



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials **Edward M. Kennedy Interview, 10/14/2005**

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Miller Center Documents¹

- Edward M. Kennedy Presidential Politics Timeline.

Secondary Source Materials

- James MacGregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976) pp. 187-201, 255-276.
- "The Non-Candidacy of Edward Moore Kennedy," *Time*, 11/29/1971.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow, 1999) pp. 3-8, 276-320, 337-342, 385-386.
- Burton Hersch, *The Shadow President* (South Royalton, Vermont: Steerforth Press, 1997) pp. 32-54.
- Anne Taylor Fleming, "Kennedy: Time of Decision," *New York Times Magazine*, 06/24/1979.
- Haynes Johnson, "Kennedy Myth Gives Way to Hard Political Realities," *The Washington Post*, 01/22/1980.
- Adam Clymer interview with Edward M. Kennedy, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 09/11/1998, pp. 1-4.
- "Transcript of Kennedy's Speech on Economic Issues at Democratic Convention," *The New York Times*, 08/13/1980.
- "David M. Alpern, "A Veneer of Unity," *Newsweek*, 08/25/1980.
- "Divided Democrats Renominate Carter," *1980 CQ Almanac*, pp. 85B-89B.

Documents Provided by Senator Kennedy

- "1972 Campaign."
- "1976 Campaign."
- "1980 Campaign."
- "1984 Campaign."

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PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS TIMELINE

Prepared by Rob Martin and Ethan Sribnick

Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 09/05/2005

1968

November Senator Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) takes an early commanding lead in the polls for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972. (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow, 1999, p. 129)

1969

Early 1969 EMK aide Paul Kirk draws up a list of key EMK supporters across the U.S. and begins to quietly keep in touch with them in case EMK should decide to enter the 1972 presidential election. EMK also increases his foreign travel.

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 18th. EMK is able to escape but his passenger, 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 25th 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 Ted Sorensen, Robert McNamara, Burke Marshall, Richard Goodwin and Stephen Smith. (Clymer, pp. 149-150; *The New York Times*, 07/26/1969)

EMK announces on the 30th 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. (James MacGregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976, p. 348; Clymer, pp. 155-156)

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 Fitzgerald Kennedy, *Times to Remember*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974, 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*, Congressional Quarterly Inc., p.127)

November EMK defeats his Republican opponent, former state GOP chairman Josiah A. Spaulding, with 61 percent of the vote. EMK thanks the voters for expressing a "sense of confidence" in him. EMK's staff interprets the margin of victory as enough to preserve his national reputation despite the accident at Chappaquiddick. (*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 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)

1972

April Muskie drops out of the race for the Democratic presidential nomination after faring poorly in the New Hampshire and Florida primaries, leaving Senator George McGovern (D-SD) 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 Democratic presidential nominee at the 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*, 06/30/1972; *The New York Times*, 06/22/1972)

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 has refuted this allegation.) McGovern selects 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 over 60 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 money for his campaign. EMK begins to increase his foreign travel and asks Paul Kirk and David Burke to make quiet inquiries with national party leaders about EMK's prospects in 1976. EMK also asks Kirk to create a list of all those candidates EMK had helped in 1972. (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 4th. The move is reported to be an attempt by EMK to mend the breach between working class whites, a large portion of Wallace's constituency, and blacks, youths, and other minorities, a large part of EMK's base. (Theo Lippman, *Senator Ted Kennedy: The Career Behind the Image*, USA: W.W. Norton and Company, 1975, p. 106)

November EMK learns that his twelve year old son, Teddy, Jr., has cancer in his leg. Teddy, Jr.'s leg is amputated on the 17th. He begins a two-year, experimental methotrexate 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)
- May* EMK first meets Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter when he speaks at Law Day at the University of Georgia.
- Summer* The media runs a flurry of articles covering the fifth anniversary of Chappaquiddick, raising difficult questions for EMK.
- 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 because of responsibilities to his family. EMK announces his decision is "final, firm, and not subject to reconsideration." The health of his wife, Joan, who is suffering from alcoholism, and the continuing treatment for Teddy, Jr.'s cancer reportedly influence his decision. 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 an EMK run in 1976 is rekindled after U.S. Representative Thomas "Tip" O'Neill (D-MA) appears on television saying he "would be surprised" if EMK is not the Democratic candidate. O'Neill later claims that EMK had asked him, "keep me alive, Tip."

1976

- April* 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. EMK reportedly feels that he is treated poorly by Carter's people. 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 the Carter campaign. EMK introduces Carter at a rally in Massachusetts and arranges for 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 Senate 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

Early 1977 After receiving assurances from Joe Califano, Carter's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, that Carter is serious about national health insurance (NHI), EMK and his staff spends much of the year negotiating with Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO and Don Fraser of the UAW to produce a bill that could win support both from the unions and Congress.

May EMK challenges Carter to make progress on NHI, warning the delegates at the UAW 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; *The Washington Star*, 05/18/1977)

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

1978

- April* In a meeting at the White House, EMK and Carter reach an agreement on the general principles of NHI 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 NHI plan favored by Carter's economic advisors as inadequate. (*The Washington Post*, 06/10/1978)
- July* EMK publicly breaks with Carter over proposals for NHI 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. Many analysts speculate that EMK will not enter the race unless another prominent Democrat has already challenged the sitting president.
- 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

- February* 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. The meeting includes Steve and Jean Kennedy Smith, Joe Kennedy, Paul Kirk, David Burke, Richard Burke, Carey Parker, Larry Horowitz, Arthur Schlesinger, John Seigenthaler and Ted Sorensen.
- March* EMK meets with Carter at the White House on the 21st 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" NHI 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 NHI – 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, 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, p. 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. Some commentators argue that Carter's and EMK's proposals are very similar and that EMK's plan is only more ambitious because he is not constrained by federal budget problems. (*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 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 had first addressed his children's concern for his safety and his concern for a campaign's impact on his wife, Joan. EMK arranges for his aide and close friend, Larry Horowitz, to talk with his family. Horowitz 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 7th, 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 Smith and Doherty to Chicago to secure Mayor Jane Byrne's support in EMK's bid for president.
- October* On the 20th, EMK and Carter appear together at the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. (Clymer, pp. 289-290)
- On the 29th, EMK authorizes the formation of "Kennedy for President," an exploratory committee to be headed by Stephen Smith. Kirk will serve as national campaign director for overall campaign planning. Carl Wagner, the senior EMK political aide who had replaced Kirk on EMK's staff in 1978, is named national campaign director for field operations. Rick Stearns, an experienced Democratic field operative, will specialize in delegate selection. Steve Robbins will conduct candidate scheduling. Other campaign members will include Morris Dees, an Alabama civil rights lawyer, former EMK press secretary Richard Drayne, current EMK press secretary Thomas Southwick, and speechwriter Robert Shrum. (Clymer, p. 291; *The New York Times*, 10/30/1979)
- November* 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; *Wall Street Journal*, 11/09/1979)
- EMK appears at Faneuil Hall on the 7th to declare his candidacy for president. "It's the political leadership," not the American people, EMK argues, "that's in a malaise." (Clymer, p. 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 20th, Joseph Crangle, the Erie County Democratic chairman, joins Kirk and Wagner as a national campaign director. Crangle will take over many of Kirk's duties at headquarters while Kirk travels with EMK. (*The New York Times*, 12/21/1979)

On the 28th, 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 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. According to Gwirtzman, EMK briefly considers dropping out but then decides to cut expenses and to sharpen his differences with Carter. (Clymer, pp. 300-301)

On the 29th, EMK gives a speech at Georgetown University that reveals a change in campaign strategy. In addition to attacking Carter’s foreign policy towards Iran and the Soviet Union, EMK emphasizes more liberal themes such as wage-price controls and regulation of oil. EMK’s return to liberal themes is reportedly an attempt to justify EMK’s challenge to Carter, and was worked out by Smith, Kirk, speechwriters Robert Shrum and Carey Parker, and policy advisers Jan Kalicki and Peter Edelman. (Clymer, p. 301; *The New York Times*, 1/30/1980)

February Carter defeats EMK in the New Hampshire primary on the 26th. Democratic National Committee (DNC) Chairman John C. White calls Dudley, the principal organizer of EMK’s campaign there, and congratulates him on the campaign. White continually makes attempts to mend fences between the Carter and EMK campaigns, and calls EMK campaign aides after each primary or caucus to congratulate them and discuss the importance of party unity. (*The New York Times*, 02/27/1980, 06/3/1980)

March On the 1st, Smith announces that the struggling EMK campaign will dispatch some of its Washington staff to Illinois and New York, where EMK will face his next two primary challenges against Carter. Wagner and Paul Tully will run the campaign in Illinois, and will be joined by Ron Brown, John Howes, and Southwick. Drayne will oversee the press operation in New York. Kirk will be traveling with EMK all the time, as will old hand Eddie Martin. Smith also announces that former Governor of Wisconsin Patrick Lucey will serve as the Washington-based spokesman for the campaign. (*The Washington Post*, 3/1/1980)

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, 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 Stearns, 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 25th, 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 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 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)

On the 2nd, DNC Chairman White declares the party's presidential contest resolved and says he will direct DNC efforts under the assumption that Carter will be the nominee. EMK's campaign challenges White's assertion that the contest is resolved and calls for White's resignation. (*The New York Times*, 5/2/1980)

June 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 clinch the nomination. (Clymer, p. 312; *The New York Times*, 06/05/1980)

During a White House meeting on the 5th, 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 reportedly decides the next day to agree to a debate with EMK, but is talked out of it by his aide Charles Kirbo. (Clymer, pp. 313-314)

August EMK meets with Representative John B. Anderson (R-IL), who is running as an independent, to ask if he would drop out were EMK to win 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, effectively ending his campaign. On the 12th, 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 21st, 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 25th, 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 4th, 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, p. 328, 338)

EMK sets up the Fund for a Democratic Majority to raise money for Democratic candidates for Congress.

1982

February EMK attends a Democratic National Committee 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 the 1984 presidential race. Present at the meeting are EMK's children, Kara, Teddy, Jr., and Patrick, as well as Stephen and Jean Kennedy Smith, 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, p. 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. (*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 25th. (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 19th, 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 18th. (*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)