

EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials Edward Martin Interview, 04/20/2005

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents¹

• Edward Martin Timeline.

Secondary Source Materials

- Adam Clymer, Edward Kennedy: A Biography (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999) pp. 34-42, 169-170, 249-251, 328-329, 338-342, 533-534, 549-558.
- James MacGregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976) pp. 72-96, 123-125.
- Milton Gwirtzman oral history interview, Washington, D.C., John F. Kennedy Library, 01/19/1966, pp. 21-22, 26-33.-0p[;'
- John H. Fenton, "Edward Kennedy Takes First Steps," *The New York Times*, 12/04/1964.
- Anne Taylor Fleming, "Kennedy: Time of Decision," *The New York Times*, 06/24/1979.
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- Frank Phillips, "Kennedy Wins Big for 7th Term," *The Boston Globe*, 11/08/2000.
- Steve LeBlanc, "Kennedy, Robinson, Howell Vie for US Senate Seat," *Associated Press Newswires*, 10/29/2000.

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.

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- "Congressional Review: The Issue Was Federal Spending," *1972 Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1973) pp. 11-12.
- "Major Legislation of 93rd Congress (as of 12/22/1973)," 1973 Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1974) p. 2.
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- Major Legislation of 93rd Congress (as of 12/20/1974)," *1974 Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1975) p. 2.
- Congress Strives to Fill Leadership Vacuum," 1974 Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1975) pp. 3-4.
- "Major Legislation of 94th Congress, First Session (as of 12/19/1975)," *1975 Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1976) p. 2.
- "Congressional Finale: Conflict, Compromise," 1975 Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1976) pp. 3-5.
- "Major Legislation of 94th Congress, Second Session (as of 10/02/1976)," *1976 Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1977) p. 2.
- "Congressional Review: Stalemate Continued," 1976 Congressional Quarterly Almanac Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1977) pp. 3-5.
- "Major Legislation of the 95th Congress, First Session (as of 12/15/1977)," 1977 Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1978) p. 2.
- "Congress Adjourns Without an Energy Bill," 1977 Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1978) pp. 11-14.

Other

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EDWARD T. MARTIN TIMELINE

Prepared by Jeffrey L. Chidester Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/15/2005

1961

Fall/Winter

Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) tells Boston journalist Eddie Martin that he is thinking of running for the Senate in 1962 and asks Martin if he is interested in running his campaign's press operation. Joseph P. Kennedy (JPK) has been strongly encouraging EMK to run. (Robert F. Kennedy oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 04/13/1964, pp. 189-191; James MacGregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976, p. 76)

1962

February

EMK travels to Washington, D.C. and informs Senator Benjamin Smith II (D-MA) that he intends to run for John F. Kennedy's (JFK) unexpired Senate seat in the November election. Smith agrees to step aside and provide EMK with whatever help he should need. (Theo Lippman, *Senator Ted Kennedy: The Career Behind the Image*, New York: Norton, 1976, p. 16; Milton Gwirtzman oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 01/19/1966, p. 26)

March

EMK makes his national political debut on NBC's *Meet the Press* and discusses the possibility of running for the Senate. JFK helps to prepare EMK for his performance. (Adam Clymer, *Edward Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999, p. 35)

EMK resigns as Assistant District Attorney in Suffolk County on the 14th and announces he will run for the Senate. EMK's main challenger for the Democratic nomination is Massachusetts Attorney General Edward McCormack, nephew of U.S. Speaker of the House John W. McCormack. McCormack dubs himself "The Qualified Candidate," pointedly calling into question EMK's experience. EMK adopts JFK's old campaign slogan, "I can do more for Massachusetts." (Burns, pp. 77-79; Clymer, pp. 37-39; John Culver oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 05/12/2003, p. 7; Murray B. Levin and T.A. Repak, *Edward Kennedy: The Myth of Leadership*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980, p. 87)

EMK places his brother-in-law, Stephen Smith, in overall charge of his Senate campaign. Martin, John Culver, and EMK's cousin, Joey Gargan, also work on the campaign. Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) helps to advise EMK during the campaign. (Gwirtzman interview, 01/19/1966, pp. 26-27; Burns, pp. 77-79)

JFK announces that he will not publicly endorse either Democratic candidate but instructs his staff to informally help EMK's campaign. JFK sends Ted Sorensen and other aides to help and provides EMK with frequent advice throughout the campaign. (Gerard Doherty oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 02/03/1972; Burns, pp. 77-84; Clymer, pp. 37-39)

The Kennedys decide to publicly disclose EMK's expulsion from Harvard University after it is learned that Bob Healy, *The Boston Globe's* Washington bureau chief, has picked up reports of the incident. (*Time*, 09/29/1962)

April

EMK travels with Gerard Doherty to Washington, D.C. to discuss his Senate campaign with JFK and RFK at the White House. Doherty is placed in charge of the campaign's day-to-day operations. (Doherty interview, 02/03/1972)

May

EMK and McCormack hold a televised debate in Springfield, Massachusetts on the 19th and, later, debate before a crowd in Western Massachusetts. During the debates, McCormack says he has documented evidence that the President and Attorney General are interfering in the campaign. EMK and, later, JFK deny McCormack's allegations. (Levin, pp. 61-65; *The New York Times*, 05/20/1962, 06/07/1962)

June

EMK wins his party's endorsement to run for the Senate at the preprimary Democratic State Convention in Springfield, Massachusetts on the 9th. Despite losing his party's endorsement, McCormack continues to challenge EMK in the Democratic primary. (Burns, p. 79)

August

JFK, RFK, Sorensen, Milton Gwirtzman and Gargan work with EMK at different times in Hyannis Port, Massachusetts to help prepare EMK for his debates with McCormack. (Gwirtzman, 01/19/1966, pp. 28-32; Lester David, *Good Ted, Bad Ted: The Two Faces of Edward M. Kennedy*, Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group, 1993, pp. 77-78)

EMK engages in a televised debate with McCormack at South Boston High School. McCormack accuses EMK of being inexperienced and of running on family connections, stating "if your name were Edward Moore, your candidacy would be a joke." EMK scores his most successful attack by questioning McCormack's statement that he favors halting production of nuclear weapons. Some commentators feel that McCormack's biting attacks may actually increase sympathy for EMK. Martin later remembers receiving a flood of calls at the campaign headquarters after the debate with people saying, "We're with Kennedy." (Clymer, p. 41; *The Boston Globe*, 08/28/1962, *The New York Times*, 08/28/1962)

September

EMK meets with JPK, JFK, RFK, Culver, Gwirtzman and Gargan over Labor Day weekend to discuss his second upcoming debate with McCormack. (Gwirtzman interview, 12/23/1971, p. 6)

EMK and McCormack hold their second televised debate in Holyoke on the 5th. McCormack backs away from the aggressive attacks he had launched against EMK in the first debate but continues to question EMK's lack of experience. EMK replies that he has more relevant experience on national and international issues citing his foreign travel. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/06/1962)

EMK beats McCormack by a landslide in the Massachusetts Democratic Senatorial Primary, gaining 69 percent of the vote. (*The New York Times*, 09/20/1962)

October

Following his defeat in the Democratic primary, McCormack announces he will stump for EMK in his campaign against Republican candidate George Cabot Lodge. Martin is among a group of Kennedy and McCormack campaign aides who attend the press conference where the announcement is made. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/11/1962)

JFK sends Sorensen to Massachusetts to prepare EMK for his appearance on *Meet the Press*. Sorensen reportedly advises EMK not to discuss the Cuban Missile Crisis in his campaign, as EMK's comments could be misinterpreted in Moscow. (Clymer, p. 42; Gwirtzman interview, 01/19/1966, p. 32)

November

On election day, EMK convinces JFK to cast his vote and then leave Boston immediately instead of making a public event out of the vote. Martin says White House officials wanted JFK "to land in the Common in a helicopter, walk across the Common, cast his vote on Beacon Hill, visit his brother's headquarters, then go to Locki-Ober's for a bowl of his favorite lobster stew." (*The New York Times*, 06/17/1979)

EMK defeats Republican George Cabot Lodge in the general election on the 6th. (*The Boston Globe*, 01/05/2003)

EMK is sworn into the Senate on the 7th, ahead of the other incoming freshman Senators who have been elected to full-terms. The Democrats have a 67-33 majority in the Senate. EMK is quickly praised for his understanding of the inner workings of the Senate and his willingness to show deference to senior Senators. (Burns, p. 99; Clymer, p. 44; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1963*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1964)

November

While presiding over the Senate on the 22nd, EMK receives word that JFK has been shot in Dallas. EMK calls Martin, now back at the *Boston Herald*, to see if the police had arrested the right man for certain. Martin describes EMK as "shattered, calm but shattered." (Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, *Times to Remember*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974, pp. 441-446; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1978, pp. 608-609; Gwirtzman interview, 01/19/1966, pp. 42-44; Burns, pp. 103-104; Clymer, pp. 52-53)

1964

June

EMK's back is broken in a plane crash on the 19th that kills his Administrative Assistant, Edward Moss, and pilot Edwin Zimny. EMK had just voted on the civil rights bill in the Senate and was flying to accept his party's endorsement at the Democratic state convention in West Springfield, Massachusetts. EMK's plane crashes during its landing approach in Southampton, Massachusetts. Senator Birch Bayh (D-IN) and his wife are also injured in the crash but are able to pull EMK from the wreckage. EMK is taken to Cooley-Dickinson Hospital in Northampton for preliminary treatment. Joan Kennedy, who had been waiting for EMK at the convention, is rushed to the hospital by Eddie Martin and arrives just ahead of EMK. Upon seeing EMK at the hospital, Martin recalls thinking, "I thought he was dying. He was white." Martin then calls the White House and tells Sargent Shriver that EMK is seriously injured, but will live. (Rose Kennedy, pp. 455-459; Clymer, pp. 59-64; Gwirtzman interview, 12/23/1971, p. 22; *The New York Times*, 12/04/1964)

On the Monday following the plane crash, Martin, Joan Kennedy, Doherty, and Eddie Boland hold a meeting to discuss EMK's political strategy as he undertakes his recovery for the next several months. (Randy J. Taraborrelli, *Jackie, Ethel, Joan: Women of Camelot*, New York: Rose Books, p. 287)

Running unopposed, EMK is endorsed for nomination for the U.S. Senate at the Democratic State Convention. (*The New York Times*, 06/21/1964, *Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1998, p. 127)

July

On the 10th, EMK is transferred by ambulance to a suite at Boston's New England Baptist Hospital. Martin and EMK's secretary, Angelique Voutselas, set up an office across the hall to continue EMK's Senate responsibilities. EMK remains busy with work while recuperating and receives a number of visitors, including LBJ, Jacqueline Kennedy, and

6

Francis Cardinal Spellman. Professors Sam Beer, Jerome Weisner and John Kenneth Galbraith hold one-on-one seminars for EMK on government, economics and science. Joan Kennedy plays a major role in EMK's re-election campaign against former Republican state representative Howard Whitmore, Jr. (Rose Kennedy, pp. 141, 456; Burns, p. 122; Clymer, pp. 61-63; Schlesinger, p. 654; *The New York Times*, 12/04/1964)

October

Volunteers gather signatures in support of EMK's candidacy for reelection to the Senate. Campaign literature centers around EMK's votes for civil rights, aid for education and mass transit, and Social Securityfunded health care, as well as a federal space research center in the Boston area. (*The Washington Post*, 10/01/1964)

November

EMK is elected to his first full Senate term with 74 percent of the vote over Howard Whitmore. (Clymer, p. 63)

December

EMK is released from the hospital on the 16th. At dawn, several hours before his scheduled release, Martin and Ray LaRosa sneak EMK out of the hospital and drive to Andover, Massachusetets. EMK visits the grave of Eddie Moss, spends an hour with Katie Moss and her children, then returns to the hospital for his formal discharge. Martin doesn't announce the trip to Andover until after the release so that EMK doesn't have to answer any questions on the subject. (Hersh, pp. 208-209; *The New York Times*, 12/17/1964)

1969

July

Following an appreciation party held for former members of RFK's campaign staff, EMK drives his car off a bridge at Chappaquiddick, Massachusetts on the 18th. EMK escapes but his passenger, Mary Jo Kopechne, drowns in the accident.

1970

June

EMK announces his candidacy for re-election to the Senate. He also says he will not run for president in 1972. (*The New York Times*, 06/12/1970)

Running unopposed, EMK is re-nominated as the Democratic candidate for Senate at the Massachusetts Democratic Convention. EMK says he will work for racial harmony, aid to the poor, and against American involvement in Vietnam. (*The New York Times*, 06/13/1970; *Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p.127)

October

EMK debates his Republican opponent in the Senate race, former state GOP Chairman Josiah A. Spaulding, on *Meet the Press*. On some issues

Spaulding attacks EMK from the left, citing the issue of population control and his support for legalizing abortion. EMK responds that he has supported the dissemination of birth control information at home and abroad, but he opposes "abortion on demand." EMK does not consider population control a major concern. Spaulding portrays himself as conservative by attacking the spending of the Democratic-controlled Congress. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/05/1970)

November

EMK defeats Spaulding with 61 percent of the vote. In his victory speech, EMK thanks the voters for expressing a "sense of confidence" in him. (1970 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1971, p.1088; *The New York Times*, 11/05/1970)

A Gallup poll reports that EMK is the second choice for the presidential nomination among Democratic voters, despite the fact that he has declared he will not run for president. (*The New York Times*, 11/26/1970)

1971

January

EMK loses the Majority Whip election to Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WV). Some observers believe this is a serious setback for any effort by EMK to gain the presidential nomination in 1972. (Clymer, pp. 171-173; *The Washington Post*, 01/22/1971; *The New York Times*, 01/22/1971)

March

David Burke leaves EMK's Senate staff after serving as Administrative Assistant for three years to take a position with the Dreyfus Corporation. Martin is named the new Administrative Assistant. (*The New York Times*, 03/06/1971)

October

Speaking before the Senate, EMK gives his first speech on the Irish conflict. (Clymer, p. 180)

December

After almost two years of work, Nixon signs legislation on cancer research co-sponsored by EMK and Senator Jacob Javits (R-NY). (Clymer, pp. 173-175)

1972

April

The New York Times reports that EMK is prepared to endorse Senator George McGovern (D-SD) as the Democratic presidential nominee and will not seek the nomination himself. (Clymer, p. 187; *The New York Times*, 04/29/1972)

May George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, asks EMK if he will consider

being drafted as the Democratic presidential nominee at the party

convention. (Clymer, pp. 186-187)

June EMK's In Critical Condition: The Crisis in America's Health Care is

published on the 19th. (Burns, p. 349)

The New York Times reports that EMK is McGovern's first choice for a running mate despite EMK's statements that he would not accept the

nomination. (*The New York Times*, 06/22/1972, 06/30/1972)

July McGovern formally receives the presidential nomination at the

Democratic National Convention in Miami. McGovern contacts EMK to ask him to be the vice presidential nominee. EMK thinks about it for a night but responds on the 13th that "I just can't do it." (Clymer, p. 188; *The*

New York Times, 07/13/1972)

August After Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-MO) is forced to withdraw as

McGovern's running mate, EMK is again asked to run for vice president and refuses. Despite EMK's objections, McGovern chooses EMK's brother-in-law, Sargent Shriver. (Clymer, p. 190; *The New York Times*,

07/31/1972)

December EMK tells Gwirtzman that he has been discussing the possibility of

running for the presidency in 1976 and that several prominent Democrats have offered to raise one million dollars for his campaign. (Clymer, p.

197)

1973

November EMK learns that his twelve year old son, EMK, Jr., has cancer in his leg.

EMK, Jr.'s leg is amputated and he begins cancer treatment the following February. EMK's experiences talking with parents in the hospital who have lost their jobs after missing too much work to care for their sick children later leads EMK to co-sponsor and help pass the Family and Medical Leave Act. (Burns, p. 349; Clymer, pp. 205-208; *The Nation*,

03/25/2002)

1974

April EMK travels to Europe and the Soviet Union and meets West German

Chancellor Willy Brandt and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev. The press interprets these trips as an effort to bolster EMK's foreign policy credentials for a possible presidential campaign and to distinguish himself

from Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-WA), another presidential hopeful.

(Clymer, pp. 211-215; The New Republic, 06/29/1974; The Washington Post, 04/07/1974, 04/09/1974, 04/19/1974, 04/23/1974)

June

Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity orders an end to segregation in Boston's public schools. In response, the ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) organization holds a massive anti-busing demonstration in Boston in hopes of convincing Senator Edward Brooke (D-MA) and EMK to seek a moratorium on busing. In an effort to calm the crowd, EMK attends the rally with Martin, aide Bob Bates, and nephew Joe Kennedy, III. The crowd responds to EMK's visit violently and proceeds to shout epithets and throw food at him and his entourage. (Burns, pp. 204-205)

September

Despite leading in the polls, EMK announces on the 23rd that he will not seek the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976. He says that the "decision is firm, final, and unconditional." (Clymer, pp. 225-226; The *New York Times*, 09/24/1974; *The Washington Post*, 09/24/1974; Newsweek, 10/07/1974)

1975

May EMK travels to Israel and the Persian Gulf. (Burns, p. 349)

1976

May

The New York Daily News reports that EMK has changed his position and would accept the Democratic nomination for president if he is drafted at the national party convention. The article also claims that EMK would accept the nomination for vice president as Hubert Humphrey's (D-MN) running mate. Kennedy denies the report. (Clymer, pp. 246-247; *The New York Times*, 05/21/1976; *The Washington Post*, 05/21/1976)

July

Governor Jimmy Carter (D-GA) is nominated to run for president at the Democratic National Convention. EMK reportedly plays a limited role in the convention but later helps to build support for Carter in Massachusetts. (Clymer, pp. 246-249)

September

Three people are arrested and charged with plotting to assassinate EMK while he is campaigning. EMK maintains his campaign schedule as planned. (*The Washington Post*, 09/12/1976)

EMK wins a third-term nomination with 74 percent of the vote in the Democratic primary over Robert E. Dinsmore, a lawyer, and Frederick C. Langone, a city council member. Both of EMK's challengers oppose abortion and the use of busing to integrate schools in Boston. EMK had not been challenged in the Democratic primary since 1962. While EMK's

endorsement of busing hurts his support in Boston, he still receives over 50 percent of the Boston vote in the primary. (Clymer, p. 249; *Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p.127; *The New York Times*, 09/14/1976; *The Boston Globe*, 09/07/1976, 09/15/1976)

November

EMK meets three other candidates in a televised debate held in New Bedford. Michael Robertson, a Republican curtain manufacturer, runs on an anti-busing platform and attacks EMK for his role in expanding government. (Clymer, pp. 249-250; *The Boston Globe*, 11/01/1976)

EMK defeats Robertson with 69 percent of vote. (*Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p. 88)

1977

EMK's *The Congress and National Health Policy* is published. ("Edward M. Kennedy," *Biography Resource Center*)

Spring

EMK and Thomas P. O'Neill (D-MA) issue a St. Patrick's Day statement on the situation in Northern Ireland with Governor Hugh Carey (D-NY) and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY). The group, which has been calling for Carter to intensify his calls for Britain to get out of Ireland, becomes known as the Four Horsemen. (Clymer, pp. 254-255)

May

EMK challenges the Carter administration to make progress on national health insurance, warning the delegates at the United Auto Workers convention that "health reform is in danger of becoming the missing promise in the Administration's plans." In a speech at the convention the next day, Carter commits himself to "a workable national health insurance system." (Clymer, p. 256)

June

President Carter appoints Martin as New England Regional Administrator for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. (*The New York Times*, 06/12/1977)

1979

March

In a White House meeting with Carter, EMK gives his "tentative support" to the President's re-nomination in 1980. (Clymer, p. 279; *The New York Times*, 06/14/1979)

Summer

After much discussion with family and friends, EMK decides to challenge Carter for the Democratic nomination and run for president in 1980. (Clymer, pp. 283-284)

September

EMK meets with Carter in the White House on the 7th to inform Carter that he intends to run for president in 1980. (Clymer, p. 284)

October

Martin attends a private dinner party in Boston the night before the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Library with a large group of advisors to EMK and former aides to JFK and RFK to discuss the organization of EMK's presidential campaign. (*The New York Times*, 11/11/1979)

On the 29th, Stephen Smith announces that Kennedy has formed an "exploratory committee" and will formally enter the presidential race on November 7th. (Clymer, p. 291; *The Wall Street Journal*, 10/30/1979)

November

A week before EMK announces his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, Martin, Gwirtzman, Joan Kennedy, friend Sarah Milam, cousin Sally Fitzgerald, and Marcia Chellis, Joan's assistant, meet in Joan's Boston apartment to discuss her role in the campaign. Joan stresses the need to speak at the announcement press conference in order to mitigate the so-called "Joan Factor" as early as possible. Martin strongly disagrees and suggests Joan sit quietly with the family while EMK handles any difficult questions from the press. (Taraborrelli, pp. 437-438)

On the 4th, EMK's interview with Roger Mudd is broadcast on *CBS Reports*. EMK fails to provide clear answers to questions on Chappaquiddick, his relationship with his wife, and why he wants to be President. The reaction to the interview in the press is very negative. (Clymer, pp. 285-287, 291; *The Washington Post*, 11/07/1979; *The Wall Street Journal*, 11/09/1979)

Speaking from Boston's Faneuil Hall on the 7th, EMK officially announces his candidacy for the 1980 presidential election. Joan Kennedy announces that she will participate in the campaign. EMK places Stephen Smith in charge of the campaign. (Clymer, pp. 291-295)

December

EMK is widely criticized for statements that the former Shah of Iran "ran one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind," and that he stole "umpteen billions of dollars from his country." Both Democrats and Republicans attack EMK as supporting Ayatollah Ruholah Khomeini and undermining the President's efforts to save the hostages in Iran. EMK later responds that his remarks were not meant to weaken Carter's efforts to gain safe release of the hostages. (Clymer, p. 295; *The New York Times*, 12/04/1979: *The Washington Post*, 12/04/1979)

On the 28th, Carter withdraws from a debate with EMK and Governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown, Jr. (D-CA). (Clymer, pp. 289-299)

January

On the 6th, EMK attacks Carter's grain embargo on the Soviet Union as a weak action that will punish U.S. farmers. (*The Washington Post*, 01/06/1980)

On the 21st, Carter wins the Iowa caucuses with 59 percent of precinct delegates. EMK comes in second with only 31 percent of the delegates. Despite the extent of the loss, EMK pledges to continue his campaign. (Clymer, pp. 300-301; *The Washington Post*, 01/22/1980)

EMK attempts to bolster his campaign with a speech at Georgetown University on the 28th. EMK attacks Carter from the left on both domestic and foreign policy, calling for wage and price controls, gasoline rationing, and a UN commission on Iranian grievances against the Shah if the hostages are freed. He also criticizes Carter's pledge to use military force to protect Middle Eastern oil supplies. (Clymer, p. 301; *The New York Times*, 01/29/1980; *The Washington Post*, 01/29/1980)

February

EMK invites a group of campaign aides and outside advisors to his home to discuss the future of his campaign. Among those invited are Martin, Smith, Paul Kirk, Carey Parker, Bob Shrum, Larry Horowitz, former senator John Tunney, publisher John Seigenthaler, attorney John Douglas, and hotel owner William Dunfey. (*The Washington Post*, 02/05/1980)

Carter defeats EMK in the New Hampshire primary on the 26th. (*The New York Times*, 02/27/1980)

March

Smith announces that Martin and top political adviser Paul Kirk will begin traveling with EMK all the time. (*The Washington Post*, 03/01/1980)

On the 4th, EMK wins the Massachusetts primary, but loses to Carter in Vermont. (*The New York Times*, 03/05/1980)

Carter wins the Illinois primary on the 18th. The endorsement of EMK by Chicago Mayor Jan Byrne may have been a liability for the campaign. (Clymer, pp. 303-304; *The New York Times*, 03/19/1980)

On the 25th, EMK overcomes a recent string of losses to win the New York and Connecticut primaries extending his campaign. Following the victories, EMK's campaign begins to attract its largest crowds to date. "There's something happening here," says Martin of the increased turnout. (Clymer, pp. 305-307; *The New York Times*, 03/26/1980, 03/31/1980)

April

On the 1st, Carter wins a landslide victory in Wisconsin. Brown subsequently withdraws from the race. (*The New York Times*, 04/02/1980)

On the 22nd, EMK wins the Pennsylvania primary. (Clymer, p. 309)

May

EMK wins the District of Columbia primary, but loses in eleven other states holding primaries that day. EMK offers to release his delegates if Carter will debate him. (Clymer, p. 310)

June

On the day of the California and New Jersey primaries, Martin says EMK is "committed to go all the way," regardless of the outcome of today's votes. (*The New York Times*, 06/03/1980)

On the 3rd, the final day of primaries, EMK wins in New Jersey, California, South Dakota, New Mexico, and Rhode Island. However, Carter's victories in Ohio, West Virginia, and Montana deliver enough delegates to assure him the nomination. (Clymer, p. 312; *The New York Times*, 06/05/1980)

On the 5th, EMK and Carter meet at the White House but fail to come to any agreement. EMK refuses to release his delegates unless Carter agrees to a debate. After the meeting, EMK tells the press that he is still "a candidate for the nomination." (*The Washington Post*, 06/06/1980)

August

EMK meets with Representative John B. Anderson (R-IL) who is running for president as an independent to discuss if he will drop out if EMK wins the nomination. (*The Washington Post*, 08/08/1980)

At the Democratic National Convention, EMK loses a procedural vote that would have permitted delegates to switch their vote on the 11th. This effectively ends EMK's campaign and he calls Carter to congratulate him. EMK gives a rousing speech written by Robert Shrum and Carey Parker on the 12th pushing for specific planks in the party platform and defending the liberalism of the Democratic Party. EMK pushes for Carter to support a plank calling for a \$12 billion jobs program. While Carter refuses to support this plank, he announces an economic recovery program that will create new jobs. Subsequently, EMK announces that he will work for the re-election of the President and formally releases his delegates. Carter easily wins the nomination on the first ballot. After Carter's acceptance speech, EMK arrives late to join Carter on the podium. The formality of the interaction between the two men leads some to doubt EMK's enthusiasm for the Carter campaign. (Clymer, pp. 316-318; *Newsweek*, 08/25/1980; *The New York Times*, 08/13/1980, 08/14/1980, 08/16/1980)

EMK makes a personal request of Carter that Martin be reappointed to his job in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which Carter grants. (Clymer, p. 324)

June

EMK is the closing speaker in the national midterm Democratic conference in Philadelphia. Interrupted by cheers and applause nearly 60 times in 35 minutes, he touches on the issues that the conference policy statements have established for the campaign, including Social Security, women's rights, the environment, and a nuclear weapons freeze. He also emphasizes the unity of the Democratic Party and calls representatives to stand by the traditional principles of the party. (The Washington Post, 06/28/1982)

Fall

EMK's niece, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, manages EMK's Senate reelection campaign. (Clymer, p. 340)

October

The Wall Street Journal reports that EMK has hired new staff, perhaps in preparation for another presidential run in 1984. The new hires include Bill Carrick, a Democratic official from South Carolina, Ranny Cooper, Director of the Women's Campaign fund, and Dick Sklar, a San Francisco political activist. (Clymer, p. 338; The Wall Street Journal, 10/05/1982)

Martin tells the media that the strong opposition from conservative groups to EMK's 1982 Senate campaign is not to win his Senate seat but "to bloody him for the future," a reference to a possible 1984 presidential campaign. (The Wall Street Journal, 10/05/1982)

EMK debates Republican challenger Raymond Shamie, a Walpole businessman. During the debate, EMK attacks Reagan's economic policies, leading Shamie to charge, "You're not running against Ronald Reagan, not yet." Shamie accuses EMK of being a "part-time senator." (*The New York Times*, 10/25/1982)

November

Polls in New Hampshire show that EMK's new ads are effective in lowering people's concerns about his character. EMK's advisors see this as a major breakthrough in terms of the 1984 presidential election. (The *Washington Post*, 10/08/1982)

EMK defeats Shamie in the general election with 61 percent of the vote. The margin of victory maintains EMK's status as a viable presidential candidate. EMK argues that his election represents a repudiation of the Reagan's policies. (Congressional Elections 1946-96, p. 127; The Boston *Globe*, 02/03/1982)

EMK meets with his family and aides over the Thanksgiving holiday to discuss whether he should run for the presidency in 1984. While Horowitz presents the case for EMK to announce his candidacy, EMK's children reportedly argue against running for personal and family reasons.

EMK tells his staff a few days later that he has decided not to run. (Clymer, pp. 3-7)

December

EMK announces he will not run for president in 1984. The strain imposed on EMK's family by the 1980 campaign reportedly plays a central role in his decision. (*Newsweek*, 12/13/1982; "The Kennedys," *PBS American Experience*, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/kennedys)

1985

December

In a televised speech on the 19th, EMK announces that he will not run for president but he will run for re-election to the Senate in 1988. He explains, "This decision means that I may never be President. But the pursuit of the Presidency is not my life. Public service is." EMK claims he wants to end the speculation that has clouded all of his actions including Senate votes and foreign trips. Observers surmise that EMK fears he can not win in a general election where his liberal image and personal issues are potential liabilities. EMK reportedly comes to the decision with little debate. On the 18th, he explains his decision to a small group of past and present aides at his home in Hyannis Port. (Clymer, pp. 385-386; *The Washington Post*, 12/21/1985; *The New York Times*, 12/21/1985)

1988

July

At the Massachusetts Democratic Convention, EMK wins the Senate nomination unopposed. (*Congressional Elections 1946-96*, p. 127)

September

EMK and Republican challenger Joseph Malone each agree to a debate, but on different nights, prompting both campaigns to promise that their candidate will show up alone to his accepted venue. Martin calls the move a ploy by the Malone campaign to get two debates instead of one: "They're using that as a game. I don't know anything about it. . . . I hope we don't get into debating about debates." (*The Associated Press Political Service*, 09/26/1988)

October

EMK's children, EMK, Jr. and Kara, co-manage his senatorial campaign. They attempt to attract younger voters and emphasize his liberal accomplishments. Malone emphasizes his Italian roots and working-class background. Malone charges that EMK has an outdated liberal agenda in an effort to gain the support of Reagan Democrats. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/23/1988; *The Christian Science Monitor*, 10/14/1988, 10/17/1988)

EMK and Malone engage in a televised debate. Malone attacks EMK for his pro-choice stance on abortion, for opposing the death penalty, and for his position on the War Powers Act. EMK takes issue with Reagan's

policies in South America, saying "we ought to give peace a chance." The 33-year-old Malone persists in characterizing himself as a proponent of working people and representative of a new conservative generation. While reportedly stumbling at times, EMK defends his liberal record and maintains control of the debate. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/30/1988, 11/01/1988, 11/04/1988)

November

EMK defeats Malone with 65 percent of the vote. "I look forward to going back to the Senate and fighting for the progressive tradition that I have started," EMK tells supporters at the Copley Plaza hotel in Boston. "I'd like to think this is a victory for the working men and women." (Congressional Elections 1946-96, p. 88; The Boston Globe, 11/09/1988)

1993

Summer

EMK names his nephew, Michael Kennedy, as the manager of his 1994 senatorial campaign. Also hired to assist with the campaign are Robert Shrum, a media consultant and ex-speechwriter for EMK, Tom Kiley, a pollster, Paul Donovan, EMK's Chief of Staff, Paul Kirk, a former DNC Chairman, and Charles Baker, a former Clinton and Dukakis adviser. EMK decides that his campaign will highlight his fight for the middle class and working families in his home state, and that his Senate work will concentrate on Massachusetts. He plans to be in Massachusetts for more than 100 days in 1992, 1993, and 1994. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

1994

August

Republican challenger W. Mitt Romney launches a series of ads focusing on welfare and health care. Two weeks later, EMK's pollster finds that Romney has gained over ten points. Near the end of the month, EMK airs an ad on his role in passing the crime bill. Romney counters with an ad mocking the idea of EMK as tough on crime. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

September

Joseph Kennedy challenges Romney to explain whether he supports past Mormon doctrine on race and gender equality in the church. This is followed by a drop in the polls for EMK. EMK publicly declares that religion should not be an issue in the campaign a couple of days later. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/27/1994, 09/29/1994)

Less than two months before the election, EMK and Romney are even in the polls. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/21/94)

EMK's new wife, Victoria Reggie Kennedy, campaigns with EMK and is seen as a great political asset by EMK and others. (*The New York Times*, 09/24/1994)

The EMK campaign interviews Ampad workers on strike and produces ads depicting Romney as a heartless businessman. Romney, although currently on leave of absence, is Chairman of the company that owns Ampad. The commercials are effective in driving up Romney's negative ratings. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

October

An invitation-only rally at Faneuil Hall marks the official new start for EMK's campaign, in which Kirk and EMK's former chiefs of staff David Burke and Ranny Cooper take the campaign over from Michael Kennedy. (*The Nation*, 10/14/1994)

Romney runs a series of ads charging that EMK made exorbitant monetary gains through a real estate transaction "at taxpayers' expense." EMK denies the charge. (*The New York Times*, 10/26/1994)

In a televised debate between EMK and Romney, the two candidates spar over health care reform, job creation, and crime policy. Commentators call the debate a "draw," which favors the incumbent. (*The New York Times*, 10/26/1994)

EMK and Romney meet for a second debate. Romney promises to oppose increasing taxes and spending, though he separates himself from other Republicans by saying he does not support cutting money for student loans or reducing the federal tax on capital gains. EMK emphasizes his accomplishments and his ability to build coalitions, which he plans to do next for health care legislation. He also challenges Romney on where he stands on the issue of banning cheap handguns. A telephone survey completed before the debate finds EMK up by 52 percent to 38 percent. The debate is not expected to significantly alter EMK's lead. (*The New York Times*, 10/28/1994)

November

EMK beats Romney with 58 percent of the vote. (*Congressional Elections 1946-96*, p. 88)

1998

March

The Friends of the Kennedy Library name Martin the 1998 Irishman of the Year. EMK and Vicki Kennedy, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer, and Ireland's Consul General Orla O'Hanrahan are among the 300 distinguished guests to attend the award presentation at the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. (*The Boston Globe*, 03/09/1998)

March Republican businessman Jack E. Robinson, III launches his campaign against

EMK by issuing an 11-page document reporting actions and events in his past. Several of these put his character in question, including an accusation of plagiarizing and a restraining order granted to an ex-girlfriend. Massachusetts Governor Paul Cellucci, a Republican, withdraws his endorsement of Robinson,

as does the Republican State Committee. (Associated Press, 03/21/2000)

November EMK beats Republican Jack E. Robinson III and Libertarian Carla A. Howell

with 73 percent of the vote. (http://nationaljournal.com/pubs/

almanac/2004/people/ma/mas1.htm)