



## EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

### **Interviewer's Briefing Materials** **Edward M. Kennedy Interview, 06/03/2005-06/04/2005**

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#### **Miller Center Documents<sup>1</sup>**

- Edward M. Kennedy Campaign Timeline.

#### **Secondary Source Materials**

- Murray Levin, "Kennedy Campaigning, 1962" in *Edward Kennedy: The Myth of Leadership*, ed. by Murray Levin and T.A. Repak, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980) pp. 12-28.
- William H. Honan, "Is Teddy, As They Say, Ready?" *The New York Times Magazine*, 02/23/1969.
- Anne Taylor Fleming, "Kennedy: Time of Decision," *The New York Times*, 06/24/1979.
- "The Kennedy Challenge," *Time*, 11/05/1979.

#### **Documents Provided by Senator Kennedy**

- "Milt's Overview Memo."
- "Demographics."
- "Technology."
- "Schedules."
- "Campaign Finance."
- "Political Style/Views."
- "Religious Values/Catholic Vote."
- "Home Style."
- "2000 Mission Statement."

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<sup>1</sup> 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 CAMPAIGN TIMELINE

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Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 12/15/2006

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**1958** Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) is named campaign manager of John F. Kennedy's (JFK) Senate reelection campaign. EMK, who is finishing his third year of law school at the University of Virginia, travels back to Massachusetts to campaign for his brother on weekends and during breaks. Lawrence O'Brien and Kenny O'Donnell maintain day-to-day control of the campaign. (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow, 1999, pp. 25-26)

### 1959

*October* EMK is named western states coordinator of JFK's 1960 presidential campaign and is assigned to manage eleven western states plus Alaska and Hawaii. (Clymer, pp. 27-31)

### 1962

*March* EMK makes his national political debut on *Meet the Press* on the 11<sup>th</sup>, in which he discusses the possibility of running for the Senate in 1962. (Clymer, p. 35)

EMK resigns as Assistant District Attorney in Suffolk County on the 14<sup>th</sup> and announces he will run for the Senate seat that JFK had vacated after winning the 1960 presidential election. EMK's main challenger for the Democratic nomination is Massachusetts Attorney General Edward McCormack, nephew of the U.S. Speaker of the House John W. McCormack. EMK places his brother-in-law, Stephen Smith, in overall charge of his Senate campaign. Gerard Doherty is later given control over day-to-day operations. (Gerard Doherty oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 02/03/1972; Milton Gwirtzman oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 01/19/1966, pp. 26-27; John C. Culver oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 05/12/2003, p. 7; James MacGregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976, 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 provides EMK with frequent advice and sends his chief speechwriter, Ted Sorensen, to help. (Doherty interview, 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 of *The Boston Globe* has picked up reports of the incident. EMK admits that he arranged for a friend to take an exam for him during his freshman year at Harvard, and that he withdrew from the university afterwards at Harvard's request. (Lester David, *Good Ted, Bad Ted:*

*The Two Faces of Edward M. Kennedy*, Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group, 1993, p. 73; Burns, pp. 80-84; *The New York Times*, 03/31/1962)

- May* During a debate in Springfield, Massachusetts, McCormack claims to have documented evidence that the President and Attorney General are interfering in the campaign. EMK and JFK deny McCormack's allegations. (Murray Levin, *Kennedy Campaigning*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, 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 pre-primary Democratic State Convention in Springfield, Massachusetts on the 9<sup>th</sup>. (Burns, p. 79; Levin, pp. 69-78; *The Boston Globe*, 6/10/1962)
- August* JFK, RFK, Sorensen, Gwartzman and Gargan work with EMK at different times in Hyannis Port to help prepare EMK for his debates with McCormack. (Gwartzman interview, 01/19/1966, pp. 28-32; David, pp. 77-78)
- EMK and McCormack hold the first of two televised debates on the 27<sup>th</sup> at South Boston High School. McCormack reportedly alienates voters by harshly attacking EMK as unqualified and of running solely on family connections. (Gwartzman interview, 01/19/1966, p. 28; Clymer, pp. 40-41; *The Boston Globe*, 8/28/1962)
- September* EMK and McCormack hold their second televised debate in Holyoke on the 5<sup>th</sup>. 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* JFK sends Sorensen to Massachusetts to prepare EMK for his appearance on *Meet the Press* and his debate with the Republican candidate George C. Lodge. Sorensen reportedly advises EMK not to discuss the Cuban Missile Crisis, as EMK's comments could be interpreted in Moscow as directly connected to JFK's. (Clymer, p. 42; Gwartzman, 01/19/1966, p. 32)
- November* EMK defeats Republican George C. Lodge, a former assistant labor secretary, on the 6<sup>th</sup> with 55 percent of the vote. EMK is sworn-into the Senate the following day. (*Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, Congressional Quarterly Inc., p. 88)

## **1964**

- June* EMK's back is broken in a plane crash on the 19<sup>th</sup>. 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. Recovery is estimated at six to ten months. (Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, *Times to Remember*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974, pp. 455-459; Clymer, pp. 59-64; Gwartzman interview, 12/23/1971, p. 22)

Running unopposed, EMK is endorsed for nomination by acclamation at the Democratic State Convention. (*The New York Times*, 06/21/1964; *Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p. 127)

*October* Volunteers gather signatures in support of EMK's candidacy for re-election to the Senate. With EMK hospitalized, EMK's wife, Joan Kennedy, campaigns. Campaign literature centers around EMK's votes for civil rights, aid for education and mass transit, and Social Security-funded health care, as well as a Federal space research center in the Boston area. (*The Washington Post*, 10/01/1964)

Holding his first press conference since the crash, EMK answers questions about the accident and expresses optimism for Democratic victories in races around the country and in Massachusetts. (*Wall Street Journal*, 10/20/1964)

*November* EMK is re-elected, defeating Howard Whitmore Jr., a former mayor of Newton, with 74 percent of the vote. (*Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p. 88)

*December* EMK takes his first steps since the accident and later walks out of the hospital to spend the holidays at home. (*The New York Times*, 12/04/1964, 12/17/1964)

## **1967**

*December* Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D-MN) announces he will challenge President Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) in several Democratic primaries. (Clymer, p. 104; *The New York Times*, 12/03/1967)

RFK holds a meeting at Bill vanden Heuvel's house to discuss the 1968 presidential campaign. EMK reportedly argues that RFK should wait until 1972 to run. (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1978, p. 832)

## **1968**

*January* RFK draws closer to entering the 1968 presidential campaign after the Tet Offensive seriously damages confidence in LBJ's prosecution of the war and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara privately informs RFK that LBJ might not run for re-election. (David Burke oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 12/08/1971, pp. 26-35; Gwartzman interview, 03/16/1972, pp. 107-109)

## March

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, RFK instructs Fred Dutton to inform EMK that he has decided to pursue the Democratic nomination for president. RFK sends a message to McCarthy about his decision on the 11<sup>th</sup>. (Clymer, pp. 106-107)

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, McCarthy receives 42.1 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire primary, demonstrating LBJ's vulnerability. The following day, RFK appears on the *CBS Evening News* and suggests that he might run. (James W. Hilty, *Robert Kennedy: Brother Protector*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997, p. 614; Clymer, pp. 107-108)

EMK attends a key meeting at Stephen Smith's house in New York to begin planning a possible RFK campaign. (Burke interview, 12/08/1971, pp. 44-46)

EMK travels to Green Bay, Wisconsin to explain to McCarthy why RFK has decided to enter the primary and to discuss how RFK and McCarthy might work together to avoid splitting the anti-Vietnam vote. McCarthy refuses to consider making any deals. (Schlesinger, pp. 854-855; Gwirtzman interview, 03/16/1972, pp. 111-113; Burns, p. 348; Clymer, pp. 105-109)

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, RFK announces from the Senate Caucus Room that he will enter the Democratic primaries. (Hersh, p. 298; Clymer, pp. 108-109; *The Washington Post*, 03/17/1968)

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, LBJ announces that he will not seek reelection. (Clymer, p. 110)

## April

Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated on the 4<sup>th</sup>. RFK informs a black audience in Indianapolis, Indiana of the assassination and urges calm. (Clymer, p. 111)

## May

RFK wins the Indiana primary on the 7<sup>th</sup>; he loses the Oregon primary to McCarthy on the 28<sup>th</sup>. (Clymer, pp. 109-112)

## June

After winning the California primary, RFK is shot in Los Angeles on the 5<sup>th</sup>. EMK immediately flies from San Francisco to Los Angeles with Burke and John Seigenthaler, a close friend of RFK's who has been heading the northern California campaign. RFK dies the next day. (Clymer, pp. 112-114)

Speculation begins immediately that EMK could run with Vice President Hubert Humphrey to help unify the Democratic Party. (*The New York Times*, 06/07/1968)

EMK delivers a powerful eulogy at RFK's funeral service at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City on the 8<sup>th</sup>. After the funeral, the Kennedys travel with the coffin by train to Washington, D.C. RFK is buried in Arlington National Cemetery. (Rose Kennedy, pp. 475-476; Schlesinger, p. 915; Burns, p. 348)

On the 10<sup>th</sup>, associates of EMK report that he will not run with Humphrey or replace RFK as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president. (*The New York Times*, 06/11/1968)

EMK and his mother, Rose Kennedy, thank the public for their sympathy in a television appearance on the 15<sup>th</sup>. (Clymer, p. 119)

#### July

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, former Ohio Governor Michael V. DiSalle announces that he will nominate EMK for president at the Democratic National Convention. (*The New York Times*, 07/14/1968; *The Washington Post*, 07/14/1968)

In an interview on the 18<sup>th</sup>, Humphrey indicates that he would select EMK as his running mate should he win the Democratic presidential nomination. (*The New York Times*, 07/18/1968)

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, EMK announces that it is “impossible” for him to run for vice president in 1968. He explains that his decision is based on “purely personal” reasons and is “final, firm, and not subject to further consideration.” (Public statement, Office of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, 07/26/1968)

#### August

Senator George S. McGovern (D-SD) enters the race for the Democratic presidential nomination on the 10<sup>th</sup> with pledges to end the war in Vietnam and to “heal” domestic divisions. McGovern quickly receives the endorsement of several former RFK supporters. (*The New York Times*, 08/11/1968)

In a speech at Holy Cross on the 21<sup>st</sup>, EMK announces he will return to public life to continue fighting for his brothers’ causes. This is his first public appearance since RFK’s death. (Clymer, pp. 121-122; *The New York Times*, 08/22/1968)

Humphrey meets with EMK on the 22<sup>nd</sup> in McLean, Virginia and asks him to join him on the ticket as vice president. EMK declines and assures Humphrey that he will not seek the nomination for president. (Clymer, p. 122)

EMK sends Steve Smith to Chicago on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley urges EMK to consider accepting the presidential nomination, while aides such as Gwirtzman and Burke fly to Hyannis Port to reportedly advise EMK to stay out of the race. EMK reaffirms his decision not to run. (Hersh, p. 351; Clymer, p. 122)

The Democratic National Convention opens in Chicago on the 26<sup>th</sup> with a movement to draft EMK for the presidential nomination spearheaded by Daley, DiSalle, and Jesse Unruh, speaker of the California State assembly. Stephen Smith works behind the scenes tallying the number of potential votes for EMK. (Clymer, pp. 123-124; *The Washington Post*, 08/27/1968)

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, Steve Smith meets with McCarthy to discuss a deal in which McCarthy would drop his candidacy and urge his delegates to vote for EMK. The

deal collapses when McCarthy supporters leak information about the meeting to the press. When Smith calls EMK to tell him that he has the votes to be nominated for president, EMK makes the final decision to not accept the nomination. (Clymer, pp. 123-126; *The New York Times*, 08/28/1968)

Humphrey wins the presidential nomination on the first ballot on the 28<sup>th</sup> after the movement against him collapses in light of EMK's decision not to run. Senator Edmund Muskie (D-ME) is selected as Humphrey's running-mate. (*Wall Street Journal*, 08/29/1968)

*September* EMK campaigns with Humphrey at a rally in Boston on the 19<sup>th</sup>. While the rally attracts a large crowd, peace demonstrators chant hostile slogans. (Clymer, pp. 127-128; *The New York Times*, 09/20/1968)

*November* Richard M. Nixon wins the 1968 presidential election with 43.4 percent of the popular vote and 301 electoral votes. Immediately after the election, EMK emerges to take an early commanding lead in the polls for the Democratic nomination in the 1972 presidential election. (Clymer, p. 129)

## **1969**

*January* EMK is elected majority whip by Senate Democrats. His election is interpreted by some as first step towards a run for the presidential nomination and by others as a sign that he is putting aside presidential ambitions to focus on the Senate. (Clymer, pp.131-133; *Time*, 01/10/1969; *The New York Times*, 02/23/1969)

*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 18<sup>th</sup>. Mary Jo Kopechne drowns in the accident. EMK does not report the accident for nearly nine hours.

After pleading guilty to leaving the scene of an accident at Chappaquiddick, EMK delivers a national television address on the 25<sup>th</sup> in which he accepts responsibility for his role in the accident and asks the people of Massachusetts whether they still have confidence in his ability to serve in the Senate. The response is very favorable. Several friends and family advisors helped to write the speech, including Sorensen, McNamara, Burke Marshall, Richard Goodwin and Stephen Smith. (Clymer, pp. 149-150; *The New York Times*, 07/26/1969)

EMK announces on the 30<sup>th</sup> that he will remain in the Senate. The next day EMK announces he will not run for president in 1972 and that, if reelected to the Senate, he will fill out his full term. (Burns, p. 348; Clymer, pp. 155-156)

## 1970

*January* At an inquest at Dukes County Courthouse in Edgartown, Massachusetts, EMK answers questions regarding his actions at Chappaquiddick. (*The New York Times*, 01/06/1970)

*May* Judge James A. Boyle's inquest report suggests that, while EMK may have committed a crime, there are insufficient grounds upon which to charge him with a violation regarding Kopechne's death. (*The New York Times*, 05/01/1970)

EMK explains on NBC's *Today* show that he will not run for president in 1972 but that he will "remain in politics" as long as he "could be effective." (Rose Kennedy, pp. 492-494; Clymer, p. 169)

*June* EMK announces his candidacy for re-election to the Senate and repeats that 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 the Senate at the Massachusetts Democratic Convention. (*The New York Times*, 06/13/1970; *Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p. 127)

*September* Maintaining a break-neck campaign schedule, EMK speaks to voters about an expansion of Social Security benefits, his national health care plan, the lagging Massachusetts economy under the Nixon Administration, and the Vietnam War. (*The Washington Post*, 09/20/1970)

*October* EMK debates his Republican opponent, former state GOP chairman Josiah A. Spaulding, on NBC's *Meet the Press*. Spaulding attacks EMK from the left on the issues of abortion and population control, while attacking from the right on the spending of the Democratic-controlled congress. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/05/1970)

*November* EMK defeats Spaulding with 61 percent of the vote. EMK thanks the voters for expressing a "sense of confidence" in him. (*1970 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 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. EMK pulls even with Senator Ed Muskie (D-ME) the following year and pulls ahead of Muskie by the end of 1971. (*The New York Times*, 11/26/1970)

## 1971

*January* EMK losses the majority whip election to Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WV). (Clymer, pp. 171-173)



## 1972

- April* Muskie drops out of the race for the Democratic presidential nomination after faring poorly in the New Hampshire and Florida primaries, leaving McGovern as the frontrunner. *The New York Times* reports that EMK is prepared to endorse McGovern and will not seek the nomination himself. (Clymer, pp. 186-187; *The New York Times*, 04/29/1972)
- May* AFL-CIO head George Meany asks EMK if he would consider being drafted as the presidential nominee at the Democratic National Convention. (Clymer, pp. 186-187)
- June* A challenge before the credentials committee of the Democratic Convention leads to the splitting of the California Delegation and a threat to McGovern's nomination. The controversy demonstrates the continuing opposition to McGovern among labor and other traditional Democratic constituents. (Clymer, pp. 187-188; *The New York Times*, 07/01/1972)
- 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 receives the presidential nomination from the Democratic Convention in Miami Beach. McGovern calls EMK at Hyannis Port to ask him to be the vice presidential nominee. After walking on the beach for 45 minutes, EMK declines McGovern's offer. (Clymer, p. 188; *The New York Times*, 06/24/1979)
- According to Pierre Salinger, EMK vetoes McGovern's consideration of Boston Mayor Kevin White as his running mate. EMK later refutes the allegations. McGovern goes on to select Senator Thomas F. Eagleton (D-MO). (Clymer, p. 189)
- August* After Eagleton is forced to withdraw as McGovern's running mate, EMK is again asked to run for vice president and refuses. McGovern chooses EMK's brother-in-law Sargent Shriver, reportedly over EMK's objections. (Clymer, p. 190; *The New York Times*, 07/31/1972)
- November* Nixon defeats McGovern in the presidential election winning 60.83 percent of the popular vote and 521 electoral votes. (*The New York Times*, 11/08/1972)
- December* EMK tells Gwartzman 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**           EMK emerges as the Democratic frontrunner for the 1976 presidential campaign, trailing only Vice President Gerald Ford. (*The Washington Post*, 12/27/1973)
- July*            EMK travels to Decatur, Alabama to speak at a “Spirit of America” celebration honoring George Wallace on the 4<sup>th</sup>. (*The Washington Post*, 07/08/1973)
- November*      EMK learns that his twelve year old son, Teddy, Jr., has cancer in his leg. Teddy, Jr.’s leg is amputated on the 17<sup>th</sup>. He begins a two-year, experimental methtrexate cancer treatment the following February. (Burns, p. 349; Clymer, pp. 205-208)
- 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. (Clymer, pp. 211-215; *The Washington Post*, 04/07/1974, 04/09/1974)
- September*     After meeting with family and staff in Hyannis Port over Labor Day weekend, EMK decides that he will not run for president in 1976. EMK announces his decision is “final, firm, and not subject to reconsideration.” The health of his wife Joan, who is battling alcoholism, and Teddy, Jr., who is battling cancer, reportedly influence his decision. The media has also been running a series of articles on the fifth anniversary of Chappaquiddick. EMK nonetheless continues to lead the polls, along with Humphrey, for the Democratic nomination in 1976. (Clymer, pp. 225-226; *The New York Times*, 09/24/1974; *The Washington Post*, 09/24/1974)
- 1975**
- Spring*          Speculation concerning EMK’s candidacy in 1976 is rekindled after Rep. Tip O’Neill (D-MA) appears on television and says that he expects EMK to be the Democratic presidential candidate.
- 1976**
- April*           Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter emerges as the frontrunner for the Democratic nomination for president after winning six of the first eight primaries. (*The New York Times*, 04/28/1976)
- 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 by the convention. The article also claims that EMK would accept the nomination for vice president as Humphrey’s running mate. EMK denies the report. (Clymer, pp. 246-247)

EMK charges that Carter's positions on some issues are "intentionally . . . indefinite and imprecise." A few weeks later, Carter responds, "I don't have to kiss his ass" to get elected. (Clymer, p. 247, *The Washington Post*, 05/29/1976)

*July* EMK attends the National Democratic Convention in New York but does not speak. Carter wins the nomination and selects Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN) as his running mate. (Clymer, p. 248; *The New York Times*, 07/15/1976)

*August* EMK meets with Carter in Washington, D.C. and offers to help Carter campaign. EMK introduces Carter at a rally in Massachusetts and arranges for his long-time aide Gerry Doherty to oversee Carter's New York campaign. (Clymer, p. 249; *The Washington Post*, 09/01/1976)

*September* A woman and two men are arrested and charged with plotting to assassinate EMK. EMK maintains his reelection 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 attorney Robert E. Dinsmore and city council member Frederick C. Langone. Both of EMK's challengers opposed abortion and busing. EMK had not been challenged in the Democratic primary since 1962. (Clymer, p. 249; *Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p. 127; *The Boston Globe*, 09/15/1976)

*October* District Court Judge George Bregianes dismisses charges of plotting to assassinate EMK against the three people arrested in September. (*The Washington Post*, 10/02/1976)

*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. (Clymer, p. 250, *Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p. 88)

**1977** EMK supports McGovern's charges that Carter is trying to balance the federal budget at the expense of the poor.

*May* EMK challenges Carter to make progress on national health insurance, warning the delegates at the UAW convention that "health reform is in danger of becoming the missing promise in the administration's plans." (Clymer, p. 256) EMK had spent much of the year negotiating with the AFL-CIO and the UAW to produce national health insurance legislation that could win support both from the unions and Congress. In a speech at the convention the next day, Carter commits himself to "a workable national health insurance system." (Clymer, p. 256; *The Washington Star*, 05/18/1977)

## 1978

- April* In a meeting at the White House, EMK and Carter reach an agreement on the general principles of national health insurance and aim for passage of legislation no later than 1980. (*The New York Times*, 04/07/1978)
- May* A Gallup poll finds that Democrats favor EMK over Carter by 13 points as the presidential nominee in 1980. (Clymer, p. 268; *The New York Times*, 05/07/1978; *The Boston Globe*, 05/12/1978)
- June* EMK criticizes the health insurance plan favored by Carter's economic advisors as inadequate. (*The Washington Post*, 06/10/1978)
- July* EMK publicly breaks with Carter over proposals for national health insurance but says that he still expects to support Carter for president in 1980. (*The New York Times*, 07/29/1978; *The Washington Post*, 07/29/1978)
- September* In an ABC News-Harris survey, EMK pulls ahead of Carter 40 to 21 percent amongst Democrats and Independents for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination.
- December* In a speech at the Democrats' midterm convention in Memphis, EMK assails Carter for proposing cuts in domestic spending while increasing spending on defense. "Sometimes a party must sail against the wind," EMK argues, as he pledges his support for "decent quality health care" for all Americans. "We cannot heed the call of those who say it is time to furl the sail." Following his performance, rumors begin that EMK will challenge Carter for the 1980 nomination. EMK continues to deny that he will run. (Clymer, pp. 276-277; *The New York Times*, 12/10/1978; *The Washington Post*, 12/10/1978)

## 1979

- Early 1979* With "Draft Kennedy" movements continuing to pick up steam across the country, EMK meets with family and advisors at his home in McLean, Virginia to discuss whether to challenge Carter in 1980.
- March* EMK meets with Carter at the White House on the 21<sup>st</sup> to give his "tentative support" to Carter's re-nomination in 1980. (Clymer, p. 279; *The New York Times*, 06/14/1979)
- May* Carter, on the advice of his Attorney General Griffin Bell, refuses to appoint Archibald Cox to the First Circuit Court of Appeals. EMK had strongly supported Cox's appointment. (Clymer, p. 281)

EMK unveils a comprehensive “womb-to-tomb” national health care plan for all Americans and calls for Carter’s support. The plan is unveiled in the Senate Caucus Room, where JFK and RFK had each launched their bids for the presidency. EMK staffers tell reporters that the plan is meant to pressure Carter to move on national health care – not to signal an EMK presidential campaign. (*Newsweek*, 05/28/1979)

EMK meets with family and advisors at Stephen and Jean Kennedy Smith’s New York apartment to discuss whether to enter the 1980 presidential election. Concerns are reportedly raised concerning Chappaquiddick and EMK’s relationship with Joan Kennedy, who is living separately in a Boston apartment and recovering from alcoholism. (Laurence Leamer, *The Kennedy Women*, New York: Villard Books, 1994, pp. 704-705; Clymer, pp. 283-284)

*June* At a White House dinner with members of Congress, Carter says, “If Kennedy runs, I’ll whip his ass.” EMK replies, “if I were to run, which I don’t intend to, I would hope to win.” (Clymer, pp. 280-281; *The Washington Post*, 06/13/1979)

Carter unveils his \$24 billion national health care plan, which is to be phased-in over time and tied to inflation. EMK charges that the plan falls short of meeting the needs of the American people. (*The New York Times*, 06/24/1979; *Newsweek*, 05/28/1979)

*July* In a televised speech, Carter discusses “a crisis of confidence” as a critical problem facing the nation. Carter’s address, quickly dubbed the “malaise” speech, leads to a short-term increase in his popularity. The firing of four cabinet members three days later, however, renews public doubts about Carter. (Clymer, pp. 283-284)

*August* Carter sends a message to EMK through Doherty signaling that, if EMK enters the 1980 presidential race, Carter will not drop out early like LBJ in 1968.

*Late Summer* EMK decides to challenge Carter for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination. Before making a final decision, EMK first needs to overcome his children’s concern for his safety and his concern for a campaign’s impact on his wife, Joan Kennedy. EMK arranges for Larry Horowitz to first talk with his family. Horowitz also convenes a panel of medical experts to determine whether the campaign would put an undue strain on Joan. They find that Joan’s health should not be a deterrent to EMK’s candidacy. (Clymer, pp. 283-284; Leamer, pp. 704-705)

*September* On the 7<sup>th</sup>, EMK informs Carter at a White House lunch that he will run for president. (Clymer, p. 284; *The New York Times*, 09/12/1979)

EMK announces that Joan and Rose Kennedy no longer object to his running for president in 1980.

- Fall*                   EMK sends Steve Smith and Doherty to Chicago to secure Mayor Jane Byrne's support in EMK's bid for president.
- October*             On the 20<sup>th</sup>, EMK and Carter appear together at the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. (Clymer, pp. 289-290)
- On the 29<sup>th</sup>, Stephen Smith announces that EMK has formed an "exploratory committee" and will formally enter the presidential race on November 7<sup>th</sup>. (Clymer, p. 291; *Wall Street Journal*, 10/30/1979)
- November*           On the 4<sup>th</sup>, 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; *Wall Street Journal*, 11/09/1979)
- EMK appears at Faneuil Hall on the 7<sup>th</sup> to declare his candidacy for president. Attacking Carter's "malaise" speech, EMK argues, "It's the political leadership," not the American people, "that's in a malaise." (Clymer, pp. 292-294; *The New York Times*, 11/08/1979; *The Washington Post*, 11/08/1979)
- December*           EMK draws heavy criticism during the hostage crisis for suggesting that the deposed shah "ran one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind." (*The New York Times*, 12/04/1979) Both Democrats and Republicans attack EMK's comments as showing support for Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. EMK responds that his remarks were not meant to weaken Carter's efforts to gain safe release of the hostages. (Clymer, p. 295)
- On the 28<sup>th</sup>, Carter withdraws from a debate with EMK and California Governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown, Jr. (Clymer, pp. 289-299)

## 1980

- January*             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 21<sup>st</sup>, 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)
- Speaking at Georgetown University, EMK attacks Carter from the left on both domestic and foreign policy. EMK calls for wage and price controls, gasoline rationing, a UN commission on Iranian grievances against the Shah if the hostages are freed, and criticizes Carter's pledge to use military force to protect Middle Eastern oil supplies. (Clymer, p. 301; *The New York Times*, 01/29/1980)

- February* Carter defeats EMK in the New Hampshire primary on the 26<sup>th</sup>. (*The New York Times*, 02/27/1980)
- March* On the 4<sup>th</sup>, 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 18<sup>th</sup>, taking 155 delegates to EMK's 11. Commentators speculate that Chicago Mayor Jan Byrne's endorsement may have been a liability for EMK. EMK's chief delegate counter, Rick Stearnes, reportedly tells EMK that he cannot win enough delegates in the remaining primaries to take the nomination. (Clymer, pp. 303-304; *The New York Times*, 03/19/1980)
- On the 25<sup>th</sup>, EMK overcomes a recent string of losses to win the New York and Connecticut primaries. (Clymer, pp. 305-307; *The New York Times*, 03/26/1980)
- April* On the 1<sup>st</sup>, Carter wins a landslide victory in Wisconsin. Brown subsequently withdraws from the race. (*The New York Times*, 04/02/1980)
- On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, EMK edges out the Pennsylvania primary. (Clymer, p. 309)
- May* EMK wins the District of Columbia primary but loses in eleven states. EMK offers to release his delegates if Carter will agree to a debate. (Clymer, p. 310)
- June* On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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 clinch the nomination. (Clymer, p. 312; *The New York Times*, 06/05/1980)
- During a White House meeting on the 5<sup>th</sup>, EMK tells Carter that he would consider releasing his delegates if Carter would agree to a debate. Carter tells EMK he would have the opportunity to present minority planks at the convention. After the meeting, EMK declares that he is still "a candidate for the nomination." (*The Washington Post*, 06/06/1980) Carter decides the next day to agree to a debate with EMK, but is talked out of it by Charles Kirbo. (Clymer, p. 314)
- August* EMK meets with Representative John B. Anderson (R-IL), who is running as an independent, to ask if he would 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 11<sup>th</sup>, effectively ending his campaign. On the 12<sup>th</sup>, EMK gives a rousing speech defending the liberalism of the Democratic Party and calling for a \$12 billion jobs program. While Carter refuses to support this plank, he announces an economic recovery program that would create new jobs. Subsequently, EMK announces that he will work for the

re-election of the president and formally releases his delegates. (Clymer, pp. 316-318; *Newsweek*, 08/25/1980; *The New York Times*, 08/16/1980)

In his first speech after the convention on the 21<sup>st</sup>, EMK urges the American Federation of Teachers to support Carter. After some wrangling, the union agrees to EMK's request. (*The New York Times*, 08/22/1980)

On the 25<sup>th</sup>, EMK meets with Carter at the White House and announces his support for the president's new economic program. EMK also agrees to campaign for Carter. (*The Washington Post*, 08/26/1980)

*September* Aides to EMK and Carter negotiate for EMK to make approximately six campaign appearances on behalf of the president. EMK's campaigning is expected to help Carter in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, which are all industrial states where EMK has strong support. EMK also agrees to appeal to Mexican-Americans to support Carter in Texas and to join Carter at a fundraiser in Los Angeles. In exchange for these appearances, Carter will urge Democrats to help EMK pay off his campaign debt. (*The New York Times*, 09/12/1980)

*October* EMK makes several television and radio ads in support of Carter and campaigns for him throughout the month. (*The Washington Post*, 10/16/1980)

*November* On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Ronald Reagan defeats Carter in the presidential election. Carter wins only 42 percent of the popular vote and 49 electoral votes. (Clymer, p. 319)

**1981** Horowitz replaces Richard Burke as EMK's chief of staff after Burke suffers a nervous breakdown. EMK instructs Horowitz, until he hears otherwise, to proceed as if EMK is going to run for president in 1984. (Clymer, pp. 328, 338)

EMK sets up the Fund for a Democratic Majority to raise money for Democratic candidates for Congress. (*The New York Times*, 02/13/1981)

## **1982**

*February* EMK attends a Democratic National Committee (DNC) fundraiser at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York with other Democratic presidential contenders, including former Vice President Walter Mondale, Senators Gary Hart and John Glenn, and Governor John Y. Brown, Jr. (Clymer, p. 338; *The New York Times*, 02/02/1982)

*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. (*The Washington Post*, 06/28/1982)



- September*      EMK's new media advisor, Michael Kaye, launches a series of campaign ads featuring longtime friends of EMK talking about how the Senator has dealt with tragedy in his life. (*The New York Times*, 09/26/1982)
- October*          The *Wall Street Journal* reports that EMK has hired new staff, including 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; *Wall Street Journal*, 10/05/1982)
- EMK debates his Republican challenger Raymond Shamie, a Walpole businessman. When EMK attacks Reagan's economic policies, Shamie responds, "You're not running against Ronald Reagan, not yet," and accuses EMK of being a "part-time senator." (*The New York Times*, 10/25/1982)
- In his last radio address before the election, Reagan states that his economic policies are working and simply need time. EMK responds for the Democrats from the home of a recently unemployed General Motors worker in Massachusetts. He argues that Reagan's economic policies are ineffective, and accuses the Administration of having a secret plan to cut Social Security after the election. (*The Washington Post*, 06/28/1982)
- November*        Polls in New Hampshire show that EMK's new ads have reduced 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. Some argue the margin of victory signals EMK's viability as a presidential candidate in 1984. (*Congressional Elections 1946-96*, p. 127; *The Boston Globe*, 02/03/1982)
- EMK meets with family members in Hyannis Port over Thanksgiving to make a final decision about entering the 1984 presidential race. Present at the meeting are Stephen Smith, EMK's children, Kara, Teddy, Jr., and Patrick, his sisters, Jean Kennedy Smith and Patricia Kennedy Lawford, and his nephews, Joseph P. Kennedy II and Stephen Smith, Jr. Horowitz organizes the session. Following his children's wishes, EMK decides not to run. Robert Shrum prepares a withdrawal statement. (Clymer, pp. 3-8)
- December*        EMK formally announces that he will not run for president in 1984. While polling data indicates that he could win, EMK says he does not want to put his family through the stress of a campaign. (*The Washington Post*, 12/02/1982)

## 1984

- March*            Despite efforts by Mondale's presidential campaign, EMK declines to endorse Mondale or any other presidential candidate. (*The New York Times*, 03/07/1984)

*June*                   EMK helps negotiate a reconciliation between Democratic presidential candidates Mondale and Hart. With Mondale gaining enough delegates to win the nomination, EMK convinces Hart to drop his challenge. In return, Mondale agrees to accept some reforms that prevent lesser-known candidates from gaining delegates at the convention. EMK formally endorses Mondale in a speech in St. Paul, Minnesota on the 25<sup>th</sup>. (Clymer, p. 360; *The New York Times*, 06/26/1984)

*September*       In a speech at a New York fundraiser, EMK defends vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro and Governor Mario Cuomo from attacks by Archbishop John O’Conner that, as faithful Catholics and public officials, they have failed to follow the teachings of the church on issues such as abortion. EMK asserts a distinction between public policy and private morality. (Clymer, p. 361; *The New York Times*, 11/02/1984)

## **1985**

*December*       In a televised speech on the 19<sup>th</sup>, EMK announces that he will not run for president in 1988 but that he will run for reelection to the Senate. “This decision means that I may never be President. But the pursuit of the Presidency is not my life. Public service is.” (Clymer, p. 386) EMK claims he wanted to end the speculation that has clouded all of his actions, including Senate votes and foreign trips. EMK had explained his decision to a small group of past and present aides at his home in Hyannis Port on the 18<sup>th</sup>. (*The Washington Post*, 12/21/1985)

## **1986**

*November*       EMK announces that he will serve as the chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources rather than the Judiciary Committee. He also reiterates that he will not be a candidate for president in 1988. (*The New York Times*, 11/09/1986)

*December*       EMK announces he will support Massachusetts Governor Michael S. Dukakis should Dukakis decide to run for president in 1988. Their relationship goes back to 1980, when Dukakis supported EMK’s presidential run, and 1982, when EMK endorsed Dukakis in the primary battle against Edward J. King. (Clymer, p. 407; *The New York Times*, 06/16/1988)

## **1988**

*November*       On the 8<sup>th</sup>, EMK defeats Joseph D. Malone to win his fifth term in the Senate. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/09/1988; *The New York Times*, 11/09/1988)

## **1991**

- Spring* EMK's nephew, William Kennedy Smith, is charged with sexual battery in Palm Beach. EMK had been with Smith earlier on the night in question and is called to testify at Smith's trial in December. (Clymer, pp. 488-491)
- June* EMK attends a fortieth wedding anniversary dinner for long-time Kennedy family friends Edmund and Doris Reggie. The dinner is hosted by the Reggie's daughter, Victoria "Vicki" Reggie, who is a partner in a D.C.-area law firm. EMK invites Vicki Reggie to dinner the next day and the couple begins to date. (*The New Yorker*, 03/31/1997; Clymer, pp. 492-493)
- October* The Judiciary Committee holds confirmation hearings for Clarence Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court. EMK is criticized both for waiting too long to challenge Thomas's nomination and for his criticism of Thomas's personal behavior regarding women during the confirmation hearings. However, the press largely reports that EMK maintains a low profile during the hearings. (Clymer, pp. 499-500, 518)
- EMK gives an important speech at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in which he acknowledges that he has made mistakes in the conduct of his private life. EMK says that his shortcomings will be addressed. Vicki Reggie and one aide attend the speech with EMK. Polls show that over 65% of Massachusetts voters do not want EMK to seek reelection. (*The New Yorker*, 03/31/1997; Clymer, pp. 502-503; *The Boston Globe*, 10/26/1991, 11/10/1994)
- December* EMK is called to testify at William Kennedy Smith's Palm Beach trial. Smith is found not guilty. (Clymer, pp. 504-505)
- 1992**
- July* EMK and Vicki Reggie are married in a small ceremony at EMK's home in McLean, Virginia. (*The New Yorker*, 03/31/1997; Clymer, pp. 512, 564)
- EMK speaks at the Democratic National Convention in New York, following a videotaped tribute to RFK. (Clymer, p. 514)
- 1993**
- Summer* EMK names his nephew, Michael Kennedy, chairman of Citizens Energy Co. in Boston, as the manager of his 1994 Senate campaign. 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)
- October* W. Mitt Romney, the son of former GOP presidential hopeful George Romney of Michigan and who currently heads a Boston business consulting firm, tells state

Republican party members that he is "seriously considering" running for EMK's Senate seat. Romney formally becomes a Republican, changing his party affiliation from Independent. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/29/1993, 11/10/1994)

*November* Romney writes fundraising letters to Republican Party activists saying he intends to run for EMK's Senate seat. Radio talk show host Janet Jeghelian, 1982 gubernatorial candidate John R. Lakian, Gary Todd, a central Massachusetts radio salesman, and James Darwin Carter, a Georgia native who raised over one million dollars through a national direct-mail effort, also express an interest in challenging EMK. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/09/1993, 11/16/1993, 12/01/1993)

EMK, Vicki Kennedy and Caroline Raclin host a lunch with the five women Democratic Senators to kick off EMK's reelection campaign. (Clymer, pp. 533-534; *The Boston Globe*, 11/16/1993)

Jeghelian officially declares her candidacy. Jeghelian argues that as a woman she will be a strong challenger to EMK. (*The Boston Globe*, 12/01/1993)

*December* Former Republican state representative Robert Marsh is named Romney's campaign manager. (*The Boston Globe*, 12/03/1993)

## **1994**

*February* Romney accuses Jeghelian and Lakian of raising the religious issue by calling attention to the fact that Romney is a Mormon. Romney officially declares his candidacy for the Senate. (*The Boston Globe*, 02/02/1994, 02/03/1994)

*March* Romney accuses EMK of accepting PAC money through his "Fund for a Democratic Majority." The EMK campaign says the PAC has been closed since 1993. (*The Boston Globe*, 03/21/1994)

*April* Romney calls upon EMK to release his tax information. (*The Boston Globe*, 04/14/1994)

*Spring* At Vicki Kennedy's urging, the EMK campaign investigates Romney's business. (Clymer, p. 550)

*May* A survey suggests over 60% of Massachusetts respondents think EMK should not run for reelection. (*The Guardian*, 09/12/1994)

Romney wins a substantial victory at the Republican State Party Convention. John Lakian, who cleared the 15 percent threshold of convention delegates, will also appear on the primary ballot in September. The other candidates failed to reach the 15 percent mark. (*The Boston Globe*, 05/16/1994)

EMK produces a compromise health care proposal preserving much of the Clinton plan. Romney criticizes EMK's health care plan as "big government." (*The Boston Herald*, 05/19/1994)

*June*

EMK criticizes Romney for not being involved in important issues such as gun control and abortion. (*The Boston Herald*, 06/04/1994)

Romney challenges EMK to a series of debates. (*The Boston Herald*, 06/02/1994)

EMK accepts the Democratic State Party Convention nomination. (*The Washington Post*, 06/05/1994)

*July*

A \$546,000 ad campaign emphasizing EMK's accomplishments goes on the air. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

Vicki Kennedy resigns from her law firm over its decision to represent Libya in a wrongful death suit. (*The Times-Picayune*, 07/22/1994)

Ampad Corp. buys a Marion, Indiana paper products plant and fires all the workers, offering to hire them back at reduced wages. Romney is chairman of Bain & Co., which owns Ampad Corp. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

*August*

Romney launches a series of ads focusing on welfare, healthcare and crime. 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; *The Boston Herald*, 08/03/1994)

*September*

EMK's ex-wife Joan Kennedy announces that she will re-open her divorce settlement. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

EMK issues a statement saying that he supports the ordination of women as Catholic priests. This statement comes three months after Pope John Paul II's declaration that only men can become priests. (*The New York Times*, 09/08/1994)

EMK's nephew, Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy II, runs a column in *The Boston Herald* criticizing Mormons including charges that Mormons treated African-Americans and women as "second-class citizens." Despite his June promise not to raise the issue of religion, EMK says it is proper to ask Romney about the issue of blacks in the church. This is followed by a drop in the polls for EMK. (Clymer, pp. 550-551; *The Nation*, 10/14/1994)

On the 18<sup>th</sup>, EMK holds a campaign meeting to discuss how to deal with Romney, who is expected to win the Republican nomination. In attendance are EMK, Vicki Kennedy, Edmund Reggie, John Sasso, Bob Shrum, and Kennedy pollster Tom Kiley. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

Romney wins the Republican state primary on the 20<sup>th</sup> defeating John Lakian. EMK is unopposed for the Democratic nomination. Romney begins to pull even with EMK in the polls. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/21/94, 11/10/1994)

Both President Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton appear at fundraisers for EMK. (Clymer, p. 553)

Vicki Kennedy campaigns with EMK and is seen as a great political asset by EMK and others. "I reject strongly the label of my husband as a womanizer," Vicki Kennedy explains, "I know the tremendous respect he has for me, and for his daughters, and for his mother. I think that says it all." (*The New York Times*, 09/24/1994)

The EMK campaign interviews Ampad workers on strike from a plant in Marion, Indiana and produces ads depicting Romney as a heartless businessman. Although currently on leave of absence, Romney is chairman of the company that owns Ampad. The commercials are effective in driving up Romney's negative ratings. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/94)

#### October

The United Paperworkers union sends a "truth squad" of Ampad strikers to Massachusetts to decry Romney. Publicity of their Massachusetts tour further hurts Romney. (*The Nation*, 10/14/1994)

Joan Kennedy announces that she will wait to re-open her divorce settlement until after the election. (*The New York Times*, 10/06/1994)

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

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, *The Boston Globe* and *The Boston Herald* jointly invite the candidates to two debates. EMK and Romney agree to the two debates. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

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; *MacLean's*, 10/31/1994)

Prior to the first debate, *The Boston Herald* conduct a poll showing EMK with an 18 percent lead on Romney. (*The New York Times*, 10/26/1994)

In their first debate at Faneuil Hall, Romney pits his "skill and experience in the private sector" against EMK's seniority in the Senate to argue that he better knows how to create jobs. EMK gets Romney to concede that he does not know

how much his plans for health care would cost, and accuses Romney of not giving medical care to part-time workers he employs. Romney counters with similar accusations about employees at the Kennedy's Merchandise Mart in Chicago. Romney also charges that EMK is "soft on crime." Commentators reportedly call the debate a draw. (*The New York Times*, 10/26/1994)

In a second debate in Holyoke, 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 leading 52 to 38 percent. The debate is not expected to significantly alter EMK's lead. (*The New York Times*, 10/28/1994)

*November* Romney runs a 30-minute "town meeting-style" campaign advertisement. (*The Boston Herald*, 11/07/1994)

EMK beats Romney to win reelection to the Senate but loses the chairmanship of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, as Republicans win majorities in both houses of Congress. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/09/1994, 11/10/1994; *The Washington Post*, 07/09/1996)

**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." (*The Financial Times*, 2/7/2004)

EMK is reportedly upset 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. (Clymer, pp. 585-586; *The Boston Globe*, 2/10/1997, 7/24/2004; *The New York Times*, 1/11/2004)

## **2001**

*January* 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*, 1/22/2003)

*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*, 1/22/2003)

## 2002

- January*      EMK and Thomas Menino, Mayor of Boston, meet with 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)
- Summer*      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*, 8/4/2002)
- June*          From the 24<sup>th</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup>, 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. Later Mayor Menino also joins the group. Committee members are also given a tour around the "Big Dig," the most expensive highway project in Boston history. 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*, 6/25/2002, 8/4/2002, 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*, 8/4/2002)
- August*      EMK and other Massachusetts Democrats push for the creation of a committee to handle problems associated with the convention bid, such as diversity issues and fundraising. (*The Boston Globe*, 8/4/2002)
- 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. (*The Boston Globe*, 8/8/2002, 9/25/2002, 9/26/2002, 11/14/2002)

*October*      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 in second. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/18/2002)

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, the House backs 296-133 a resolution giving President George W. 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 the resolution; Kerry votes in favor. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/11/2002)

*November*      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 could "sit with my senior colleague, who is a wise voice in American politics." (*The Boston Globe*, 1/22/2003)

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Kerry is elected to a fourth term with eighty-one percent of the vote and without a Republican challenger. Until now, it has been speculated that EMK might support Senator John Edwards (D-NC), with whom he has a close personal 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 EMK viewed Edwards as a protégé, especially due to their collaboration in health policy, but that EMK made clear his allegiance to Kerry after his re-election. EMK has supported every presidential candidate from Massachusetts since his own run in 1980, which includes Tsongas and Governor Michael Dukakis. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/19/2002, 1/22/2003, 5/10/2003)

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 8<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 11/8/2002, 11/13/2002)

On the 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 DNC 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*, 12/3/2002, 12/14/2002)

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, a Democratic advisory committee votes to hold the 2004 Democratic National Convention in Boston. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/13/2002, 12/3/2002)

EMK, Menino, and Kerry appear at a news conference announcing Boston as the site of the 2004 convention. (*The Boston Globe*, 7/24/2004)

*December* On the 1<sup>st</sup>, 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*, 12/2/2002)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, EMK and Menino sign the document officially naming Boston the site of the convention. The ceremony is carefully orchestrated to display solidarity amongst Boston’s business, labor, and racially diverse communities. Kerry does not attend the event. (*The Boston Globe*, 12/18/2002)

**2003** Throughout the year, EMK reportedly grows increasingly frustrated with the Bush administration, fueled by his objections to the Iraq war and Bush’s failure to fully fund the “No Child Left Behind” program, on which EMK had worked with him closely. Pundits speculate that Kerry has become EMK’s vehicle for driving Bush out of office. (*The Boston Globe*, 7/24/2004)

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*, 5/10/2003)

EMK acknowledges a tradition of tension between EMK and Kerry Senate staffs to *Boston Globe* reporters. (*The Boston Globe*, 5/10/2003, 2/1/2004, 7/24/2004)

*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*, 1/22/2003)

*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 Vicki Kennedy. (*The Boston Globe*, 5/10/2003)

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*, 2/26/2003; *The Washington Post*, 4/21/2004, 9/10/2004)

*March* The U.S.-led military campaign in Iraq begins on the 20<sup>th</sup>. (*The New York Times*, 3/20/2003)

*May* 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*, 5/10/2003)

*August* EMK and Vicki Kennedy 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. (*The Boston Globe*, 08/21/2003)

*September* On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 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 were written. 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 persuades Kerry to use his own version, which is reportedly rewritten en route to Iowa. (*The Financial Times*, 9/1/2003; *The New York Times*, 11/11/2003)

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Kerry is endorsed by the International Association of Fire Fighters, his only AFL-CIO member endorsement so far. (*The Boston Globe*, 9/24/2003)

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, EMK campaigns with Kerry at rallies in Des Moines and Waterloo, Iowa. (*The Boston Globe*, 9/28/2003; *Newsweek*, 3/15/2004)

Former Governor of New Hampshire Jeanne Shaheen becomes National Chairman of Kerry’s campaign. (*The New York Times*, 1/25/2004)

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, 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. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/1/2003)

*October* On the 16<sup>th</sup>, the Senate rejects 57-42 an amendment cosponsored by EMK and Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV) that would provide half of all Iraq reconstruction funds now and the other half pending a congressional vote taking place after Bush has presented a detailed reconstruction plan. Kerry votes in favor of the amendment. (*The Boston Herald*, 10/17/2003)

*November* With the Kerry campaign reportedly marred by infighting, Kerry dismisses Jordan on the 9<sup>th</sup>. Jordan was reportedly battling for leadership with Shrum. (*The New York Times*, 11/11/2003; *The Boston Globe*, 1/20/2004)

Kerry subsequently hires Mary Beth Cahill, chief of staff to EMK, 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, 1/11/2004; *The Boston Globe*, 1/20/2004, 7/24/2004)

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, the Senate passes legislation by an unrecorded voice vote authorizing \$87 billion for Iraq.

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, 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 13<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 4/11/2004)

*January*      On the weekend of the 10<sup>th</sup>, EMK campaigns with Kerry throughout Iowa, stopping in Dubuque, Davenport, and Cedar Rapids. (*The New York Times*, 1/11/2004)

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, First Lady of Iowa 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*, 1/10/2004; *The Boston Herald*, 1/13/2004)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Kerry wins the Iowa caucuses. Gephardt drops out of the race. (*The New York Times*, 2/6/2004)

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 1/26/2004; *The Financial Times*, 2/7/2004)

In the last week of the month, EMK campaigns solo for Kerry in Arizona and New Mexico. (*The Financial Times*, 2/7/2004)

*February*      On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Gephardt endorses Kerry. (*The New York Times*, 2/6/2004)

On the 6<sup>th</sup>, EMK acts as Kerry's "advance man" for the Maine caucuses taking place on the 8<sup>th</sup>. (*The Financial Times*, 2/7/2004)

On the weekend of the 7<sup>th</sup>, Kerry claims victory in Maine, Michigan, and Washington State. (*The New York Times*, 2/9/2004)

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, the eighteen blue-collar unions that had backed Gephardt announce their endorsement of Kerry. (*The New York Times*, 2/14/2004; *Business Week* 2/23/2004)

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, General Wesley Clark drops out of the race and endorses Kerry. (*The Washington Post*, 2/14/2004)

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, union leaders announce that the AFL-CIO executive board will vote to endorse Kerry on the 19<sup>th</sup>. 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*, 2/14/2004)

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 2/17/2004; *The Boston Globe*, 7/13/2004)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, 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 that has endorsed Dean. (*The Washington Post*, 2/18/2004; *The New York Times*, 2/24/2004, 3/11/2004)

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*, 2/17/2004)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 2/18/2005; *Labour Research*, 11/1/2004)

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, Kerry is endorsed by former New York Governor Mario Cuomo and his son Andrew. (*The New York Times*, 2/29/2004)

#### *March*

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*, 3/15/2004)

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*, 3/15/2004)

Kerry wins nine of the ten primaries on "Super Tuesday" on the 2<sup>nd</sup>, essentially clinching the nomination. Edwards drops out of the race the next day and immediately endorses Kerry. (*The New York Times*, 3/4/2004)

#### *April*

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 5<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 7/24/2004)

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*, 4/11/2004)

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*, 4/15/2004)

*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*, 5/27/2004; *The New York Times*, 5/27/2004)

On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, Vicki 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*, 5/23/2004)

*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. Over the past few months, EMK has reportedly discussed the selection of a vice presidential running-mate with Kerry informally over dinner. (*The Washington Post*, 6/18/2004, 7/7/2004; *Star Tribune*, 7/8/2004)

*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, who is close to Menino, Menino and Kerry reconcile publicly. (*The Boston Globe*, 7/1/2004, 7/17/2004)

On the 6<sup>th</sup>, Kerry names Edwards as his vice-presidential nominee during 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*, 7/6/2004; *The Washington Post*, 7/7/2004)

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 4/13/2004)

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 7/28/2004)

Also on the 27<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 4/13/2004, 7/24/2004)

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, Kerry accepts the Democratic nomination for president. He has drafted his speech with the help of two of JFK's and RFK's best known speechwriters, Theodore Sorensen and Richard Goodwin, in addition to relying heavily on Shrum. (*The New York Times*, 7/29/2004; *The Washington Post*, 9/17/2004)

#### *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*, 8/12/2004, 8/17/2004)

The media reports that Kerry has agreed 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*, 9/17/2004)

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Jamie Rubin, a top foreign policy advisor 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*, 8/25/2004)

#### *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*, 9/10/2004)



On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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*, 9/3/2004)

In several telephone calls on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, Kerry speaks with Clinton, who is in a New York hospital awaiting open heart surgery. Clinton reportedly 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*, 9/6/2004, 9/17/2004)

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*, 9/3/2004)

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. (*The Irish Times*, 9/16/2004; *The Washington Post*, 9/17/2004)

Speaking at George Washington University on the 27<sup>th</sup>, 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*, 9/28/2004; *The New York Times*, 9/28/2004)

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, 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 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 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 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 13<sup>th</sup>, 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 25<sup>th</sup>, Clinton appears with Kerry at a rally in Philadelphia, his first campaign appearance since his surgery. (*The Washington Post*, 10/30/2004)

On the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>, Clinton campaigns 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 30<sup>th</sup>, Clinton campaigns solo for Kerry in Las Vegas, Nevada. (*The Washington Post*, 10/30/2004)

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, Caroline Kennedy joins Chelsea Clinton, Karenna Gore Schiff, Cate Edwards, and Vanessa Kerry at a Kerry rally in Tampa. Caroline Kennedy 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 3<sup>rd</sup>, Kerry consults with EMK, Edwards, and Cahill at Kerry’s home in Boston. Kerry concedes nine hours later. (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 11/4/2004)

Kerry gives his concession speech at Faneuil Hall. The press reports that Kerry thanks his campaign staff but does not mention EMK, who is sitting in the front row. (*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 Hillary Clinton, he says, “I have enormous respect for Senator Clinton... But my man is John Kerry.” (*Knight-Ridder*, 3/7/2005)