



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials **John Kerry Interview, 06/21/2010**

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Miller Center Documents¹

- John Kerry Timeline.
- John Kerry Fact Sheet.
- John Kerry Abbreviated Timeline.

Secondary Source Materials

- John Kerry bio, <http://bioguide.congress.gov>.
- Michael Kranish, Brian C. Mooney, and Nina J. Easton, *John F. Kerry: The Complete Biography by the Boston Globe Reporters who Know Him Best* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004) pp. 122, 225-226, 319-320, 384-385.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow, 1999) pp. 573-575, 585-586.
- Robert Shrum, *No Excuses: Concessions of a Serial Campaigner* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007) pp. 388-390, 423-424, 451-452.
- Peter S. Canellos, ed. *Last Lion: The Fall and Rise of Ted Kennedy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009) pp. 363-365, 373-376.
- Paul Alexander, *The Candidate: behind John Kerry's Remarkable Run for the White House* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2004) pp. 75, 84, 92-93, 111.

Oral History Interviews

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 08/14/2006.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 08/08/2007.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/09/2007.

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.

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/23-24/2005.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/14/2005.
- Nan Aron interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 01/26/2007.
- Robert Bates interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/08/2007.
- Ranny Cooper interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/25/2008.
- Dale DeHaan interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/02/2006.
- E.J. Dionne interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/20/2007.
- Gerry Doherty interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/10/2005.
- Paul Donovan interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/17/2009.
- John Farrell interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/13/2006.
- Jim Flug interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/18/2007.
- Chris Jennings interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/13/2007.
- Nick Littlefield interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 2/14/2009.
- Melody Miller interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/15/2008.
- Mike 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.
- Warren Rudman interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/16/2006.
- Thomas Susman interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/23/2007.
- Trina Vargo interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/07/2008.

Other

- Senator Edward M. Kennedy dictated notes.

JOHN KERRY TIMELINE

Prepared by Bryan Craig; revised by Janet E. Heininger, Ph.D. 01/15/10

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/06/2009

1962 John Kerry graduates from St. Paul's School. He reportedly idolizes President John F. Kennedy (JFK) and briefly dates Janet Auchincloss, Jackie Kennedy's half-sister. In August, he visits the Auchincloss estate where he meets JFK. Before enrolling as a freshman at Yale University, Kerry works on Edward M. Kennedy's (EMK) senatorial campaign. (Paul Alexander, *The Candidate: Behind John Kerry's Remarkable Run for the White House*, New York: Riverhead Books, 2004, p. 37; *The New York Times*, 01/11/2004)

November EMK is elected to the U.S. Senate.

1966 Kerry graduates from Yale, and although he delivers a commencement speech criticizing the Vietnam War, he volunteers for the Navy. Kerry's decision is influenced by William Bundy, a former assistant secretary of state under JFK, who visits Yale and encourages Kerry and his friends to join the armed forces as officers. (*Newsmakers*, 2005)

1967 Kerry serves on a guided-missile frigate, which includes spending five months in port in California. (*Newsmakers*, 2005)

1968

January EMK completes his second inspection tour of Vietnam. He returns to give a negative assessment of the situation to President Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ).

Tet offensive.

March RFK announces his candidacy for president, calling for new policies in Vietnam.

June RFK is killed in Los Angeles.

Fall While campaigning for president, Richard Nixon says he has "secret plan" to end the war, which he later reveals to be encouraging the Vietnamese to assume a larger role in the conflict.

December Kerry serves as captain of a Navy swift boat in Vietnam through April of 1969. Kerry receives three Purple Hearts for combat wounds sustained while patrolling the Mekong River Delta, as well as earning a Silver and Bronze Star.

1969

January EMK is elected majority whip by Senate Democrats.

<i>March</i>	President Nixon begins secret bombing of Cambodia.
<i>April</i>	After receiving his third Purple Heart, Kerry completes his service as a swift boat captain and is transferred to New York, where he serves as an admiral's aide. (<i>Newsmakers</i> , 2005)
<i>May</i>	U.S. troops suffer massive casualties at "Hamburger Hill."
<i>July</i>	EMK's accident at Chappaquiddick.
<i>October</i>	EMK speaks to an anti-war crowd of over 100,000 on Boston Common.
<i>November</i>	Seymour Hersh breaks the story of the My Lai Massacre, 20 months after the incident had occurred.
<i>December</i>	Draft lottery is held.

1970

<i>January</i>	Kerry receives an early discharge from the Navy to run for Congress in Massachusetts, but drops out of the race when it becomes clear that another anti-war candidate will win. Kerry goes on to become a leader of the Vietnam Veterans against the War. (<i>Newsmakers</i> , 2005)
<i>May</i>	Four student anti-war protesters are killed at Kent State.
<i>December</i>	Ruling on the constitutionality of the 18-year-old voting age set by the 1970 Voting Rights Act, the Supreme Court finds that Congress can control federal but not state voting ages. Congress goes on to amend the Constitution to make the voting age a uniform 18, which is ratified in 1971. (Adam Clymer, <i>Edward Kennedy: A Biography</i> , New York: William Morrow and Company, 1999, p. 166)

1971

<i>January</i>	EMK loses Senate whip election to Robert Byrd.
<i>March</i>	Lt. William Calley is sentenced to life in prison for his role in the My Lai massacre, but Nixon intervenes to place Calley under house arrest.
<i>April</i>	EMK first meets Kerry during an anti-war rally at the Mall, where EMK speaks to about 1,100 veterans, and Kerry shows EMK around the veterans' camp. The next day Kerry provides testimony before the Senate that is critical of the Vietnam War, then visits EMK in his Senate office. (John Kerry, <i>The New Soldier</i> , New York: Macmillan Company, 1971, p. 29; Michael Kranish, Brian C. Mooney, and

Nina J. Easton, *John F. Kerry: The Complete Biography by the Boston Globe Reporters who Know Him Best*, New York: PublicAffairs, 2004, pp. 122, 152)

June The Pentagon Papers are published in *The New York Times*.

The Senate votes 57-42 to end military operations in Indochina at the “earliest practicable date,” as well as the withdrawal of all troops within either six or nine months. The timetable language is later removed in conference.

1972

Feb./March EMK holds amnesty hearings through his AdPrac subcommittee.

Fall Kerry runs for Congress again in Massachusetts, moving twice in two months before settling on the district in which he will run. EMK campaigns for Kerry, who wins the Democratic primary but loses in the general election to a Republican who questions Kerry’s patriotism. (*Newsmakers*, 2005)

December Nixon orders the “Christmas bombings” of Hanoi and Haiphong.

1973

Jan./Feb. The Paris Peace Accords are signed and a cease-fire in Laos is reached, but Nixon renews the saturation bombing of Cambodia. (*1973 CQ Almanac*, p. 791)

Early 1973 With Nixon’s induction authority to end in June, the draft effectively ends.

May The “Eagleton Amendment” is passed, which plays a key role in ending U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

Fall Kerry attends law school at Boston College from 1973-1976.

1974 Nixon resigns as president in August.

1975 The last Americans are evacuated by helicopter from South Vietnam in April.

1979 Kerry invests in a cookie shop at Boston’s Quincy Market with friend and former EMK aide, K. Dun Gifford. (Kranish, Mooney, and Easton, pp. 176)

1982-1984 Kerry serves as lieutenant governor of Massachusetts.

1984

November After incumbent Senator Paul Tsongas (D-MA) retires due to ill health, Kerry is elected to the U.S. Senate. Kerry reportedly eschews pork-barrel politics and

immediately plunges into foreign policy issues. (*Encyclopedia of World Biography Supplement*)

1985 Kerry is assigned to the Senate Foreign Relations and the Labor and Human Resources Committees. On Labor, Kerry serves with EMK on the Subcommittee on the Handicapped. Kerry also serves on the Subcommittee of Children, Family, Drugs, and Alcoholism.

January EMK returns from his trip to Ethiopia and the Sudan to Washington, D.C. in time to escort Kerry as he is sworn into office on the 3rd. (Clymer, p. 365)

April Kerry and Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA) visit Nicaragua. President Daniel Ortega offers a plan to call for a cease-fire if the U.S. stops funding the contras. Secretary of State George Schultz criticizes the trip and turns Ortega's offer down. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 04/23/1985)

Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, introduces a bill composed by himself, Charles Mathias (R-MD), and Robert Dole (R-KS) on South Africa sanctions. It requires the President to impose sanctions in two years if Pretoria does not eliminate apartheid policies. It is a less stringent plan than the one introduced by EMK and Senator Lowell Weicker (R-CT), which would immediately prohibit new business investment in South Africa. EMK testifies before the Foreign Relations Committee on the 24th. (Clymer, pp. 378; *The New York Times*, 04/25/1985)

June EMK and Representative Pete Stark (D-CA), chairman of the Health Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee, hold a press conference to propose legislation that would require group insurance plans to pay for a laid-off worker's insurance coverage for eighteen months. Their bill would allow widows and divorcees and their children to continue a former spouse's health insurance coverage for five years, if they could pay for it. They also call for legislation to prohibit hospitals from refusing to provide emergency medical care for people who lack insurance or who are indigent. (Clymer, pp. 382)

On the 4th, Kerry and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approve a compromise bill (S 995) that imposes a combination of immediate and delayed sanctions on South Africa. The bill incorporates provisions from Lugar, Mathias, and Dole bill, and a stronger alternative formulated by Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT). Democrats lose a 7-9 vote for tougher provisions to ban new investment by U.S. firms, importation of Krugerrands, and technology sales to the Pretoria government. These unsuccessful provisions were taken from the EMK-Weicker bill. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, pp. 87-88)

On the 5th, the Senate debates the FY 1986 defense authorization bill. EMK supports Kerry's failed amendment to cut \$1.5 billion from SDI research. The Senate passes a compromise amendment calling for continued U.S. observance of

existing arms limits through 1986, but allows for a GOP-backed “proportionate” response to Soviet violations. The amendment is significant because the U.S. and the U.S.S.R have been observing the provisions of the SALT II agreement from 1979 (which was to expire in 1985), even though the agreement has not been ratified by Congress. EMK calls the amendment “a major victory....for the forces of arms control.” (1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 150, 22-S)

On the 6th, the Subcommittee on the Handicapped approve legislation to improve protection against abuse and neglect of the mentally ill (S 974) by authorizing new grants. Kerry fails to remove a cap on attorney awards in cases involving the rights of the mentally ill. The Senate passes the law in July but the House never gets a bill to the floor. (1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 291)

On the 7th, Kerry introduces a Senate resolution to prohibit U.S. funding for Nicaragua that would violate international law or U.S. obligations to the U.N. and Organization of American States. The Senate defeats it by a vote of 47-42 with EMK and Kerry voting in favor. The Senate agrees to a watered-down amendment that allows activities authorized by U.S. law even if it violates international law. (1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 106-107)

EMK and Kerry vote for the Anti-Apartheid Act that passes the Senate. Reagan signs an executive order for sanctions that EMK calls weak. (1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 90, 30-S)

September EMK introduces legislation (S 1615) to the omnibus budget reconciliation bill (S 1730) which would provide health insurance to laid-off workers and their families and impose new penalties on hospitals for refusing to provide emergency treatment for people without insurance. The Labor Committee approves both the health insurance provision for laid-off workers and the hospital antidumping measure. In November, the Senate passes the budget reconciliation bill, including EMK’s two provisions. (Clymer, pp. 382-383; 1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 508-509)

December EMK announces in a televised statement that he will not run for president in 1988. He acknowledges the following day at a news conference that his decision may mean that he will never again run for president.

Over the protests of business groups and the health insurance industry, EMK’s health insurance provision for laid-off workers survives the House-Senate conference for the budget bill. The so-called COBRA health insurance measure, named after the acronym for the whole budget bill, requires private employers with 20 or more workers to continue health insurance coverage for 18 months for laid-offs employees and for three years for the families of workers who die. The laid-off worker or the surviving family would have to pay the combined personal and employer premiums, but could do so at a low group rate. EMK coordinates with Pete Stark (D-CA) and Henry Waxman (D-CA) in the House to help his legislation to be passed. (Clymer, pp. 383; 1986 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 229)

Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and EMK propose legislation prohibiting the use of polygraphs in the private sector. (*New York Times*, 12/08/1985)

1986

- April* Reagan signs COBRA into law, which includes an EMK provision allowing employees who have left their jobs or been laid off to extend their health insurance benefits for 18 months. (*Washington Post*, 03/29/1986)
- Spring-Summer* Kerry's staff investigates drug and arms smuggling by contra leaders and a possible contra supply network set up by Lt. Colonel Oliver North. By summer, Kerry tries to get the Foreign Relations Committee to issue subpoenas and formally investigate the matter, but Lugar only goes as far as an informal investigation. (Alexander, pp. 47-48; *1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 397, 413; *The New York Times*, 07/10/1986; *The Washington Post*, 04/16/1986)
- May* The Labor Committee approves legislation requiring health warning labels on alcoholic beverages. EMK votes for the bill after voting against a similar bill in 1979. The bill goes no further. (*1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 266)
- On the 20th, the Labor Committee approves its version of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (S 2294). It requires all states to provide special education for handicapped children beginning at age 3, plus provides grants for new programs. The House version, which drops the state requirement to educate 3 year-olds, passes both chambers in September. (*1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 270-271)
- June* The Labor Committee approves EMK-sponsored legislation (S 2345) to improve services for AIDS victims. The bill, which calls AIDS the nation's "No. 1 public health priority," authorizes \$40 million in grants to public and private organizations for the development and expansion of support systems for AIDS victims. EMK says the measure would help "develop alternatives to long-term hospital inpatient services, which are proving inefficient and cost ineffective." The measure goes no further. (*1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 261)
- July* In an op-ed article for *The New York Time*, EMK attacks Reagan's South Africa policy for being too timid and argues in favor of economic sanctions. EMK testifies in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and repeats his arguments, saying "Quiet diplomacy has failed. Only strong economic pressure from the international community – combined with peaceful pressure inside South Africa – can stop the descent into violence and persuade the apartheid regime to change course." (Clymer, pp. 397-98; *The New York Times*, 07/21/1986)
- Aug.-Oct.* On the 1st, Kerry and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approve a strict sanctions bill (S 2701) that is largely based on a proposal by Lugar. Although

EMK had called for stronger sanctions, Reagan vetoes the compromise sanctions bill. Congress goes on to over-ride the veto, with EMK and Kerry voting for the bill. (Clymer, pp. 400-402; *The New York Times*, 07/23/1986; *The Washington Post*, 07/28/1986)

September After a coal mine fire in Wilber, Utah, Hatch calls for an oversight hearing into the record of the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA). During the hearing, EMK criticizes the MSHA for not conferring with safety experts when changing labor policies. (Clymer, pp. 405)

October On the 8th, Congress reauthorizes major volunteer programs through fiscal 1989, including Meals on Wheels, the Older American Volunteer Program and VISTA, which helps low income people. (1986 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 245-247)

Kerry's staff report on North establishing a private network to deliver arms to the Nicaraguan contras is published. (*The New York Times*, 10/15/1986)

Congress passes omnibus health care legislation (S 1744). Rep. Edward Madigan (R-IL), Waxman, Hatch, and EMK put together the final package of health care bills. The legislation, among other things, creates a no-fault compensation system for the families of children injured by vaccines, takes steps to limit medical malpractice, allows for the export of drugs not yet approved in the U.S., requires states to create plans to meet the needs of the mentally ill, expands funding for Alzheimer's research, and creates a national commission on infant mortality. The bill also repeals national health planning legislation EMK sponsored in 1974. Despite "serious reservations" about the vaccine provisions, Reagan signs the bill into law. (1986 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 238, 241)

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

The Iran-Contra scandal breaks in the media.

On the 20th, Secretary of Health and Human Services Otis Bowen releases a report on catastrophic illness. Bowen makes recommendations including expanding Medicare to cover long term hospital stays. EMK remarks the report is a step in the right direction. (1986 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 260-261)

Nov./Dec. EMK's deputy chief of staff, Ranny Cooper, hires Kerry's deputy press secretary, Paul Donovan, to serve as EMK's deputy press secretary on the Labor Committee.

1987

January EMK becomes chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee as well as the Judiciary's Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee. Kerry leaves the Labor Committee.

Ten liberal Senate Democrats including EMK and Kerry meet on the 21st to discuss strategy for a U.S.-Soviet nuclear test ban treaty. They agree not to ratify a treaty until the Soviets agree to tougher verification measures. (*1987 CQ Almanac*, pp. 211-212)

September The Senate debates amendments to a supplemental appropriations bill regarding nuclear test bans and SALT II observance provisions. EMK and Hatfield sponsor an amendment barring any nuclear test explosions for FY1988 with force greater than 1,000 tons of TNT. The amendment fails despite Kerry's support. (*1987 CQ Almanac*, pp. 214)

Fall EMK leads the fight in the Senate to defeat the Bork nomination.

1988

March Kerry and EMK are among the Senate leaders taking a hard line against Panama's dictator, Manuel Noriega. A bipartisan resolution sponsored by EMK urges Reagan to "impose additional diplomatic, political, and economic" sanctions against Panama, calls for Noriega's extradition on drug trafficking charges, and urges Noriega to "step aside now, while you still have the chance." The measure passes 92-0. (*1988 CQ Almanac*, pp. 554)

1989

Spring During EMK's battle with the Bush administration to increase the minimum wage, Kerry and EMK support a David Durenberger (R-MN) amendment to deny overtime pay to people who earn more than 6.5 times the minimum wage if it was raised to \$4.55/hr. It passes. (Clymer, pp. 448)

May On the 11th, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approves Senator Alan Dixon's (D-IL) resolution to block the transfer of data to Japan to build the FS-X fighter plane; Kerry favors and EMK opposes the block. On the 16th, the Senate rejects Dixon's measure. (*1989 CQ Almanac*, pp. 467-468, 16-S)

Fall The Berlin Wall comes down, as communism begins to fall in Eastern Europe.

1990

March On the 20th, an amendment by EMK is passed that requires the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences to establish programs to research the health effects of air pollution and to train doctors in treating air pollution-related ailments. The same day, an amendment by Kerry, which would allow the federal government to design implementation plans for cities failing to do so effectively, is killed. Senators Max Baucus (D-MT), George Mitchell (D-ME) and Dole lead

the effort to kill the Kerry amendment; EMK votes against killing it. (1990 CQ Almanac, pp. 235, 10-S)

The Senate passes EMK's non-binding resolution calling for a committee of U.S. and Soviet technical experts to study methods that might be used to verify a future arms control agreement banning the production of nuclear weapons material and requiring the dismantling of nuclear warheads. President George H.W. Bush opposes the bill. Kerry also fails to pass his amendment to cut funding for the anti-satellite (ASAT) missile. (Clymer, pp. 480; 1990 CQ Almanac, pp. 680)

October After less than four hours of debate, the Senate votes to confirm David Souter 90-9 for the Supreme Court. Only Democrats, including Kerry and EMK, stand in opposition to the nominee. Senators Brock Adams (D-WA), Alan Cranston (D-CA) and EMK are the only senators to oppose the nomination in floor speeches. *The Washington Post* notes that the powerful liberal coalition that had thwarted the Bork nomination fell apart due to lack of ammunition, even though EMK personally tried to rally civil rights groups against Souter. (1990 CQ Almanac, pp. 508, 515; *The Washington Post*, 10/02/1990; *The New York Times*, 10/03/1990)

1991

January On the 4th, the Senate begins debate on the Gulf crisis. EMK states that going to war without Congress' consent would precipitate a "constitutional crisis." (Clymer, pp. 483; 1991 CQ Almanac, pp. 439)

Bush formally requests an authorization from Congress for the use of force against Iraq on the 8th, the first such request by a president since the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. (Clymer, pp. 483; 1991 CQ Almanac, pp. 439)

On the 12th, the House and Senate vote in favor of S.J. Res. 2 authorizing the president to use military force against Iraq pursuant to U.N. Security Council Resolution 678. The Senate passes the authorization 52-47. EMK and Kerry vote against it. They instead had supported the Mitchell-Nunn substitute authorizing "the use of American military force to enforce the United Nations (U.N.) economic embargo against Iraq; to defend Saudi Arabia from direct Iraqi attack; and to protect American forces in the region." (S.J. Res. 1, Library of Congress) The resolution also called for continued sanctions and diplomatic pressures and for Congress, vested with the power to declare war, to consider future requests by the president for a declaration of war and for authority to use military force against Iraq. The resolution failed in the Senate 53-46. (1991 CQ Almanac, pp. 438-441, 2-S)

On the 16th, Bush orders an air campaign against Iraq. The next day the Senate unanimously passes a resolution supporting the U.S. military in the Persian Gulf and commending the "efforts and leadership of the President as Commander in Chief in the Persian Gulf hostilities." (1991 CQ Almanac, pp. 438-441, 2-S)

Spring William Kennedy Smith is charged with sexual battery in Palm Beach, Florida.

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.

1992

March On the 30th, Kerry delivers a speech at Yale on how whites see affirmative action as detrimental to race relations. The speech is widely criticized, but EMK states the speech as “thoughtful.” (Kranish, Mooney, and Easton, pp. 278-281)

July EMK marries Vicki Reggie in McLean, Virginia.

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

1994

January Gerry Adams applies for a visa on the 14th to attend a conference in New York City. EMK sends a letter to Clinton in support of the visa, which is eventually signed by 50 members of Congress. Senators Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), Kerry and Dodd are the first to sign the letter. (Clymer, pp. 536-537)

November EMK narrowly defeats Mitt Romney to win reelection. Kerry had stumped extensively for EMK during the campaign. (*The New York Times*, 01/11/2004)

The GOP wins control of both the House and Senate in the “Republican Revolution.” EMK loses his chairmanship of the Labor Committee. Kerry blames Democratic policy “screw-ups,” such as the Clinton health care plan, for the Republican takeover of Congress. Two days later, Kerry casts the tie-breaking vote in favor of Senator Tom Daschle (D-SD) for Senate Minority Leader over EMK’s close friend, Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT). Throughout the early 1990s, Kerry reportedly challenges traditional Democratic values, such as affirmative action and the seniority rights of teachers, putting stress on his relationship with EMK. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/28/2003, 02/01/2004)

1995

January On the 31st, EMK arrives at a joint meeting between House and Senate Democratic leaders hoping to defend his plan to increase the minimum wage. He is reportedly upset that more Democrats are not supporting the increase when he hears Kerry state, “If you’re not for raising the minimum wage, you don’t deserve to call yourself a Democrat.” (Clymer, pp. 565)

- May* Kerry marries Teresa Heinz, the widow of Senator John Heinz (R-PA). Teresa Heinz Kerry is good friends with Victoria Reggie Kennedy, whose parents own a home near the Kerrys on Nantucket. (*The Boston Globe*, 01/19/2004)
- October* On the 27th, EMK votes for Kerry's non-binding resolution to have the Senate debate and vote on increasing the minimum wage by the end of the session. The amendment is dropped when the Senate chair upholds a Republican point of order against Kerry for adding it to the Budget Act. (*1995 CQ Almanac*, pp. S-83)
- 1996** EMK stumps for Kerry in a tough Senate race against William F. Weld. EMK also brings his former press secretary, speechwriter, and Washington media consultant, Robert Shrum, to the campaign. Weld later recalls that after EMK committed his support to Kerry's re-election, "that campaign turned on a dime." (Robert Shrum, *No Excuses: Concessions of a Serial Campaigner*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007, pp. 264; *The Financial Times*, 02/07/2004)
- EMK is reported to be livid when Kerry unilaterally reveals a plan for universal health care for children. EMK and Kerry later cosponsor the bill, which is prepared by EMK staff and introduced by Kerry one month before the Senate election. A former EMK aide observes, "There was a perception that issues like health care and education were in the Kennedy realm, and issues like international affairs and things like that were in Kerry's realm... There was tension at the time over how hard and fast those lines were drawn. When either of us crossed the others' lines, that's when things got out of control." (Clymer, pp. 585-586; *The Boston Globe*, 02/10/1997, 07/27/2004; *The New York Times*, 01/11/2004)
- March* As the presidential election approaches, Democrats highlight minimum wage. On the 22nd, Kerry, Daschle, and EMK agree they should attempt to get a minimum wage increase to the Senate floor by Easter recess. (Clymer, pp. 573; *1996 CQ Almanac*, pp. 7-3 to 7-4)
- On the 26th, Dole withdraws a promise from Republican Whip Trent Lott (R-MS) to allow Democrats to offer an amendment to an army base redevelopment bill, creating some new park areas. Dole reportedly fears that Democrats will attach an amendment for minimum wage legislation to the bill, which is precisely what Kerry and EMK do after Dole makes a rare parliamentary slip. (Clymer, pp. 574)
- Mar.-April* Senate Democrats take the offensive in the minimum wage fight. The staffs of Senators Paul Wellstone (D-MN), Daschle, Kerry and EMK meet to plan strategy. EMK, Wellstone, Barbara Boxer (D-CA) and others hold a press conference in which they commit to bringing minimum wage legislation to the floor before the Easter recess. Over the next few weeks Senate Democrats try to attach a minimum wage increase to almost every bill coming to the floor. Senate Majority Leader Dole, who is running for president, repeatedly pulls legislation from the floor rather than allow a vote. Democratic leaders keep the pressure on. They hold another press conference in which they introduce two single mothers who earn the

minimum wage and highlight their struggles. Democrats win a test vote and a majority of the Senate, 47 Democrats and eight Republicans, vote for the minimum wage increase. In the House, Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) and Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-TX) declare that the House will not vote on minimum wage in 1996. But privately many House Republicans tell their leaders that they would vote for a minimum wage increase. Public opinion polls show as many as 85% of Americans favor an increase. (Clymer, pp. 573-574; *1996 CQ Almanac*, pp. 7-3)

August The Senate passes the Welfare Overhaul bill by a 78-21 vote with EMK voting against and Kerry for the bill. Clinton signs the bill into law. (Kranish, Mooney, and Easton, pp. 313)

2001

January Kerry is placed on the Subcommittee on Healthcare in the Senate Finance Committee.

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.

On NBC's "Meet the Press," EMK deems Kerry an "outstanding senator," but passes up two chances to endorse Kerry on the show. (*The Boston Globe*, 01/22/2003)

March Appearing on CNN's "Evans, Novak, Hunt, and Shields," EMK is taciturn when asked about a possible endorsement of Kerry's candidacy, saying only that he supports Kerry's re-election to the Senate in 2002 and that he will not comment on Kerry's presidential aspirations until he becomes an official candidate. (*The Boston Globe*, 01/22/2003)

May The Democrats regain control of the Senate when Jeffords leaves the Republican Party to caucus with the Democrats as an Independent. EMK becomes chairman of the HELP Committee, as well as the Judiciary's Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee.

Summer The Senate passes managed care/patient's rights legislation (S1052) sponsored by EMK, John McCain (R-AZ) and John Edwards (D-NC). The bill is similar to the Norwood-Dingell bill passed by the House in 1999 with the Senate bill containing greater patient protections than the House bill. The legal right of patients to sue their health plans is the biggest difference between the bills. A weaker Norwood-Bush compromise Patient's Bill of Rights amendment passes the House, but movement on the bill stops after 9/11. (*2001 CQ Almanac*, pp. 12-3 to 12-7)

September 9/11 terrorist attacks strike New York and the Pentagon.

December The Senate passes (87 to 10) a landmark ESEA reauthorization bill, No Child Left Behind, that for the first time ties federal education aid to improvements in student test scores. EMK works closely with Bush on the bill, which contains many of Bush's proposals, and shepherds the bill through the Senate. Kerry supports the bill. However, within a year, EMK reportedly states the program is short \$9 billion, but his and Kerry's efforts to fund the program are not successful. (2001 CQ Almanac, pp. 8-3 to 8-10; Kranish, Mooney, and Easton, p. 361; Peter S. Canellos, ed., *Last Lion: The Fall and Rise of Ted Kennedy*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009, pp. 355)

2002

January EMK and Thomas Menino, Mayor of Boston, meet with Democratic National Committee (DNC) Chairman Terry McAuliffe to discuss the possibility of a Boston bid to host the 2004 Democratic National Convention. McAuliffe wants an upfront corporate commitment of \$20 million from all bidders. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/14/2002)

June The House passes legislation (HR4954) that would add a prescription drug benefit to Medicare, allowing beneficiaries to buy new private insurance policies for prescription drugs. The Senate debates three prescription drug proposals, including a bill (S 2625) sponsored by EMK, Bob Graham (D-FL), and Zell Miller (D-GA), for a government prescription program to be run by HHS. The plan would have a \$25 monthly premium, \$10 co-pay for generic drugs and \$25 co-pay for brand names with no deductible, and a \$4,000 maximum per year. The bill would cost an estimated \$594 billion over 10 years. The Senate does not pass a Medicare prescription drug benefit in 2002. (2002 CQ Almanac, pp. 10-3 to 10-7)

The Foreign Relations Committee passes a bill developed by Kerry and Senator William Frist (R-TN) for \$2 billion in overseas funding for AIDS. The Senate is expected to combine it with EMK's AIDS bill that authorizes \$500 million for overseas programs, but Congress later settles on an increase of \$200 million. (*Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, 06/22/2002, 01/15/2003)

June Facing competition from New York City, Miami, and Detroit, EMK spearheads Boston's bid to host the 2004 Democratic National Convention. He reportedly tells all potential Democratic presidential nominees that as he passes the age of 70, he wants to bring the convention to his home state. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) challenges EMK face-to-face, calling it a "friendly competition." (*The Boston Globe*, 08/04/2002) From the 24th to the 26th, members of the DNC convention site selection committee visit Boston. Red Sox president Larry Lucchino, Mayor's wife Angela Menino, and EMK host an opening lunch on the first day of the tour (Mayor Menino joins the group later). Committee members are also given a tour around the "Big Dig," Boston's most expensive highway

project ever. Committee members seem reassured by the construction progress, but several express concerns about Boston's commitment to diversity. When these concerns become public, committee co-chair Alice Huffman, who is African American, says, "I certainly saw enough people of color dispersed throughout everything. . . . I was kind of pleased that a lot of effort was made there to increase the diversity." (*The Boston Globe*, 06/25/2002, 06/26/2002, 07/11/2002, 11/14/2002)

EMK visits McAuliffe at DNC headquarters, making a case for Boston's convention bid by presenting him with an eight-page memo written by former Boston Globe columnist David Nyhan. The memo emphasizes a commitment to racial diversity and cites broad support for bringing the convention to Boston from unions, community leaders, the business community, and the media. (*The Boston Globe*, 08/04/2002)

August After EMK, McCain, Edwards and the Bush administration fail to reach agreement on a patient's rights bill, Daschle moves to appoint conferees to reconcile the Senate (S 1052) and House (HR 2563) versions. Republicans object to the move and neither chamber ends up appointing conferees in 2002. (*2002 CQ Almanac*, pp. 10-7 to 10-8)

September Menino, Kerry, EMK, and a dozen Boston city officials and business leaders meet with McAuliffe to lobby him for the convention site. Menino gives McAuliffe letters pledging \$1 million each from six major Boston companies, in addition to pledges for \$4 to \$6 million in services and some smaller contributions from the pharmaceuticals industry. These commitments stem from a series of Monday meetings between EMK and Menino at Parkman House, where they have been making calls to potential donors, drawing heavily on contacts EMK has made with CEOs. Some express concern that EMK is soliciting large contributions from companies that his legislation could affect, but EMK claims that none of his positions will change. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/26/2002)

October After the White House has a resolution introduced into the Senate authorizing the use of force in Iraq, EMK and Kerry support two failed amendments. The first is Byrd's amendment to put a termination date on the congressional authorization of military action. The second is Senator Richard Durbin's (D-IL) amendment authorizing the use of force against an imminent, as opposed to continuing, threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. There are also two failed amendments that EMK favors and Kerry opposes. The first is a Byrd amendment clarifying that any congressional authorization does not alter the congressional authority to declare war. The second is a Carl Levin (D-MI) amendment authorizing the use of force to destroy weapons of mass destruction if the country fails to admit UN weapons inspectors under a UN resolution. Democrats led by Daschle reportedly place too many restrictions on military action for Bush, and the White House moves its negotiations to the House. On October 11th, the Senate

postpones its resolution by unanimous consent. (*Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*, p. 35-6; *2002 CQ Almanac*, p. 9-5)

EMK meets with Reps. Edward J. Markey (D-MA), Michael E. Capuano (D-MA), James P. McGovern (D-MA), and Barney Frank (D-MA) to discuss the economic impact of the convention on Boston. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/18/2002)

An aide to McAuliffe tells the *Boston Globe* that EMK frequently stops by McAuliffe's office "to bend Terry's ear" on the convention site. Democratic sources at the DNC reveal that there is almost unanimous consensus on Boston as the 2004 convention site, with Detroit second. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/18/2002)

On the 11th, the House backs 296-133 a resolution giving Bush the authority to attack Iraq if he decides diplomacy has failed. The Senate votes shortly thereafter to approve the resolution 77-23. EMK votes against; Kerry votes in favor. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/11/2002)

November Addressing the 2004 presidential campaign, EMK's communications director Stephanie Cutter says that EMK "hasn't taken a position because there are no presidential candidates yet." At roughly the same time, Kerry appears on ABC's "This Week" and says that he will not make any announcement about his candidacy until he can "sit with my senior colleague, who is a wise voice in American politics." (*The Boston Globe*, 01/22/2003)

Kerry is elected to a fourth term with 81% of the vote. There is no Republican challenger. Until now, it has been speculated that EMK might support an Edwards presidential run, with whom he has a close friendship. However, a week after Kerry's win, Edwards' spokesman Michael Briggs says that he no longer expects EMK's backing. EMK aides later concede that, though EMK views Edwards as a protégé from their close collaboration in health policy, EMK has made clear his allegiance to Kerry. EMK has supported every Massachusetts presidential candidates (Tsongas and Governor Michael Dukakis) since 1980, when EMK himself was not supported by Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill (D-MA). (*The Boston Globe*, 11/19/2002, 05/10/2003)

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.

One week before the DNC site selection committee votes, Menino and EMK realize that they are \$500,000 short of the \$20 million required by the DNC. EMK personally pledges the remainder of the funds. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/14/2002)

On the 8th, EMK holds a call with Boston's minority leaders as part of an effort to highlight Boston's commitment to racial diversity. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/08/2002, 11/13/2002)

On the 10th, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)-Boston President Leonard Alkins writes to Huffman, “As I have made you aware, the Boston branch had previously discouraged the DNC in selecting Boston as its host city for the 2004 National Convention because of Boston's poor record regarding diversity. However, because of commitments from both Mayor Menino and Senator Kennedy, the NAACP Boston branch now encourages the Democratic National Committee to select Boston as the host city.” In the letter, Alkins also includes promises that he alleges were made by Menino, including co-chairing a blue-ribbon panel on diversity and allowing the NAACP to help select contractors for the convention. (*The Boston Globe*, 12/03/2002, 12/14/2002)

On the 13th, a Democratic advisory committee votes to hold the 2004 Democratic National Convention in Boston. Alkins says he is disappointed, and that he only gave his official endorsement at the behest of an EMK staffer. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/13/2002, 12/03/2002)

EMK, Menino, and Kerry appear at a news conference announcing Boston as the site of the 2004 convention. EMK aides say that Kerry should not have been allowed to come onstage for a photo-op, as EMK and Menino had done the most work in drawing the convention to Boston. (*The Boston Globe*, 07/24/2004)

December On the 1st, Kerry reveals on NBC’s “Meet the Press” that he will file paperwork with the Federal Election Commission (FEC), which is a legal prerequisite for fundraising. (*Star Tribune*, 12/02/2002)

On the 17th, EMK and Menino sign the document officially naming Boston the site of the convention. The ceremony is carefully orchestrated to display solidarity among Boston’s business, labor, and racially diverse communities. Kerry is noticeably absent, and McAuliffe quips, “I guess Senator Kerry is off doing something else,” referring to Kerry’s preparations for his presidential campaign. (*The Boston Globe*, 12/18/2002)

2003 Throughout the year, EMK grows increasingly frustrated with the Bush Administration, fueled by his objections to the Iraq war and the President’s failure to fully fund the No Child Left Behind program. Pundits speculate that Kerry has become EMK’s vehicle for driving Bush out of office. EMK offers to fundraise for Kerry, and begins to call Kerry several times a week to offer advice on campaigning and policy issues. A top Kerry aide says, “I think his desire to see John win is sincere, and I don’t think he’s doing the minimum to avoid getting criticized.” (*The Boston Globe*, 05/10/2003, 07/24/2004)

January Delivering an annual speech at the National Press Club, EMK says that he expects to support Kerry for president in 2004. Kerry had previewed EMK’s speech, and had encouraged reporters to cover it. EMK also begins to help Kerry to raise money. (*The Boston Globe*, 01/22/2003)

- February* Kerry is diagnosed with prostate cancer. After deciding to go public with the diagnosis, one of the first calls the Kerrys make is to EMK and Victoria Reggie Kennedy. (*The Boston Globe*, 05/10/2003)
- Although he had previously been expected to work for the Edwards campaign, Shrum joins the Kerry campaign to handle advertising. Shrum has a reputation for strong-arming control of campaigns and alienating colleagues, yet he has been lauded as “the best Democratic speechwriter of the last quarter-century.” Shrum is initially slated to work with Kerry’s current media consultant, James Margolis, who later leaves the campaign. (*The Boston Globe*, 02/26/2003; *The Washington Post*, 04/21/2004, 09/10/2004)
- March* After UN efforts fail to approve a final resolution, Bush initiates military action against Iraq on the 19th. On the 20th, the Senate adopts a resolution commending the president and the U.S. armed forces for their efforts in the Iraqi conflict. EMK and Kerry vote in favor of this resolution. On the 21st, EMK and Kerry vote in favor of a resolution “to set aside a reserve fund for possible military action and reconstruction in Iraq.” (S.Amdt.270, Roll Call Vote Summary, 108th Congress; *Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*, pp. 36; *2002 CQ Almanac*, pp. S-17)
- May* Standing before a “Mission Accomplished” banner, Bush announces aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln that “major combat missions in Iraq have ended....And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country.” (*The Washington Post*, 05/02/2003)
- On the 22nd, EMK and Kerry co-sponsor an amendment to end the armed forces’ ban on authorizing transportation for relatives to visit their wounded loved ones. It passes the Senate. (Vincent Bzdek, *The Kennedy Legacy: Jack, Bobby, and Ted and a Family Dream Fulfilled*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 217)
- EMK hosts a dinner for Kerry and EMK’s friends in the labor community at his Washington home. EMK had thrown a similar dinner party for Edwards the previous spring. (*The Boston Globe*, 05/10/2003)
- June* The Finance Committee approves a compromise Medicare prescription drug bill (S1) sponsored by Charles Grassley (R-IA) and Baucus. The bill, which Kerry votes against, would allow Medicare beneficiaries to stay with the traditional fee-for-service program or switch to a Medicare Advantage program through a private insurer that includes prescription drug coverage. Seniors would also have the option of a government-run “fallback” prescription plan in areas without private plans. On the 27th, the Senate passes the bill 76 to 21, with EMK voting for it, and Kerry not voting, after adopting an amendment that split \$12 billion in funding between Republican and Democratic priorities. Half of the money would help private insurance companies attract seniors and half would pay for benefits for seniors who stay in traditional Medicare. EMK, who reportedly plays an

important role in securing Democratic support for the bill in the Senate, supports the amendment: “Republicans say the private sector can do a better job of providing health care for seniors, and we say Medicare can. This amendment tests both.” The House approves (216-215) its prescription drug benefit measure (HR 1) the same day. The House bill offers no government “fallback” plan, but it provides incentives to private insurers to provide coverage in underserved markets. The bill also would require Medicare to compete with private plans starting in 2010. Under the Senate plan and the House plan until 2010, Medicare and private insurers would have to offer the same coverage. (*2003 CQ Almanac*, pp. 1-8 to 1-9, 11-3 to 11-8, S-49, *CQ Weekly*, 06/14/2003)

August EMK and Vicki invite John and Theresa Kerry to dinner at the Cape where they discuss the campaign. Howard Dean, the former Governor of Vermont, has overtaken Kerry in the early Iowa and New Hampshire polls.

September On the 2nd, Kerry officially declares himself a presidential candidate at Patriot’s Point in South Carolina, and subsequently flies to Iowa, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire to repeat the message. Kerry’s announcement speech is the first indication that the Kerry campaign is having trouble with infighting. Two versions of the speech had been prepared. One was written by campaign manager Jim Jordan and former Clinton adviser Chris Lehane, in which they were encouraged to embrace bluntly unpopular positions, such as free trade and gun control. A second version was created by Shrum and focused on the standard Democratic platform. Shrum privately persuaded Kerry to use his own version, which was received so poorly that it was quickly rewritten en route to Iowa. (*The Financial Times*, 09/01/2003; *The New York Times*, 11/11/2003)

On the 24th, Kerry is endorsed by the International Association of Fire Fighters, his only AFL-CIO member endorsement so far. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/24/2003)

Congress passes the most expensive defense spending package in history in conference on the 25th. EMK votes in favor and Kerry does not vote. (*2003 CQ Almanac*, pp. 2-42, S-67)

On the 27th, EMK campaigns with Kerry at rallies in Des Moines and Waterloo, Iowa. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/28/2003; *Newsweek* 03/15/2004)

Former Governor of New Hampshire Jeanne Shaheen becomes National Chairman of Kerry’s campaign. (*The New York Times*, 01/25/2004)

On the 30th, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney calls off plans for a mid-October endorsement, dealing a blow to the candidacy of Rep. Dick Gephardt (D-MO), who has thus far been endorsed by fourteen AFL-CIO member unions, representing one-quarter of the AFL-CIO’s membership. The federation requires a two-thirds executive board vote for endorsement, and Sweeney claims that too

many members are still undecided. EMK reportedly plays a role in helping to block the AFL-CIO's endorsement of Gephardt. (*Boston Globe*, 10/01/2003)

October Report by U.S. weapons inspector David Kay finds no evidence of Iraqi WMDs.

EMK and Kerry vote against the FY 2004 emergency funding supplemental bill for Iraq and Afghanistan reconstruction, which passes. (S.Amdt.1854, Roll Call Vote Summary, 107th Senate)

November The Senate authorizes \$87 billion for Iraq in an unrecorded voice vote. Kerry votes against the authorization. (*Encyclopedia of World Biography*)

The Republican leadership in the House and Senate announces an agreement on a Medicare prescription drug bill. Senators Baucus and John Breaux (D-LA) are the only Democrats to play a role in the conference negotiations. The House (220-215) and the Senate (54-44) approve the conference report; EMK votes against the bill and Kerry does not vote. On the day before, EMK and Kerry vote to filibuster the bill but are defeated in a 29-70 cloture vote. EMK calls the bill "a calculated program to unravel Medicare, to privatize it, to voucherize it, and to put seniors in the cold arms of HMOs." The final bill offers seniors a prescription drug benefit through participating managed care plans. Among other things, it creates a pilot program beginning in 2010 in which Medicare and private insurers will compete on price in six metropolitan areas for six years, provides \$86 billion in tax breaks and subsidies to encourage employers not to drop existing drug coverage for their retirees and create health savings accounts to allow Americans to save for medical costs, includes \$14 billion that private insurers can tap to provide health insurance for Medicare recipients in unprofitable markets and provides \$25 billion for rural hospitals and providers. (*2003 CQ Almanac*, pp. 11-7 to 11-13, S-82; *The Bergen Record*, 11/26/2003)

As his campaign is increasingly marred by infighting, Kerry dismisses Jordan on the 9th. Jordan was reportedly battling for leadership with Shrum, and the dismissal is reported to be an attempt to shake up the campaign and counter the perception among financial contributors that Kerry is not being bested by Dean. EMK says he encouraged Kerry to make a change because he seemed uncomfortable with his current campaign staff. Some claim that the change was really orchestrated by Kerry's brother, Cameron, who has served as a behind-the-scenes adviser for Kerry for years. Others attribute the personnel shuffle to Shaheen. (*The New York Times*, 11/11/2003, *The Boston Globe*, 01/20/2004)

Kerry subsequently hires Mary Beth Cahill, EMK's chief of staff, to manage his campaign. Cahill is close to Shrum, although EMK claims that the hiring of Cahill was Shaheen's idea. Former EMK press secretary and Cahill protégé Stephanie Cutter also joins the campaign as communications director. Three other EMK campaign veterans, pollster Tom Kiley and Shrum business partners Michael

Donilon and Tad Devine, are also top Kerry campaign advisers. (*The New York Times*, 11/11/2003; *The Boston Globe*, 01/20/2004, 02/01/2004, 07/24/2004)

On the 14th, Kerry follows Dean in rejecting public financing for the presidential primaries, and subsequently mortgages his house to help fund his campaign. (*The New York Times*, 11/15/2003)

December On the 13th, EMK campaigns solo for Kerry in New Hampshire, speaking at an event that is billed as a health care rally. EMK defends Kerry's support of the Iraq war (a key point of attack for Dean), claiming, "If he [Kerry] had been President of the United States... he would have been able to pull together the kind of support to avoid that conflict." Although the Dean campaign has brought the endorsement of four Massachusetts state and former state representatives to New Hampshire at the same time, EMK points out that the entire Massachusetts congressional delegation supports Kerry. (*The Boston Globe*, 12/14/2003)

2004 Some Democrats express reservations about EMK's heavy involvement in the Kerry campaign, concerned that his status as a "liberal lightning rod" might repel moderate voters. Many Kerry supporters, however, claim that EMK will be a strategic asset in mobilizing voters worried about social issues, such as employment and health care, particularly in swing states like Ohio and Florida. (*The New York Times*, 04/11/2004)

January On the weekend of the 10th, EMK campaigns with Kerry throughout Iowa, stopping in Dubuque, Davenport, and Cedar Rapids. (*The New York Times*, 01/11/2004)

On the 12th, Iowa First Lady Christie Vilsack endorses Kerry, joining twenty-seven other state legislators, including State Attorney General Tom Miller. At this point, Kerry is third in the polls and rising. (*The Boston Globe*, 01/10/2004; *The Boston Herald*, 01/13/2004)

On the 19th, Kerry wins the Iowa caucuses. Gephardt drops out of the race. (*The New York Times*, 02/06/2004)

On the 26th, Kerry, EMK, and five Kennedy family members campaign for Kerry in Nashua, New Hampshire. At a rally at a Nashua high school, EMK's son, Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-RI), declares his support for Kerry. (*The Times-Picayune*, 01/26/2004; *The Financial Times*, 02/07/2004)

In the last week of the month, EMK campaigns solo for Kerry in Arizona and New Mexico. (*The Financial Times*, 02/07/2004)

February On the 5th, Gephardt endorses Kerry. (*The New York Times*, 02/06/2004)

On the 6th, EMK acts as Kerry's "advance man" for the Maine caucuses taking place on the 8th. (*The Financial Times*, 02/07/2004)

On the weekend of the 7th, Kerry claims victory in Maine, Michigan, and Washington State. (*The New York Times*, 02/09/2004)

On the 11th, the eighteen blue-collar unions that had backed Gephardt announce their endorsement of Kerry. (*The New York Times*, 02/14/2004; *Business Week* 02/23/2004)

On the 13th, General Wesley Clark drops out of the race and endorses Kerry. (*The Washington Post*, 02/14/2004)

On the 14th, union leaders announce that the AFL-CIO executive board will vote to endorse Kerry on the 19th. They say that Sweeney decided to call the meeting as soon as he saw that a labor consensus was forming behind Kerry. Some reports credit EMK with persuading the AFL-CIO to endorse Kerry. (*The New York Times*, 02/14/2004)

On the 16th, EMK attends campaign rallies with Kerry in Green Bay and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and denies rumors that he has encouraged Edwards to bow out of the race in favor of Kerry. (*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 02/17/2004; *The Boston Globe*, 07/13/2004)

On the 17th, Kerry wins the Wisconsin primaries. He has now won fifteen of the seventeen primaries and caucuses to date. Dean drops out of the race, and does not offer an immediate endorsement of Kerry. However, the Kerry campaign quickly touches base with every single elected official who has endorsed Dean. (*The Washington Post*, 02/18/2004; *The New York Times*, 02/24/2004, 03/11/2004)

EMK says that Kerry's advisers should make bolder attempts to defuse GOP attacks on Kerry's donations from lobbyists during his time in the Senate. (*The Boston Globe*, 02/17/2004)

On the 19th, Kerry is endorsed by the AFL-CIO. American labor unions consider the election of Kerry to be crucial, particularly because the Free Choice Act will likely not become law if Kerry is defeated. The proposed law, which is sponsored by Rep. George Miller (D-CA) and EMK, would provide for the recognition of a union once workers present authorization cards signed by a majority of the workers. (*The Washington Post*, 02/18/2005; *Labour Research*, 11/01/2004)

On the 28th, Kerry is endorsed by former New York Governor Mario Cuomo and his son Andrew. (*The New York Times*, 02/29/2004)

March Conservative group Citizens United airs an anti-Kerry ad parodying MasterCard's "priceless" commercials. Footage of Kerry and EMK is captioned: "Another rich, liberal elitist from Massachusetts who claims he's a man of the people. Priceless." (*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* 03/09/2004)

In an interview for *Newsweek*, Kerry denounces any attempt to link his policy stances with EMK's as "silly and infantile." Kerry says, "I've been a deficit hawk since the day I arrived, so let them try....My health care plan is based on market incentives, very different from Ted's. They'll have trouble labeling me." (*Newsweek*, 03/15/2004)

In the same *Newsweek* interview, Teresa Heinz Kerry reveals that she is not concerned that EMK will upstage her husband. She also notes that EMK's appearances have been carefully orchestrated, "but I would think he'll do whatever he wants to do." (*Newsweek*, 03/15/2004)

Kerry wins nine of the ten primaries on "Super Tuesday" on the 2nd, essentially clinching the nomination. Edwards drops out of the race the next day and immediately endorses Kerry. (*The New York Times*, 03/04/2004)

April EMK has dinner with Kerry and discusses Kerry's vice-presidential selection.

EMK begins to compare the Iraq war to Vietnam in a series of public speeches, including a particularly blistering speech at the Brookings Institution on the 5th, in which he calls Iraq "George Bush's Vietnam." Republicans claim that the attacks are coordinated with the Kerry campaign. EMK responds, "I notified John before all of them and talked to him about some of them." (*The Boston Globe*, 07/24/2004)

EMK says in an interview, "I have told my staff that the most important use of my time between now and November is electing John Kerry." (*The New York Times*, 04/11/2004)

An article in *Slate* compares the various Kerry campaign factions to the warring tribal landlords of Afghanistan. The two factions with the deepest contempt for each other are identified as the "Kennedy Militia," which includes Shrum, Cahill, and Cutter, and the "Clintonites," which include campaign policy director Sarah Bianchi, economics advisers Gene Sperling and Roger Altman, and former Clinton policy director Bruce Reed. (*Slate*, 04/15/2004)

May After consulting with political allies such as Menino, McAuliffe, and EMK, Kerry decides not to delay his acceptance of the Democratic nomination for president. Under current law, once a candidate accepts the party nomination, he can no longer spend private funds. This would give Bush an advantage over Kerry, as Bush will not accept his party's nomination until five weeks later. Menino,

McAuliffe, and EMK are said to be concerned about a late acceptance. (*The Boston Globe*, 05/27/2004; *The New York Times*, 05/27/2004)

On the 23rd, Victoria Reggie Kennedy writes an op-ed for *The Washington Post* entitled “Altar Is Not a Battlefield.” The piece expresses her concern with regards to the denial of communion to pro-choice Catholic politicians, such as John Kerry. The subject has catalyzed an ongoing debate within the Church during this election year. (*The Washington Post*, 05/23/2004)

June Kerry begins his search for a vice-presidential running mate, appointing former Fannie Mae CEO Jim Johnson to head the search committee. Kerry insists on a secretive process, and never releases a short list of possible candidates. Edwards is said to be favored by many of Kerry’s Democratic peers in the Senate, the DNC, and Democrats close to Clinton. However, some are also strongly pushing Senator Evan Bayh (D-IN) as a clear signal of centrism. (*The Washington Post*, 06/18/2004, 07/07/2004; *Star Tribune*, 07/08/2004)

July Both EMK and Kerry decide not to cross the picket line that has been formed by the patrolmen’s union outside of the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Boston. The union has had a longstanding conflict with Menino, who subsequently derides the Kerry campaign as “incompetent.” At the urging of EMK, Menino and Kerry reconcile publicly. (*The Boston Globe*, 07/01/2004, 07/17/2004)

On July 6th, Kerry taps Edwards as his vice-presidential nominee, and announces his decision at a rally in Pittsburgh. Kerry reportedly kept his decision hidden from everyone but his wife until the night before the announcement, when he informed Edwards of his decision via telephone. Senior Democrats had identified the top three contenders as Edwards, Gephardt, and Iowa Governor Tom Vilsack. (*The New York Times*, 07/06/2004; *The Washington Post*, 07/07/2004)

On the 26th, EMK helps to dedicate the Rose Kennedy Greenway in Boston. Later that evening, he hosts a fundraising dinner for the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Fund at the JFK Library in Dorchester. (*The Boston Globe*, 04/13/2004)

On the 27th, EMK addresses the Democratic National Convention with harsher criticism of the Bush Administration than any of the preceding speakers. EMK is reported to be eager for enhanced media coverage to address his opposition to the Iraq war, but has also crafted a more fiery speech in order to allow delegates to vent their anti-administration sentiment before the Kerry and Edwards acceptance speeches. (*The Boston Globe*, 07/28/2004)

Also on the 27th, a star-studded tribute to EMK is held at Boston’s Symphony Hall. Cutter says that the Kerry campaign has no concerns about EMK being honored during the convention, pointing out his instrumental role in bringing the convention to Boston. (*The Boston Globe*, 04/13/2004, 07/24/2004)

On the 29th, Kerry accepts the Democratic nomination for president. He has drafted his speech with the help of two of JFK's most well-known speechwriters, Theodore Sorensen and Richard Goodwin, in addition to relying heavily on Shrum. (*The New York Times*, 07/29/2004; *The Washington Post*, 09/17/2004)

August

Early in the month, the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, a group of veterans claiming to have toured with Kerry in Vietnam, air new attack ads directed at Kerry's military record. (*The Washington Post*, 08/12/2004, 08/17/2004)

Kerry agrees to accept a greater degree of help from former Clinton advisers. He is reportedly frustrated by a drop in the polls, his campaign's slow response to the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth ads, and Cahill and Shrum's emphasis on passivity. (*The Washington Post*, 09/17/2004)

On the 24th, Jamie Rubin, a top foreign policy to Kerry, admits that he made a mistake by commenting that Kerry probably would have launched a military invasion to oust Hussein if he had been president during the past four years. In previous conversations, Rubin has said that Kerry would have handled the Iraq strategy much differently than Bush by allowing U.N. weapons inspectors greater time, crafting a broader international coalition, and assembling a coherent post-war plan. (*The Washington Post*, 08/25/2004)

September

As Kerry's lead over Bush declines by nine points in a new *Washington Post* poll, critics start to re-hash old complaints about Shrum. A *Washington Post* journalist writes, "Shrum's brand of old-style liberalism—steeped in the tradition of his political patron, Ted Kennedy—is anathema to the centrist, New Democrat ethic that got Clinton elected twice." (*The Washington Post*, 09/10/2004)

On the 3rd, shortly after Bush finishes his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, Kerry delivers his sharpest criticism of Bush during a midnight rally in Springfield, Ohio. Kerry labels Bush "unfit" to lead and cites Bush's record on jobs, health care, and energy costs. (*The Washington Post*, 09/03/2004)

In several telephone calls on the 3rd and 4th, Kerry speaks with Clinton, who is in a New York hospital awaiting open heart surgery. Clinton expresses concern with Kerry's passivity toward Republican attacks at the Democratic National Convention, and also encourages him to streamline his campaign leadership. (*The Washington Post*, 09/06/2004, 09/17/2004)

The Kerry campaign begins an \$8 million advertising blitz that sharply accuses Bush of broken campaign promises. The ads will air in swing-states right after Bush visits them on a post-convention tour. (*The Washington Post*, 09/03/2004)

Kerry dilutes the influence of Shrum, Cahill, and Cutter by elevating three other advisers: Joe Lockhart, a former Clinton White House spokesman; John Sasso, a

longtime Kerry operative; and Michael J. Whouley. Some Kerry aides fault Cutter for blocking more seasoned communications experts such as Lockhart from coming aboard earlier, and Cahill is reported to be at odds with Shrum. (*The Irish Times*, 09/16/2004; *The Washington Post*, 09/17/2004)

Speaking at George Washington University on the 27th, EMK delivers his “most toxic” of an eighteen-month series of speeches touting Kerry for president and admonishing Bush for his handling of the war in Iraq. EMK also encourages Kerry to delineate a clear economic and security policy agenda. An aide to EMK says the speech was timed as a prelude to the upcoming presidential debates. (*The Boston Herald*, 09/28/2004; *The New York Times*, 09/28/2004)

On the 30th, Bush and Kerry participate in the first presidential debate, the subject of which is foreign policy. Kerry calls for strong alliances with foreign countries, early logistical aid to the humanitarian crisis in Sudan, and bilateral talks with North Korea. Bush calls the latter a “serious mistake” and ridicules Kerry’s negative vote for increasing spending for troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. (*Commission on Presidential Debates*)

October Caroline Kennedy publicly rebukes Bush for using references to JFK to attack John Kerry in his campaign speeches. EMK joins her in similar statements, saying that JFK was not only resolute, but “right” on foreign policy. (*The Boston Herald*, 10/28/2004; *The New York Times*, 10/28/2004)

On the 8th, Bush and Kerry participate in the second presidential debate, the subject of which is foreign and domestic policy. When Kerry tries to emphasize the importance of lowering health care costs using other means than tort reform, he promises that his health care plan will also be accompanied by a tax cut. Bush responds by citing EMK’s plan to “tax everybody here” to fund his proposed \$2.2 trillion proposed spending increase. “That’s what liberals do,” Bush says, “They create government-sponsored health care. . . . Government-sponsored health care would lead to rationing. It would ruin the quality of health care in America.” (*Commission on Presidential Debates*)

On the 13th, Bush and Kerry participate in the third presidential debate, the subject of which is domestic policy. Bush tries to portray Kerry as a fiscally irresponsible liberal, saying, “You know, there’s a mainstream in American politics, and you sit right on the far left bank. As a matter of fact, your record is such that Ted Kennedy, your colleague, is the conservative senator from Massachusetts.” Kerry responds by arguing that the Bush tax cuts squandered money needed for health care and job training. (*Commission on Presidential Debates*)

On the 25th, Clinton appears with Kerry at a rally in Philadelphia, his first campaign appearance since his surgery. (*The Washington Post*, 10/30/2004)

On the 25th and 26th, Clinton campaigns solo for Kerry in South Florida, criticizing Bush's handling of the Iraq war and challenging Bush television ads that accuse Kerry of being weak on terrorism. (*The Washington Post*, 10/27/2004)

On the 30th, Clinton campaigns solo for Kerry in Las Vegas, Nevada. (*The Washington Post*, 10/30/2004)

On the 30th, Caroline Kennedy joins Chelsea Clinton, Karenna Gore Schiff, Cate Edwards, and Vanessa Kerry at a Kerry rally in Tampa. Caroline had previously campaigned for Kerry as a high school student in 1972. (*The Tampa Tribune*, 10/31/2004)

November In the early hours of the 3rd, Kerry consults with EMK, Edwards, and Cahill at Kerry's home in Boston. Kerry concedes nine hours later. (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 11/04/2004)

EMK is reportedly miffed when Kerry profusely thanks his campaign staffers at his concession speech at Faneuil Hall, without mention of EMK, who is sitting in the front row. It is alleged that some Kerry insiders have privately grumbled about EMK's failure to raise more money for Kerry - a charge EMK allies dismiss. (*The Boston Herald*, 11/16/2004)

EMK is expected to shed his hard-line campaigning mode for a more conciliatory one. "It's Kennedy's classic zig-zag," predicts one senior Kerry adviser. "Once the election is over, he puts the political hardball aside and moves to the middle to get some bills done." (*The Boston Herald*, 11/16/2004)

2005

March When asked on ABC's "This Week" if he would support Kerry in another presidential bid, EMK says that he would. With regards to Senator Clinton, he says, "I have enormous respect for Senator Clinton...But my man is John Kerry." (*Knight-Ridder*, 03/07/2005)

April EMK and Kerry vote on an emergency spending supplemental bill that passes unanimously on the 21st to pay for operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. (2005 *CQ Almanac*, p. 2-55; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109th Congress)

September John Roberts is nominated as Chief Justice by Bush. Hearings begin on the 12th. Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) announces his opposition to Roberts, followed shortly by EMK and Kerry. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/23/2005)

On the 29th, Roberts is confirmed 78-22 by the full Senate, and is sworn in as Chief Justice just hours later. Senate Democrats split 22-22 on the vote. Democrats voting against Roberts include moderates with presidential aspirations,

such as Senators Hillary Clinton (D-NY), Evan Bayh (D-IN), and Joseph Biden (D-DE). (*The Washington Post*, 09/30/2005)

October Harriet Miers is nominated as Associate Justice, but after a few weeks, she requests Bush to withdraw her nomination following a Republican attack on her judicial and conservative credentials.

On the 31st, Samuel Alito is nominated by Bush as Associate Justice.

November As public support for the Iraq war declines, the Senate attaches an amendment to the FY2006 Defense Authorization bill requiring increased White House reporting to Congress on the progress of the war. Senator John Warner (R-VA) submits an amendment requiring quarterly White House reports on the current situation in Iraq; the progress of the Iraqi government, police, and military; the criteria used to evaluate progress in Iraq; and a schedule for meeting these criteria. EMK cosponsors a Levin amendment identical to Warner's with an additional provision requiring a "campaign plan with estimated dates for the phased redeployment of the United States Armed Forces from Iraq as each condition is met." (S.Amdt 2519, Roll Call Vote Summary, 109th Congress) EMK and Kerry vote against Warner's amendment and in favor of Levin's. The Senate approves Warner's amendment 79-19 and rejects Levin's 40-58. For the first time, Congress requires the president to submit unclassified reports tying conditions in Iraq to progress and withdrawal. EMK, Kerry, and the Senate unanimously approve the FY 2006 Defense Authorization bill. (2005 *CQ Almanac*, pp. C-10; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109th Congress)

2006

January On the 24th, Alito is recommended 10-8 along party lines by the Judiciary Committee. EMK and Kerry call for a filibuster. Unlike in the Roberts hearings, EMK does not highlight civil rights issues during the Alito confirmation.

On the 31st, the Senate confirms Alito 58-42. EMK and Kerry vote against confirmation.

June The Senate debates the FY2007 Defense Authorization bill. EMK and Kerry vote for a Levin amendment expressing the sense of the Congress that the president should plan for and begin the phased redeployment of U.S. forces in Iraq, and for Kerry's amendment requiring the redeployment of U.S. forces in Iraq. Both amendments are rejected 39-60 and 13-86 respectively, and the Senate approves the authorization bill 96-0. (Roll Call Vote Summary, 109th Congress)

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

- December* The Senate confirms the nomination of Robert Gates to replace Donald Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense. EMK and Kerry vote to approve Gates. (*2006 CQ Almanac*, pp. 9-3)
- 2007** On the Iraq issue, EMK and Kerry vote against the president's plan to increase troop levels (including the January "surge") and vote for troop reductions and the Iraq Accountability Appropriations Act for 2007. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110th Congress*, pp. 9, 15; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110th Congress)
- 2008**
- January* EMK and Kerry announce their support for Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama.
- May* EMK is diagnosed with a brain tumor.
- July* Patrick Kennedy, Obama, Dodd, and Kerry are by EMK's side as he enters the Senate chamber for a cloture vote on a bill that would prevent a cut in Medicare payments to physicians. Kerry and EMK vote for cloture as it passes 69-30. (Bzdek, pp. 238; Canellos, pp. 394; *CQ Weekly*, 07/09/2008)
- August* EMK makes a surprise appearance and speech at the Democratic National Convention.
- November* Kerry wins a fifth term beating Jeffrey Beatty. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/05/2008)
- 2009**
- January* Kerry becomes Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.
- Kerry is a cosponsor on EMK and Senator Orrin Hatch's (R-UT) Serve America Act to reauthorize and expand national service. (THOMAS on S 277)
- February* Obama signs the Children's Health Insurance Program Reauthorization Act of 2009 which adds 4 million more children to the program. Kerry voted for the reauthorization in January. (*The Associated Press*, 02/04/2009; *The Boston Globe*, 01/31/2009)
- On the 9th, Kerry escorts EMK to the Senate floor to vote to successfully end debate on Obama's stimulus bill. (*The Boston Globe*, 02/10/2009)
- March* Kerry attends EMK's 77th birthday party at the Kennedy Center. (*USA Today*, 03/09/2009)

- April* Congress passes the Serve America Act and renames it the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act of 2009. Obama signs the bill into law in April. (*CQ Weekly*, 03/16/2009, 03/26/2009)
- May* Kerry is a cosponsor on EMK's bill to give the FDA authority over tobacco products. On the 20th, the HELP Committee approves the bill. (THOMAS on S 982; *CQ Weekly*, 05/22/2009)
- On the 28th, *The Boston Globe* publishes EMK's opinion piece on healthcare reform. He talks about five elements: better choices for health insurance with a mix of private and public insurance programs and making them affordable; bringing down healthcare costs by reducing fraud, waste and abuse; emphasizing preventive medicine; supporting the elderly to live at home and function independently; and investing in training for medical professionals. (*The Boston Globe*, 05/28/2009)
- June* Congress passes legislation to give the FDA authority to regulate tobacco products. It reflects EMK's Senate bill by regulating nicotine levels, barring flavor additives, and imposing stronger warning labels. Obama signs it into law on the 22nd. (*CQ Weekly*, 06/15/2009; *The Wall Street Journal*, 06/22/2009)
- Dodd steps in to run the HELP Committee while EMK recovers from a new round of treatment. Dodd unveils a draft of his healthcare reform bill for the committee to debate and mark-up, one that EMK's staff has partially worked on. Republicans do not support the \$1 trillion price tag and charge that it only covers one-third of the 46 million uninsured. (*CQ Weekly*, 06/22/2009)
- July* Kerry switches his vote to cut funding for twelve additional F-22 Raptor fighter planes that both EMK and Kerry voted for in the Armed Services Committee the previous year. (*The Boston Globe*, 07/12/2009, 07/22/2009)
- It is reported that EMK holds weekly conference calls with the HELP Committee to work on a healthcare reform bill. (*The Boston Globe*, 07/11/2009)
- Kerry announces a proposal to tax insurance companies on its most expensive plans rather than tax employees to reduce premiums and help pay for healthcare reform. (*The Boston Globe*, 07/21/2009)
- August* EMK sends a letter to Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick and other key state legislators to change the state law so the governor can appoint a successor before a special election. Kerry reportedly advises EMK on this plan. (*The Boston Globe*, 08/20/2009)
- EMK dies at his home in Hyannis Port. Kerry gives an emotional speech in a private memorial service at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library. (*The New York Times*, 08/28/2009; *The Boston Globe*, 08/29/2009)

September Kerry includes a \$20 million proposal in a defense bill for the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/25/2009)

Baucus unveils his healthcare reform bill. It would incorporate a new excise tax on insurance companies selling high-end policies with annual premiums exceeding \$8,000 for individuals and \$21,000 for families, and the creation of insurance marketplaces where consumers can shop for policies instead of establishing a competing federal government insurance plan, the “public option” advocated by EMK. Baucus’s bill would expand Medicaid to cover more of the uninsured and provide individuals with subsidies to buy insurance. People who forgo insurance and employers who do not offer coverage could face penalties. Although supportive of the tax on high-end policies, Kerry notes the threshold needs to be higher for working families who have generous packages. He also supports an employer mandate to provide insurance. (*The New York Times*, 09/17/2009, 09/18/2009)

On the 29th, during mark-up of the Baucus bill, Kerry votes for two amendments that include a public option that base its payment rates on those of Medicare for the first two years, and another that negotiate rates with doctors, hospitals, and other health care providers. Both are defeated. (*CQ Weekly*, 10/05/2009; <http://prescriptions.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/09/29/>)

October On the 13th, Kerry and the Finance Committee approve a healthcare reform bill by a vote of 14-9 with one Republican, Olympia Snowe (R-ME), voting in favor. The bill would spend \$829 billion over the next decade to provide federal subsidies to 18 million people, bar insurers from denying coverage based on pre-existing conditions, impose penalties on employers, and slash future spending on Medicare. It also includes a higher threshold for taxing high-cost health plans and Kerry’s ban on insurers charging women more for coverage or denying them coverage for pregnancy and maternity costs. (*The Washington Post*, 10/14/2009; *The Boston Globe*, 10/17/2009)

JOHN KERRY (D-MA) FACT SHEET

Prepared by Bryan Craig; revised by Janet E. Heininger, Ph.D., 06/21/10

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/06/2009

Committees with EMK:

- Labor and Human Resources (1985-1986). He serves on the same Subcommittee on the Handicapped with EMK.

Other Senate committees:

- Foreign Relations Committee (1985-Present; Chair: Jan. 2009-Present).
- Committee on Finance (Serves on Subcommittee on Healthcare starting in 2001).
- Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation.
- Committee on Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs.
- Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.
- Select Committee on Intelligence.
- Select Committee on POW/MIA.

Issues that Kerry worked on with EMK:

- Nicaragua Contras: EMK and Kerry both led the fight to stop Contra funding. In 1986, Kerry wrote a staff report on the link between Lt. Col. Oliver North and arms trafficking before the Iran-Contra story breaks.
- Handicapped: Abuse protection for the mentally ill (1985) and Education for All Handicapped Children Act (1986).
- Arms control: EMK and Kerry fought against SDI funding and for a test ban treaty during the Reagan and early Bush administrations.
- South Africa sanctions: Kerry was on the Foreign Relations Committee while EMK and Richard Lugar (R-IN) created a compromise bill that became law.
- Healthcare: COBRA (1985-1986), AIDS (1986, 2002), Children, Family Assistance Health Insurance Program (1996), Medicare Prescription (2002-2003), healthcare reform (2009), FDA regulation of tobacco (2009).
- Iraq: Kerry and EMK supported diplomacy and sanctions over U.S. military action in Kuwait (1991). Kerry supported the use of force in 2002 but later joined EMK in his opposition to the war (they either voted against military authorization in 2003 or for it with qualifications, such as a planned withdrawal after the 2004 election.)
- No Child Left Behind Act: Both worked to provide more funding for this legislation.
- 2004 presidential election: EMK supported Kerry's presidential campaign and Kerry hired former EMK staffers and pollsters for the campaign.
- Supreme Court Nominations: Kerry and Kennedy led the fight against the nominations of John Roberts (2005) and Samuel Alito (early 2006).

SENATOR JOHN KERRY (D-MA) ABBREVIATED TIMELINE

Prepared by Rob Martin

Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/06/2009

- 1962** John Kerry first meets Edward Kennedy working as an 18-year-old volunteer on Kennedy's first Senate campaign.
- 1970** Kerry runs for Congress in Massachusetts but withdraws when another anti-war candidate emerges; Kerry goes on to head Vietnam Veterans against the War.
- 1971** Kerry meets with Kennedy during an anti-war rally at the Mall in Washington, D.C.; Kerry testifies before the Senate the next day on the war in Vietnam.
- 1972** Kerry runs for Congress in Massachusetts; he wins the Democratic nomination with Kennedy's support but loses in the general election to a Republican challenger who questions Kerry's patriotism.
- 1982** Kerry wins the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in a tight race; Kerry and the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Michael Dukakis, easily win in the general election; Kerry serves as lieutenant governor through 1984.
- 1984** Kerry is elected to the U.S. Senate, succeeding Paul Tsongas who had stepped down due to poor health; Kennedy flies back to the U.S. between trips to Ethiopia and South Africa to escort Kerry into the Senate.
- Ronald Reagan defeats Walter Mondale in the presidential election.
- 1985** Kerry serves with Kennedy on Labor's Subcommittee on the Handicapped from 1985-1986 and begins serving on the Foreign Relations Committee.
- Kerry and Kennedy work together on disabilities legislation in 1985-1986, helping to pass the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1986; they also work together on a bill to protect the mentally ill from abuse.
- Kerry joins Kennedy in the Senate fight to stop funding for Nicaraguan Contras; in early 1986 Kerry investigates Lt. Colonel Oliver North's role in Contra funding; the Iran-Contra story breaks later that year in November.
- Kennedy supports Kerry in his unsuccessful bid to cut SDI funding; Kerry and Kennedy also call for a test ban treaty during the Reagan and early Bush administrations.
- Kerry and Kennedy fight to impose sanctions on South African Apartheid, passing legislation and overriding Reagan's veto in 1986.

- 1986** Democrats regain Senate majority in mid-term elections; Kennedy becomes Labor chairman in January 1987; Kerry leaves the Labor Committee.
- 1988** George H.W. Bush defeats Michael Dukakis to win presidential election.
- 1991** Kerry and Kennedy vote against the resolution authorizing the use of military force in the first Gulf War in January 1991; they instead support the resolution to give sanctions and diplomacy more time to work; Iraq had invaded Kuwait in August 1990; Congress had passed a resolution authorizing the deployment of U.S. forces to Saudi Arabia in October 1990; Kerry had voted for the October resolution and Kennedy against.
- 1992** Bill Clinton defeats George H.W. Bush to win presidential election.
- 1994** Kerry signs Kennedy's letter to Clinton urging the U.S. to grant a visa to Gerry Adams, helping to clear the way for a cease-fire in Northern Ireland later that year.
- Kerry stumps for Kennedy in Kennedy's tough reelection campaign against Mitt Romney.
- Democrats lose majority in House and Senate in mid-term elections.
- Kerry votes for Tom Daschle for Senate Minority Leader over Kennedy's candidate, Chris Dodd, in December.
- 1995** Kerry marries Teresa Heinz, who is good friends with Kennedy's wife, Vicki Kennedy; the Kennedys were married in 1992.
- 1996** Kerry and Kennedy work together to help pass a minimum wage increase.
- Kerry cosponsors the Kennedy-Kassebaum Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPPA).
- Kennedy stumps for Kerry in Kerry's tough reelection campaign against William Weld; Kennedy also brings in staffers like Robert Shrum to help Kerry campaign.
- 1996-97** SCHIP legislation providing federal coverage for children's health care is passed in 1997; Kennedy had initially cosponsored children's health care legislation with Kerry in 1996 while Kerry was running for reelection.
- 1999** Kerry and Kennedy vote with Senate majority against conviction in the Clinton impeachment trial.
- 2000** George W. Bush defeats Al Gore to win presidential election.
- 2001** Democrats regain control of the Senate in January for 17 days until Gore, who is the tie-breaking vote in the evenly split Senate as Vice President, is replaced by Dick

Cheney. Democrats regain Senate majority when James Jeffords leaves the Republican Party to caucus with the Democrats in May.

Kerry begins serving on the Senate Finance Subcommittee on Healthcare in 2001.

Terrorists launch attacks on 9/11; Bush announces U.S. is at war and Congress authorizes use of force against those found responsible; U.S. launches military strike in southern Afghanistan in October.

Kerry supports No Child Left Behind in 2001 and in 2002 works with Kennedy in an unsuccessful attempt to restore funding for the program.

2002 Kerry cosponsors legislation with Bill Frist to fight AIDS overseas; Kennedy has been working on similar legislation; Congress passes a compromise version of the Kerry-Frist bill to provide \$200 million in funding.

Bush announces doctrine of preemption in a speech at West Point.

Kerry and Kennedy fight to place restrictions on Bush's October 2002 resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq; facing a tough battle in the Senate, Bush moves negotiations to the House, which passes a resolution authorizing the use of force should Bush decide diplomacy has failed; the Senate approves the House resolution 77-23, with Kerry voting for and Kennedy against the resolution.

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

Kerry and Kennedy work to bring the 2004 Democratic National Convention to Boston, which is announced in December.

2003 Bush orders U.S. forces to invade Iraq.

2003-04 Kerry announces he will run for president; Kennedy and several former staffers, including Mary Beth Cahill, Bob Shrum and Stephanie Cutter, play major roles in Kerry's campaign; Kennedy frequently campaigns with Kerry, providing critical support in Iowa, and helping Kerry to win the nomination at the Democratic Convention in Boston in July 2004.

2004 Kennedy continues campaigning with Kerry in the general election campaign against George W. Bush; some former Kennedy staffers in the campaign draw criticism for not aggressively challenging Swift Boat Veterans for Truth ads attacking Kerry's military record; Kerry and Kennedy continue speaking out against Bush on Iraq; Bush narrowly wins reelection (286-251 electoral votes) after Kerry decides not to challenge the electoral outcome in Ohio.

2005-06 Kerry and Kennedy lead the fight to oppose the John Roberts and Samuel Alito nominations to the Supreme Court.

2005-09 Kerry and Kennedy continue challenging Bush's Iraq policy throughout Bush's second term, opposing Bush's "surge" in January 2007, and calling for troop reductions and redeployment.

2006 The Democrats regain control of the House and Senate in the mid-term elections.

2008 Kennedy and Kerry announce their support for Barack Obama for president in January.

Kennedy is diagnosed with a brain tumor in May 2008; Kerry, Obama, Dodd and Patrick Kennedy escort Kennedy into Senate chamber for a key Medicare vote in July; Kennedy makes a surprise appearance at the Democratic National Convention in August.

Barack Obama defeats John McCain to win presidential election.

2009 Kerry becomes chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Kennedy steps down from the Judiciary Committee to focus on health care reform.

Kerry cosponsors the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act of 2009.

Kerry cosponsors Kennedy's successful 2009 bill to give the FDA authority to regulate tobacco products.

Kerry works on healthcare reform and votes for the Max Baucus bill in the Finance Committee in October; Kerry had supported two amendments to include a "public option," but both amendments were defeated.

Kennedy passes away in August; Kerry speaks at Kennedy's memorial service at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library.