the funds appropriated for support to the Chilean junta. States EMK, “It seems to me that until that country is prepared to return to the orderly processes of democratic institutions

and democratic government, it does not behoove the United States to be extending military assistance, aid, and grants to Chile.” (1973 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., pp. 186)

On the 20th, Congress approves a foreign aid bill for FY 1974, the first one since 1971.

1974

April EMK travels with Joan Kennedy, Teddy, Jr., Hunter, and Jim King to the USSR, Yugoslavia, Rumania and West Germany. EMK firsts travels to West Germany where he meets with Chancellor Willy Brandt. On the 19th, EMK speaks in Moscow on arms control, arguing the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. should not test new nuclear warheads, endorsing a Soviet proposal to try to halt the arms race in the Indian Ocean where the Soviets use Indian ports and the U.S. is developing an island base at Diego Garcia. On the 21st, he gives a speech at Moscow State University and Hunter reportedly cuts off his speech after some hostile questions. On the 22nd EMK is granted a four-hour meeting in the Kremlin with Leonid Brezhnev, the general secretary of the Communist Party. In this meeting, they discuss arms control as well as the status of refuseniks and dissidents. While in Moscow, he also visits with a group of dissidents in Alexander Lerner’s apartment. Despite Soviet opposition to the meeting, certain dissidents receive emigration visas, among them a famous cellist whom Joan Kennedy had taken a personal interest in. (Clymer, pp. 212-215; *The Washington Post*, 05/27/1974)

August On the 9th, Gerald R. Ford assumes the presidency after Richard Nixon’s resignation. Ford continues the friendly attitude towards the Chilean junta.

October The Senate debates cutting off military aid to Turkey on the 1st in response to its invasion of Cyprus in July. EMK offers an amendment cutting off aid to Chile. The Senate should go on record “in deploring the complete violation of human rights and human liberties which has been the record” of the Chilean junta. His amendment is narrowly adopted. (1974 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 550)

On the 2nd, the Senate debates the foreign aid bill for FY 1975. EMK proposes an amendment barring any military assistance to Chile, which is adopted by a voice vote but later deleted in conference. (1974 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 538, 550)

November EMK with Joan and Rose Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, John Tunney, and Hunter, 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. Ford meets with Brezhnev in Vladivostok where they agree to ceilings on bombers, missiles, and multiple-warhead missiles.

On the 19th, EMK goes to Portugal, where the forty-two-year dictatorship of Antonio Salazar and Marcello Caetano had been overthrown that spring. EMK meets with the new President, Francisco da Costa Gomes, as well as army officers and socialists. In a speech in Lisbon the next day, EMK tells reporters that he will urge the U.S. to provide economic aid to Portugal, but also warns this aid will not be provided if Portugal turns Communist. Back in D.C., EMK meets with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and urges him not to give up on democracy in Portugal yet. In the Senate, he says, “I believe that the United States should support efforts by Portuguese democrats to forge popular institutions in their country. Let it not be said this experiment was jeopardized because we turned a blind eye to what is happening in Portugal....” (Clymer, pp. 232)

December On the 3rd, the Senate debates a compromise version of the foreign aid bill negotiated between the Congress and the Ford Administration. EMK proposes an amendment to the bill on the floor authorizing \$5 million in grants and \$50 million in loans for assistance to Portugal and Portuguese colonies in Africa gaining independence. (1974 CQ Almanac, pp. 541)

On the 12th EMK, along with Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN) and Senator Charles Mathias (R-MD), introduce a resolution calling on Ford to “make every possible effort to negotiate further nuclear arms reduction measures.” EMK argues the limits are too high and do not slow the arms race. This is reportedly part of Hunter’s strategy to broaden EMK’s approach to arms control, and not focus just on a test ban treaty. (Clymer, pp. 232)

On the 28th, Hunter and Mark Schneider, another EMK staffer, visit Cuba and meet with Fidel Castro in order to reportedly prepare a visit by EMK to the island. (*The Washington Post*, 01/13/1975)

1975

January After working with the State Department, EMK, Mondale, and Mathias introduce their new resolution on the 17th. This statement goes further, insisting that the Vladivostok principles not be used as a basis for increasing the American missile arsenal. However, they settled for a promise of immediate follow-up of Vladivostok by the Ford Administration, citing the desire to support détente. (Clymer, pp. 232-233)

February EMK visits Mexico and says in an interview with the television station Televisa on the 9th that the American trade embargo against Cuba should be ended. Whatever reasons JFK had for setting up the embargo at the time, EMK says, “now they are invalid...I believe the idea of isolating Cuba was a mistake.” (*The New York Times*, 02/10/1975)

On the 22nd, EMK introduces legislation to impose a moratorium on U.S. arms sales to the Persian Gulf in order to obtain an explanation from the Ford

Administration of its long-term objectives in the Gulf. EMK states that there is an “apparently indiscriminate administration policy of selling as much military equipment, and training as many foreign soldiers, as foreign countries will pay for.” (Clymer, pp. 237; THOMAS on S 795)

March On the 4th, EMK introduces a resolution calling on the Ford Administration to normalize relations with Cuba. (*The New York Times*, 03/05/1975)

On the 11th, the Bay of Pigs Association, composed of survivors of the military invasion of Cuba in 1961, announces it wants its flag back from the JFK Library as a protest against EMK’s bill. Upon receiving the flag in 1962, JFK had promised the flag would fly again over a free Cuba. (*The New York Times*, 03/12/1975)

On the 21st, EMK, Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI) and Senator Jacob Javits (R-NY) introduce legislation to halt the development of the military base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and to limit both U.S. and Soviet military deployment in the region. (THOMAS on S Res 117)

On the 30th, *The New York Times* reports that EMK has scheduled a trip to Havana, Cuba. (*The New York Times*, 03/30/1975)

April EMK invites Hunter, Schneider, Admiral Eugene LaRoque (ret.), Barry Blechman, and others to dinner at his McLean, Virginia home to discuss military spending proposals. (Lippman, pp. 194)

May On the 20th, EMK introduces legislation that expresses the sense of the Senate that Ford should propose an immediate suspension of underground nuclear testing as long as the Soviet Union does as well, and the U.S. should begin negotiations for a permanent treaty to ban all nuclear tests. (THOMAS on S Res 163)

EMK visits Israel, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Iraq. He travels with Kara Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, Pat and Victoria Lawford, Edward P. Morgan, Ken Regan and Bob Hunter. In Saudi Arabia, EMK meets with King Khalid, who states that the Arab nations cannot relieve the energy problems of the U.S. until there is a just solution to the Middle East conflict with Israel. (*The New York Times*, 05/24/1975) On the 27th, EMK meets with the Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, as well as student leaders. EMK questions the wisdom of the U.S. selling large quantities of arms to the Persian Gulf states. (*The New York Times*, 05/28/1975) On the 30th, EMK visits Israel and meets with Premier Yitzhak Rabin in Jerusalem. He tells the press his prediction is that Congress will continue to support Israel in its efforts to achieve a settlement based on “safe, secured, and recognized borders.” (*The New York Times*, 06/01/1975)

June On the 5th, EMK proposes an amendment to the FY 1976 military procurement authorization eliminating \$203.1 million in funds for purchasing 50 additional

Minutemen III missiles, arguing they “are in excess of our security needs.” The amendment is defeated. (1975 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 374)

On the 18th, EMK testifies in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding his legislation to institute a six-month moratorium on Gulf arms sales. “We are running incredible risks of reducing rather than enhancing security in the region,” EMK states, arguing the policy “will hook these nations on the heroin of modern arms.” (Clymer, pp. 237)

September On the 24th, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, established this year to investigate domestic transgression by the Central Intelligence Agency and the broader Intelligence Community, announces it has discovered that the CIA opened mail to and from prominent American politicians for 20 years ending in 1973, among them EMK. (*The New York Times*, 09/25/1975)

October EMK writes an essay in *Foreign Affairs* arguing U.S. arms sales to the Persian Gulf is short-sighted and that a long-term strategy towards the region needs to be developed. It is likely Hunter is the staffer who worked on this article. (*Foreign Affairs*, October 1975, pp. 14-35)

November On the 3rd, the Senate adopts an amendment to the foreign economic aid bill sponsored by EMK setting a ceiling on all economic assistance to Chile (\$90 million in 1976 and \$50 million in 1977). Despite Congress having prohibited military aid to Chile in 1974 and limiting direct economic grants to about \$25 million, EMK argues total economic assistance for 1974 totaled more than \$112 million. (1975 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 339-340)

On the 14th, the FY 1976 defense appropriations bill is “sailing smoothly toward final passage” when EMK offers an amendment to close down the Anti-Ballistic Missile site near Grand Forks, North Dakota, losing by only one vote. On the 18th, the amendment loses again, but a subsequent amendment to shut down the site with the important exception of its new missile-monitoring radar system is approved. (1975 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 880)

1976

January EMK travels to Canada with Hunter.

February EMK pushes a ban on all arms sales to Chile through the Senate as an amendment to the foreign aid bill, but it is taken in the House-Senate conference. Ford subsequently vetoes the bill over other issues. (Clymer, pp. 242)

April Again EMK successfully promotes the arms sales ban to Chile, and it becomes law when Ford signs it on June 25th. However, Ford also signs a \$9.2 million contract to sell spare parts just before the bill becomes law, which EMK calls an

“outrageous breach of faith with the conferees and the Congress.” (Clymer, pp. 242-243)

Hunter and Robert Bates go to South Africa for four days to examine the conditions first-hand to help EMK form a policy towards Africa. (*The Washington Post*, 04/30/1976)

- August* On the 2nd the Senate debates the FY 1977 Defense Department appropriations. EMK offers an amendment to delete \$1.9 million from funds provided for operation of the radar system of the Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System. The Pentagon agrees the funds are not needed to operate the radar at the reduced level mandated by the FY 1976 defense appropriations bill. The amendment is approved. (*1976 CQ Almanac*, pp. 776)
- Fall* The Kennedys host Hume while he visits U.S.
- September* On the 21st, former Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. under Allende’s government, Orlando Letelier, is killed by a car bomb in Washington, D.C. EMK introduces S Res 561 condemning the assassination and calling for a federal investigation. EMK also critiques the Ford administration’s attitude on Chile, arguing it amounts to “human rights be damned.” (Clymer, pp. 242-243)
- October* *The New York Times* reports that Hunter is the principal writer for Jimmy Carter’s foreign policy briefing book for the upcoming presidential debate against Ford. (*The New York Times*, 10/06/1976)
- November* Traveling with Joe Kennedy, Claude Hooton and staff, including Hunter and Dale DeHaan, EMK meets with Prime Minister Karamanlis in Greece and President Giovanni Leone in Rome.
- December* On the 16th, EMK and Mathias send a letter to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence urging it to investigate the reported secret activities inside the U.S. of intelligence agencies of “friendly” nations such as Chile and South Korea. (*The New York Times*, 12/16/1976)

1977

- January* Hunter leaves EMK’s staff to become Director of West European Affairs on Carter’s National Security Council. He approaches Jan Kalicki to replace him. (*The Washington Post*, 01/24/1977; Clymer interview with Jan Kalicki, 12/09/1993, pp. 1-2)
- March* On St. Patrick’s Day, the “Four Horsemen”, EMK, Rep. “Tip” O’Neil (D-MA), Rep. Hugh Carey (D-NY), and Senator Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), release a joint statement (drafted in large part by Hume) encouraging a peaceful resolution to the conflict and to discourage Americans from aiding the Irish Republican Army.

- 1983** Hunter is named lead consultant on a Reagan-appointed National Bipartisan Commission on Central America headed by Kissinger.
- 1985**
- January* The Commission on Central America reports on the 11th that the administration's policy of covert action in support of the Contras is a good one. Over Kissinger's objections, a majority of the commission says aid to El Salvador should be conditioned on improvements in human rights, especially a curb on the right-wing death squads that have killed thousands of civilians. (Clymer, pp. 355)
- On the 15th, EMK denounces the commission's report in *The Washington Post*. He says the administration's Central America policy is repeating the classic mistake of relying on "armed force" to support "forces of reaction and repression in the region." The issue is of particular interest in Massachusetts within liberal intellectual circles, as well as Catholic orders like the Maryknolls who have sent nuns to Central America. (Clymer, pp. 355)
- 1993**
- March* Clinton nominates Jean Kennedy Smith as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.
- July* Hunter becomes U.S. Ambassador to NATO serving until January 1998. One of his duties is dealing with the Bosnian War.
- October* EMK votes in favor of a resolution prohibiting funding for U.S. military actions in Bosnia without congressional approval. (1993 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 41-S)
- 1994** EMK continues to vote for various bills that authorize the use of force in Bosnia with advance approval, unless evacuating UN peacekeepers, to protect NATO exclusion zones and UN forces in the region, but limits the role and duration of those combat forces. EMK initially supports the unilateral lifting of an arms embargo on Bosnia, though by 1995 he comes to support Clinton's position to keep the embargo in place. (*Selected Congressional Votes since 1982*, CRS, pp.10-12, 21)
- November* Hunter visits Ireland for two days to speak with the Oireachtas Foreign Affairs Committee and the Institute of European Affairs. He speaks about the NATO sponsored Partnership for Peace (PFP) recently launched by Clinton to expand NATO to Central and Eastern European countries and whether Ireland would join the PFP. He stays with JKS. (*The Irish Times*, 11/04/1994)
- 1995**
- November* The Dayton Peace Accords are signed.

1996

Sept-Oct. Hunter goes to Ireland for a conference on security issues in Europe. JKS, who attends the conference, calls Hunter a “close friend of the Kennedy family.” (*The Irish Times*, 10/01/1996)

ROBERT HUNTER FACT SHEET

Prepared by Bryan Craig

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

Positions w/ EMK:

- 1973-1977: foreign policy advisor

Important issues Hunter works on with EMK:

- Middle East: EMK gives a 1973 speech on oil and foreign policy, which Clymer identifies as EMK's first major initiative after bringing Hunter onboard to develop a more organized approach to foreign policy; EMK writes a 1975 *Foreign Affairs* article on Persian Gulf policy (on which Hunter likely assists); introduction of 1975 legislation to stop U.S. arm sales to the region.
- Arms Control: 1974 EMK-Mondale-Mathias resolution, which comes out of Hunter's efforts to broaden EMK's approach to arms control beyond test ban treaty; legislative attempt to ban underground nuclear testing; legislative attempts to cut back on missile programs.
- Portugal: EMK supports the overthrow of Salazar and visits Portugal in 1974 with Hunter to press for aid to the new government.
- Chile: EMK fights against aid to Pinochet (Mark Schneider is lead staffer on Chilean issues, but Hunter is also involved).
- Cuba: EMK's efforts to normalize U.S. relations with Castro.

Hunter's foreign trips:

- 1973 trip with EMK to Zurich, Venice, London, and Salzburg
- 1974 trip with EMK to Yugoslavia, Rumania, USSR, and West Germany
- 1974 trip with EMK to London, Paris, Egypt, Israel, Lisbon, and Jordan
- 1974 trip to Cuba
- 1975 trip with EMK to Saudi Arabia, Iran, Israel and Iraq
- 1976 trip with EMK to Canada
- 1976 trip with Robert Bates to South Africa to help EMK develop an Africa policy
- 1976 trip with EMK to Italy and Corsica
- 1976 trip with EMK to Greece

Other positions:

- 1972: Associate Exec. Director of platform committee, Democratic National Convention
- 1977-1981: National Security Council (Western Europe then Middle East) under Carter and principle author of the Carter Doctrine
- 1983-84: Special advisor on Lebanon to Speaker of the House "Tip" O'Neill
- 1983-84: Lead consultant to National Bipartisan Commission on Central America
- 1983-1993: V.P. for International Politics and Director of European Studies at Center for Strategic and International Studies
- 1992: Senior foreign policy adviser for Clinton campaign
- 1993-1998: U.S. Ambassador to NATO
- 1998-Present: Senior Adviser at the RAND Corporation

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.