



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials **Edward M. Kennedy Interview, 1/07/2008**

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Miller Center Documents¹

- Edward M. Kennedy Foreign Travel Timeline (including South Africa, Latin America, Soviet Union and arms control issues).
- U.S. Role in Northern Ireland Timeline.
- Edward M. Kennedy List of Foreign Trips.

Secondary Source Materials

- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999) pp. 196-197, 212-215, 271-275, 330-332, 363-371, 387-394, 466-470.
- Jack Matlock, *Reagan and Gorbachev* (New York: Random House, 2004) pp. 92-94.
- William Drozdiak, "Senators Take Part at Geneva; Key Role Seen for Observer Panel," *The Washington Post*, 3/19/1985.
- "Hill Overrides Veto of South Africa Sanctions," *1986 Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: 1987) pp. 359-373.

Oral History Interviews

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1/21/2005.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 2/18-29/2005.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 3/23-24/2005.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 6/17/2005.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 10/14/2005.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 2/27/2006.

¹ These are original documents created by Miller Center researchers for the Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project. Please acknowledge credit for any use of these materials.

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 3/20/2006.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1/6/2007.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1/3/2007.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 5/30/2007.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 8/7/2007.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 10/9/2007.

Documents Provided by Senator Kennedy

- “South Africa.”
- “Chile.”
- “Northern Ireland.”
- “Ethiopia.”
- “China.”
- “Bangladesh.”
- “Poland.”
- “Florence.”
- “Visits with Popes.”
- “Soviet Union.”

Other

- John McNamara, “Notes on South Africa,” undated.
- Greg Craig memo to Edward Kennedy, “Speeches in South Africa,” 12/1/1984.
- “Senator Edward Kennedy – South Africa Legislation,” undated.

EMK FOREIGN TRAVEL TIMELINE (INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, SOVIET UNION AND ARMS CONTROL ISSUES)

Prepared by Hilde Eliassen Restad

Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 07/13/2007

1963

September On the 9th, the Senate begins debate on a treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere as well as underwater and in outer space. EMK states “A limited test ban is better than an all-out arms race, and the time to make that choice is now.” (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy*, New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999, p. 51)

On the 24th, the Senate votes overwhelmingly to ratify the Partial Test Ban Treaty.

1969

February On the 1st, EMK writes Nixon’s Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, calling the administration’s plan to build missile and radar installations intended to spot and shoot down intercontinental ballistic missiles “folly.” Laird says he will review the issue, but EMK reportedly does not think this is sincere. He announces in mid-February that he will write the introduction to a study of the project to be written by Wiesener and Abraham Chayes, State Department legal advisors under JFK. (Clymer, pp. 134-35)

March On the 14th, Nixon announces that the purpose of his proposed ABM system is to protect American missile-launching sites against Soviet first strikes, thus moving the proposed installations from populated areas to more remote areas in Montana and North Dakota. The Nixon Administration also reportedly calls EMK’s opposition to the AMB system “maneuvering” before the 1972 presidential election. (Clymer, p. 135)

May The book *ABM: An Evaluation of the Decision to Deploy an Antiballistic Missile System* comes out with an introduction by EMK. He argues the system will be three times as expensive as estimated by the Pentagon, and that the pending ABM decision symbolizes a crossroads, with one path leading towards “an upward spiral in the arms race” and the other towards “some reduction in international tensions and nuclear arsenals.” (Clymer, p. 135)

August The ABM system is passed by Congress and two missile sites are built, indicating a defeat so far for the opposition. (Clymer, p. 135)

1972

January On the 24th, EMK and George McGovern (D-SD) introduce a resolution calling on Nixon to stop underground nuclear testing immediately and to open

negotiations with the Soviet Union for a treaty banning all such tests. EMK states a comprehensive test ban treaty is the only way to ward off the danger of Asian and Middle East nations developing their own nuclear warheads. This same day EMK receives a telegram sent by seven arms control specialists endorsing the resolution, saying that “national means of certification” of underground tests “are now adequate even for a permanent comprehensive test ban treaty.” (*The Washington Post*, 01/15/1972; *The Washington Post*, 02/04/1972)

February On the 4th, *The Washington Post* reports that the Nixon Administration is taking another look at the idea of expanding the 1963 nuclear test ban treaty to encompass underground testing as a result of EMK’s initiative. EMK and McGovern’s non-binding resolution is reportedly an attempt to force Nixon to take a stand on a comprehensive test ban treaty this election year. EMK argues the Nixon Administration’s opposition to such a treaty has changed from worries about Soviet cheating to the desire to continue U.S. testing of warheads. (*The Washington Post*, 02/04/1972)

June On the 29th, EMK voices support for the ABM Treaty but criticizes the Nixon Administration for urging stepped-up nuclear development: “The administration is using an important and impressive treaty to limit arms in order to whipsaw the Congress into stamping its approval on new, outrageously expensive and unnecessary weapons systems.” (1972 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 592)

August The Senate approves the ABM Treaty on the 3rd 88-2 limiting the number of AMB systems the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. can have. The ABM Treaty was negotiated at the strategic arms limitations talks (SALT), begun in November 1971 and finalized in May 1972.

1973

May EMK, along with other senators as well as scientists again urge Nixon on the 1st to propose to the Soviet Union an immediate halt to underground nuclear tests. “An extremely fitting and appropriate conclusion to this year’s summit would be for the two leaders to announce a mutual moratorium on testing and to speedily conclude a treaty permanently banning all nuclear tests,” says EMK. (*The Washington Post*, 05/01/1973)

June On the 13th the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopts a resolution sponsored by EMK urging Nixon to propose an immediate cessation of underground nuclear testing during his upcoming summit with Brezhnev.

September On the 11th, the military junta in Chile led by Augusto Pinochet ousts democratically elected Prime Minister Salvador Allende. The U.S. government quickly recognizes the new regime despite human rights violations such as mass executions. Less than three weeks later, EMK convenes a hearing with witnesses who have escaped and who describe mass executions in the national stadium.

Later in the year EMK wins congressional adoption of a resolution calling on Chile to permit the International Committee of the Red Cross access to prisoners. (Clymer, pp. 196-97)

December On the 17th, the Senate debates a series of amendments to the foreign aid bill for FY 1974. EMK proposes an amendment to bar any use of the funds appropriated for support to the Chilean junta. States EMK, "It seems to me that until that country is prepared to return to the orderly processes of democratic institutions and democratic government, it does not behoove the United States to be extending military assistance, aid, and grants to Chile." (*1973 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 186)

On the 20th, Congress approves a foreign aid bill for FY 1974, the first one since 1971.

1974

April EMK travels to Germany on the 8th and then on to the U.S.S.R. on the 18th. In Germany he meets with Chancellor Willy Brandt and says détente "has taken us beyond the cold war. Leaders in both East and West now accept joint responsibility for preventing mankind's final and cataclysmic war." (Clymer, p. 211)

In the U.S.S.R, EMK is reportedly treated as the next American president. On the 19th, EMK speaks in Moscow on arms control, arguing the U.S. and the U.S.S.R should not test new nuclear warheads, endorsing a Soviet proposal to try to halt the arms race in the Indian Ocean where the Soviets use Indian ports and the U.S. is developing an island base at Diego Garcia. On the 22nd he is granted a four-hour meeting in the Kremlin with Leonid Brezhnev, the general secretary of the Communist Party. In this meeting, they discuss arms control as well as the status of refuseniks and dissidents. While in Moscow, he also visits with a group of dissidents in Alexander Lerner's apartment, a mathematician. Despite Soviet opposition to the meeting, certain dissidents receive emigration visas, among them a famous cellist whom Joan Kennedy had taken a personal interest in. (Clymer, pp. 212-15)

August On the 9th, Gerald R. Ford assumes the presidency after Nixon's resignation. Ford continues the friendly attitude towards the Chilean junta.

October The Senate debates cutting off military aid to Turkey on the 1st in response to its invasion of Cyprus in July. EMK offers an amendment cutting off aid to Chile. The Senate should go on record "in deploring the complete violation of human rights and human liberties which has been the record" of the Chilean junta. His amendment is narrowly adopted. (*1974 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 550)

On the 2nd, the Senate debates the foreign aid bill for FY 1975. EMK proposes an amendment barring any military assistance to Chile, which is adopted by a voice vote but later deleted in conference. (*1974 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, pp. 538, 550)

November President Gerald Ford meets with Brezhnev in Vladivostok where they agree to ceilings on bombers, missiles, and multiple-warhead missiles.

December On the 3rd, the Senate debates a compromise version of the foreign aid bill negotiated between the Congress and the Ford Administration. EMK proposes an amendment to the bill on the floor authorizing \$5 million in grants and \$50 million in loans for assistance to Portugal and Portuguese colonies in Africa gaining independence. (*1974 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 541)

On the 12th EMK, along with Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN) and Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R-MD), introduce a resolution calling on Ford to “make every possible effort to negotiate further nuclear arms reduction measures.” EMK argues the limits are too high and do not slow the arms race. This is reportedly part of Hunter’s strategy to broaden EMK’s approach to arm’s control, and not just focus on a test ban treaty. (Clymer, p. 232)

On the 28th, EMK aides Robert Hunter and Mark Schneider visit Cuba and meet with Fidel Castro in order to reportedly prepare a visit by EMK to the island. (*The Washington Post*, 01/13/1975)

1975 EMK introduces legislation to impose a moratorium on U.S. arms sales to the Persian Gulf in order to obtain an explanation from the Ford Administration of its long-term objectives in the Gulf. (*Foreign Affairs*, October 1975)

January After working with the State Department, EMK, Mondale, and Mathias introduce their new resolution on the 17th. This statement goes further, insisting that the Vladivostok principles not be used as a basis for increasing the American missile arsenal. However, they settle for a promise of immediate follow-up of Vladivostok by the Nixon Administration, citing the desire to support détente. (Clymer, pp. 232-33)

February EMK visits Mexico and says in an interview with the television station Televisa on the 9th that the American trade embargo against Cuba should be ended. Whatever reasons JFK had for setting up the embargo at the time, EMK says, “now they are invalid.... I believe the idea of isolating Cuba was a mistake.” (*The New York Times*, 02/10/1975)

EMK says in the Senate on the 22nd that there is an “apparently indiscriminate administration policy of selling as much military equipment, and training as many foreign soldiers, as foreign countries will pay for.” (Clymer, p. 237)

March On the 4th, EMK introduces a resolution calling on the Ford Administration to normalize relations with Cuba. (*The New York Times*, 03/05/1975)

On the 11th, the Bay of Pigs Association, composed of survivors of the military invasion of Cuba in 1961, announces it wants its flag back from the JFK Library as a protest against EMK’s bill. Upon receiving the flag in 1962, JFK had promised the flag would fly again over a free Cuba. (*The New York Times*, 03/12/1975)

On the 30th, *The New York Times* reports that EMK has scheduled a trip to Havana, Cuba. (*The New York Times*, 03/30/1975)

November On the 3rd, the Senate adopts an amendment to the foreign economic aid bill sponsored by EMK setting a ceiling on all economic assistance to Chile (\$90 million in 1976 and \$50 million in 1977). Despite Congress having prohibited military aid to Chile in 1974 and limiting direct economic grants to about \$25 million, EMK argues total economic assistance for 1974 totaled more than \$112 million. (*1975 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, pp. 339, 340)

On the 14th, the FY 1976 defense appropriations bill is “sailing smoothly toward final passage” when EMK offers an amendment to close down the Anti-Ballistic Missile site near Grand Forks, North Dakota, losing by only one vote. On the 18th, the amendment loses again, but a subsequent amendment to shut down the site with the important exception of its new missile-monitoring radar system is approved. (*1975 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 880)

1976

February EMK pushes a ban on all arms sales to Chile through the Senate as an amendment to the foreign aid bill, but it is taken in the House-Senate conference. Ford subsequently vetoes the bill over other issues. (Clymer, p. 242)

April EMK successfully promotes the arms sales ban to Chile again, and it becomes law when Ford signs it on June 25th. However, Ford also signs a \$9.2 million contract to sell spare parts just before the bill becomes law, which EMK calls an “outrageous breach of faith with the conferees and the Congress.” (Clymer, pp. 242-43)

August On the 2nd the Senate debates the FY 1977 Defense Department appropriations. EMK offers an amendment to delete \$1.9 million from funds provided for operation of the radar system of the Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System. The

Pentagon agrees the funds are not needed to operate the radar at the reduced level mandated by the FY 1976 defense appropriations bill. The amendment is approved. (1976 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 776)

September On the 21st, former Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. under Salvador Allende's government, Orlando Letelier, is killed by a car bomb in Washington, D.C. EMK introduces S Res 561 condemning the assassination and calling for a federal investigation. EMK also critiques the Ford administration's attitude on Chile, arguing it amounts to "human rights be damned." (Clymer, pp. 242-43)

1977

October The Senate debates President Jimmy Carter's proposal to cancel the B-1 bomber program and build up the cruise missile program. Whereas EMK is in favor of cancelling the B-1 program, he reportedly is not sure about the cruise missiles program, as it had posed one of the most difficult problems for negotiators at the SALT talks and caused a breakdown of the negotiations. On the 7th, EMK, in cooperation with Senator Charles Mathias (R-MD), successfully insert language into the FY 1978 defense supplemental bill providing that the Senate will consider changes in the cruise missile program if they will facilitate arms control negotiations. (1977 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 395)

1978

June EMK praises Carter and Brezhnev on the Senate floor for their strategic arms talks having resulted in a treaty to limit bombers and missile launchers while allowing increases in warheads. (Clymer, p. 280)

September On the 4th, EMK travels to the Soviet Union again to discuss nuclear arms control as well as the emigration of refuseniks. On the 7th, he visits Kazakhstan and is reportedly "mobbed by people wanting autographs and handshakes." (*The New York Times*, 09/07/1978) On the 9th, EMK meets with Brezhnev and discusses the Carter Administration's views on arms control and human rights. EMK states no arms agreement will get through the Senate unless the U.S.S.R shows greater sensitivity on human rights. When EMK returns to the U.S. he shares copies of the meeting with Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. The document reportedly receives attention from the State Department because it shows the vast disparities in world views between the Soviet and U.S. governments. (Clymer, p. 273)

On the 11th, EMK holds a press conference in Washington, D.C. listing the names of refuseniks allowed to leave the U.S.S.R on EMK's insistence. *The Washington Post* says this shows EMK's private diplomacy to have been more effective than Carter's public interventions on behalf of dissidents. (Clymer, p. 274)

On the 25th, EMK meets with Carter and urges him to move ahead on a strategic arms limitation treaty curbing intercontinental missiles, saying the remaining differences are “readily resolvable.” (Clymer, p. 273)

1979 The Carter Administration prohibits U.S. government financing of exports to Chile.

March Congress completes action on legislation putting U.S. relations with Taiwan on an unofficial basis and providing security assurances to the island on the 29th. This comes after the Carter Administration in December 1978 decides to establish full diplomatic relations with China. EMK and Senator Alan Cranston (D-CA) co-sponsor S J Res 31, pledging the U.S. to unspecified actions in the event of a threat to the island or to U.S. interests, which garners much debate. The final bill contains general language of security assurances from the U.S. (1979 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 105)

May On the 15th, the U.S. recalls its ambassador from Chile as a protest against the Chilean Supreme Court’s decision not to extradite three military officers to stand trial in Washington, D.C. for the assassination of Letelier. The State Department reportedly does not want to cut off all aid to Chile as recommended by EMK due to the possibility that the officers will stand trial in Chile. (*The Washington Post*, 05/16/1979)

August *The Washington Post* reports on the 3rd that EMK and Representative Tom Harkin (D-IA) have proposed legislation requiring public disclosure of private lending to Chile, on which Chile now depends due to the low level of official aid being provided by the U.S. (*The Washington Post*, 08/03/1979)

October The Chilean Supreme Court reject the appeal made by the U.S. regarding the extradition of the military officers wanted in relation to the assassination of Letelier, and orders the men freed. The official U.S. response is to order its ambassador home for consultation, far short of the response called for by EMK and Church, which is cutting off all official aid and withdrawing all military and non-essential diplomatic personnel. (*The Washington Post*, 10/03/1979)

1981

February On the 20th the State Department lifts two sanctions imposed on Chile after the assassination of Orlando Letelier in 1976. EMK states that the Reagan Administration has made antiterrorism “one of its highest priorities” and that it has “failed the first test in the case of Chile.” (*The Washington Post*, 02/21/1981)

October Ending a five-year debate on the issue, the Senate votes on the 22nd to lift the ban on aid and arms sales to Augusto Pinochet’s regime in Chile. EMK, as the original sponsor of the cut-off, argues Chile does not deserve U.S. aid as it has

refused to cooperate in the U.S. investigation of the assassination of Orlando Letelier. Chile's refusal to cooperate "represents a mockery of U.S. policy in opposition to state-sponsored terrorism." The Senate does, however, vote 80-0 to adopt a compromise amendment to the FY 1982 and 1983 foreign aid authorization bill sponsored by Senator Charles Percy (R-Ill) stating that the president can not provide aid or allow arms sales to Chile without certifying to Congress that Chile has made "significant progress" in improving human rights. (1981 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, p. 176)

1982

January On the 30th, EMK addresses a protest rally in Boston against military rule in Poland, saying "the dictators can never finally kill the idea of freedom – not in Poland, not in Eastern Europe and not even in the Soviet Union itself." (*The New York Times*, 01/31/1982)

March EMK begins sending his aide Larry Horowitz on trips to the Soviet Union to discuss arms control and the release of refuseniks. (Clymer, pp. 331-32)

EMK, working with Hatfield, offers a non-binding sense-of-Congress resolution on the 10th calling for a freeze of nuclear weapons at existing levels and then a reduction. The Reagan Administration is hostile, arguing Soviet reductions have to precede any freezing. EMK responds with saying Reagan is arguing that "we have to build more nuclear bombs today, arms today, in order to reduce the number of such bombs tomorrow," a policy amounting to "voodoo arms control." The resolution never makes it to the Senate floor. (Clymer, pp. 331-32)

On the 12th, the Reagan Administration announces its decision to develop an arms control policy. (Clymer, p. 332)

On the 30th, *The New York Times* reports the Reagan Administration is going to favor the nuclear freeze proposal made by Senator John Warner (R-VA) and Henry M. Jackson (D-WA) which advocates a freeze after the U.S. has overcome what they term a Soviet lead. Backers of EMK and Hatfield's proposal have reportedly been sending letters to Congress arguing the Warner-Jackson proposal is dangerous because it encourages production and deployment of dangerous new weapons. EMK later argues the nuclear freeze movement did have an impact on the way people thought about nuclear weapons, and that it changed the atmosphere of the debate. (*The New York Times*, 03/30/1982; Clymer, pp. 331-32)

October On the 31st, the Senate rejects an amendment to the debt ceiling bill calling for an immediate nuclear weapons freeze, sponsored by EMK and Senator Mark O. Hatfield (R-OR). EMK says that while arms negotiators bargain slowly, "their governments have developed and deployed new missiles with more warheads, greater accuracy, and shorter warning time. Relentlessly, we have reduced the

narrow time span of minutes in which the fate of humanity can be decided by human beings.” (1983 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 205; Clymer, p. 353)

December On the 8th, EMK and Hatfield organize a forum in D.C. where Soviet scientists join Americans in warning that nuclear war will lead to a nuclear winter in which dust and soot will block out the sun. EMK states the Reagan Administration seems to think a nuclear war is “winnable and survivable.” (Clymer, p. 353)

1984

October On the 5th, the Senate tables an amendment to a debt limit bill offered by EMK and Hatfield calling for a U.S.-Soviet freeze on the testing, production and development of nuclear weapons. EMK’s fight for the nuclear freeze amendment forces him to cancel a planned forum on South Africa for the same day. He does meet with Reverend Desmond Tutu later in the day, however, and asks what he can do to help in the fight against apartheid. Tutu responds EMK must visit South Africa to garner international attention. (1984 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 167)

December EMK spends Christmas in Ethiopia and Sudan, bearing witness to the famine that has killed 300,000 Ethiopians. (Clymer, p. 364)

1985

January On the 5th, EMK arrives in Johannesburg, South Africa. EMK tours Soweto and meets with the South African foreign minister. EMK renews his request to see Nelson Mandela, imprisoned since 1962.

On the 8th, American Ambassador to South Africa, Herman Nickel, attacks EMK in a speech arguing Reagan’s policy of “constructive engagement” is good. The next day, EMK meets with Winnie Mandela, Nelson Mandela’s wife, who says constructive engagement is “a shoulder to the wheel of apartheid.” (Clymer, p. 368)

March On the 7th, EMK and Senator Lowell Weicker (R-CT) introduce legislation to impose economic sanctions on South Africa. (Clymer, p. 376)

April On the 3rd, the Senate overwhelmingly approves a resolution sponsored by EMK condemning Apartheid in South Africa. (1985 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 85)

On the 16th, EMK and Weicker testify before the Senate Banking Committee on South African sanctions. EMK says, “South Africa will be free some day and, make no mistake about it, those in the government when it is free are going to ask

whether the United States was the last country to go down with apartheid. And it certainly appears to blacks in South Africa today that this is the case.” (Clymer, p. 378)

June

Pinochet lifts the “state of siege” in Chile and allows opposition newspapers to publish, through under strict censorship, and still retaining powers of arbitrary arrest. (Clymer, p. 387)

On the 4th, the Foreign Relations Committee votes down the Kennedy-Wicker bill along party lines, but another bill is approved containing two of their sanctions: ban on bank loans to the South African government and a ban on computer sales.

On the 5th, the House adopts a tougher bill on sanctions against South Africa and the Senate debates its bill. Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, argues against amendments toughening up the Senate bill. EMK withholds an amendment banning the importation of Krugerrands in exchange for the dropping of a conservative move to prohibit states and cities from imposing sanctions of their own and for Helms withdrawing a filibuster threat. (Clymer, p. 379)

Also on the 5th the Senate passes a compromise amendment on arms control policy to the FY 1986 defense authorization bill. The amendment calls for continued U.S. observance of existing arms limits through 1986 albeit with one large loophole insisted upon by Republicans endorsing a policy of “proportionate” response to Soviet violations. The amendment is significant because the U.S. and the U.S.S.R have been observing the provisions of the SALT II agreement from 1979 (which was to expire in 1985) despite it not being ratified. EMK calls the amendment “a major victory....for the forces of arms control.” (1985 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 150)

July

On the 11th, the Senate passes the bill calling for economic sanctions against South Africa. (1985 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, pp. 88-90)

August

All opposition parties in Chile agree on a timetable for elections that will keep the military junta in power until 1989. (Clymer, p. 388)

September

On the 9th, just five hours before the Senate is scheduled to vote on ending Helms’ filibuster on the South Africa conference bill, Reagan announces in a televised address that he will issue an executive order incorporating most of Congress’ sanctions. (1985 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, pp. 88-90) EMK and Weicker argue the executive order is not tough enough and continue to work towards ending the filibuster. They do not succeed. (Clymer, pp. 376-81)

1986

January On the 15th, EMK arrives in Santiago, Chile and is met with mass protests against him. He meets with opposition leaders and family members of “disappeared” persons. EMK praises them for their courage to meet with him, saying: “You have spoken out on behalf of those condemned to silence.” (Clymer, p. 389)

February EMK arrives in Moscow on the 4th to meet with general secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev on his first visit to the U.S.S.R since 1978.

On the 5th, EMK meets with Foreign Minister Eduard Shervardnadze in the morning, discussing the release of dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov as well as Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The next day EMK meets with Gorbachev, who tells EMK that Shcharansky, along with twenty-five Jews whose cases EMK has promoted, will be allowed to emigrate. Gorbachev goes on to say he wants this decision to show he is willing to do business on human rights with someone like EMK, whose approach is professional and not designed to intimidate the Soviet Union. EMK also tries to convey Reagan’s views on arms negotiations and makes the point that this is a bipartisan position in the U.S. and not something with which Reagan is playing politics, something that reportedly makes an impression on Gorbachev. EMK has another meeting with dissidents in Professor Lerner’s apartment in Moscow as he did on his last visit. (Clymer, pp. 390-94)

On the 8th, EMK is back in the U.S., explaining Soviet views of arms control as relayed by Gorbachev. EMK states he thinks there can be a reduction in intermediate-range nuclear missiles because Gorbachev had told him this issue was not linked to the Soviet opposition to Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative, or “Star Wars.” Jack Matlock, Soviet specialist on the National Security Council, later states that because of EMK’s political differences with Reagan, the fact that his views on arms control and human rights were the same as Reagan’s made an impact in Moscow. (Clymer, p. 394)

On the 11th, Shcharansky is freed and walks across a bridge into West Berlin. (Clymer, p. 394)

May On the 21st, EMK, Weicker, and Representative William H. Gray III (D-PA) introduce new South Africa sanctions legislation. EMK quotes Bishop Tutu’s appeal for sanctions and says, “To those who see faint signs of progress and ask us to hold off, we say, ‘Read the morning headlines; talk to anyone in South Africa; open your eyes to the truth that the progress is too little and may soon be too late.’” The proposed legislation seeks to ban all new investment and bank loans to South Africa, ban raw material imports from South Africa such as coal and uranium, and keep South African companies off U.S. stock exchanges. The

White House, however, says it is “opposed to further sanctions.” (Clymer, p. 396; *The Washington Post*, 05/22/1986)

June The House of Representatives takes the lead on sanctions after they are held up in the Senate, imposing a trade embargo on South Africa and requiring all American companies in South Africa to leave within 180 days. EMK hails the legislation and introduces the bill in the Senate. (Clymer, p. 396)

EMK’s national security aide, Greg Craig, flies to Havana, Cuba, to oversee the release of the last surviving prisoner from the failed invasion of the Bay of Pigs in 1961. Castro has promised the release of Colonel Ricardo Miguel B. Montero-Duque as a personal favor to EMK, as opposed to an official gesture to the U.S. While there, Craig learns there is another surviving prisoner and Craig and EMK press the Cuban foreign ministry to release the second prisoner, which is done four months later. (Clymer, pp. 402-03)

July In an op-ed article for *The New York Times* on the 21st, EMK attacks Reagan’s South Africa policy for being too timid and argues in favor of economic sanctions. On the 22nd, EMK testifies in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and repeats his arguments, saying “Quiet diplomacy has failed. Only strong economic pressure from the international community – combined with peaceful pressure inside South Africa – can stop the descent into violence and persuade the apartheid regime to change course.” (Clymer, pp. 397-98; *The New York Times*, 07/21/1986)

On the 26th, EMK is chosen as the Democrat to respond to Reagan’s weekly radio broadcast. “Apartheid is the greatest moral challenge facing the earth,” EMK states, arguing that the Reagan Administration is failing the test. “Our greatest Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, called America the last best hope on earth. But under Ronald Reagan, America has become the last best friend of apartheid.” (Clymer, p. 399)

August The Senate debates the South Africa sanctions bill, which is weaker than the House version, on the 14th. EMK argues the Senate must close loopholes undermining the intention of the bill. On the 15th, it passes in the Senate. EMK and Richard Lugar (R-IN), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, set out to get the House to agree to the weaker Senate bill unchanged, as a conference will leave no time for a vote to override a veto before Congress adjourns for midterm elections. EMK persuades House members in favor of a stronger bill to pass the Senate version. (*1986 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 367; Clymer, p. 400)

September On the 26th, Reagan vetoes the South Africa sanctions bill. (Clymer, p. 401)

October On the 2nd, the Senate overrides Reagan’s veto of a measure imposing economic sanctions against South Africa. It is the first foreign policy override since the 1973

War Powers Act. The bill also calls for the release from prison of African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela and a timetable to eliminate apartheid. Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) accuses EMK, along with Lugar, of turning South Africa over to “militant blacks” and ultimately the Soviet Union. (*1986 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 373; Clymer, p. 402)

November EMK honors three figures from the outlawed Solidarity movement in Poland with the Robert RF. Kennedy Award. The winners are not allowed to come back to Poland if they leave to accept the award, so EMK requests permission to go to Poland after Christmas and present the award there. He is initially turned down. (Clymer, pp. 407-8)

December In the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal, EMK travels to the Middle East carrying messages from the State Department designed to calm angry Arab allies. In Amman, Jordan, EMK calls for more U.S. money to help Jordan’s efforts to develop the West Bank for its Palestinian inhabitants. In Egypt he quotes King Hussein of Jordan as saying the arms deal “undermines his own position in working towards peace in that part of the world.” In Israel, EMK among other things raises the issue of Israeli arms export to the South Africa-backed UNITA rebels in Angola, which could mean congressional cut-off of aid to Israel per apartheid sanctions legislation just passed. (Clymer, p. 408; *The Financial Times*, 12/11/1986)

1987

May EMK travels to Poland on the 22nd, after finally being granted a visa by the Polish government. EMK is offered to meet with high ranking officials in the government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski including the General himself, if he plays down the award ceremony. However, the ceremony takes place as planned at the residence of the American chargé d’affaires and the next day, EMK still meets with Poland’s foreign minister and the defense minister. In a speech to the Polish foreign policy establishment, EMK warns that economic help from the U.S. will depend on progress in human rights. “Like it or not, your government must comprehend that the American people will not continue the process of normalization unless Poland continues to move on to a new openness. We will not do any business as usual with a regime that treats repression as the usual condition of daily life.” (Clymer, pp. 413-14)

On the 24th, EMK flies to Gdansk, where Lech Walesa started the Solidarity trade union movement in 1980. EMK praises Solidarity for fighting “against tyranny, repression and for human rights.” (Clymer, p. 414)

September On the 24th the Senate debates amendments to a supplemental appropriations bill regarding nuclear test bans and SALT II observance provisions. EMK, with Hatfield, sponsors an amendment barring any nuclear test explosions for FY 1988 with force greater than 1,000 tons of TNT. The amendment, as do the general

provisions for a ban on nuclear tests, fails. (1987 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 214)

1988

May On the 12th, EMK and Hatfield introduce an amendment to the FY 1989 defense authorization bill to ban for two years all but the smallest nuclear test explosions, but is defeated a second year in a row. (1988 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 422)

1989

March On the 1st, EMK and Kasten introduce legislation to authorize 25,000 more refugees to enter the U.S. during the year, after liberalized emigration policies on the part of the Soviet Union leads to more Soviet émigrés to the U.S., among them Jews and Evangelicals. Whereas the George H. W. Bush Administration expresses skepticism about the threat faced by Soviet citizens under the liberalized policies under Gorbachev, EMK and Kasten argue the U.S. must respond to the increased immigration or “we will be turning out backs to our longstanding commitment to assist Soviet refugees.” (1989 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 276)

July On the 25th, the Senate votes in favor of backing the Administration’s plans to continue development of the B-2 stealth bomber. EMK offers an amendment saying the defense secretary must report to Congress at the start of 1990 on the implications of reducing the proposed B-2 force to 100-90 bombers or to 60-70 bombers. “The question now is this: do we really need 132 B-2s on top of the B-1s and cruise missiles that we already have” EMK says. The amendment is approved. (1989 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 417)

October After the September election of F.W. de Klerk as President of South Africa, Bush reports to Congress on the 2nd that whereas the new South African government has taken no fundamental steps to dismantle apartheid, the U.S. should not add economic and political sanctions to those the Congress passed in 1986 but rather give Pretoria reasonable time to demonstrate its intentions. “Congress wants to work with the administration to achieve a satisfactory bipartisan policy for the future,” Says EMK. “But the administration has to do more than nothing.” (1989 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 625)

1990

February South Africa announces on the 5th that it will legalize the ANC and release Nelson Mandela from prison. EMK credits the U.S. sanctions with helping force these reforms, and says “The sanctions should be maintained in full force. This is no time to relax them.” (1990 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 788)

On the 11th, Mandela is freed. The next day, EMK talks with him on the phone and invites him to Boston that summer. (Clymer, p. 470)

March

EMK returns to Chile on the 4th along with Vice President Dan Quayle to the inauguration of Patricio Aylwin as the elected successor to Pinochet. The finale of the inauguration is held in the infamous national stadium as a tribute to those executed there. (Clymer, p. 466)

On the 25th, EMK travels to Moscow two days after Soviet troops occupy the headquarters of the Lithuanian Communist Party in its capitol of Vilnius, in response to the party pushing for independence.

On the 26th, EMK meets with Gorbachev, where he brings up the issue of Lithuanian independence. Gorbachev responds that Bush is imposing a “double standard” when he claims the right to invade Panama but denounced Soviet rights to invade Lithuania. He also argues he is trying not to be undermined by reactionaries, and asks EMK to tell his colleagues in Congress that these are watershed times and not to rush things on the Soviet Union. Back in the U.S., EMK meets with Bush, who agrees with EMK’s conclusion that Gorbachev is under severe internal pressure. (Clymer, pp. 468-70)

June

On the 23rd, Mandela arrives in Boston and attends a luncheon at the Kennedy library. EMK says, “We will not give up, we will not give in, until apartheid as been wiped off the face of the earth.” Mandela says his life has been touched by all three Kennedy brothers, but especially EMK, recalling EMK’s visit to Pollsmoor Prison in 1985. (Clymer, p. 470)

1991

July

On the 10th, Bush lifts the sanctions against South Africa and a divided Congress does not act on it. EMK critiques the action on the Senate floor but also notes that a busy Congress schedule will prevent any challenges to the lifting of the sanctions this year. (1991 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 479)

1992

May

On the 15th, EMK hosts Gorbachev at the John J. Kennedy Library and credits him with ending the Cold War. “Few individuals have the power to change the course of history. Even fewer actually accomplish that change. And fewest of all accomplish it for the better. Mikhail Gorbachev is one who did. He is the embodiment in our time of the famous phrase that President Kennedy and Robert Kennedy both lived by, ‘Some men see things as they are and ask Why? I dream of things that never where and ask Why Not?’” (Clymer, p. 513)

1996

September The UN General Assembly adopts the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty on September 10. Clinton signs it but Congress does not ratify it.

SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY FOREIGN TRAVEL

Prepared by Rob Martin

Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 12/17/2007

- 1938-1939** **England:** EMK moves with his family to London; EMK meets with King George VI and Queen Elizabeth and travels to several countries in Europe, including the south of France and the Vatican, where he meets with Pope Pius XII.
- 1950** **Europe:** EMK and Joey Gargan travel together in Europe the summer before EMK enters Harvard, visiting Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Belgium and France.
- 1952-1953** **Europe:** After enlisting in the army, EMK is stationed in France. EMK's travel during this time includes visiting Switzerland and climbing the Matterhorn. Patricia and Jean Kennedy visit EMK in Europe to celebrate his 21st birthday.
- 1956** **Northern Africa/Europe:** EMK works with the International News Service in Algeria covering the French army, which is fighting Algerian rebels; EMK also travels that summer to Morocco and Tunisia, where EMK meets the premier, Habib Bourguiba, and travels in Europe as well.
- Mediterranean Sea:** EMK and JFK go on a sailing trip in the Mediterranean after JFK loses his vice-presidential bid in Chicago.
- 1958** **The Netherlands:** EMK attends the International Law School at The Hague over the summer, traveling with John Tunney in Europe during breaks.
- 1959** **Chile:** EMK and Joan Kennedy celebrate a belated honeymoon.
- 1960** **Mexico:** After JFK wins the presidential election, EMK and Joan Kennedy vacation in Acapulco, Mexico, where RFK tells EMK that he has decided not to run for JFK's vacated Senate seat in 1962.
- Africa:** JFK arranges for EMK to participate in a five-week, sixteen-nation fact-finding tour with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; the countries included Southern Rhodesia, Congo, Nigeria, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire; during the trip, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny hosted a dinner with the leaders of the newly independent, former French colonies, Dahomey, Niger and Upper Volta; EMK was the only American on the trip who spoke French.
- 1961** **Italy:** EMK and Joan Kennedy observe the centennial of Italian unification, during which time EMK meets with the Pope.

South America: EMK takes a fact finding tour before running for the Senate, traveling to Mexico, Costa Rica, Columbia, Brazil, Panama, Argentina, Chile and Peru.

- 1962** **Europe/Israel:** EMK and Claude Hooton travel to London, Brussels, Israel, Greece, Vienna, Poland and West Berlin; EMK meets Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion in Israel, has lunch with President DeValera in Dublin, and meets RFK in West Berlin for EMK's 30th birthday.
- 1963** **Yugoslavia:** Traveling with Joan Kennedy, EMK speaks to the Interparliamentary Union in Belgrade on civil rights and has lunch with Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of the South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem.
- 1964** **Europe:** EMK travels to Ireland, Bonn, Munich, Frankfurt and Italy with William vanden Heuvel to raise money for the John F. Kennedy Library; during the trip EMK meets British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and French Premier Georges Pompidou, and retraces the steps JFK had taken in Ireland the previous year when JFK had promised "to come back in the springtime."
- 1965** **Vietnam/Philippines:** EMK leads a Refugees and Escapees Subcommittee inspection tour of South Vietnam.
- Hong Kong:** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy.
- Geneva:** EMK attends a session of the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration and speaks on Vietnamese refugees to the International Council of Voluntary Agencies.
- 1966** **London, Frankfurt, Geneva, Rome:** Traveling with William vanden Heuvel, EMK speaks in Geneva with the Red Cross about U.S. POWs in Vietnam and meets with Pope Paul VI at the Vatican.
- Jordan:** EMK travels to meet with Palestinian refugees in Jordan.
- 1968** **Vietnam:** EMK takes his second inspection tour of Vietnam.
- Spain:** EMK travels with Claude Hooton, Chuck McDermott and Joe Kennedy.
- Greece:** EMK travels to Skorpios with Jacqueline Kennedy, who is to marry Aristotle Onassis later in the year.
- 1969** **Belgium:** EMK attends a NATO meeting.
- 1970** **Bangladesh:** EMK travels to Bangladesh, which is seeking independence from Pakistan and is suffering from a harsh famine.

Netherlands: EMK, Joan Kennedy and staff travel to The Hague to attend a NATO meeting.

1971 **India:** EMK travels with Jerry Tinker, John Lewis and Dr. Nevin Scrimshaw to inspect the refugee situation stemming from Pakistan's suppression of the Bangali independence movement; EMK cancels his stop in Pakistan after the government declares EMK "persona non grata" for criticizing the government's actions.

Europe: EMK and Joan Kennedy travel to Europe on first of two trips in 1971.

Europe/Israel: EMK tours Israel, England and Finland with Joan Kennedy to study the health care systems of other industrialized countries; in England, a woman asks EMK he has spoken out against violence at Kent State but not Northern Ireland; EMK goes on to give his first speech to the Senate on Irish conflict the next month.

1972 **Bangladesh:** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy, Joe Kennedy, Jerry Tinker and Dale DeHaan to the new independent state and meets President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who had been imprisoned in Pakistan during the fight for independence.

Germany and France: EMK travels with Joan Kennedy and Mark Schneider for a NATO meeting; EMK meets John Hume for the first time in Bonn.

1973 **Belgium:** EMK travels to NATO headquarters with Mark Schneider.

Europe: EMK travels with Joan Kennedy and Bob Hunter to Zurich, Venice, London and Salzburg.

1974 **Soviet Union/Europe:** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy, Teddy, Jr., Bob Hunter and Jim King to the USSR, Yugoslavia, Rumania and West Germany. EMK meets with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, as well as a group of Soviet dissidents in Alexander Lerner's apartment, and with Chancellor Willy Brandt in Germany.

Europe/Middle East: Traveling with Joan and Rose Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, John Tunney and Bob Hunter, EMK attends a NATO meeting in London, has lunch with President Valery Giscard d'Estaing in Paris, meets with Premier Anwar Sadat in Egypt, with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and his predecessor Golda Meir in Israel, with President Francisco da Costa Gomes in Portugal, and with King Hussein in Jordan.

1975 **Mexico:** During trip, EMK calls for the lifting of trade sanctions against Cuba; *The New York Times* reports the next month that EMK is planning a trip to Cuba.

Israel/Persian Gulf: Traveling with Kara Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, Pat and Victoria Lawford, Edward P. Morgan, Ken Regan and Bob Hunter, EMK meets with King Khalid in Saudi Arabia, the Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi and Prime

Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda in Iran, and with Premier Yitzhak Rabin in Jerusalem; EMK also had meetings scheduled in Iraq with President Akbar and Saddam Hussein.

1976 **Canada:** EMK travels with Bob Hunter.

Italy/Corsica/Greece: Traveling with Joe Kennedy, Claude Hooton and staff, including Bob Hunter and Dale DeHaan, EMK meets with Prime Minister Karamanlis in Greece and President Leoni in Rome.

1977 **China:** EMK travels over New Years' with a large group of family (including his wife and children) and staff; EMK meets with foreign minister Huang Hua and vice premier Teng Hsiao-ping, discussing normalization of relations and Taiwan.

1978 **Soviet Union:** Travelling with Jan Kalicki, Larry Horowitz, Richard Burke and Ken Regan, EMK attends an international health conference and meets with Brezhnev to discuss refuseniks and Carter's views on arms control and human rights.

1979 **London/Mexico:** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy and Teddy, Jr.

1983 **Panama:** EMK travels with Patrick Kennedy.

1984 **Ethiopia/Sudan:** EMK visits the famine-struck region with Teddy, Jr. and Kara Kennedy, as well as Jerry Tinker, Jay Kingham and John Wise.

1985 **South Africa:** EMK travels with Teddy, Jr. and Kara Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith, Steve Smith, Jr., Kathleen Townsend, Chris Kennedy and numerous staff including Greg Craig. He meets with Reverend Desmond Tutu, Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, and Nelson Mandela's wife, Winnie Mandela, but is not allowed to visit Nelson Mandela in prison; Kathleen Townsend presents Tutu with the 1985 Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award; EMK also travels to Zambia to meet with Oliver Tambo, the exiled acting head of the African National Congress.

Switzerland/Germany: EMK travels with Jerry Tinker to Geneva to attend the UN Conference on Famine and to Germany to discuss arms control issues.

Rome: EMK travels with Amanda and Jean Kennedy Smith, Alexandra Schlesinger, and Eddy Martin, and meets with Pope John Paul II.

1986 **South America:** EMK travels to Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile and Argentina with Jean Kennedy Smith, Pat Lawford and staff, including Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg and Mark Schneider; EMK meets with President Alan Garcia in Peru and is confronted by hostile protesters in Chile.

Soviet Union: Traveling with Larry Horowitz and Tom Longstreth, EMK meets with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shervardnadze, and again with dissidents in Alexander Lerner's apartment in Moscow.

Middle East: EMK travels to Egypt, Jordan and Israel in the wake of Iran-Contra with Jean Kennedy Smith, William Barry, and staff, including Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg and Chuck Stein; EMK meets with President Mubarek in Egypt and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in Israel.

1987 **Panama:** EMK travels with Greg Craig and Jim Rooney.

Poland: EMK travels with his three children, Jean Kennedy Smith, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Patricia Kennedy Lawford, Ethel Kennedy and five of her and RFK's children to present the Robert F. Kennedy Award to three Solidarity activists. EMK is also accompanied by Lee Fentress, Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg, Jim Rooney, Chris Doherty, Caroline Croft, and John Robinson of the *Boston Globe*. EMK meets with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and the Polish foreign and defense ministers, but not General Jaruzelski. EMK then travels to Rome to discuss his trip to Poland with Pope John Paul II.

Persian Gulf/Geneva: EMK travels with Greg Craig, Bill Lynn, Jim Rooney and military escorts to Kuwait, Oman, Israel, Bahrain and Geneva.

1989 **Mexico:** EMK travels with Steve Smith, William Smith, Eunice Shriver, Jean Kennedy Smith, and staff including Nancy Soderberg, Mark Schneider, Michael Myers, Chris Doherty, John Douglas and Charles Stein.

Berlin/Geneva/Brussels: EMK travels with staff and Tom Oliphant to see the remains of the Berlin Wall; EMK meets with Willy Brandt and speaks at Schoeneberg City Hall, as JFK had done in 1963, and lays down two white lilies for JFK and RFK.

1990 **Chile:** EMK travels with John Douglas, Mark Schneider, Nancy Soderberg, and Vice President Dan Quayle in Air Force Two to meet with and attend the inauguration of Pinochet's democratically-elected successor, Patricio Aylwin.

Soviet Union: Traveling with Larry Horowitz, Bill Lynn, Nancy Soderberg and Tom Oliphant, EMK meets with Gorbachev to discuss Lithuanian independence.

1992 **St. Croix:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit Patricia Kennedy Lawford over Easter; while snorkeling, EMK gives Vicki her engagement ring.

1993/94 **Ireland:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith; JKS sets up a meeting with Taoiseach Albert Reynolds to discuss the Adams visa.

1995 **Israel:** EMK and Patrick Kennedy attend Rabin's funeral.

- 1996** **Italy:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy travel to Florence to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Florence Flood.
- 1998** **Ireland/Northern Ireland:** Traveling with Vicki Kennedy, as well as Trina Vargo, Kathy McKiernan and Chris Doherty, EMK meets with Protestant UUP leader David Trimble in Northern Ireland to discuss the stalled peace talks; the Good Friday Agreement is reached later that spring.
- 2000** **U.K.:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy travel to give the first Smith Memorial Lecture; EMK meets with Prime Minister Tony Blair to discuss the 2000 election and the situation in Northern Ireland.
- 2002** **Paris:** EMK, Kara Kennedy, Caroline Kennedy and Ed Schlossberg attend the opening of the Jackie Exhibit at the Louvre.
- 2003** **Netherlands:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy visit the Freysingers.
- 2006** **Rome/Florence/London:** Traveling with Vicki Kennedy, Pam Covington and Steve Engelberg, EMK meets with Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi, Tony Blair and then-British Labour Party leader/current Prime Minister Gordon Brown.
- 2007** **Northern Ireland:** EMK and Vicki Kennedy attend the opening ceremony of the new power-sharing government at Stormont and are seated next Baroness Eileen Paisley, the wife of the incoming First Minister Ian Paisley.