



## EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

### **Interviewer's Briefing Materials** **Mark Schneider Interview, 02/02/2009, 02/04/2009**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

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

- Mark Schneider Timeline.
- Mark Schneider Fact Sheet.
- Edward M. Kennedy Chile/South American Timeline.
- Edward M. Kennedy Foreign Travel.

#### **Secondary Source Materials**

- Mark Schneider bio, <http://crisisgroup.org>.
- Adam Clymer interview with Mark Schneider, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 11/27/1997.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1999) pp. 196-197, 242-243.
- Theodore Lippman, Jr., *Senator Ted Kennedy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976) pp. 75-87.
- *1970 Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1970) p. 413.
- *1972 Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1972) pp. 481-484.
- Theodore Lippman, Jr., *Senator Ted Kennedy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976) pp. 193-197.
- *1976 Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1976) pp. 215-220.
- Phillip McCombs, "Murder of Diplomat Deplored; Probe is Urged by Senator," *The Washington Post*, 09/22/1976.

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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.

### **Oral History Interviews**

- Burt Wides interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/02/2007.
- Tom Susman interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/23/2007.
- Stan Jones interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/09/2007, 9/14/2007.
- Nancy Soderberg interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/09/2008.
- Robert Bates interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/08/2007.

## MARK SCHNEIDER TIMELINE (1970-77)

*Prepared by Mark D. Nevin*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/21/2008*

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- 1963**      **Mark Schneider** graduates from University of California at Berkley with a degree in journalism. <http://peacecorpsonline.org/>
- 1964-5**      **Schneider** earns a Masters degree in political science from San Jose State. <http://peacecorpsonline.org/>
- 1966-8**      **Schneider** and his wife Susan serve in the Peace Corps in El Salvador. He calls it the “most illuminating, rewarding and exhausting period of my life.” <http://peacecorpsonline.org/>
- 1968**
- November*      Republican Richard M. Nixon is elected president. Democrats retain control of both the House and Senate.
- 1969**      EMK is named chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure (AdPrac).
- EMK joins the military committee of the NATO inter-parliamentary organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Assembly, and begins to educate himself about military issues that come before the committee. (Theodore Lippman, Jr., *Senator Ted Kennedy*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976, p. 193)
- 1970**      **Schneider** joins EMK’s Senate office staff as a legislative assistant. (Note that **Schneider** is hired through the AdPrac subcommittee and, accordingly, the *Congressional Staff Directories* in some years also formally include **Schneider** on the AdPrac staff as an investigator.) **Schneider** initially serves as a “jack-of-all-trades,” whose portfolio includes the military, arms control, energy, amnesty, migrant workers, human rights, and Latin America. (Lippman, p. 265)
- Schneider** organizes AdPrac hearings on draft reform. The committee issues a report to serve as a “blueprint for action by the [Nixon] administration” for reforming the nation’s draft laws and restructuring the Selective Service System. Among other things, the report calls for the elimination of most deferments and uniform, national standards for induction into the armed services. (*1970 CQ Almanac*, p. 413)
- 1972**
- Feb/March*      EMK’s AdPrac Subcommittee holds amnesty hearings for draft dodgers and military deserters. EMK supports amnesty but, according to Lippman, introduces

no legislation in 1972 because of amnesty's widespread unpopularity. EMK aides, such as Dun Gifford, had been pushing EMK to support amnesty since 1968, when Gifford convinced EMK to include in an early draft reform proposal a recommendation that the DOD and attorney general study the history of amnesty. EMK had agreed and subsequently drew much criticism from the media in 1968. (1972 *CQ Almanac*, p. 481; Lippman, p. 84)

*July* At the Democratic National Convention, EMK declines an offer to serve as presidential nominee George McGovern's running-mate in the 1972 election. (Clymer, pp. 187-191)

*August* EMK uses his chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees to hold hearings on the impact of the Vietnam War on the civilian population, particularly children. (1972 *CQ Almanac*, p. 766)

EMK strongly supports a bill (S 3762) to extend family health services to migrant workers. The bill, passed by voice vote, authorizes more than \$350 million over three years for health and hospital care for migrant agricultural workers and their families. During floor debate, EMK says: "Today with the migrant health programs we have on the books, we are providing health services for fewer than 10 percent of the migrant workers... in spite of the fact that their health needs...are among the most critical in the country." EMK later offers an amendment to combine the migrant worker health care bill and three other health bills to a hospital construction bill (S 3716). The bills are combined and win approval 78 to 0 in September. (1972 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 528, 530)

*November* EMK and Joan Kennedy travel with **Schneider** to Bonn to attend a NATO meeting. During the trip, EMK has dinner with John Hume, an Irish civil rights leader, to gain a better first-hand understanding of the Irish conflict. (Clymer, p. 183)

## 1973

*January* The Paris Peace Accords are signed formally ending the Vietnam War. A few months later American combat troops leave Vietnam, but the U.S. continues to support South Vietnam and bomb Cambodia.  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/vietnam/timeline/tl3.html#b>

*May* EMK travels to NATO in Belgium with **Schneider**.

OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) imposes an oil embargo on the U.S. after it re-supplies Israel during the Arab-Israeli War.

*September* The Chilean military overthrows democratically elected president Salvador Allende's leftist government. The Nixon administration, which had actively opposed Allende, quickly recognizes the new military junta despite the death of

Allende in the coup and the killing of thousands of other Chileans. EMK, who had become interested with Chile's democratic history after he and Joan travelled there for a belated honeymoon in 1959, issues a statement against the coup and opposes U.S. aid to the new regime. He holds hearings a few weeks after the coup on refugees, human rights abuses, and the treatment of U.S. citizens. Witnesses testify about mass executions. (Clymer, pp. 196-197; Adam Clymer interview with Mark **Schneider**, 11/27/1997)

- October* The Senate adopts by voice vote an EMK-sponsored "sense of Congress" amendment stating that U.S. aid should be denied to the military junta in Chile. Later in the year Congress adopts a resolution calling on the military government to permit the International Red Cross access to political prisoners. (1973 CQ Almanac, p. 831; Clymer, p. 197)
- November* EMK learns that his twelve year old son, EMK, Jr., has cancer in his leg.
- December* On the 6<sup>th</sup>, EMK gives a major speech on energy. Rejecting Nixon's call for energy independence, EMK argues that Europe, Japan, and the United States need to work together with the oil producing states to create greater stability in oil production and trade. (Clymer, pp. 211-212)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, the Senate debates a series of amendments to the foreign aid bill for FY 1974, including an EMK amendment to bar any use of the funds appropriated for support to the Chilean junta. EMK states: "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." The Senate adopts the amendment by voice vote, but the House rejects a similar amendment. (1973 CQ Almanac, p. 186)

## 1974

- March* OPEC lifts its embargo on oil to the U.S. but prices remain high.
- April* EMK travels to the Soviet Union with Bob Hunter and family, where he first meets Leonid Brezhnev. **Schneider** does not go on the trip. (Clymer, pp. 211-213)
- May* EMK leads a fight in the Senate against spending an additional \$266 million in Vietnam beyond the over \$1 billion that had already been approved for the year. The Senate (43 to 38) backs EMK and the money is not spent. Later that year EMK makes another attempt to cut funding in Vietnam but does not prevail. (Clymer, pp. 216-217)
- April-May* **Schneider** goes on a mission for EMK to Chile. He talks with the government about releasing political prisoners. (Adam Clymer interview with Mark **Schneider**, 11/27/1997)

<i>Spring</i>	EMK fights unsuccessfully to eliminate the oil depletion allowance, which is a tax break for oil companies. (Clymer, p. 211)
<i>August</i>	Nixon resigns and Vice President Gerald Ford becomes president.
<i>September</i>	Ford announces a limited clemency plan in which deserters and draft evaders could serve “alternative service” as a means of “earned reentry.” (Lippman, pp. 86-87)
<i>October</i>	The Senate (47 to 41) approves an EMK amendment to a foreign aid bill cutting off all U.S. arms aid to Chile. The amendment does not survive a House-Senate conference, but President Gerald Ford vetoes the bill because it includes a ban on military assistance to Turkey. EMK wins approval of the ban again and it becomes law. But just before the ban goes into effect the Ford administration signs contracts with Chile for \$9.2 million in spare military parts. EMK calls this an “outrageous breach of faith with conferees and Congress.” (Clymer, pp. 242-243)
<i>November</i>	EMK travels to Europe and the Middle East with Senator John Tunney, Bob Hunter and family. The trip includes a NATO meeting in London. (Clymer, pp. 231-232)
<i>December</i>	EMK’s AdPrac subcommittee holds amnesty hearings. EMK recommends that the Ford administration produce a final list of individuals in jeopardy of facing legal prosecution and extend the deadline for applying for clemency. Both recommendations are adopted. (Lippman, p. 87)
	On the 28 <sup>th</sup> , <b>Schneider</b> and Bob Hunter visit Cuba and meet with Fidel Castro, reportedly to prepare a visit by EMK. ( <i>The Washington Post</i> , 01/13/1975)
<b>1975</b>	EMK becomes vice chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Assembly. (Lippman, p. 193)
<i>January</i>	President Gerald Ford announces he will increase oil import fees \$1 a barrel on February 1 <sup>st</sup> as a first step in a comprehensive plan to reduce imports and consumption and promote energy independence. His plan calls for further \$1 increases in March and April. Democratic leaders in Congress denounce the plan and push through a bill (HR 1767) to suspend Ford’s action for ninety days. EMK and Henry Jackson (D-WA) collaborate on a version of the bill, with <b>Schneider</b> doing the staff work for EMK. In March, Ford vetoes the bill but also postpones further increases in oil import fees. (1974 CQ, pp. 723-724; <i>The Washington Post</i> , 02/19/1975)
<i>February</i>	EMK visits Mexico and says in an interview with the television station Televisa on the 9 <sup>th</sup> 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.” It is not clear which staffers, if any, accompanied EMK. (*The New York Times*, 2/10/1975)

On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, 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. EMK states 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; THOMAS on S 795)

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

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, 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 30<sup>th</sup>, *The New York Times* reports that EMK has scheduled a trip to Havana, Cuba. (*The New York Times*, 03/30/1975)

*Mar.-Apr.* **Schneider** writes a memo to EMK asking him to reconsider U.S. military spending proposals with the coming end of American involvement in Vietnam. In early April, EMK arranges a working dinner at his home to discuss the administration’s military budget requests for 1976 with **Schneider**, Barry Blechman of the Brookings Institution, Joseph Woolsey, a former staffer of Senator John Stennis (D-MS), Morton Halperin, a former Pentagon official, and Robert Hunter, EMK’s foreign policy advisor. The group decides that there is no reason for expensive new weapons programs or large increases in overall military spending. EMK approaches other senators about making a concerted effort to reduce spending and kill some specific weapons programs. (Lippman, p.194)

*April* Saigon falls to the North Vietnamese. South Vietnam surrenders and the few remaining Americans leave Vietnam.  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/vietnam/timeline/tl3.html#b>

*May* EMK travels to Israel and the Persian Gulf. It is unclear which staffers travel with EMK. In Saudi Arabia, EMK meets with King Khalid who states that the Arab nations cannot relieve the energy problems of the U.S. until there is a just solution to the Middle East conflict with Israel. EMK meets with the Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, as well as student leaders. EMK questions the wisdom of the U.S. selling large quantities of arms to the Persian Gulf states. EMK visits Israel and meets with Premier Yitzhak Rabin in Jerusalem. He tells the press his

prediction is that Congress will continue to support Israel in its efforts to achieve a settlement based on “safe, secured, and recognized borders.” (*The New York Times*, 6/01/1975; James Macgregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy*: New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1976, p. 349)

Congress passes the “Indo-China Migration and Refugee Assistance Act,” which establishes temporary resettlement assistance for refugees from Cambodia and Vietnam and requires the president to submit several reports on the status of such refugees. The legislation is sponsored by Rep. Peter Rodino (D-NJ) in the House and John Sparkman (D-AL) in the Senate. EMK is not a cosponsor. (THOMAS, Public Law 94-23)

EMK and Alan Cranston (D-CA) organize a group of liberal Senators, including Armed Services Committee Members John Culver of Iowa, Patrick Leahy of Vermont, Gary Hart of Colorado, and Stuart Symington of Missouri, to coordinate a campaign to against a defense procurement bill. On the 13<sup>th</sup>, the group meets to plan its strategy for the debate. The Senators decide to raise foreign policy concerns during the debate and to try to delay the debate to allow more time to consider an Armed Services Committee report and the House debate on the bill. EMK and Cranston work out a deal with Armed Services chairman John Stennis (D-MS) to postpone the debate until after Memorial Day. In return, EMK and Cranston agree to give Stennis a copy of their proposed amendments beforehand and limit the time on each segment of the debate. EMK, Cranston and Jacob Javits (R-NY), enlist conservatives, including Barry Goldwater (R-AZ), to join them in signing a “Dear Colleague” letter to every Senator calling their attention to what they hoped would be a “Great Debate” over U.S. foreign and defense policies in the post-Vietnam era. (Lippman, pp. 194-196)

## June

The “Great Debate” stalls after one day and the proposed amendments to cut defense spending and weapons programs fail. Some Senators engage in actual debate the first day. But most simply deliver speeches and then leave the floor on the second day after it becomes clear conservatives have the votes to defeat the proposed amendments. Symington’s amendment to trim the procurement bill from \$25 billion to \$23.8 billion loses 38 to 58. EMK’s amendment to delete funds for Minuteman III missiles falls 32 to 57. So does McGovern’s amendment to delete funds from the B-1 bomber. It loses 32 to 57. The overall bill passes 77 to 6, with EMK and Cranston voting for the bill. EMK admits that the debate did not live up to expectations but he calls it “helpful.” He lashes out at Senators who criticize the debate. (Lippman, pp. 196-197)

On the 18<sup>th</sup>, EMK testifies in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding his legislation to institute a six-month moratorium on Gulf arms sales. “We are running incredible risks of reducing rather than enhancing security in the region,” EMK states, arguing the policy “will hook these nations on the heroin of modern arms.” (Clymer, p. 237)



## 1976

*June* Congress passes a military aid bill that bans grant assistance and weapon sales to Chile by the U.S. government and private contractors and limits economic assistance. EMK proposes the controversial amendment, which is adopted in the Senate 48 to 39 over the strong objections of Strom Thurmond (R-SC), Jessie Helms (R-NC), and other leading conservative Republicans. (*1976 CQ Almanac*, pp. 215, 219)

*September* Orlando Letelier, former Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. and later defense minister under Allende, is murdered, along with another colleague, in Washington by a car bomb. Letelier, an outspoken critic of the junta that overthrew Allende, may have been on his way to see **Schneider**. EMK condemns the murder and criticizes Ford's support of Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet. He says Ford's policy amounts to "human rights be damned." He introduces a resolution calling for a federal investigation, but there is no action on the resolution. (Clymer, p. 243; Clymer interview with Nancy Soderberg, 03/31/1997, pp. 11-12; *The Washington Post*, 09/22/1976)

**1977** **Schneider** leaves EMK's staff.

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

**1977-79** **Schneider** serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1315&l=1>

**1981-1993** **Schneider** is Chief, Office of Analysis and Strategic Planning, Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1315&l=1>

**1986** EMK travels to Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina with JKS, Pat Lawford and staff. **Schneider** and Nancy Soderberg split up responsibilities for the different countries, with **Schneider** traveling to Chile, Uruguay and Argentina. Greg Craig travels to all of the countries with EMK. In Chile, EMK is confronted by hostile protesters organized by the country's military rulers. EMK alters his itinerary after his car is pelted by eggs at his first scheduled stop at a local hospital. 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, pp. 387-388)

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

- 1990** EMK travels to Chile with **Schneider**, John Douglas, Nancy Soderberg, and Vice President Dan Quayle in Air Force Two to meet with and attend the inauguration of Augusto Pinochet's democratically-elected successor, Patricio Aylwin. The finale of the inauguration is held in the infamous national stadium as a tribute to those executed there. (Clymer, p. 466)
- 1993-99** **Schneider** is Assistant Administrator for Latin America and the Caribbean, U.S. Agency for International Development.  
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1315&l=1>
- 1999-2001** **Schneider** serves as the fifteenth Director of the Peace Corps. He is the first practicing Jew and only the second former volunteer to head the agency. During his first week on the job, EMK visits **Schneider** to wish him well.  
<http://peacecorpsonline.org/>
- 2001-** **Schneider** holds the position of Senior Vice President and Special Advisor on Latin America for the International Crisis Group.  
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1315&l=1>

## MARK SCHNEIDER FACT SHEET (1970-1977)

*Prepared by Mark Nevin and Rob Martin*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 01/23/2008*

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### *Positions with EMK:*

- 1970-77: Legislative assistant on EMK's Senate office staff; also formally listed by *Congressional Staff Directory* in some years as serving as an investigator on EMK's AdPrac subcommittee (*focus on defense issues, Latin America*).

### *Issues He Worked on w/ EMK:*

- NATO/arms control: including NATO trips with EMK to Bonn and Belgium in 1972/73.
- Latin America: 1973 Chilean coup; 1974 missions to Chile to discuss prisoner parole; 1974 mission to Cuba with Bob Hunter.
- Amnesty for Vietnam draft evaders and reform of the draft.
- Post-Vietnam reassessment of U.S. military spending and weapons programs.
- Miscellaneous energy, military, and Chicano issues, including migrant health centers.

### *Foreign Travel w/ EMK after leaving AdPrac Staff:*

- traveling with EMK to South America in 1986.
- traveling with EMK to Mexico in 1989.
- traveling with EMK and Dan Quayle to Chile in 1990.

### *Other Positions:*

- 1977-79: Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights
- 1981-1993: Chief, Office of Analysis and Strategic Planning, WHO
- 1993-1999: Asst. Administrator for Latin American and Caribbean, U.S. AID in Clinton Administration
- 1999-2001: Director of the Peace Corps
- 2001-Present: Senior Vice President and Special Advisor on Latin America for the International Crisis Group

## CHILE/SOUTH AMERICA TIMELINE

*Prepared by Rob Martin and Hilde Eliassen Restad*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 01/21/2008*

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- 1959**           EMK and Joan Kennedy celebrate a belated honeymoon in Chile.
- 1960**           After JFK wins the presidential election, EMK, Joan Kennedy and RFK vacation in Acapulco, Mexico, where RFK tells EMK that he has decided not to run for JFK's vacated Senate seat in 1962.
- 1961**           Preparing for his first Senate run, EMK travels with John Plank, a professor and regional expert, on a fact finding tour of Chile, Mexico, Costa Rica, Columbia, Brazil, Panama, Argentina and Peru. While in Chile, EMK plans to meet with Orlando Letelier, who is later killed in the U.S.
- 1973**
- September*    On the 11<sup>th</sup>, 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*     EMK proposes an amendment to the FY1974 foreign aid bill barring all military aid to Chile. The amendment is adopted by voice vote in the Senate but is deleted in conference. (1973 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 186-187)
- 1974**
- August*        Gerald R. Ford assumes the presidency and continues the U.S. policy of maintaining good relations with the Chilean junta.
- October*       EMK introduces multiple amendments cutting foreign aid to Chile, including one to the FY1975 foreign aid bill. His amendment again is narrowly adopted but then later deleted in conference. (1974 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 538, 550)
- December*     Congress passes a foreign aid bill which stops military assistance to Chile and places limits on levels of economic aid. (*The Washington Post*, 12/19/1974)
- 1975**           EMK travels to Mexico, where he calls for the lifting of trade sanctions against Cuba; *The New York Times* reports that EMK is planning a trip to Cuba.

*November* The Senate adopts EMK's amendment to the foreign economic aid bill placing greater limits on economic assistance to Chile. (1975 CQ Almanac, pp. 339, 340)

## **1976**

*February* EMK pushes a ban on all arms sales by any American companies to Chile through the Senate as an amendment to the foreign aid bill, but the ban is dropped 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 25<sup>th</sup>. 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)

*September* On the 21<sup>st</sup>, 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)

*December* On the 16<sup>th</sup>, EMK and Mathias send a letter to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence urging it to investigate the reported secret activities inside the U.S. of intelligence agencies of "friendly" nations such as Chile and South Korea. (*The New York Times*, 12/16/1976)

**1979** EMK travels with Joan Kennedy and Teddy, Jr. to Mexico.

*May* On the 15<sup>th</sup>, 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 rejects 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* 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 to lift the ban on aid and arms sales to 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 Letelier. Chile’s refusal to cooperate “represents a mockery of U.S. policy in opposition to state-sponsored terrorism.” The Senate does vote 80-0 to adopt a compromise amendment to the FY1982 and 1983 foreign aid authorization bill sponsored by Senator Charles Percy (R-III) 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 CQ Almanac*, p. 176)

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

## 1985

*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)

*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)

## 1986

*January* On the 15<sup>th</sup>, 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.” EMK’s South America trip also includes visits to Peru, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina, which are reportedly uneventful. In Peru, EMK meets with President Alan Garcia. EMK travels with Jean Kennedy Smith, Pat Lawford and staff, including Greg Craig, Nancy Soderberg and Mark Schneider. (Clymer, p. 389)

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

**1989** EMK travels to Mexico 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.

**1990**

*March* EMK returns to Chile to attend the inauguration of Patricio Aylwin as the elected successor to Pinochet. EMK travels with John Douglas, Mark Schneider and Nancy Soderberg, as well as Vice President Dan Quayle in Air Force Two. The finale of the inauguration is held in the infamous national stadium as a tribute to those executed there. (Clymer, p. 466)

## SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY FOREIGN TRAVEL (1962-PRESENT)

*Prepared by Rob Martin*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/30/2009*

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- 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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, Jim King and Ken Regan 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 and staff, including Ken Regan; 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. Ken Regan may have also accompanied EMK on this trip.
- 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 and Ken Regan. 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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.