

EMK VIETNAM AND DRAFT REFORM TIMELINE

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Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 05/24/2007

1951 Representative John F. Kennedy (JFK) (D-MA) and Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) visit Vietnam.

1962

November Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) is elected to the U.S. Senate. He defeats George Cabot Lodge and Stuart Hughes, the peace candidate, who had collected 144,000 signatures in support of his campaign. EMK later says that the peace movement in his 1962 campaign “both heightened an interest and awareness of” Vietnam for him. (Adam Clymer interview with Edward M. Kennedy, John F. Kennedy Library, 10/09/1995)

1963

September EMK has lunch with Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, while traveling in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

October President Ngo Dinh Diem, the first president of South Vietnam, is killed in a palace coup.

1964

June EMK is severely injured in a plane crash on the 19th.

August The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution is passed by Congress. EMK announces his support for the resolution from the hospital. (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999, p. 79)

Fall Samuel Huntington visits EMK in the hospital to discuss the draft, which Huntington argues is unfair. (Theo Lippman, Jr., *Senator Ted Kennedy*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976, p. 75)

1965

February President Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ) expands the war by ordering the bombing of North Vietnam after an attack on U.S. ground troops. Additional Marines land in Vietnam the next month.

Spring EMK becomes Chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees. EMK aide Dale DeHaan informs EMK of how the conflict in Vietnam is creating a refugee problem. (Lippman, p. 48; Clymer, p. 78)

- May* EMK sends a letter to a Boston University Vietnam teach-in expressing support for the bombing and arguing that a U.S. withdrawal would only hurt the U.S. and other Asian nations trying to stay independent of China.
- July* On the 13th, EMK opens hearings on Vietnamese refugees. He states it is clear that “Communist forces are deliberately creating refugee movements to foster confusion and instability in the countryside ... and to obstruct the movement of Government personnel and materials.” During the hearings, EMK concludes that the current refugee efforts of the U.S. and South Vietnamese administrations are not satisfactory, despite their official statements. (Clymer, p. 80)
- August* U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) announces that it is setting up a refugee program in Vietnam. This is reportedly a result of EMK’s eight hearings, which reveal the fact that the U.S. has previously had no real refugee program. (*The New York Times*, 08/31/1965)
- October* Serving as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees, EMK travels to South Vietnam from the 23rd to the 27th to assess the growing refugee situation. EMK travels with two old friends, Representatives John Culver (D-IA) and John Tunney (D-CA), as well as Senator Joseph Tydings (D-MD), with whom EMK had recently argued over the Francis X. Morrissey nomination. When he arrives in Saigon on the 23rd, EMK tells reporters, “The overwhelming majority of the American people are behind President Johnson in Vietnam.” (*The Washington Post*, 10/24/1965) However, the military refuses to let EMK see any combat operations during the trip. Reporters later uncover that the camps EMK had visited had only been built after EMK confirmed his visit and that the blankets EMK had distributed to refugees were confiscated after he left. (Clymer, pp. 78-82; James McGregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976, p. 348; Lippman, pp. 48-49)
- Late 1965/’66* Shortly after returning from Vietnam, Tunney and Culver have dinner with Bernard Fall, an American expert on Vietnam who is critical of the U.S. government’s use of misinformation regarding the war. After Tunney and Culver brief EMK on Fall’s report, Senator Frank Church (D-ID) helps set up another dinner for EMK with Fall. Fall plays an important role in alerting EMK that the war is not going as well as the Johnson Administration suggests and that the military intentionally had misled EMK about the refugee situation during his 1965 trip. EMK begins to adopt a more critical position on U.S. refugee policy in Vietnam, though he remains supportive of the overall war effort through much of the next year. (Dorothy Fall, *Bernard Fall: Memories of a Soldier-Scholar*, Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 2006; Adam Clymer interview with Edward Kennedy, JFK Library, 04/17/1995, 10/09/1995)

- December* EMK addresses a meeting of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies in Geneva, Switzerland, where he says there are now 800,000 refugees in South Vietnam. (*The New York Times*, 12/03/1965)
- 1966** EMK travels to Geneva to discuss the problem of American POWs with the Red Cross and also joins other senators on the floor to warn Hanoi against holding show trials of POWs. (Clymer, p. 89)
- January* With EMK set to write a positive article in *Look* magazine on U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Tunney persuades EMK to adopt a more critical stance focusing on the inadequacies of U.S. refugee policy in Vietnam and the policy against negotiating with the Vietcong. EMK later recalls that it was around this time that he first began to seriously question U.S. involvement in Vietnam. *The New York Times* identifies the January 25th *Look* article as EMK's first major critical statement on the war. (Clymer, pp. 83; *The New York Times*, 01/25/1966)
- EMK speaks with White House Press Secretary Bill Moyers on the 24th to argue against the bombing of North Vietnam. The next day, National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy calls EMK to explain why the bombings will be necessary.
- February* EMK meets with UN General Secretary U Thant and U.S. Ambassador to the UN Arthur Goldberg on the 7th to discuss the refugee situation in Vietnam.
- LBJ begins bombing North Vietnam. On the 19th, RFK proposes that the Vietcong be included in any peace negotiations and allowed to "share power and responsibility" in South Vietnam.
- March* Appearing on *Meet the Press* on the 6th, EMK says that he continues to "support our fundamental commitment" in Vietnam but adds that it must be fulfilled "with both diplomatic and military measures."
- Spring* EMK begins to criticize the U.S. draft system as unfair. Speaking before the Armed Services Committee on May 19th, EMK advocates a lottery approach which has been successful in many European countries. EMK argues the principal defects with the current system are drafting the oldest first and the liberal granting of deferments. Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective Service, opposes a lottery. (Clymer, pp. 83-84; Lippmann, p. 75)
- May* EMK travels to Geneva to discuss POWs in Vietnam with the International Red Cross.
- June* On the 12th, EMK argues on the ABC television program *Issues and Answers* that the current deferment system is unfair because "those who have the economic resources to go to college are given a deferment." (Clymer, p. 84)

EMK attends a White House meeting with a large group of congressmen and fellow senators to discuss the situation in Vietnam. EMK unsuccessfully argues for the cessation of bombings in North Vietnam.

On the 29th, EMK again proposes that the present draft system be replaced with a lottery system. (*1966 CQ Almanac*, p. 617)

On the 30th, the Department of Defense's (DOD's) long awaited study of the Selective Service System is made public. The study was ordered by LBJ in 1964 and focused on meeting the needs of the military – not the fairness of the system – and recommended only changes in procedures under the current law. (*1966 CQ Almanac*, p. 614; Lippman, pp. 75-76)

July On the 2nd, LBJ appoints Burke Marshall to head an advisory commission to study the Selective Service System. (*1966 CQ Almanac*, p. 614; Clymer, p. 89)

September On the 6th, former Ambassador James W. Wine is appointed special assistant to the Secretary of State for refugee and migration affairs. This is a newly created post that comes after EMK's year-long hearings on the issue of refugees, during which Secretary of State Dean Rusk testified that there was a lack of coordination and high level attention to refugee affairs in the Department. (*1966 CQ Almanac*, p. 592)

1967

January On the 12th, EMK continues his criticisms of the draft system in a speech at the National Press Club, saying, "We have a system of local boards which apply widely different rules – which results in calling up married men in some states, while thousands of single men in other states remain untouched.... We have a system which sends thousands of young men into the Army because they cannot afford to go to college." (Clymer, p. 89)

February EMK introduces a draft reform proposal with Senator Joseph Clark (D-PA) on the 23rd calling for random selection, a continuation of undergraduate but an end to graduate deferments, and uniform administration of draft criteria. (*The Washington Post*, 02/24/1967)

March On the 4th, EMK speaks to the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) in Boston, saying that the "liberal program, the concern for the unfinished agenda among our people, has been a casualty of the war in Vietnam." (Clymer, p. 97)

The Marshall Commission issues its report on the 4th recommending that a random lottery system be implemented. Both EMK and RFK reportedly support the commission's findings. However, LBJ fails to fully support the commission's call to reform student deferments. Marshall later suggests that senators like Richard B. Russell (D-GA) and John Stennis (D-MS) helped prevent LBJ from

fully supporting the commission's findings. (Clymer, p. 90; Burke Marshall oral history interview, LBJ Library, 10/28/1968)

As acting chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare's Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, EMK holds hearings on the draft to study its economic and educational implications. (Clark, with whom EMK had sponsored the February bill, is the subcommittee's regular chairman.) The Senate Armed Services Committee also begins to hold hearings on draft reform in the spring. Hershey reverses course and testifies that draft reform is needed, including a lottery. (Lippman, p. 76)

May EMK works with the Senate Armed Services Committee to draft a passable draft reform bill based largely on LBJ's proposal. After rejecting Senator Mark Hatfield's (R-OR) amendment to create an all-volunteer army, the Senate passes a draft reform bill 70-2 on the 11th that includes authority to implement a lottery. However, the House passes a version of the bill forbidding a lottery, narrowing the definition of conscientious objection, and restricting the president's ability to act on reforms through executive order. The House rejects Rep. Donald Rumsfeld's (R-IL) all-volunteer army amendment. (Lippman, p. 77)

June The Senate conferees accept the House changes on draft reform prohibiting random selection and continuing student deferment policies. Russell, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, brings the bill back to the Senate on the 12th and asks for a quick approval. EMK challenges Russell on the Senate floor and succeeds in obtaining a two-day delay before voting. EMK introduces a one-year extension so that broader reforms can be reviewed in detail the following year. EMK gets 23 votes in his losing but well-respected effort against Russell. (Clymer, p. 91; Lippman, p. 79; Edward M. Kennedy, *Decisions for a Decade*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968, pp. 57n; 59)

Eleven days before expiration of the draft, Congress clears a bill on the 20th extending the draft for four years, providing little more than an extension of existing law from 1951. (Lippman, p. 79)

October On the 9th, EMK's Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees holds hearings to examine whether refugees are receiving enough medical treatment, whether the U.S. should take over the provision of medical treatment, and whether to increase funding for hospitals. (Clymer, pp. 98-99; *1967 CQ Almanac*, pp. 933-934)

1968 EMK publishes *Decisions for a Decade*, which addresses amongst other issues draft reform and Vietnam.

EMK introduces a draft reform bill, but nothing comes of it. (Lippman, p. 80)

January EMK travels to South Vietnam for the second time on the 1st. EMK has his own advance team schedule his itinerary for his twelve-day tour to allow him to better

assess the situation in Vietnam and avoid the U.S. government's misinformation campaign that had allegedly clouded his first trip. EMK finds refugee centers of varying quality and concludes that U.S. military efforts are the more recent causes for new refugees. EMK later says that this trip provided the "final conclusions as to my own view about the war." After the trip EMK immediately begins to speak out more forcefully against the war. (Burns, p. 348; Clymer, pp. 99-102)

EMK and his top aide David Burke meet with LBJ at the White House on the 24th to discuss his trip to Vietnam. LBJ is reportedly unhappy with EMK's negative report on the war.

EMK talks about his trip to Vietnam before the Boston World Affairs Council on the 25th.

March RFK announces for the presidency on the 16th and calls for "new policies" in Vietnam. LBJ announces on the 31st a sharp reduction in bombings in North Vietnam and says he will not seek reelection.

May Peace talks begin in Paris, led by Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman.

June RFK is shot and killed on the 6th while campaigning for president in California.

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees issues a report calling for complete reform of how Vietnamese refugees are treated. Recommendations include placing the South Vietnamese government in control of the refugee program, investigating the program for corruption, and beginning a refugee inoculation program. (1968 CQ Almanac, p. 250)

August On the 21st, EMK speaks publicly for the first time since RFK's death. In a nationally televised speech, EMK carries on RFK's fight against the war by demanding an immediate halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, a reduction of U.S. military activity on the ground, and an effort to refocus the Paris peace talks on withdrawing all foreign troops from South Vietnam. (Clymer, pp. 121-122)

October The Senate ratifies an updated Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees to which the U.S. is bound by treaty to the 1951 Convention Related to the Status of Refugees. (1968 CQ Almanac, p. 742)

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

1969

January EMK defeats Senator Russell Long to win Senate majority whip position.

March Nixon begins secret bombing of Cambodia.

May EMK meets with National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger at the White House on the 2nd, where the two discuss Vietnam.

On the 13th, Nixon requests authority to reform the 1967 draft law by implementing a lottery, with the youngest being called first. While acknowledging that improvements can be made, EMK praises the proposal and urges Congress to act. Having supported draft reform during the presidential campaign, Nixon favors an all-volunteer army, but in the short term is calling for simple reform. (Lippman, p. 80)

On the 20th, EMK speaks out on the Senate floor against “Hamburger Hill,” attacking the Nixon administration’s Vietnam policies. (Clymer, p. 141)

July EMK drives his car off a bridge in Chappaquiddick, Massachusetts. Mary Jo Kopechne dies in the accident.

Fall EMK addresses a large anti-war crowd of 100,000 plus on Boston Common, in which he proposes doubling the speed of Nixon’s proposed withdrawal rate.

As the new Chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure (AdPrac), EMK holds seven days of hearings on draft reform. The House and Senate Armed Forces Committee also hold hearings. (Lippman, p. 80)

November After a 10-day delay, EMK and other advocates of broader draft reform agree to allow a vote on Nixon’s simple lottery proposal in exchange for Stennis, who is now chairman of Armed Services, agreeing to hold extensive hearings on further draft reforms in the coming year. (Lippman, pp. 80-81)

Seymour Hersh breaks the story of the My Lai Massacre on the 12th, 20 months after the incident occurred.

December The simple draft lottery agreed to in the compromise with Stennis is held on the 1st.

1970

February EMK’s AdPrac subcommittee releases a report on the 3rd, “The Selective Service System: Its Operation, Practices and Procedures,” which calls for an end to virtually all deferments, as well as implementation of a system of uniform national draft standards. EMK reportedly favors making the draft more equitable rather than instituting an all-volunteer force. This is the only committee to issue a report on the draft in 1970. (1970 CQ Almanac, pp. 409, 413; Lippman, p. 81)

March On the 11th, EMK speaks in favor of lowering the voting age to 18, an effort he has worked on with Senator Warren Magnuson (D-WA). EMK argues, “If young

people are old enough to fight, they are old to vote.” (Clymer, p. 165) The 18-year-old vote passes in Senate on the 12th by a 64-17 vote.

April

On the 15th, as Chairman of the Judiciary’s refugee subcommittee, EMK issues a report and later holds a one-day hearing on war-related civilian problems in Laos. (1970 CQ Almanac, p. 973)

Nixon ends occupational draft deferments by executive order on the 23rd. (Lippman, p. 81)

On the 29th, EMK calls Nixon’s decision to commence an “incursion” into Cambodia in pursuit of a Vietcong headquarters a “sad and tragic step.” A week later, he tells the Massachusetts Dental Society, “The strange and tragic fascination with military victory in Vietnam has cast its mad spell over two successive Presidents and thousands of young Americans have gone to their death.” The Nixon administration subsequently sends Vice President Spiro T. Agnew to Cleveland, where he says EMK and other war critics have “developed a psychological addiction to an American defeat.” (Clymer, p. 177)

May

The Ohio National Guard kills four student demonstrators at Kent State University on the 4th. EMK speaks at the memorial service. (Clymer, p. 167)

In speech at Johns Hopkins on the 6th, EMK announces that he will work to cut off war funds.

On the 7th, a UPI poll shows that 50 senators, including EMK, are opposed to Nixon’s decision to send troops into Cambodia. (1970 CQ Almanac, p. 930)

June

On the 17th, the House passes the voting rights bill with the eighteen-year-old vote. Nixon signs it six days later, but is reportedly unsure of its constitutionality. (Clymer, p. 166)

August

Debating the FY 1971 military procurements, EMK is skeptical of Stennis’ push for an all-volunteer army. EMK says on the 20th that voluntary enlistments might not be sufficient to provide manpower and that such a system will result in a military composed of primarily black and poor volunteers. (1970 CQ Almanac, p. 399)

On the 25th, the Senate defeats an amendment to the procurement bill sponsored by Senators Hatfield and Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) aimed at establishing a volunteer-army. States EMK, “It is inequitable to permit the risks of battle to fall only on those less affluent Americans who are induced to join the army by a pay rise. Second, it is unwise to insulate from the horrors of war middle and upperclass Americans who might lead the protest against senseless foreign adventures.” (1970 CQ Almanac, p. 400)

- Fall* The issue of the 18-year-old vote comes before a federal district court in Washington, D.C. EMK argues as a friend of the court that the law is constitutional. His side wins in the district court, but the case is appealed to the Supreme Court. (Clymer, p. 166)
- December* John Dolan, acting as EMK's representative, meets North Vietnamese officials in Paris and receives a list of 339 names described as the "official list" of American POWs captured and being held in North Vietnam. The list contains little new information.
- Ruling on the constitutionality of the 18-year-old voting age, the Supreme Court finds that Congress can control federal but not state voting ages. According to Clymer, this decision is seen as a victory for EMK. The states have little interest in maintaining two separate rolls for state and federal elections and urge the Congress to amend the Constitution to make the voting age a uniform 18. (Clymer, p. 166)
- 1971**
- January* EMK loses the majority whip position to Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV).
- February* On the 2nd, the Senate Armed Services Committee begins hearings on an Administration bill to extend the draft for two more years to July 1, 1973. It also considers a bill sponsored by EMK which calls for a two-year extension of the draft, removal of student as well as occupational deferments and additional legal rights for registrants. On the 4th, EMK testifies before the Committee, arguing against a volunteer army. (1971 CQ Almanac, p. 270)
- March* The eighteen-year-old voting amendment is sent to the states on the 10th and ratified by thirty-eight of them in record time. (Clymer, p. 166)
- Lt. William L. Calley Jr. is sentenced to life in prison on the 31st for his role in the My Lai massacre. EMK gives a speech at the University of Alabama.
- April* On the 1st, two days after the conviction of William Calley, Nixon intervenes and orders that Calley be removed from Ft. Benning and placed under house arrest in his apartment. On the 3rd, White House aide John D. Erlichman announces that Nixon will personally review the case. EMK calls Nixon's action "ill-considered and unfortunate." (1971 CQ Almanac, p. 744)
- May* On the 25th, the Senate considers an amendment offered by EMK to the draft extension bill designed to strike from the Committee version of the bill (HR 6531) the section which offers a bonus for enlistees in combat units. EMK calls the bonus a "bounty to free the more affluent sectors of society from the need to risk their lives in defense of the country and it is designed to give to the poor two things - \$3000 and a rifle." (1971 CQ Almanac, p. 278)

- June* On the 7th, EMK accuses Nixon of delaying serious Vietnam peace efforts to coordinate with his reelection campaign. (Clymer, p. 185)
- EMK offers another amendment to the committee version of the draft extension bill, requiring the president to get the consent of Congress should he wish to add additional draftees above the 150,000 man ceiling set by the bill. The amendment is adopted on the 9th by a 78-4 roll-call vote. (1971 CQ Almanac, p. 281)
- The Pentagon Papers are published in *The New York Times* on the 13th.
- During a debate on a two-year extension of the Selective Service Act, the Senate votes 57-42 on the 22nd to terminate U.S. 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. (The same scenario played out in September during consideration of the Defense Appropriations bill.) EMK’s amendment to remove the combat bonus section of the bill fails.
- July* The 18-year-old voting age amendment becomes the 26th Amendment to the Constitution on the 1st.
- Summer* The North Vietnamese government invites the members of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee for Refugees and Escapees to visit North Vietnam. The North Vietnamese want EMK to bring a team of physicians to help determine what kind of humanitarian aid the region requires. (*The Washington Post*, 11/5/1972; *The Washington Post*, 11/28/1972)
- After David Burke leaves EMK’s staff, DeHaan takes over speechwriting for EMK on Vietnam. (Lippman, p. 69)
- September* On the 28th, Nixon signs the Military Select Service Act into law, extending the draft act for another two years. During the Senate debate on the legislation, EMK offered five procedural changes in existing regulations as amendments, which were adopted, though slightly changed, in conference. The new law adopts a number of the AdPrac report’s suggestions, including giving the president discretionary authority over student deferments and eliminating local quotas. Lippman calls the 1971 law an important victory for EMK. (1972 CQ Almanac, p. 481; Lippman, pp. 81-83)

1972

- February* Nixon goes to China on the 21st.
- February/*

- March* EMK holds amnesty hearings through AdPrac for draft dodgers and military deserters. EMK supports amnesty but, according to Lippman, introduces no legislation in 1972 because of amnesty's widespread unpopularity. EMK aides, such as Dun Gifford, have been pushing EMK to support amnesty since 1968, when Gifford convinced EMK to include in an early draft reform proposal a recommendation that DOD and the attorney general study the history of amnesty. EMK had agreed and subsequently drew much criticism from the media in 1968. (1972 *CQ Almanac*, p. 481; Lippman, p. 84)
- July* While discussing the authorization of foreign military aid for FY 1973, the Senate adopts two amendments by EMK on the 18th dealing with humanitarian aid to Indochina war victims. The first amendment earmarks additional \$70 million in security supporting funds for humanitarian programs in South Vietnam, whereas the other urges Nixon to start laying the groundwork for postwar relief and rehabilitation efforts in Indochina. (1972 *CQ Almanac*, p. 462)
- David Burke and Walter Sohler meet with North Vietnamese officials in Paris on EMK's behalf on the 31st to discuss a possible trip to North Vietnam. The North Vietnam government had first raised the idea of inviting EMK to their country the year before. Burke stresses that EMK would be very interested in touring the country to inspect refugee and humanitarian concerns, but that there are a number of issues to be worked out, including the timing of the trip, the development of peace negotiations, and the return of a substantial number of American POWs.
- September* The staff of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees plans to visit North Vietnam following the 1972 presidential elections. Plans for the trip, as well as the invitation made the year before, are not made public. DeHaan states that EMK keeps the arrangement private to avoid making the visit political. EMK consults with Secretary of State William P. Rogers about the visit, and DeHaan states that Rogers makes no effort to stop EMK from going to North Vietnam. EMK offers Rogers full access to any information acquired during the trip. (*The Washington Post*, 11/5/1972)
- October* On the 11th, Congress gives up efforts to reach an agreement on the bill authorizing foreign military aid for FY 1973. On the 17th, Congress declares a resolution continuing appropriations for foreign aid and other programs at their fiscal 1972 levels through February 1973. (1972 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 449, 474)
- Kissinger announces "peace is at hand" in Vietnam.
- November* The week before the presidential election, the State Department publicly denounces the subcommittee's planned visit to North Vietnam, stating that the visit might interfere with the ongoing peace negotiations between the U.S. and the North Vietnamese. DeHaan defends keeping the plans private and reportedly refuses to cancel the trip. Later in November, EMK and the State Department compromise on a trip scheduled for December during which physicians and

medical experts will assess the humanitarian situation and EMK will visit POWs and update the list of those held in North Vietnam. Soon after EMK and the State Department compromise, the North Vietnamese postpone the trip until early in 1973. (*The Washington Post*, 11/28/1972)

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

1973

January EMK leads the effort on the 4th in the Democratic Caucus to put the party on record opposing the war. The resolution wins with 36-12 votes. House Democrats adopt similar language two days later. (Clymer, p. 196)

On the 23rd, Nixon announces the signing of the Paris Peace Accords “to end the war and bring peace with honor to Vietnam and Southeast Asia.” The cease-fire in Laos is reached in February, but Nixon renews the saturation bombing of Cambodia. (*1973 CQ Almanac*, p. 791)

Early 1973 With Nixon’s induction authority to end on June 30th, the draft effectively ends as Nixon reduces draft calls to zero and allows the 1971 draft act extension to die without replacement. Nixon had promised during the 1968 campaign that he would end the draft shortly after ending the war. A cease-fire had been signed in January. Congress is set to evaluate the success of volunteer recruitment in mid-1974. (*1973 CQ Almanac*, p. 875; Lippman, p. 84)

March EMK aides DeHaan and Tinker visit Vietnam and Cambodia with Dr. Phil Caper to conduct a health and humanitarian study of the refugee situation.

May Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-MO) introduces an amendment to the defense appropriations bill which plays a key role in ending U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam War. The “Eagleton Amendment,” which proposes to bar all appropriations from being used to conduct combat activity in Cambodia and Laos, is unanimously approved by the Appropriations Committee. Nixon goes on to veto the appropriations bill. The House fails to override the veto by 35 votes. (*1973 CQ Almanac*, p. 102)

June On the 29th, a compromise is reached between Congress and the White House over the continued bombing of Cambodia which gives Nixon until August 15th to end the bombing. The compromise permanently ends all funding for U.S. combat activities anywhere in Indochina after the 15th. (*1973 CQ Almanac*, p. 792)

July The Senate votes 72-18 to pass the War Powers Act, which had passed in the House two days earlier. The measure sets a 60-days limit on any presidential commitment of U.S. troops to hostilities abroad or to situations where hostilities may be imminent, and on any substantial enlargement of combat forces abroad unless Congress declares war, specifically authorizes continuation of that

commitment or is unable to meet because of an armed attack upon the U.S. The commitment can be extended for another 30 days if necessary for the safe withdrawal of troops. (1973 CQ Almanac, p. 792)

October On the 2nd, the Senate adopts several amendments sponsored by EMK attached to the foreign aid bill for fiscal year 1974, including one stressing that humanitarian aid is the first priority of Indochina assistance as well as one earmarking \$10 million of the funds earmarked for Indochina for support of humanitarian programs of the Indochina Operations Group of the International Red Cross. (1973 CQ Almanac, p. 831)

On the 24th, Nixon vetoes the War Powers Act. (1973 CQ Almanac, p. 15)

November On the 7th, both houses override Nixon's veto to the War Powers Act. (1973 CQ Almanac, p. 3)

On the 27th, Congress agrees on a conference report on foreign aid for FY 1974.

1974

August Nixon resigns as president.

September Newly sworn-in President Gerald Ford announces a limited clemency plan in which deserters and draft evaders could serve "alternative service" as a means of "earned reentry." (Lippman, pp. 86-87)

December EMK's AdPrac subcommittee holds amnesty hearings. EMK recommends that the Ford administration produce a final list of individuals in jeopardy of facing legal prosecution and extend the deadline for applying for clemency. Both recommendations are adopted. (Lippman, p. 87)

EMK requests that North Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh provide information about U.S. MIAs. (*Chicago Tribune*, 3/14/75)

Congress passes the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-559) on the 18th, which cuts proposed military funding to the South Vietnamese government from \$1.26 billion to \$700 million. It establishes a personnel ceiling of 4000 Americans in Vietnam within six months of enactment and 3000 Americans within one year.

1975

January Trinh responds in a letter that the North Vietnamese will help find U.S. MIAs. Trinh's letter is the first admission that North Vietnam possesses information concerning American soldiers missing in action, although Trinh requires that the U.S. stop its support of South Vietnam in exchange for North Vietnamese assistance. (*Chicago Tribune*, 3/14/75; *The Washington Post*, 3/14/75)

- March* EMK releases Trinh's letter in March. When asked about the delay in releasing the letter, DeHaan explains that EMK had only received the letter in mid-February and needed time to make official copies and translations before making the letter public. (*Chicago Tribune*, 3/14/1975; *The Washington Post*, 3/14/1975)
- EMK sends DeHaan and Tinker to Guam to observe the Southern Vietnamese refugees being processed there. (Lippman, pp. 62-63)
- April* The last Americans are evacuated by helicopter from South Vietnam on the 29th from the U.S. Embassy roof.
- May* The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 is enacted, extending the authority of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 to Indochinese refugees. The legislation is given a specific termination date so as to avoid the creation of another long-term, open-ended refugee assistance program like the Cuban program. The Indochinese assistance program is renewed in 1976, 1977, 1978, and then extended to run through 1981, until it is taken over by the 1980 Refugee Act. ("Review of U.S. Refugee Resettlement Programs and Policies, a report prepared at the request of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary," *CRS*, 1980, p. iii)
- DeHaan announces an investigation of South Vietnamese reportedly evacuating Vietnam by bribing American officials rather than securing an American sponsor. (*Chicago Tribune*, 5/2/1975)
- After the Northern Vietnamese army takes control of South Vietnam, Congress passes legislation providing aid for South Vietnamese refugees coming to the U.S. (1975 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 315-320)
- June* Congress reauthorizes a bill providing temporary assistance to U.S. citizens abroad who have become destitute because of fall of the South Vietnamese government and must return to the U.S. The original bill was to aid those who lost their livelihood during the revolution in Cuba. (1975 *CQ Almanac*, p. 320)
- July* The Interagency Refugee Task Force releases South Vietnamese refugees directly to their sponsors, who were not prepared to provide the financial assistance refugee families need, or who had abused the refugees they were supposed to assist. DeHaan says that the result is the most rapid breakdown in the refugee-sponsor system he has ever seen. (*The Washington Post*, 7/9/1975)
- November* EMK amends an economic aid bill to expand the definition of those who qualify for the refugee relief passed in May to include refugees from Laos. The Senate agrees by voice vote, but conferees remove the provision. (1975 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 340, 342)

1976

February The new Vietnamese government contacts EMK offering to return the remains of two deceased Marines, provided that EMK sends members of his staff to retrieve them personally. EMK agrees. (*The Washington Post*, 2/21/76)

1977 EMK steps down as chairman but continues to sit on the refugee subcommittee.

January On his first day in office, President Carter grants pardons to those who avoided the draft by either not registering or traveling abroad.

1978 EMK is selected as a member of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy.

June DeHaan is appointed deputy high commissioner for refugees for the United Nations. (*The New York Times*, 6/4/78)

1979 EMK become Judiciary Chairman and no longer sits on the refugee subcommittee.

EMK plays an important role in creating the Orderly Departure Program, which permits immigration of Vietnamese refugees to the U.S. under the auspices of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

EMK works on Cambodian refugee issues.

1980 EMK's work on the Judiciary Committee helps lead to the enactment of the Refugee Act of 1980, which provides "a permanent and systematic procedure for the admission to this country of refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States, and to provide comprehensive and uniform provisions for the effective resettlement and absorption of those refugees who are admitted." ("Review of U.S. Refugee Resettlement Programs and Policies," p. iii)

THOMAS FRANCIS EAGLETON, 1968-1987
Preliminary Interview Topics

Joint Committee Service with EMK: Labor Committee, 1969-85

Prepared by Janet E. Heininger, Ph.D.

Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, September 26, 2005

General Characteristics/Overall Impressions

When did you first meet EMK? What were your initial impressions of him?

Tell me about your relationship with EMK. Has it changed over time? How?

How did your being a Catholic affect your relationship with Kennedy – especially on the issue of abortion, on which you were on opposite sides?

On what issues did you work most closely with him? On what issues were you opponents?

“Kennedy Caucus”

What was the “Kennedy Caucus?” Who were its members? How often did it meet? How did it operate in shaping joint stances on issues? How much of a role did Kennedy himself play in setting the agenda for those discussions? How did whatever decisions were reached get translated into legislative activity? Did the caucus focus principally on domestic issues, foreign policy ones or both?

Opposition to the Vietnam War and termination of funding for Indochina operations (1973) (see chronology)

Kennedy entered the Senate in 1963. You came in 1967 elected on a platform (among other things) in opposition to the war in Vietnam. By then, Kennedy had begun to speak out against the war. What role did he play in developing momentum against the war? How did that affect the role you played?

You, as a junior Senator, took the lead on ending funds for Indochina operations. How were you able to accomplish that? How did this become your issue more than Kennedy’s? What was it about your position in the Senate that made that possible? What role did Kennedy play in the process of terminating funds for Indochina?

Aging Issues and concern for older Americans

Both you and Kennedy shared an interest in issues affecting older Americans. On January 4, 1973, you introduced S. 50 to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide comprehensive health, education and social service programs to older citizens, which upon enactment became the Older Americans Comprehensive Services Amendments (1973). On introduction, you had 67 cosponsors, including Kennedy. Given his long-standing interest in aging and workers’ issues, what role did he play in developing this legislation? Were there other issues affecting older Americans on which Kennedy took a more active role?

1974 War Powers Resolution (see chronology)

How did you get the lead on War Powers over other far more senior Senators? What role did Kennedy play in the enactment of the War Powers legislation? Was he more focused on the situation in Chile? Was War Powers a subject of discussion within the “Kennedy Caucus?”

1972 Presidential Campaign

How did you become George McGovern’s vice-presidential candidate? What role did Kennedy play in your selection? How did the 1972 presidential campaign affect your subsequent relationship with Kennedy?

Health Care Reform

One of Kennedy’s top priorities has been health care reform. To what extent did you work with him on this issue? With whom did he work closely on that issue? How effective has he been in shaping Democratic initiatives on health care?

EMK modus operandi and Senate/party leadership in the Senate

What have you observed about Kennedy’s standing among his colleagues? How has that changed over the years?

What do you think of Kennedy? What are his strong points? What have been his legislative priorities? How have they changed over the years? How does he get his legislative agenda enacted?

What impact has he had on shaping the Senate Democrats’ agenda?

How effective is he on the Senate floor? In committees? As an articulator to the public of liberal Democratic positions? Which of these is his most important role?

When the Democrats have been in the minority, what role has he played in opposition? How effective has he been at that?

How would you characterize his leadership in the Senate? In the Democratic party?

How did his 1980 run at the presidential nomination affect his subsequent years as Senator? What changes did you see in him during his Senate tenure?

Kennedy’s use of staff

How would you characterize his use of staff, particularly in his committee work? Were there conflicts with your own staff over turf or who would take the lead? How did your staff’s relationships with those of EMK differ from your personal relationship with him?