



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials **Jan Kalicki Interview, 03/18/2009**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents¹

- Jan Kalicki Timeline.
- Jan Kalicki Fact Sheet.

Secondary Source Materials

- Jan Kalicki bio, www.eurasia.org.
- Adam Clymer interview with Jan Kalicki, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 12/09/1993, 04/28/1995 and 02/17/1998.
- Adam Clymer interview with Edward M. Kennedy, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 03/27/1998.
- Adam Clymer interview with Leonard Woodcock, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 02/12/1996.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999) pp. 261-266, 270-275, 278-279.
- "Plan Offered for Normal Peking Ties: Kennedy Proposals Believed to Parallel Vance's Thinking," *The Washington Post*, 08/16/1977.
- Edward M. Kennedy, "Now, Another Stab at Normalizing U.S.-China Relations," *Los Angeles Times*, 08/21/1977.
- Barry Goldwater, "Abrogating Treaties," *The New York Times*, 10/11/1977.
- "Two Liberal Senators Moving to Protect Security of Taiwan: Kennedy and Cranston, Backers of Relations with China, Aim for a Resolution in Congress," *The New York Times*, 01/22/1979.
- "Taiwan Relations Act, 1979, Legislative Chronology," *Congressional Quarterly Press Electronic Library*, 1981.

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.

Oral History Interviews

- Carey Parker interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/13/2008.
- Larry Horowitz interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/17/2008.

JAN KALICKI TIMELINE

Prepared by Mark Nevin, revised by Janet E. Heininger, Ph.D., 03/13/09

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 3/11/2009

- 1948** Jan H. Kalicki is born in London, England.
(<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)
- 1968** Kalicki earns an A.B. with honors from Columbia College.
(<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)
- 1971** Kalicki earns a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1971. (<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)
- 1972** President Richard Nixon travels to China and calls for the “normalization of relations.” (*The New York Times*, 08/17/1977)
- The U.S. and Soviet Union reach agreements limiting offensive nuclear weapons and defensive antiballistic nuclear missiles. In May, Nixon visits the Soviet Union to meet with Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev and sign several agreements. (1973 *CQ Almanac*, p. 791)
- 1972-74** Kalicki serves as a U.S. Foreign Service officer.
(<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)
- 1974**
- April* EMK travels to the Soviet Union with Joan Kennedy, Teddy Jr., Jim King, and Bob Hunter, where he meets with Brezhnev to discuss arms control issues, as well as the status of refuseniks and dissidents. (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1999, pp. 212-215; Adam Clymer interview with Andrei Pavlov, 11/24/1997, pp. 4, 13)
- 1974-77** Kalicki serves as a member of the State Department’s Policy Planning Staff.
(<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)
- 1977** Soviet computer programmers Boris and Natalia Katz request permission to emigrate to the U.S. after learning that their infant daughter Jessica suffers from a rare digestive ailment requiring treatment in the West. Boris Katz’s mother, Khaika, who lives in Cambridge with her other two sons, seeks help from Action for Soviet Jewry, a U.S.-based political activist group. Khaika Katz had been granted permission to leave the USSR in 1975. They enlist the help of Dr. Richard Feinbloom at Harvard Medical School, who diagnoses Jessica over the phone as suffering from malabsorption syndrome and prescribes a special baby formula, Pregestimil, which is directly absorbed by the body, but is not available in the USSR. The Katz’s visa request is denied because they have allegedly learned state

computer programming secrets at the Soviet Institute for Experimental Meteorology. For the next year Jessica is kept alive through the smuggling of Pregestimil into the Soviet Union by American tourists. (*The Harvard Crimson*, 12/01/1978)

- Early* Bob Hunter approaches Kalicki about succeeding him as EMK's foreign policy advisor. Although he initially turns down the offer, Kalicki agrees to serve for two years after meeting with EMK. He joins the staff in July. (Adam Clymer interview with Jan Kalicki, 12/09/1993, pp. 1-2; Adam Clymer interview with Jan Kalicki, 02/17/1998, p. 1)
- March* Just hours before Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is scheduled to leave for Moscow to meet with Soviet leader Brezhnev, fifty-eight Senators, including EMK, send President Jimmy Carter a letter in support of the administration's "strong commitment to the ideals of human rights and individual freedom." Human rights and arms control are expected to be the main topics of discussion at the talks. (*The New York Times*, 03/26/1977)
- August* A week before Vance is scheduled to travel to China for the administration's first high level talks with Chinese leaders, EMK delivers a speech at the World Affairs Council in Boston calling for the normalization of relations with Beijing. EMK also calls for the U.S. to sever its formal ties with Taiwan, but to maintain unofficial ties with the island and to take steps through creative diplomacy to help assure its security. The sticking point in the U.S.-China relationship since Nixon's visit has been the status of Taiwan. The U.S. will not agree to break ties with Taiwan and establish formal relations with China unless Chinese leaders assure the U.S. that it will not attack Taiwan, and China has refused to give such an assurance. EMK offers several specific proposals, including setting an early date for the withdrawal of U.S. military personnel from Taiwan. The administration refuses to comment on EMK's specific proposals. EMK says he is not a stalking horse for the administration. Kalicki writes the speech with China expert Jerome Cohen of Harvard Law School, and consults with Dick Holbrooke at the State Department, Mike Oksenberg at the National Security Council, and with China expert A. Doak Barnett. Kalicki later recalls that the speech meant to "make the normalization of relations with China a top priority in the diplomatic calendar of the Carter administration." (Adam Clymer interview with Kalicki, 12/09/1993, 02/17/1998; *The New York Times*, 08/17/1977)
- December* On Christmas Eve, EMK, Kalicki, Carey Parker, Cohen, two Boston reporters, and numerous Kennedy family members leave the United States for China. Kalicki helps to arrange the visit in meetings with the Chinese ambassador and his staff. Prior to the trip, Kalicki and Cohen consulted with the Carter Administration and China experts, both in and out of government. (Clymer, p. 261; Clymer interview with Kalicki, p. 12)

EMK visits the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, and other tourist sites. But EMK's itinerary requires constant negotiation during the trip as the Chinese try to prevent him from seeing a prison, a university, and a trial. EMK does finally visit a university and a prison but the visits are tightly controlled. EMK also is allowed to visit Johnny Foo, who had been left behind when his parents fled China twenty years earlier. Foo wants to visit them in Massachusetts and then return to China. EMK presents Chinese leaders with a list of Chinese citizens who have been prevented from leaving the country. Although Chinese officials keep telling EMK they will not discuss the list, one official tells Kalicki they will look at it. (Clymer, pp. 261-265)

After meeting with various lower officials, EMK meets with Huang Hua, minister of foreign affairs, and Deng Xiaoping, who is emerging as the next leader of China in the wake of Mao's death in 1976. EMK tells them that he and other Democrats are willing to break relations with Taiwan to secure better relations with China, but that they need assurances that the Chinese will not invade Taiwan. Deng and Hua both tell EMK that China cannot make any guarantees and that the U.S. should stop interfering in internal Chinese matters. As the meeting ends, Chinese diplomat T'ing Yuan-hung tells Kalicki that China will not publicly renounce the use of force but may do so privately. (Clymer, pp. 263-265)

1978

- January* After leaving China, EMK holds a press conference in Hong Kong in which he says he did not make progress in resolving the issue of Taiwan but that the meetings were direct and non-ideological. EMK also announces that he has given the Chinese authorities a list of twenty-two citizens who want permission to leave China. (Clymer, pp. 265-266)
- Summer* Chinese émigré Johnny Foo arrives in the U.S. and meets his parents for the first time in 20 years. EMK attends the reunion, stating, "I hope the process of normalization can continue, and then this can continue." Without public announcement, others on EMK's list are later allowed to leave. (Clymer, p. 270)
- Aug.-Sept.* Kalicki repeatedly flies to Moscow to arrange a visit by EMK to the Soviet Union. He negotiates with Soviet officials about what gestures EMK can expect the Soviets to make during his visit. In a series of heated discussions, Kalicki stresses how important it is for the Soviets to improve their human rights record to get any accommodation from the U.S. on nuclear disarmament. He presents Soviet officials with a list of refuseniks. The Soviets eventually agree to grant travel visas to some of them after EMK's trip. In the end, everyone on the list is given permission to leave the Soviet Union. (Clymer, p. 271; Clymer interview with Jan Kalicki, 12/09/1993, pp. 4-6; *The Washington Post*, 09/12/1978)
- September* EMK travels to the Soviet Union with Kalicki, Larry Horowitz, Richard Burke, and photographer/friend Ken Regan. This is EMK's second trip to the Soviet

Union. According to Kalicki, EMK had established a personal correspondence with Soviet leaders and in 1978 “launched a new stage of that correspondence to try to move the arms control discussion forward.” EMK coordinates his efforts with the Carter administration, which is negotiating a new treaty limiting strategic nuclear weapons (SALT) with the Soviets. EMK first attends an international health care conference in Alma-Ata in Central Asia, but the visit is overshadowed by word that EMK’s meeting with Brezhnev has been cancelled due to the leader’s poor health. EMK is furious, and the meeting is rescheduled. EMK brings Brezhnev a gift of Soviet melons and bread. EMK and Brezhnev meet for nearly two hours and discuss arms control, human rights, and the status of refuseniks. EMK states no arms control agreement will get through the Senate unless the U.S.S.R shows greater sensitivity on human rights. Brezhnev agrees to reconsider the cases of eighteen families attempting to emigrate. Brezhnev slurs his speech throughout the meeting, which is eventually cut short after a Soviet official passes Kalicki a note saying that a sudden meeting had come up that required Brezhnev’s presence. (Clymer, pp. 271-273; Clymer interview with Kalicki, pp. 2-3; 1978 *CQ Almanac*, p. 26)

The next morning EMK goes to Alexander Lerner’s apartment to meet with dissidents, including Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner. EMK privately tells two of the dissidents that they will receive permission to leave the country. One dissident, Lev David Roitburg, breaks down in tears and hugs Kalicki. The other dissident is Boris Katz. To secure their release, EMK had agreed to keep the visas secret until he had left Moscow. The USSR also grants an exit visa to physicist Benjamin G. Levich, who is the first member of the Academy of Sciences allowed to emigrate. EMK later visits Kazakhstan and is reportedly “mobbed by people wanting autographs and handshakes.” (Clymer, pp. 273-274)

On the 11th, EMK holds a press conference in Washington, D.C., in which he lists the names of refuseniks, including Levich, who will be allowed to leave the U.S.S.R. *The Washington Post* says this shows EMK’s private diplomacy to have been more effective than Carter’s public interventions on behalf of dissidents. Years later Pavlov recalls that the Soviets allowed Levich to emigrate because of EMK’s efforts. (Clymer, p. 274)

On the 25th, EMK and Kalicki meet with Carter, National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, and other administration officials and urge them to move ahead on a strategic arms limitation treaty curbing intercontinental missiles, saying the remaining differences are “readily resolvable.” EMK tells Carter that the Soviets are prepared to accept U.S. demands for inspections as part of a comprehensive test ban treaty. Kalicki later recalls that Carter was surprised by Soviet interest. (Clymer, p. 275; *The Daily Diary of President Jimmy Carter*, 09/25/1978; Clymer interview with Jan Kalicki, 12/9/1993, p. 15)

- October* Soviet entertainers Olga Serova and her husband Yevgeny Kozhevnikov are told that restrictions barring their departure from the USSR have been lifted. They were one of the 18 families Brezhnev had promised EMK who would be released. Their 1976 emigration request had been denied because Serova's father worked for the Kremlin and could have passed on state secrets to the couple. Another family on the EMK list, Galena Nizhnikova and her husband Eduard, are later allowed to leave. (*The Washington Post*, 10/13/1978)
- November* Boris and Natalia Katz leave the Soviet Union with their daughter Jessica and nine-day-old child Gabrielle. Their departure had been formally cleared by the USSR in October, but was delayed until after Gabrielle's birth. The family is met by Kalicki in Zurich, who travels with them back to Boston, where the family settles. The Katz family is met at Logan Airport by Boris' mother, two brothers, EMK, and a large crowd of people who have followed the international news coverage of Jessica Katz. (Clymer, p. 275; *The Boston Globe*, 5/23/2008; *The Washington Post*, 11/30/1978)
- December* Carter announces the U.S. will break official relations with Taiwan, abrogate the mutual defense treaty, and open full diplomatic relations with China. Carter's announcement, made without consulting Congress, creates a "storm" of conservative protest and upsets many Democrats who are unable to prepare constituents for the news. As the Carter administration struggles to get the implementing legislation prepared, EMK and Cranston offer a resolution stating that "the United States has a continuing interest in the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue and expects that the Taiwan issue will be settled peacefully by the Chinese themselves." EMK had consulted with Chinese officials to find language they could accept. Kalicki, Cohen, Holbrooke and Oksenberg work with EMK on the resolution, which is adopted into the eventual legislation almost verbatim. The final bill also contains a watered-down version of security assurances to Taiwan drawn from EMK and Cranston's resolution. (Clymer, pp. 278-79; *1979 CQ Almanac*, p. 105)

1979

- April* Congress passes the Taiwan Relations Act putting U.S. relations with Taiwan on an unofficial basis and providing security assurances to the island.
- 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)
- August* Kalicki visits China reportedly to "maintain the Kennedy contact" with Beijing. (*The Washington Post*, 11/09/1979)
- Summer* EMK declines to join the advisory board of the "International Sakharov Hearings," a series of tribunals conceived to give Soviet dissidents living in the

West the opportunity to testify to Western intellectuals about the oppressiveness of the Soviet regime. The tribunals are held between 1975 and 1983 and are named in honor of leading Soviet dissident and Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov. It was thought that the addition of EMK's name and political stature to the advisory board would pressure the Soviets to stop harassing Sakharov. In explaining EMK's decision, Horowitz notes that EMK had recently traveled to the Soviet Union, where he had pressed Brezhnev on the case of eighteen Jews. He identifies EMK's strategy for dealing with the problem of dissidents as one of "quiet diplomacy." (*The New York Times*, 05/28/1981)

November On the 4th, Iranian student radicals overrun the American embassy in Tehran and hold 63 Americans hostage. They demand the U.S. return the former Shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who is in New York for medical treatment. (*1979 CQ Almanac*, p. 97)

On the 7th, EMK announces he will challenge Carter for the Democratic nomination for president. (Clymer, p. 29)

December On the 3rd, EMK gives a television interview in San Francisco and condemns the U.S.-backed former Shah of Iran for having run "one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind – in the form of terrorism and the basic and fundamental violations of human rights...." He is subsequently criticized for giving aid and comfort to the Iranians during the hostage crisis. A few days later, in a poll conducted by Peter Hart for the campaign, 54% of those polled agree with the statement: "I feel that Edward Kennedy has hurt America by speaking out against the former Shah of Iran." (Clymer, p. 295)

On the 10th, EMK criticizes the Carter administration for permitting a "proliferation of different voices" in his administration about its foreign and defense policies. Kalicki later cites publicized disagreements between Vance and Brzezinski and other examples in a conversation with reporters. (*The Washington Post*, 12/11/1979)

At the behest of EMK, former Senator James Abourezk travels to Iran to seek the release of remaining 50 American hostages being held there. Kalicki, Theodore Sorenson, and Senator John Culver (D-IA) ask him to undertake the trip. The Carter administration is not notified about the unsuccessful mission. (*The Washington Post*, 04/22/1986)

On the 25th, the U.S.S.R invades Afghanistan.

1980

January EMK attacks Carter's grain embargo of the Soviet Union as a weak action that will punish U.S. farmers. (*The Washington Post*, 01/06/1980)

On the 29th, EMK gives a speech at Georgetown University that reveals a change in campaign strategy. In addition to attacking Carter's foreign policy towards Iran and the Soviet Union, EMK emphasizes liberal concerns about issues such as wage-price controls and regulation of oil. EMK's return to liberal themes is reportedly an attempt to justify his challenge to Carter and is worked out by campaign manager Steve Smith, political adviser Paul Kirk, speechwriters Robert Shrum and Carey Parker, and policy advisers Kalicki and Peter Edelman. (Clymer, p. 301; *The New York Times*, 01/30/1980)

Feb.-Mar. Pavlov tells EMK that the Soviets are looking for a way out of Afghanistan and want his help. He passes a message to EMK friend John Tunney while Tunney is in Moscow on business. Pavlov is close to then KGB chief Yuri Andropov who had been slow to support the invasion. Years later Pavlov recalls that the message indicated the Soviets would be willing to pull out of Afghanistan at EMK's request. Pavlov says EMK had told him that if the Soviets pulled out, he would work to get the SALT treaty ratified. Kalicki confers with Marshall Shulman, the State Department's chief Soviet specialist, about the offer. Afterward, EMK publicly requests a "fresh political effort" on Afghanistan and calls on Brezhnev to start withdrawing troops. EMK later says he thought the Soviets would respond "positively," but Moscow did not respond. (Clymer, p. 306, Clymer interview with Pavlov, 11/24/1997, pp. 25-27)

On March 16th Cuba permits censured Cuban poet Heriberto Padilla Lorenzo to emigrate to the U.S. after EMK champions his cause. Kalicki negotiates Padilla's release with Cuban and American authorities. Padilla had been arrested for a month in 1971 and not allowed to publish his writings since. He had sought to leave Cuba for over a year. Historian Arthur Schlesinger brings Padilla's case to EMK's attention. (*New York Times*, 03/17/1980)

Just before the New York primary EMK gives a foreign policy speech at Columbia University in which he calls for the creation of a bipartisan commission to "shape a national consensus" on the future of Soviet-American relations. EMK blames "mutual mismanagement" on the part of the American and Soviet governments for the superpowers' deteriorating relationship. EMK releases the names of 27 people who support the commission proposal. Kalicki solicits endorsements for the commission. (*The Washington Post*, 03/21/1980)

June EMK does not vote on a resolution condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and urging the President to continue to press Moscow to remove its troops. The Senate adopts the resolution 96 to 0. The resolution does not support the grain embargo Carter imposed in January. (*1980 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, pp. 363, 36-S)

August EMK withdraws his bid for the presidency in a powerful speech to the Democratic National Convention.

1982

- March* In response to the Reagan administration military build-up, EMK embraces the goals of the nuclear freeze movement and offers a non-binding resolution, together with Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR), to freeze nuclear weapons at present levels and then reduce them. At about this time, EMK starts to learn the intricacies of nuclear arms control policy and begins to send Horowitz on trips to the Soviet Union to discuss arms control matters and the release of refuseniks. Horowitz works with the administration to keep the White House briefed on his Soviet trips. Horowitz later says that EMK kept nothing from the Reagan administration and never presented a foreign policy that was not the administration's, even on divisive issues like the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). (Clymer, pp. 331-332; Clymer interview with Horowitz, 01/07/1999, p. 1; Clymer interview with Horowitz, 05/29/1992, p. 18)
- The New York Times* reports the Reagan Administration is going to favor the nuclear freeze proposal made by Senators 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 the EMK-Hatfield proposal reportedly send letters to Congress arguing the Warner-Jackson proposal is dangerous because it encourages production and deployment of new weapons. EMK later argues that the nuclear freeze movement had an impact on the way people thought about nuclear weapons and changed the atmosphere of the debate. (*The New York Times*, 03/30/1982; Clymer, pp. 331-32)
- June* EMK, speaking at a Democratic party conference, demands a nuclear freeze saying, "A freeze on the mounting total of nuclear megadeath can bring us back from the brink of humanity's third and last world war.... There is no such thing as a limited nuclear war. ... Let us resolve that this atomic age shall not be succeeded by a second stone age." He also criticizes Reagan for abandoning Carter's commitment to human rights. "I had my differences with the past administration. But on the vital issue of human rights, Ronald Reagan is wrong – and Jimmy Carter was right." (Clymer, pp. 339-40)
- November* EMK wins re-election and is appointed to the Senate Armed Services Committee.
- December* The Boland Amendment is passed, prohibiting direct CIA efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government but allowing aid for other purposes. The provision is named after House Intelligence Committee Chairman Edward Boland (D-MA). The provision is kept in the conference report on the second continuing appropriations resolution for FY 1983. EMK votes against the appropriations authorization. (1982 *CQ Almanac*, p. 238)

1983

- February* At a hearing of the Armed Services Committee, EMK questions Secretary of

Defense Caspar Weinberger on Reagan's requested 14 percent increase in the defense budget. (Clymer, pp. 346-347)

March

Reagan gives his "evil empire" speech on the Soviet Union to the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida.

Reagan proposes the creation of a strategic defense initiative (SDI), dubbed "Star Wars," to defend the U.S. from nuclear attack.

April

Reagan addresses a joint session of Congress regarding his Central American policy of arming the government forces of El Salvador and the Nicaraguan Contras. Reacting to the speech, EMK reportedly says Reagan's policy is "a prescription for a wider war." (*The New York Times*, 04/28/1983)

July

Debating the FY 1984 defense authorization bill, EMK proposes an amendment to delete the \$6.9 billion earmarked for procurement of ten B-1 bombers and further development of the plane. EMK calls the bomber "unnecessary and ... virtually obsolete the moment it becomes operational." EMK argues a true improvement in the U.S. bomber force would be the "stealth" bomber, designed to evade detection by enemy radar. The amendment is defeated. (*1983 CQ Almanac*, p. 187)

The House votes to pass the Boland-Zablocki bill (Rep. Clement J. Zablocki, D-WI), an amendment to the already passed 1983 Intelligence Authorization Act expressing disapproval of the Reagan Administration's military support for the Contras. It also recommends deleting all funds for the covert operation in Nicaragua. Although symbolic, EMK says this vote "sends a clear and unequivocal message to this administration that it is time to end the dangerous escalation of covert warfare in Central America." (*The Washington Post*, 07/30/1983)

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. On the 28th, EMK votes to attach an amendment to a Debt Limit increase bill that will invoke the War Powers Act and require Reagan to withdraw U.S. troops from Grenada within 60 days unless Congress authorizes continued military involvement. The Senate adopts the amendment but later strikes it from the bill. (*1983 CQ Almanac*, pp. 52-S, 53-S)

On the 31st, the Senate rejects an amendment sponsored by EMK and Hatfield calling for an immediate nuclear weapons freeze. (*1983 CQ Almanac*, p. 205;

Clymer, p. 353)

- November* Congress clears a compromise on covert aid to the Nicaraguan Contras in the FY 1984 defense and intelligence bills. Reagan wins \$24 million in Contra aid and congressional opponents secure a better chance to block the program when the aid expires in 1984. This decision allows the Boland Amendment of 1982 to expire in September without renewal. (*1983 CQ Almanac*, pp. 123-124)
- 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** EMK hires Greg Craig as a foreign policy aide to replace Kalicki. (Clymer, p. 355)
- July* Kalicki, an advisor to the Democratic Platform Committee, helps to draft a speech that committee chairperson Representative Geraldine Ferraro gives at the World Affairs Council of Northern California. In the speech, Ferraro, who goes on to become the Vice Presidential running mate to Walter Mondale, says a Democratic administration would “oppose the tyranny of the Soviet Union” but at the same time seek to revive arms control negotiations with the Soviets. (*The New York Times*, 07/12/1984)
- 1984-1993** Kalicki is Vice President and then President at Lehman Brothers in New York where he develops the firm’s investment bank businesses in the Middle East and the former Soviet Union. (<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)
- 1985-1993** Kalicki serves as Executive Director and Assistant to the President of the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University. (<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)
- 1990s** Kalicki serves in the Clinton administration as Counselor to the U.S. Department of Commerce and as White House Ombudsman for Energy and Commercial Relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States, composed of eleven former Soviet republics. (<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)
- 2001** Kalicki joins Chevron Corporation as Counselor for International Strategy. (<http://www.eurasia.org/about/Kalicki.aspx>)

JAN KALICKI FACT SHEET (1977-1984)

Prepared by Mark D. Nevin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/11/2009

Work with Kennedy:

- 1977-84: foreign policy advisor on EMK's Senate office staff (succeeding Bob Hunter)

Other experience:

- 1972-74: U.S. Foreign Service officer
- 1974-77: State Department Policy Planning staff
- 1990s: Counselor to the U.S. Department of Commerce in the Clinton Administration and White House Ombudsman for Energy and Commercial Relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States.
- 2001-present: Counselor for International Strategy with Chevron Corporation

Issues Kalicki worked on with Kennedy:

- Soviet Union: human rights, dissidents, arms control, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
- China: EMK's 1977 speech on normalizing relations with China, 1979 Taiwan Relations Act.
- Cuba: emigration of Cuban poet Heriberto Padilla Lorenzo.
- Opposition to Reagan military build-up.
- Nuclear freeze proposals.

Foreign travel:

- 1977: China trip with EMK.
- 1978: Soviet Union trip with EMK.
- 1979: China (Kalicki visited on behalf of Kennedy).

Other notable events during Kalicki's time with Kennedy:

- 1979: EMK becomes Judiciary chairman.
- 1979: Iranian hostage crisis.
- 1979: Soviet Union invades Afghanistan.
- 1979-80: EMK challenges Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination.
- 1982: EMK becomes a member of the Armed Services committee.
- Early 1980s: beginning of debate over aid to El Salvador and Nicaraguan Contras.
- 1983: Reagan gives his "evil empire" speech and proposes SDI.
- 1983: U.S. invasion of Grenada.
- 1983: Beirut barracks bombing killing 241 Americans.