



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials **Richard Lugar Interview, 03/06/2009**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents¹

- Richard Lugar Timeline.
- Richard Lugar Fact Sheet.
- Post-Vietnam Uses of U.S. Military Force.

Secondary Source Materials

- Richard Lugar bio, <http://bioguide.congress.gov>.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1999) pp. 355-356, 376-381, 395-402.
- Adam Clymer interview with Edward M. Kennedy, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 03/26/1999.
- Adam Clymer interview with Larry Horowitz, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 05/29/1992.
- Richard Lugar, *Letters to the Next President* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988) pp. 208-247.
- Donnie Radcliffe, "Lugar's Choice: On Sanctions, the Senator takes the Lead," *The Washington Post*, 10/03/1986.
- Alison Mitchell, "Threats and Responses: The Congressional Debate," *The New York Times*, 10/08/2002.

Oral History Interviews

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/20/2006, 03/10/2006, 01/07/2008.
- Gerry Doherty interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/10/2005.

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.

- Larry Horowitz interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/17/2008.
- Carey Parker interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/01/2008.

Other

- John McNamara, “Notes on South Africa.”

RICHARD LUGAR TIMELINE

Prepared by Bryan Craig

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/28/2009

- 1932** Richard Lugar is born in Indianapolis, Indiana.
- 1954** Lugar graduates from Denison University and becomes a Rhodes Scholar.
- 1957-1960** Lugar serves in the United States Navy as an intelligence officer at the Pentagon. He returns to Indiana to run the family's food machinery manufacturing business. (Karl Lamb, *Reasonable Disagreement: Two U.S. Senators and the Choices They Make*, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1998, pp. 36-37)
- 1964-1967** Lugar serves on the Indianapolis School board.
- 1968-1975** Lugar serves two terms as mayor of Indianapolis. He is mayor during RFK's 1968 presidential campaign stop when Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated.
- 1976**
- November* Lugar is elected to the U.S. Senate as a Republican from Indiana.
- 1977**
- January* Lugar is appointed to the committees of Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, and the Select Committee on Intelligence.
- 1978**
- August* EMK and Lugar are among the 18 Senators opposed to the conference report deregulating the natural gas industry. Democrats in the coalition reportedly oppose the deregulation fearing higher prices will hurt consumers, while Republicans fear deregulation will not happen fast enough to suit the gas industry. (1978 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., pp. 656; *Oil and Gas Journal*, 08/28/1978)
- Lugar is one of four Senators who switched votes to support a proposed constitutional amendment that gives full representation in Congress to the District of Columbia. EMK is the floor manager for this bill as it passes the Senate with a 67-32 vote. (1978 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 793; *The Washington Post*, 08/22/1978)
- 1979**
- January* Lugar is appointed to the Foreign Relations Committee.

EMK becomes chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

March Minority Leader Howard Baker, Jr. (R-TN) appoints Lugar campaign manager in his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. (*The Washington Post*, 03/15/1979)

November EMK announces he will challenge Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination.

1980

July Lugar is reported to be on the short list for Ronald Reagan's running mate, and Lugar publically announces his willingness to run with him. Reagan goes on to pick George H.W. Bush. (*The New York Times*, 07/02/1980)

1982

May EMK testifies before the Foreign Relations Committee on the need for a resolution calling on the President to negotiate a freeze in both American and Soviet arsenals before seeking strategic arms reductions. (*The New York Times*, 05/12/1982)

1983

April Reagan addresses a joint session of Congress regarding his Central America policy of arming the government forces of El Salvador and the Nicaraguan Contras. Reacting to the speech, EMK is reported as saying Reagan's policy is "a prescription for a wider war." Lugar states, "I believe that the President makes a strong argument that moral principles and American national interests coincide in Central America, and require a strong policy of support for democratic forces there." (*The New York Times*, 04/28/1983)

October On the 23rd, a terrorist attack on Marine headquarters at Beirut's airport kills 241 Americans, quickly eroding congressional support for a U.S. presence in Lebanon. On the 28th, EMK, along with Senators Alan J. Dixon (D-Ill) and Thomas F. Eagleton (D-MO) propose that Congress limit the Marines to three more months in Beirut but give itself the right to vote three-month extensions. The proposal is referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where Republicans stall action on it until 1984. (*1983 CQ Almanac*, p. 122)

U.S. forces invade Grenada on the 25th.

December On the 8th, EMK and Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR) 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.” Lugar attends the forum. (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow & Co., 1999, pp. 353; Clymer interview with Larry Horowitz, 05/29/1992, pp. 11)

1984

March EMK along with congressional Democrats object to action on Reagan’s request for military aid to El Salvador until after the presidential election on the 25th, which the leftists are boycotting. No clear-cut winner emerges, however, and a runoff election is to be held on May 6th between “moderate” Jose Napoleon Duarte and rightist Roberto d’Aubuisson. Whereas the Democrats manage to get a debate on U.S. support for the Salvadoran government, the policy victories are marginal. After Duarte wins the runoff and travels to Washington to promise Congress he will respect human rights and control the military, Congress authorizes most of the funds requested by Reagan in November. According to Greg Craig, EMK aid for foreign affairs, Lugar asks Craig why is EMK so “riled up” over Central America. Craig responds the issue matters in Massachusetts and the Senate should have a serious debate. (Clymer, pp. 356; *1984 CQ Almanac*, pp. 79)

April Rose Kennedy suffers a debilitating stroke. She spends much of the next year recovering at the family’s home in Hyannis Port.

November Lugar and Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS), chair of the Subcommittee on African Affairs, write a letter to Reagan urging him to be more vigilant on apartheid. (Richard G. Lugar, *Letters to the Next President*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988, pp. 212-213; *Christian Science Monitor*, 12/10/1984)

December Anti-apartheid riots heat up in major U.S. cities such as Washington D.C., Boston, New York, and Chicago. EMK’s niece Rory Elizabeth Kennedy and nephew Douglas Harriman Kennedy are arrested during the protests. Kassebaum and Lugar meet with South African Ambassador Bernardud Fourie to discuss the situation, and Lugar also meets with the Rev. Jesse Jackson who has a visa to go to South Africa. (*The Washington Post*, 12/07/1984; *The New York Times*, 12/07/1984)

1985

January Lugar becomes chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

The Senate creates the Senate Arms Control Observer Group to observe and advise negotiators of the Reduction and Control Negotiations in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union. The group is co-chaired by Senators Lugar, Ted Stevens (R-AS), Sam Nunn (D-GA) and Claiborne Pell (D-RI) with EMK sitting on the panel. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, pp. 175)

EMK travels to South Africa with a large group that includes Teddy, Jr., Kara Kennedy, JKS, Stephen Smith, Bob Shrum and Greg Craig. EMK had initially been asked to visit South Africa while meeting with the Reverends Desmond Tutu and Alan Boesak in Washington, D.C. the previous October. Ending apartheid had been an important cause to RFK, who had visited South Africa in 1966. On the 8th, the American Ambassador to South Africa, Herman Nickel, attacks EMK in a speech arguing Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" is good. EMK is also confronted by demonstrations from AZAPO, a black consciousness group which opposes visits from western political leaders. (Clymer, pp. 363-371)

March

Mikhail Gorbachev is elected as the new leader of the Soviet Union.

On the 7th, EMK and Senator Lowell Weicker (R-CT) introduce their bill on South Africa sanctions. (Clymer, pp. 376)

The Senate Arms Control Observers Group that includes EMK and Lugar attend the U.S.-Soviet arms control talks in Geneva. The arms talks are intended to open a dialogue between the U.S. and Soviet Union on space, strategic and intermediate nuclear arms. In April, Gorbachev announces a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles. Reagan and Gorbachev hold their first summit meeting in Geneva later in the year. (*The Washington Post*, 03/19/1985)

April

Lugar introduces a bill composed by himself, Charles Mathias (R-MD), and Robert Dole (R-KS) on South Africa sanctions. It requires the President to impose sanctions in two years if Pretoria does not eliminate apartheid policies. It is a less stringent plan than the one introduced by EMK and Weicker, which would immediately prohibit new business investment in South Africa. EMK testifies before the Foreign Relations Committee on the 24th. (Clymer, pp. 378; *The New York Times*, 04/25/1985)

June

On the 4th, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approves 16-1 a compromise bill (S 995) that imposes a combination of immediate and delayed sanctions on South Africa. The bill incorporates provisions from a bill by Lugar, Mathias, and Dole, and a stronger alternative formulated by Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT). Defeated 7-9 by the committee are tough provisions to ban new investment by U.S. firms, the importation of Krugerrands, and technology sales to the Pretoria government. These unsuccessful provisions were taken from the EMK-Weicker bill that is nearly identical to the House bill. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, pp. 87-88)

On the 5th, the House votes overwhelmingly to impose sanctions on South Africa. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, pp. 86)

On the 6th, the Senate approves \$38 million in non-military aid to the Contras by a 55-42 vote, a proposal offered by Nunn and Lugar. The aid, attached to a routine State Department authorization bill (S 1003), would be monitored by the National

Security Council, although it is suspected that the CIA would administer the aid. Two amendments by EMK are rejected. The first urges the U.S. to resume bilateral talks with Nicaragua, which Reagan had suspended in January. The second bars the president from introducing U.S. combat troops into Nicaragua without explicit approval from Congress. Lugar votes against EMK's amendments and Lugar votes for the whole aid package, while EMK votes against it. (1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 72-73, 23-S)

July On the 8th, the South Africa sanctions bill comes to the Senate floor from the Foreign Relations Committee. Conservatives try to delay action on the measure, while liberals try to add harsher sanctions to the bill. Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) raises the specter of a filibuster, but Dole files a successful cloture petition to proceed with debate. EMK and his allies re-group to push for a ban on Krugerrand imports, but drop this to get a GOP pledge to oppose amendments that would further dilute the bill, a deal put together by Lugar. On the 11th, the full Senate votes 80-12 to approve the South Africa sanctions bill. Lugar and EMK vote in favor. (1985 *CQ Almanac*, p. 30-S; *The New York Times*, 07/12/1985)

August Botha gives a speech on the 15th that fails to spell out any concrete plans to end apartheid. Lugar reportedly urges Reagan not to veto the sanction legislation if South Africa refuses to budge on its apartheid policy. (*The Washington Post*, 08/16/1985)

September In conference, Lugar tries to get House conferees to adopt the weaker Senate South Africa sanctions bill, fearing a filibuster or veto if the stronger measure is voted upon. He is persuaded in negotiations to accept the Kruggerand ban, and the threatened filibuster looms larger. Dole sets a cloture vote for the 9th, and he and Lugar press the White House to accept the sanctions bill or at least adopt some of its provisions. Reagan signs an executive order for sanctions on South Africa just hours before the scheduled Senate vote, but declares he will be forced to veto the Congressional legislation if passed. Dole and Lugar persuade most Republicans to accept the executive order and not vote for cloture, and ask for unanimous consent to put aside the cloture vote. EMK objects on the grounds that the executive order is too weak. (Lugar, pp. 221-222; Clymer, pp. 380; 1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 90, 30-S)

On the 10th, EMK appears on the *CBS Morning News* and states that the Republican Party must choose between being "the party of Lincoln or the party of apartheid." In the coming days, Democrats continue to keep the sanctions issue on the floor with repeated votes, angering Dole, who removes the Senate's copy of the conference report and gives it to Lugar, who puts it in his Capitol hideaway. The bill's absence means that the Senate can no longer consider it. EMK and Robert Byrd (D-WV), the Senate's most able parliamentarian, are furious. When the bill resurfaces two weeks later, the Democratic effort has lost steam. (Clymer, pp. 381)

On the floor, controversy erupts over an amendment offered by Pete Wilson (R-CA) to set up a new foreign “guest worker” program primarily to assist agriculture with seasonal labor. The amendment passes when Wilson sets a 350,000 person cap for workers admitted under the program, and five senators, including Lugar, who at first oppose the amendment, change their votes to support the cap. However, Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) then offers a sunset amendment, ending the temporary worker program after three years unless Congress approves an extension. Many of the Senators who had waived on supporting Wilson’s program feel more comfortable with the sunset provision added. EMK’s concerns about expanding any temporary worker program beyond the confines of the existing H-2 program are based on concerns over worker protections, and he votes no for Wilson’s amendment. (1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 224-225)

October Lugar leads an effort to delay a \$1.9 billion weapons sale to Jordan until March 1986 after EMK cosponsors non-binding legislation to block the sale indefinitely. Both Reagan and EMK support Lugar’s delay. (1985 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 95)

December EMK announces in a televised statement that he will not run for president in 1988. He acknowledges the following day at a news conference that his decision may mean that he will never again run for president.

On the 17th, EMK attends a Senate meeting with Lugar, the Foreign Relations Committee, and the newly elected Guatemalan president, Vinicio Cerezo. (Lugar, pp. 87)

1986

Jan.-Feb. Lugar is named to head the Philippine Election Observer Delegation to monitor the presidential elections. Ted Kennedy, Jr. is also named as an observer. Corazon Aquino defeats Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos in the February election amidst reported election fraud by Marcos. EMK states Aquino “...is entitled to be inaugurated as President of the Philippines.” (*The New York Times*, 02/20/1986) He introduces a resolution declaring the Philippine election fraudulent and it passes the Senate by a wide margin. The election delegation pressures Reagan to support Aquino during the peaceful revolution bringing her to power. (Lugar, pp. 118, 126; 1986 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 392-393; *The Washington Post*, 02/08/1986, 02/20/1986)

March Rep. Tip O’Neill (D-MA) guides an Ireland aid bill through the House in an effort to have it ready by St. Patrick’s Day. The bill, as well as the one created by the administration, is held up in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Lugar, who demands the approval of an extradition treaty between the U.S. and U.K. (Jack Holland, *The American Connection*, New York: Viking, 1987, pp. 148-149; Andrew J. Wilson, *Irish America and the Ulster Conflict, 1968-1995*, Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, pp. 255)

Lugar and Dole meet with Senate Democrats to pass a \$100 million aid package to the Contras. Once on the Senate floor, EMK offers two amendments barring aid to the Contra and the introduction of U.S. combat troops to Nicaragua without congressional consent. Both amendments fail. The bill passes by a voice vote. (1986 CQ Almanac, pp. 402-403)

May On the 21st, EMK, Weicker, and Rep. William H. Gray III (D-PA) introduce legislation calling for economic sanctions on South Africa. Reagan and Lugar oppose additional sanctions on South Africa. (Clymer, pp. 396)

July On the 2nd, Reagan signs the bill to grant Ireland financial support in the amount of \$50 million for one year. (Sean Cronin, *Washington's Irish Policy 1916-1986*, Dublin: Anvil Books, 1987, pp. 326; Holland, pp. 149)

On the 20th, EMK hosts a dinner party for the heads of the Eminent Person's Group, a committee of world leaders assigned to try to work out a solution in South Africa. Kassebaum and Lugar attend the dinner and lobby the group for a renewed effort on pursuing economic sanctions toward South Africa. (Clymer, pp. 397-398)

On the 21st, Lugar, Kassebaum, and Dole go to the White House in an attempt to urge Reagan to shift policy on South Africa. They also ask that he not include inflammatory language such as "constructive engagement" or "sanctions" during a major policy address scheduled for the next day. Lugar also urges Reagan to work with the Commonwealth of Nations and the European Community. (Lugar, pp. 227; Clymer, pp. 397-398; *The Washington Post*, 07/22/1986)

On the 22nd, Reagan gives a speech ignoring the advice of Lugar, Kassebaum, and Dole. He calls on Congress "to resist this emotional clamor for punitive sanctions." Lugar, reportedly disappointed by Reagan's address, begins Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the South African question. EMK testifies before the committee calling for disinvestment. (Clymer, pp. 397-398; 1986 CQ Almanac, pp. 359, 364; *The Washington Post*, 07/23/1986)

On the 31st, Lugar meets with EMK, Dole, and other key Senate leaders to work out a legislative plan for the sanctions and other foreign policy bills. Liberal Democrats threaten a filibuster on contra aid and an attempt by EMK to attach stronger South Africa sanctions on a government debt limit bill, and conservative Republicans threaten a filibuster on South African sanctions. The senators agree to temporarily remove the debt ceiling bill and allow separate action on contra aid and South Africa sanctions. (*The Washington Post*, 08/01/1986)

August On the 1st, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approves 15-2 a strict sanctions bill (S 2701) that is largely based on a proposal by Lugar, but EMK looks for stronger sanctions against U.S. investment. (*The New York Times*, 07/23/1986; *The Washington Post*, 07/28/1986)

From the 12th through the 13th, the Senate debates the \$100 million aid package for the Contras. Lugar successfully kills EMK's amendment barring U.S. combat troops to Nicaragua unless approved by Congress in advance. The aid package passes the Senate by a 59-41 vote with EMK voting against the aid and Lugar for it. (*1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 412, 37-S, 40-S)

On the 14th, Lugar and EMK open the Senate debate on sanctions. Lugar and Dole negotiate a compromise with conservative senators led by Helms, which will allow an amendment calling on both the South African government and the African National Congress to renounce violence. In exchange, Helms will refrain from offering any of the fourteen other amendments he has planned to add. Helms wants the bill to be "evenhanded," criticizing the African National Congress as well as the South African government. EMK calls the Helms Amendment a "killer amendment." (Clymer, pp. 400; *1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 366-367)

Also on the 14th, EMK is able to add his own amendment adding several sanctions to the bill. EMK's bill was originally tabled, but EMK withdrew a provision extending the ban on bank loans to South Africa, which gained several more supporters. Lugar originally fights the amendment stating "our objective is not economic devastation; it is persuasion." (*The Washington Post*, 08/15/1986) It passes on a voice vote after a second effort to table the bill fails. EMK also cosponsors an amendment with Weicker tightening several sanctions in the bill. (*1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 366-367)

On the 15th, the Senate passes 84-14 HR 4868, imposing sanctions, after substituting the text of the Senate measure into the House bill. Lugar claims that the overriding goal was to round up at least eighty votes; this would either persuade Reagan to sign the bill, or provide the means to override his veto. Included in this bill are strict measures forbidding the imports of South African iron, steel, and agricultural products, as well as the export of U.S. crude oil and petroleum products. These provisions were introduced by EMK, and were initially tabled on the 14th. Lugar votes for the sanctions. (*1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 366, 43-S)

September EMK and Lugar successfully work to get the House to pass the Senate version of HR 4868 to avoid a conference. Dole, Lugar, Presidential Chief of Staff Don Regan, and National Security Adviser John Poindexter meet on the sanctions bill. The Reagan administration reportedly states they would issue another executive order as in 1985 based on earlier sanctions removing more of EMK's stringent sanctions, if Lugar and Dole work to sustain the President's veto. Lugar refuses saying the deal would "foster the impression that the United States is an 'apologist' for the South African Government racial policies." (*The New York Times*, 09/24/1986) On the 26th, Reagan vetoes the bill. (Clymer, pp. 400-401; Lugar, pp. 234-235; *1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 361)

- October* 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. Although reportedly uncomfortable going against Reagan, Lugar gives an emotional plea for the sanctions. After the vote, Lugar states, "The future of Africa, whose black population needed to know that there were powerful friends outside who care about their situation." (*The Washington Post*, 10/03/1986) Helms accuses EMK and Lugar of turning South Africa over to "militant blacks" and ultimately to the Soviet Union. (Clymer, pp. 402; *1986 CQ Almanac*, pp. 373)
- August* On the 2nd, EMK, Lugar, and Hatch write a letter criticizing the Federal Trade Commission's proposed regulations for warning labels for smokeless tobacco. The FTC proposals include exempting labels on promotional materials. (*The Washington Post*, 10/23/1986)
- November* The Democrats regain control of the Senate in the mid-term elections.
- The Iran-Contra scandal breaks in the media.
- 1987**
- January* Senate Republicans name Helms as ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee ousting Lugar. (*1987 CQ Almanac*, pp. 6)
- EMK becomes chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, as well as the Judiciary's Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee.
- Fall* EMK leads the fight in the Senate to defeat the Bork nomination.
- 1988**
- March* EMK introduces the Emergency Hunger Relief Act of 1988 to increase the allotments for Food Stamp recipients, to improve child-nutrition programs, and expand and fund the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program. It is incorporated into S 2560 and sent to the Agriculture Committee where Lugar sits. Lugar pushes additional money for food programs not covered by food stamps like soup kitchens and food banks. Congress passes the bill and Reagan signs it by September. (*1988 CQ Almanac*, pp. 605-606; *The Washington Post*, 04/18/1988)
- August* EMK and Lugar are named to the U.S. Committee to Support Free Elections in Chile to support two missions to oversee the fall's presidential plebiscite. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 08/15/1988)

1990

August Iraqi forces invade Kuwait on the 2nd. The Democratic-controlled Senate, which is debating the FY1991 defense authorization bill, votes for authorization below 1990 levels on the 4th. EMK supports this bill, while Lugar opposes it. EMK and Lugar vote in favor of S Res. 318 condemning the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and urging President George H.W. Bush to “to act immediately, using unilateral and multilateral measures, to seek the full and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwaiti territory” through trade sanctions, diplomatic efforts, and, if necessary, multilateral military action. Bush deploys troops to Saudi Arabia, stating the invasion “will not stand.” Later in the month, Lugar states that driving Saddam Hussein from Kuwait is not enough and that he should be removed from power given his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. (*U.S. Armed Forces Abroad: Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*, Congressional Research Service; S Res. 318, Roll Call Vote Summary, 101st Congress; *1990 CQ Almanac*, pp. 44-S; Clymer, pp. 480; *The Washington Post*, 08/29/1990)

The Senate passes in a voice vote EMK’s non-binding resolution calling for a committee of U.S. and Soviet technical experts to study methods that might be used to verify a future arms control agreement banning the production of nuclear weapons material and requiring the dismantling of nuclear warheads. (*1990 CQ Almanac*, pp. 680; Clymer, pp. 480)

October The House and Senate pass non-binding resolutions on the 1st and 2nd, respectively, endorsing Bush’s economic embargo against Iraq and the deployment of 100,000 U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia. They do not, however, provide explicit authority to go to war. EMK votes against the resolution, calling it a “blank check endorsement for future actions ... in effect, a Tonkin Gulf Resolution for the Persian Gulf.” Only Hatfield and Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE) vote with EMK. Lugar states that if further military acts were needed, Congress should convene and discuss a declaration of war. (*1990 CQ Almanac*, pp. 717, 734, 736; Clymer, pp. 483)

November On the 8th, Bush announces a substantial troop buildup to the levels of 430,000 in the Persian Gulf, provoking a firestorm of criticism from Congress. EMK argues it makes war “inevitable.” (*1990 CQ Almanac*, pp. 717, 738)

On the 13th, Lugar asks Bush to open a special session of Congress to approve Bush’s recent actions in the Gulf. EMK concurs and wants to use the session to get Congress on the record for its opposition to Bush’s actions. (*The Washington Post*, 11/14/1990)

On the 29th, the UN Security Council adopts Resolution 678 setting January 15, 1991 as the deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

December Lugar again argues to broaden the Bush administration’s goals of removing Iraqi soldiers from Kuwait. He states the goal should also include eliminating

Saddam's arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. (1990 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 747)

1991

- January* On the 4th, the Senate begins debate on the Gulf crisis. EMK states that going to war without Congress' consent would precipitate a "constitutional crisis." (1991 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 439; Clymer, pp. 483)
- Bush formally requests an authorization from Congress for the use of force against Iraq on the 8th, the first such request by a president since the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. (1991 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 439; Clymer, pp. 483)
- On the 12th, the House and Senate vote in favor of S.J. Res. 2 authorizing the president to use military force against Iraq pursuant to U.N. Security Council Resolution 678. The Senate passes the authorization 52-47. EMK votes against it and Lugar for it. EMK instead had supported the Mitchell-Nunn substitute authorizing "the use of American military force to enforce the United Nations (U.N.) economic embargo against Iraq; to defend Saudi Arabia from direct Iraqi attack; and to protect American forces in the region." (S.J. Res. 1, Library of Congress) The resolution also called for continued sanctions and diplomatic pressures and declared that Congress, vested with the power to declare war, will consider future requests by the president for a declaration of war and for authority to use military force against Iraq, but the resolution failed in the Senate 53-46 with Lugar voting against it. (1991 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 438-441, 2-S)
- On the 16th, Bush orders an air campaign against Iraq, transforming Operation Desert Shield into Operation Desert Storm.
- On the 17th, the Senate unanimously approves a resolution backing the president.
- February* On the 27th, Bush announces a cease-fire and declares Kuwait "liberated." Iraq accepts cease-fire terms in March, agreeing to destroy weapons of mass destruction and allow monitoring by U.N. inspectors. A formal cease-fire is signed in April, which establishes a no-fly zone in Northern Iraq to protect the Kurds.
- Spring* William Kennedy Smith is charged with sexual battery in Palm Beach, Florida.
- July* 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. Lugar supports the lift of sanctions believing the South African government has met the conditions found in the 1986 sanctions law. (1991 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 479)
- October* The Senate holds confirmation hearings for Clarence Thomas.

EMK gives a speech at the Kennedy School at Harvard University in which he acknowledges that he has made mistakes in the conduct of his private life.

November Nunn and Lugar propose an amendment to give \$500 million dollars for Soviet assistance in dismantling their nuclear arsenal. The Nunn-Lugar Act is approved by a vote of 86-8 with EMK voting for it. (1991 CQ Almanac, pp. 469, 36-S)

1992

July EMK marries Vicki Reggie in McLean, Virginia.

August Lugar's Foreign Relations Committee approves a resolution calling the president to work with the U.N. to authorize all means necessary, including multinational military action, to bring humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina. EMK and Lugar vote in favor and the Senate adopts the resolution. (1992 CQ Almanac, pp. 25-S)

November Clinton is elected president, as the Democrats win the House, Senate, and White House.

1993

March Clinton nominates Jean Kennedy Smith as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.

September The Foreign Relations Committee approves legislation urging Clinton to provide arms to Bosnia despite the U.N. ban. The committee modified Lugar's original amendment that would have required Clinton to do so, but the bill never reaches the Senate floor. The Senate passes a non-binding agreement urging Clinton to seek congressional authorization before sending troops into Bosnia with EMK and Lugar voting in favor. (1993 CQ Almanac, pp. 498, 41-S)

1994

May The Senate narrowly passes two amendments calling for the U.S. to unilaterally end the arms embargo on Bosnia, authorizing the use of U.S. airpower to protect NATO exclusion zones and UN forces in the region, and prohibiting U.S. ground troops in Bosnia without congressional authorization. The first amendment, which Lugar opposes and EMK favors, is softer and requires Clinton to try to reach an agreement with NATO allies and the U.N. on lifting the embargo. The second harsher amendment, which Lugar supports and EMK opposes, requires the president to act alone to reject the U.N. embargo. The House does not act on either amendment. (1994 CQ Almanac, pp. 448, 20-S)

July Supreme Court confirmation hearings for Stephen Breyer are held from the 12th to the 15th. EMK is Breyer's chief sponsor. During the hearings, Breyer reportedly tries to avoid speaking too much on topical issues such as voting rights and abortion, and comments most extensively on the importance of the separation

between church and state. Breyer is generally well-received; his most vocal critic is Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH), who questions Breyer on a potential conflict of interest between Breyer's investments with Lloyd's of London and several pollution cases over which he presided. On the 29th, Breyer is confirmed 87-9 by the full Senate. Lugar leads the opposition based on Breyer's investments with Lloyd's. (1994 CQ Almanac, pp. 308-310, 42-S)

November The GOP wins control of both the House and Senate in the "Republican Revolution." EMK loses his chairmanship of the Labor Committee.

EMK narrowly defeats Mitt Romney to win reelection to the U.S. Senate.

1995

January Rose Kennedy dies.

April Lugar announces his candidacy for the Republican nomination for president. He drops out after poor showings in the Iowa and New Hampshire primaries early in 1996. (Lamb, pp. 152-154)

July Despite earlier calls to lift the Bosnian arms embargo, EMK sides with the Clinton Administration and votes against the Bosnia and Herzegovina Self-Defense Act of 1995 (S 21), which directs the president to unilaterally lift the arms embargo on Bosnia. Lugar helps build support for the bill and votes for it as it passes Congress. The act is vetoed by Clinton, who supports lifting of the embargo but is not willing to do so unilaterally. (1995 CQ Almanac, pp. 10-11, S-55)

August Following another massacre in the former Yugoslavia, NATO launches airstrikes in Operation Deliberate Force, which last until September 20th.

September EMK and Lugar vote for a "sense of the Senate" resolution which is overwhelmingly passed by the Senate calling on Clinton to seek advance approval for deploying forces to Bosnia, except for a temporary mission to evacuate UN peacekeepers. (1995 CQ Almanac, pp. 10-14)

October Bosnia's warring factions agree to a cease-fire and peace negotiations in Dayton, Ohio to begin on November 1st. (1995 CQ Almanac, pp. 10-10)

November The Dayton Peace Accords are concluded on the 21st. Clinton sends 20,000 U.S. combat troops to Bosnia as part of a NATO-led peacekeeping force. Congress debates a number of bills limiting the role of U.S. combat forces in the region, but the House and Senate are unable to reach agreement on any measure. EMK and Lugar support Clinton's deployment of forces, but also votes to limit the deployment of U.S. troops to roughly one year and restrict their mission to the implementation of the peace plan. (1995 CQ Almanac, pp. S-99)

1998

June Tobacco legislation (S 1415) co-sponsored by EMK dies on the Senate floor. Lugar attaches his plan to provide \$18 billion worth of assistance to tobacco farmers over the next three years. It is seen as more expensive than the original \$6 billion over three years. Supporters of the bill see the Lugar plan as another way to kill the bill. (1998 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 15-9; *The Washington Post*, 06/13/1998)

April The Senate creates the Senate National Security Working Group to replace the Senate Arms Control Observer Group. EMK and Lugar sit on the panel. ("Lott, Daschle Announce Bipartisan National Security Working Group," <http://cochran.senate.gov/press/pr042999.html>)

2001

January The Democrats regain control of the Senate for 17 days until Gore, who has been the tie-breaking vote in the evenly split Senate as Vice President, is replaced by Dick Cheney, giving the GOP control of the House, Senate, and White House.

May The Democrats regain control of the Senate when Jeffords leaves the Republican Party to caucus with the Democrats as an Independent. EMK regains chairmanship of the HELP Committee, as well as the Judiciary's Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee.

September Al-Qaeda conducts 9/11 terrorist attacks.

On the 14th, EMK and Lugar vote in favor of a joint resolution authorizing the use of force against those responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The Senate passes the resolution 98-0. (Roll Call Vote Summary, 107th Congress)

2002

Jan.- Sept. In the State of the Union address, President George W. Bush includes Iraq as a member of the "axis of evil" with N. Korea and Iran. By September, Bush agrees to submit a resolution to Congress seeking approval for the use of military force in Iraq and makes a case for war to the UN General Assembly citing Iraq's dismissal of UN resolutions and its weapons program. A week later, the White House introduces a resolution to the Senate authorizing the use of force in Iraq. EMK argues that a preemptive strike is unnecessary, that Iraq does not pose an imminent threat, and that we should not go to war without the clear support of the international community (2002 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 1-8)

October EMK and other Senate Democrats join with a few Republicans, including Lugar, to ask Bush to change the language in his congressional resolution to scale back the scope of authority to wage war. The Lugar-Biden proposal authorizes military action against only Iraq, not other countries in the region, and it makes removing Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons the primary military objective.

However, by the 8th, plans to propose this are shelved. The House passes a resolution authorizing the use of military force against Iraq on the 11th, 296-133; the Senate approves the resolution later that day 77-23. Lugar votes for and EMK against the resolution. EMK argues on the Senate floor, "The more we debate the war, the more we learn of the danger of going to war alone...let us build international support, try the United Nations, and pursue disarmament before we turn to armed conflict." (*Congressional Record*, 10/10/2002) Bush signs the bill on the 16th. (2002 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 9-3; *The New York Times*, 10/08/2002)

November The Republicans regain control of the Senate in the midterm elections, returning to the GOP control of the House, Senate, and White House. EMK loses chairmanship of the HELP Committee.

2003

January Lugar becomes chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. (*Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*)

February Secretary of State Powell argues before the UN that Iraq is concealing its weapons program. The Senate considers whether to authorize military action now or recommend a second UN resolution. EMK states Powell "made a very convincing case" but reportedly remains skeptical, while Lugar reportedly supports a second resolution. (*The New York Times*, 02/06/2003; "Iraq Use-of-Force Resolution, 2001-2002 Legislative Chronology")

March After UN efforts fail to approve a final resolution, Bush initiates military action against Iraq on the 19th. On the 20th, the Senate unanimously adopts a resolution commending the president and the U.S. armed forces for their efforts in the Iraqi conflict. On the 21st, Lugar and the majority of Republicans vote against a resolution to create a reserve fund through a reduction in the tax cut for military action and reconstruction in Iraq. EMK votes in favor of it as it passes. (S.Amdt.270, Roll Call Vote Summary, 108th Congress; *Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*, pp. 36; 2003 *CQ Almanac*, pp. S-17)

May On the 13th, Lugar sets aside the Foreign Relations Committee's AIDS bill for the House version, HR 1298. The Senate bill is hung up due to U.S. contributions to the Global Fund, and Bush wants a bill to present to the G-8 summit in June. Once HR 1298 is on the floor, EMK fails to amend the bill to include a requirement that drugs that are purchased using funds in the bill be obtained at the lowest possible price consistent with assured quality. Lugar votes against EMK's amendment. HR 1298 passes by a voice vote. (2003 *CQ Almanac*, pp. 10-7)

July On the 9th, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and General Tommy Franks testify before the Armed Services Committee. EMK and other Democrats press both men on the problems of occupied Iraq and a need for a long term plan. In a separate statement, Lugar also pressures the Bush administration for a plan. (*The Washington Post*, 07/10/2003)

2005

January In a speech at SAIS, EMK calls for “a timetable for a drawdown of American combat forces with the new Iraqi Government,” with withdrawal to be completed in 2006. Lugar dismisses EMK’s call to scale back deployments and states it is important to have troops in Iraq during the drafting of its constitution and training of its security forces. (*The Boston Globe*, 01/28/2005)

July On the 21st, the Senate passes a proposal made by Lugar to lift restrictions on the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program making it easier to work with Russia on non-proliferation activities. EMK votes for the measure. (*2005 CQ Almanac*, pp. 6-7, S-39)

On the 28th, EMK, Lugar, and Biden write to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice urging her to find money for the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), two groups that are affiliated with the U.S. political parties. These two groups along with other non-profit groups are running out of money to help promote democracy in Iraq. Later in the year, EMK and Lugar successfully co-sponsor legislation that earmarks \$56 million for the NDI and IRI for 2006. (*USA Today*, 07/29/2005; *The Washington Post*, 04/05/2006)

2006 EMK persuades Lugar and Biden to issue an invitation to Northern Ireland’s Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) to a series of talks.

November The Democrats regain control of the House and Senate. EMK regains chairmanship of the HELP Committee.

2007

April Lugar sponsors a bill (S 1104) to increase the number of visas for Afghan and Iraqi translators and interpreters to enter the United States. EMK is a co-sponsor and the bill becomes law in June. (THOMAS on S 1104; *The Toronto Star*, 05/26/2007)

2008

January EMK announces his support for Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama.

March Biden introduces S 2731 that is co-sponsored by EMK and Lugar to authorize appropriations for 2009 through 2013 to provide assistance to foreign countries to combat HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. The Senate and House pass a similar bill (HR 5501) and it becomes law in July. (THOMAS on S 2731)

May EMK is diagnosed with a brain tumor.

August EMK makes a surprise appearance and speech at the Democratic National Convention.

RICHARD LUGAR FACT SHEET

Prepared by Bryan Craig

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/28/2009

Lugar's Senate service: 1977-Present (R-IN)

Committees with EMK:

- None

Non-partisan Senate groups with EMK:

- Arms Control Observer Group (1985-2000)
- National Security Working Group (2000-Present)

Other Senate committees:

- Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry (1977-Present)
- Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (1977-1982)
- Foreign Relations (1979-Present). Chairman, 1985-1986; 2003-2007
- Select Committee on Intelligence (1977-1984; 1993-2002)

Issues that Lugar worked on with EMK:

- 1984-1986: South Africa apartheid sanctions
- 1985: As part of the Senate Arms Control Observer Group, Lugar and Kennedy go to Geneva to advise negotiators in the U.S.-Soviet arms control talks
- 1986: Philippine elections ousting Ferdinand Marcos. Ted Kennedy, Jr. and Lugar sit on the Philippine Election Observer Delegation, while both Kennedy and Lugar work in the Senate to support Corazon Aquino
- 1988: Emergency Hunger Relief Act. EMK's bill is incorporated in a bill that goes to Lugar's Agricultural Committee where Lugar adds more money for other food programs
- 1988: Both men served on the U.S. Committee to Support Free Elections in Chile
- 2008: AIDS and other disease relief package for foreign countries such as Africa

Issues that came up during this time with EMK:

- 1982-1983: Kennedy-Hatfield nuclear freeze resolution
- 1983-1986: Aid to Nicaraguan Contras and El Salvador
- 1990-1991: Persian Gulf War
- 1991: Nunn-Lugar Act to assist in dismantling Russia's nuclear arsenal
- 1994: Stephen Breyer nomination. Lugar is a leader of opposition.
- 1994-1995: Bosnian war
- 2001: 9/11 terrorist attacks
- 2002-2003: war in Iraq

POST-VIETNAM USES OF U.S. MILITARY FORCE

Prepared by Rob Martin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/23/2007

- 1975** The last Americans are evacuated from Vietnam.
- 1981-1989** U.S. planes shoot down Libyan fighter jets near the Gulf of Sidra in 1981 and 1989, and bomb military targets and terrorist facilities in Libya in 1986.
- 1981-1989** U.S. sends military aid and advisors to El Salvador and Nicaragua and mines Nicaraguan harbors.
- 1983** U.S. forces invade Grenada with support from the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States.
- 1987-1988** U.S. provides naval and air protection to oil tankers in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq war and conducts multiple air strikes against Iranian targets.
- 1989** U.S. forces invade Panama.
- 1991** U.S.-led coalition expels Iraqi forces from Kuwait in the Gulf War. The U.S. conducts multiple air strikes from 1992-2003 to enforce No-Fly Zones in Iraq to help protect Shi'ite and Kurdish groups.
- 1992** U.S. leads coalition forces into Somalia in UN-sponsored humanitarian mission.
- 1994** U.S. sends military forces to Haiti to restore Aristide to power.
- 1995** U.S. and NATO forces conduct air strikes against Bosnian Serbs, and later participate in peacekeeping forces in the former Yugoslav republic.
- 1998** U.S. conducts air strikes against suspected terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and a suspected chemical factory in Sudan.
- 1999** U.S. and NATO conduct air strikes to expel Serbian forces from Kosovo.
- 2001-present** U.S.-led coalition forces invade Afghanistan in aftermath of 9/11.
- 2003-present** U.S. and British forces invade Iraq.