EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer’s Briefing Materials
Theodore Sorensen Interview, 05/18/2005, 12/07/2006

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents\(^1\)
- Edward M. Kennedy Campaign Timeline.

Secondary Source Materials

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### Edward M. Kennedy Campaign Timeline

**Prepared by Erin Hughey-Commers, Rob Martin and Ethan Sribnick**  
*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/09/2005*

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JFK announces that he will not publicly endorse either Democratic candidate but instructs his staff to informally help EMK’s campaign. JFK provides EMK with frequent advice and sends his chief speechwriter, Ted Sorensen, to help. (Doherty interview, 02/03/1972; Burns, pp. 77-84; Clymer, pp. 37-39) The Kennedys decide to publicly disclose EMK’s expulsion from Harvard University after it is learned that Bob Healy of *The Boston Globe* has picked up reports of the incident. After meeting with JFK and several aides including Sorensen in the White House, Healy is given access to the story. EMK admits that he arranged for a friend to take an exam for him during his freshman year at Harvard, and that he withdrew from the university afterwards at Harvard’s request. (Lester David, *Good Ted, Bad Ted: The Two Faces of Edward M.*
During a televised debate in Springfield, Massachusetts, McCormack claims to have documented evidence that the President and Attorney General are interfering in the campaign. EMK and JFK deny McCormack’s allegations. (Murray Levin, *Kennedy Campaigning*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, pp. 61-65; *The New York Times*, 05/20/1962, 06/07/1962)

EMK wins his party’s endorsement to run for the Senate at the pre-primary Democratic State Convention in Springfield, Massachusetts on the 9th. (Burns, p. 79; Levin, pp. 69-78; *The Boston Globe*, 6/10/1962)

JFK, Robert F. Kennedy (RFK), Sorensen, Gwirtzman and Gargan work with EMK in Hyannis Port to help prepare EMK for his debates with McCormack. (Gwirtzman, 01/19/1966, pp. 28-32; David, pp. 77-78)

EMK and McCormack hold the first of two televised debates on the 27th at South Boston High School. McCormack reportedly alienates voters by harshly attacking EMK as unqualified and running solely on family connections. Sorensen had traveled to Boston to help prepare EMK and to watch the debate. (Gwirtzman interview, 01/19/1966, p. 28; *The Boston Globe*, 8/28/1962)

EMK and McCormack hold their second televised debate in Holyoke on the 5th. McCormack backs away from the aggressive attacks he had launched against EMK in the first debate but continues to question EMK’s lack of experience. EMK replies that he has more relevant experience on national and international issues citing his foreign travel. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/06/1962)

EMK beats Edward J. McCormack by a landslide in the Massachusetts Democratic Senatorial primary, gaining 69 percent of the vote. (*The New York Times*, 09/20/1962)

JFK sends Sorensen to Massachusetts to prepare EMK for his appearance on *Meet the Press* and his debate with the Republican candidate George C. Lodge. Sorensen reportedly advises EMK not to discuss the Cuban Missile Crisis, as EMK’s comments could be interpreted in Moscow as directly connected to JFK’s. (Clymer, p. 42; Gwirtzman, 01/19/1966, p. 32)

RFK and Sorensen travel to Massachusetts to brief EMK before the election.

EMK defeats Republican George C. Lodge, a former assistant labor secretary, on the 6th with 55 percent of the vote. EMK is sworn-into the Senate the following day. (*Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, Congressional Quarterly Inc., p. 88)
1964

**June**  
EMK’s back is broken in a plane crash on the 19th. EMK had just voted on the civil rights bill in the Senate and was flying to accept his party’s endorsement at the Democratic state convention in West Springfield, Massachusetts. Recovery is estimated at six to ten months. (Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, *Times to Remember*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974, pp. 455-459; Clymer, pp. 59-64; Gwirtzman interview, 12/23/1971, p. 22)


**October**  
Volunteers gather signatures in support of EMK’s candidacy for re-election to the Senate. With EMK hospitalized, EMK’s wife, Joan Kennedy, campaigns. Campaign literature centers around EMK’s votes for civil rights, aid for education and mass transit, and Social Security-funded health care, as well as a Federal space research center in the Boston area. (*The Washington Post*, 10/01/1964)

EMK holds his first press conference since the crash. He answers questions about his memories of the crash and expresses optimism for Democratic victories in races around the country and in Massachusetts. (*Wall Street Journal*, 10/20/1964)

**November**  
EMK is re-elected, defeating Howard Whitmore Jr., a former mayor of Newton, with 74 percent of the vote. (*Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, p.88)

**December**  
EMK takes his first steps since the accident and later walks out of the hospital to spend the holidays at home. (*The New York Times*, 12/04/1964, 12/17/1964)

1966  
EMK makes an appearance in Omaha, Nebraska to campaign for Sorensen’s brother, Phil Sorensen, who is the Democratic candidate for governor of Nebraska. (Clymer, p. 88)

1967

**October**  

**December**  
Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D-MN) announces he will challenge President Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) in several Democratic primaries. (Clymer, p. 104)
RFK calls a meeting at William vanden Heuvel’s house to discuss the 1968 presidential campaign. EMK and Sorensen continue to argue that RFK should wait until 1972 to run. (Schlesinger, p. 832)

1968

January

RFK draws closer to entering the 1968 presidential campaign after the Tet Offensive seriously damages confidence in LBJ’s prosecution of the war and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara privately informs RFK that LBJ might not run for re-election. (David Burke oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 12/08/1971, pp. 26-35; Gwirtzman interview, 03/16/1972, pp. 107-109)

March

On the 4th, RFK instructs Fred Dutton to inform EMK that he has decided to pursue the Democratic nomination for president. RFK sends a message to McCarthy about his decision on the 11th. (Clymer, pp. 106-107)

Sorensen meets with LBJ to propose the creation of a commission to review LBJ’s Vietnam policy. Chicago Mayor Richard Daley also supports the creation of a Vietnam commission. RFK and Sorensen later meet with Defense Secretary Clark Clifford to discuss the commission, but LBJ later rejects the proposal. (Schlesinger, pp. 851-852)

McCarthy loses the New Hampshire primary on the 12th but demonstrates LBJ’s vulnerability by receiving 42.1 percent of the vote. The following day, RFK appears on the CBS Evening News and suggests that he might run. (James W. Hilty, Robert Kennedy: Brother Protector, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997, p. 614; Clymer, pp. 107-108)

EMK and Sorensen attend an important meeting at Stephen Smith’s house in New York to begin planning a possible RFK campaign. (Burke interview, 12/08/1971, pp. 44-46)

EMK travels to McCarthy’s house in Green Bay, Wisconsin to explain why RFK has decided to enter the primary and to discuss how RFK and McCarthy might work together to avoid splitting the anti-Vietnam vote. McCarthy refuses to consider making any deals. (Schlesinger, pp. 854-855; Gwirtzman interview, 03/16/1972, pp. 111-113; Gwirtzman interview, 04/04/1972, p. 139; Burns, p. 348; Clymer, pp. 105-109)

On the 16th, RFK announces he will enter the Democratic primaries. Sorensen had drafted RFK’s announcement. (Hersh, p. 298; Clymer, pp.108-109)

On the 31st, LBJ announces that he will not seek the Democratic nomination or reelection as president. (Clymer, p. 110)
April  
Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated on the 4th. RFK informs a black audience in Indianapolis of the tragedy and urges calm. (Clymer, p. 111)

May  
RFK wins the Indiana primary on the 7th, but loses the Oregon primary to McCarthy on the 28th. (Clymer, pp. 109-112)

June  
After winning the California primary, RFK is shot in Los Angeles on the 5th. EMK, who had traveled to be with RFK’s northern California campaign staff in San Francisco, immediately flies to Los Angeles with Burke and John Seigenthaler. RFK dies the next day. (Clymer, pp. 112-114)

Speculation begins immediately that EMK could join a Humphrey-led ticket as the vice-presidential candidate to help unify the Democratic Party. (The New York Times, 06/07/1968)

EMK delivers a powerful eulogy at RFK’s funeral service at St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York City on the 8th. After the funeral, the Kennedys travel with the coffin by train to Washington, D.C. RFK is buried in Arlington National Cemetery. (Rose Kennedy, pp. 475-476; Schlesinger, p. 915; Burns, p. 348; Clymer, p. 119)

On the 10th, associates of EMK report that he will not run with Humphrey or replace RFK as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president. (The New York Times, 06/11/1968)

EMK and his mother, Rose Kennedy, thank the public for their sympathy in a television appearance on the 15th. (Clymer, p. 119)

July  

In an interview on the 18th, Humphrey indicates that he wants EMK to be his running mate if he wins the Democratic nomination for president. (The New York Times, 07/18/1968)

On the 26th, EMK announces that it is “impossible” for him to run for vice president in 1968. He explains that his decision is based on “purely personal” reasons and is “final, firm, and not subject to further consideration.” (The New York Times, 07/27/1968; Clymer, p. 121)

August  
In an announcement on the 10th, Senator George S. McGovern (D-SD) enters the race for the Democratic presidential nomination with pledges to end the war in Vietnam and to “heal” domestic divisions. While he does not officially continue RFK’s campaign, he quickly receives the endorsement of several former RFK supporters. (The New York Times, 08/11/1968)
On the 21st, EMK speaks at Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts. This is his first public appearance since RFK’s death. In his speech, EMK criticizes the Johnson Administration’s policies in Vietnam calling for an immediate halt to the bombing of North Vietnam and negotiations with Hanoi to remove all foreign and North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam. (Clymer, pp. 121-122; The New York Times, 08/22/1968)

Humphrey meets with EMK and asks him to run for vice president. EMK declines and assures Humphrey that he will not seek the nomination for president. (Clymer, p. 122)

In a meeting with Stephen Smith on the 23rd, Daley urges EMK to come to Chicago or announce he will consider a draft for the presidential nomination. EMK refuses, but sends Smith back to Chicago to observe the convention. (Clymer, p. 122)

Gwirtzman and Burke, both opposed to EMK as a candidate, fly to Hyannis Port to advise EMK. (Hersh, p. 351)


On the 27th, Stephen Smith meets with McCarthy to discuss a deal in which McCarthy would drop his candidacy and urge his delegates to vote for EMK. The deal collapses when McCarthy supporters leak information about the meeting to the press. When Smith calls EMK to tell him that he has the votes to be nominated for president, EMK makes the final decision to not accept the nomination. (Clymer, pp. 123-126, The New York Times, 08/28/1968)

Humphrey wins the presidential nomination on the first ballot on the 28th, after the movement against him collapses in light of EMK’s decision not to run. (Wall Street Journal, 08/29/1968)

**September**

EMK campaigns with Humphrey at a rally in Boston on the 19th. While the rally attracts a large crowd, some chant hostile slogans during the presidential candidate’s speech. (Clymer, pp. 127-128, The New York Times, 09/20/1968)

**November**

Richard M. Nixon wins the presidential election with 43.4 percent of the popular vote and 301 electoral votes. (Clymer, p. 129)
1969

January  EMK is elected majority whip by Senate Democrats. His election is interpreted by some as first step towards a run for the presidential nomination and by others as a sign that he is putting aside presidential ambitions to focus on the Senate. (Clymer, pp. 131-133; Time, 01/10/1969; The New York Times, 02/23/1969)

July  Following an appreciation party held for former members of RFK’s campaign staff, EMK drives his car off a bridge at Chappaquiddick, Massachusetts on the 18th. EMK manages to escape but his passenger, Mary Jo Kopechne, drowns in the accident. EMK does not report the accident for nearly nine hours.

After pleading guilty to leaving the scene of an accident at Chappaquiddick, EMK delivers a national television address on the 25th in which he accepts responsibility for his role in the accident and asks the people of Massachusetts whether they still have confidence in his ability to serve in the Senate. The response is very favorable. Numerous Kennedy friends and advisors worked with EMK on the speech, including Sorensen, Burke Marshall, Richard Goodwin, Robert McNamara and Stephen Smith. (Clymer, pp, 149-150; Newsweek, 08/02/1969; The New York Times, 07/26/1969)

EMK announces on the 30th that he will remain in the Senate. EMK announces the next day that he will not run for president in 1972 and that he will fill-out his full term if reelected to the Senate in 1970. (Burns, p. 348; Clymer, pp. 155-156)

1970

January  At an inquest at Dukes County Courthouse in Edgartown, Massachusetts, EMK answers questions regarding his actions before and after the car accident on Chappaquiddick Island. (The New York Times, 01/06/1970)

May  Judge James A. Boyle’s inquest report suggests EMK may have committed a crime having to do with Kopechne’s death, but that there are insufficient grounds upon which to charge him with a violation. The released transcripts of the inquest are expected to harm EMK politically. (The New York Times, 05/01/1970, 05/04/1970)

EMK explains on NBC’s Today show that he will not run for president in 1972 but that he will “remain in politics” as long as he “could be effective.” (Rose Kennedy, pp. 492-494; Clymer, p. 169)

June  EMK announces his candidacy for re-election to the Senate and repeats that he will not run for president in 1972. (The New York Times, 06/12/1970)

Running unopposed, EMK is re-nominated as the Democratic candidate for Senate at the Massachusetts Democratic Convention. EMK says he will work for
racial harmony, aid to the poor, and against American involvement in Vietnam.  

**September**  
Maintaining a break-neck campaign schedule, EMK speaks to voters about an expansion of Social Security benefits, his national health care plan, the lagging Massachusetts economy under the Nixon Administration, and the Vietnam War.  
(The Washington Post, 09/20/1970)

**October**  
EMK debates his Republican opponent in the Senate race, former state GOP chairman Josiah A. Spaulding, on NBC’s Meet the Press. Spaulding attacks EMK from the left on the issues of abortion and population control, while attacking from the right on the spending of the Democratic-controlled congress.  
(The Boston Globe, 10/05/1970)

**November**  
EMK defeats Spaulding with 61 percent of the vote. In his victory speech, EMK thanks the voters for expressing a “sense of confidence” in him. EMK’s staff interprets the margin of victory as enough to preserve his national reputation despite the accident on Chappaquiddick Island.  

A Gallup poll reports that EMK is the second choice for the presidential nomination among Democratic voters, despite the fact that he has declared he will not run for president.  

**1971**

**January**  
EMK loses the majority whip election to Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WV). Some observers believe this is a serious setback for any effort by EMK to gain the presidential nomination in 1972.  

**1972**

**April**  
Senator Edmund Muskie (D-ME) drops out of the race for the Democratic presidential nomination leaving McGovern as the frontrunner.  
(The New York Times reports that EMK is prepared to endorse McGovern and will not seek the nomination himself.  

**May**  
AFL-CIO head George Meany asks EMK if he would consider being drafted as the Democratic presidential nominee at the convention.  
(Clymer, pp. 186-187)

**July**  
McGovern receives the nomination for president from the Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach.  
McGovern contacts EMK to ask him to be the vice presidential nominee but, after thinking it over, EMK responds, “I just can’t do it.”  
(Clymer, p. 188; The New York Times, 07/13/1972)
EMK reportedly vetoes McGovern’s consideration of Boston Mayor Kevin White as his running mate. McGovern chooses Senator Thomas F. Eagleton (D-MO) to be the candidate for vice president. (Clymer, p. 189)

August

After Eagleton is forced to withdraw as McGovern’s running mate, EMK is again asked to run for vice president and refuses. McGovern chooses EMK’s brother-in-law Sargent Shriver, reportedly over EMK’s objections. (Clymer, p. 190; The New York Times, 07/31/1972)

November


December

EMK tells Gwirtzman that he has been discussing the possibility of running for the presidency in 1976 and that several prominent Democrats have offered to raise one million dollars for his campaign. (Clymer, p. 197)

1973

EMK emerges as the Democratic frontrunner for the 1976 presidential campaign, trailing only Vice President Gerald Ford. (The Washington Post, 12/27/1973)

1974

April

EMK travels to Europe and the Soviet Union and meets West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev. The press interprets these trips as an effort to bolster EMK’s foreign policy credentials for a possible presidential campaign and to distinguish himself from Senator Henry M. Jackson, another presidential hopeful. (Clymer, pp. 211-215; The New Republic, 06/29/1974; The Washington Post, 04/23/1974)

September

EMK announces that he will not run for president in 1976 because of responsibilities to his family. The health of his wife Joan, suffering from alcoholism, and continuing treatment for his son Teddy’s cancer reportedly influence his decision. He says that the “decision is firm, final, and unconditional.” (Clymer, pp. 225-226; The New York Times, 09/24/1974)

1976

April

Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter emerges as the frontrunner for the Democratic nomination for president after winning six of the first eight primaries. (The New York Times, 04/28/1976)

May

The New York Daily News reports that EMK has changed his position and would accept the Democratic nomination for president if he is drafted by the convention. The article also claims that EMK would accept the nomination for vice president.
as Humphrey’s running mate. EMK denies the report. (Clymer, pp. 246-247; The New York Times, 05/21/1976; The Washington Post, 05/21/1976)

EMK charges that Carter’s positions on some issues are “intentionally . . . indefinite and imprecise.” Carter responds, “I don’t have to kiss his ass” to get to the White House. (Clymer, p. 247, The Washington Post, 05/29/1976)

July

EMK attends the National Democratic Convention in New York but does not speak. Carter wins the nomination and selects Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN) as his running mate. (Clymer, p. 246; The New York Times, 05/21/1976; The Washington Post, 05/21/1976)

August

EMK meets with Carter in Washington, D.C. and offers to help Carter campaign. (Clymer, p. 249; The Washington Post, 09/01/1976)

September

A woman and two men are arrested and charged with plotting to assassinate EMK. EMK maintains his campaign schedule as planned. (The Washington Post, 09/12/1976)


October

District Court Judge George Bregianes dismisses charges of plotting to assassinate EMK against the three people arrested in September. (The Washington Post, 10/02/1976)

November

EMK meets three other candidates in a televised debate held in New Bedford. Michael Robertson, a Republican curtain manufacturer, runs on an anti-busing platform and attacks EMK for his role in expanding government. (Clymer, pp. 249-250, The Boston Globe, 11/01/1976)

EMK defeats Robertson with 69 percent of vote. (Clymer, p. 250, Congressional Elections 1946-1996, p. 88)

1977

January

Sorensen is nominated by Carter to be Director of Central Intelligence but withdraws when it appears unlikely he would win confirmation. (The Washington Post, 01/18/1977)

May

EMK challenges the Carter administration to make progress on national health insurance warning the delegates at the UAW convention that “health reform is in danger of becoming the missing promise in the administration’s plans.” In a
speech at the convention the next day, Carter commits himself to “a workable national health insurance system.” (Clymer, p. 256)

1978

April In a meeting at the White House, EMK and Carter reach an agreement on the general principles of national health insurance and aim for passage of legislation no later than 1980. (The Washington Post, 04/07/1978)

May A Gallup Poll finds that Democrats favor EMK over Carter as the presidential nominee in 1980. (Clymer, p. 268; The New York Times, 05/07/1978)

June EMK criticizes the “catastrophic” health insurance plan favored by Carter’s economic advisors as inadequate. (The New York Times, 06/21/1978)

July EMK publicly brakes with Carter over proposals for national health insurance. According to EMK, Carter refuses to commit to a single bill for national health insurance and insists on including automatic triggers that will kill the program based on factors of economics and health cost. For EMK and labor representatives these “principles” were unacceptable. Despite this disagreement, EMK claims that he will still support Carter for president in 1980. (The New York Times, 07/29/1978; The Washington Post, 07/29/1978)

December In a speech at the midterm Democratic Convention in Memphis, EMK assails Carter for proposing cuts in domestic spending while increasing spending on defense. Speaking at a workshop on health care, EMK pledges his support for “decent quality health care” for all Americans, attacking the conservatism of the Carter administration. “Sometimes a party must sail against the wind,” EMK explained to an enthusiastic audience. “We cannot afford to drift or lie at anchor. We cannot heed the call of those who say it is time to furl the sail.” The dramatic line was added that morning by Carey Parker. Following his performance, rumors begin that EMK will challenge Carter for the 1980 nomination. EMK continues to deny that he will run. (Clymer, pp. 276-277; The Washington Post, 12/10/1978)

1979

March In a White House meeting with the president, EMK gives his “tentative support” to Carter’s re-nomination in 1980. (Clymer, p. 279; The New York Times, 06/14/1979)

Spring EMK meets with family members to discuss the possibility of running for president in 1980. (Leamer, pp. 704-705)

May Carter, on the advice of his Attorney General Griffin Bell, refuses to appoint Archibald Cox to the First Circuit Court of Appeals despite EMK’s strong support for Cox. (Clymer, p. 281)
June  At a White House dinner with members of Congress, Carter comments on rumors that EMK will challenge him for the Democratic nomination stating, “if Kennedy runs, I’ll whip his ass.” EMK replies, “if I were to run, which I don’t intend to, I would hope to win.” (Clymer, pp. 280-281; The Washington Post, 06/13/1979)

July  In a televised speech to the nation, Carter discusses “a crisis of confidence” as a critical problem facing the nation. Carter’s address, quickly dubbed the “malaise” speech, leads to a short-term increase in his popularity. The firing of four cabinet members three days later, however, renews public doubts about Carter. Adam Clymer claims that the “malaise” speech is “probably the last outside influence on Kennedy’s decision” to run for president. (Clymer, pp. 283-284)

Summer  After much discussion with family and friends, EMK decides to challenge Carter for the Democratic nomination for president in 1980. In making his decision, EMK had asked John Tunney and Larry Horowitz to speak with his children, who are concerned for EMK’s safety. EMK also meets with a group of psychiatrists to discuss the possible effects a presidential campaign might have on Joan Kennedy. (Clymer, pp. 283-284)

September  On the 7th, EMK informs Carter at a White House lunch that he will run for the Democratic nomination for president. (Clymer, p. 284; The New York Times, 09/12/1979)

October  On the 20th, EMK and Carter appear together at the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. (Clymer, pp. 289-290)

On the 29th, Stephen Smith announces that Kennedy has formed an “exploratory committee” and will formally enter the presidential race on November 7th. (Clymer, p. 291; Wall Street Journal, 10/30/1979)

November  On the 4th, EMK’s interview with Roger Mudd is broadcast on CBS Reports. EMK fails to provide clear answers to questions on Chappaquiddick, his relationship with his wife, and why he wants to be president. The reaction to the interview in the press is very negative. (Clymer, pp. 285-287, 291; The Washington Post, 11/07/1979; Wall Street Journal, 11/09/1979)

On the 7th, EMK appears at Faneuil Hall with his family and political supporters to declare his candidacy for president. Attacking Carter’s malaise speech, EMK announces that “it’s the political leadership,” not the American people, “that’s in a malaise.” (The New York Times, 11/08/1979) Addressing media speculation about her role, Joan Kennedy says she looks “forward to campaigning for my husband.” (Clymer, p. 292-294; The Washington Post, 11/08/1979)

December  After U.S. hostages are taken in Iran, EMK is widely criticized for arguing that the recently deposed shah “ran one of the most violent regimes in the history of
mankind.” (*The New York Times*, 12/04/1979) Both Democrats and Republicans attack EMK as supporting Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. EMK later responds that his remarks were not meant to weaken Carter’s efforts to gain safe release of the hostages. (Clymer, p. 295)

At EMK’s behest, Sorensen, Culver and Jan Kalicki ask James Abourezk to go to Tehran to seek the release of the American hostages. (*The Washington Post*, 04/22/1986)

On the 28th, Carter withdraws from the debate with the Democratic presidential candidates, EMK and California Governor Edmund G. “Jerry” Brown, Jr. (Clymer, pp. 289-299)

1980

**January**

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

On the 21st, Carter wins the Iowa caucuses with 59 percent of precinct delegates. EMK came in second with only 31 percent of the delegates. Despite the extent of the loss, EMK pledges to continue his campaign. (Clymer, pp. 300-301; *The Washington Post*, 01/22/1980)

EMK attempts to bolster his campaign with a speech at Georgetown University on the 28th. EMK attacks Carter from the left on both domestic and foreign policy, calling for wage and price controls, gasoline rationing, and a UN commission on Iranian grievances against the Shah if the hostages are freed. He also criticizes Carter’s pledge to use military force to protect Middle Eastern oil supplies. (Clymer, p. 301; *The Washington Post*, 01/29/1980)

**February**


**March**

On the 4th, EMK wins the Massachusetts primary, but loses to Carter in Vermont. (*The New York Times*, 03/05/1980)

Carter wins the Illinois primary on the 18th. Commentators speculate that Chicago Mayor Jan Byrne’s endorsement may have been a liability for EMK. (Clymer, pp. 303-304; *The New York Times*, 03/19/1980)


**April**

On the 22nd, EMK edges out the Pennsylvania primary. (Clymer, p. 309)

**May**

EMK wins the District of Columbia primary, but loses in eleven states. EMK offers to release his delegates if Carter will debate him. (Clymer, p. 310)

**June**

On the 3rd, the final day of primaries, EMK wins in New Jersey, California, South Dakota, New Mexico, and Rhode Island. However, Carter’s victories in Ohio, West Virginia, and Montana deliver enough delegates to assure him the nomination. (Clymer, p. 312; *The New York Times*, 06/05/1980)

On the 5th, EMK and Carter meet at the White House but fail to come to any agreement. EMK refuses to release his delegates unless Carter agrees to a debate. After the meeting, EMK tells the press that he is still “a candidate for the nomination.” (*The Washington Post*, 06/06/1980)

**August**

EMK meets with Representative John B. Anderson (R-IL) who is running for president as an independent to discuss if he would drop out if EMK won the nomination. (*The Washington Post*, 08/08/1980)

At the Democratic National Convention, EMK loses a procedural vote that would have permitted delegates to switch their vote on the 11th. This effectively ends EMK’s campaign and he calls Carter to congratulate him. EMK gives a rousing speech written by Sorensen, Robert Shrum and Carey Parker on the 12th pushing for specific planks in the party platform and defending the liberalism of the Democratic Party. EMK pushes for Carter to support a plank calling for a $12 billion jobs program. While Carter refuses to support this plank, he announces an economic recovery program that would create new jobs. Subsequently, EMK announces that he will work for the re-election of the president and formally releases his delegates. Carter easily wins the nomination on the first ballot. (Clymer, pp. 316-318; *Newsweek*, 08/25/1980; *New York Times*, 08/16/1980)

In his first speech after the convention on the 21st, EMK urges the American Federation of Teachers to support Carter. After some wrangling, the union agrees to EMK’s request. (*The New York Times*, 08/22/1980)

On the 25th, EMK meets with Carter at the White House and announces his support for the president’s new economic program. EMK also agrees to campaign for Carter. (*The Washington Post*, 08/26/1980)

**September**

Aides to EMK and Carter negotiate for EMK to make approximately six campaign appearances on behalf of the president. EMK’s campaigning is expected to help Carter in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, which are all industrial states where EMK has strong support. EMK also agrees to appeal to Mexican-Americans to support Carter in Texas and to join Carter at a fundraiser.
in Los Angeles. In exchange for these appearances, Carter will urge Democrats to help EMK pay off his campaign debt. (*The New York Times*, 09/12/1980)

**October**

**November**
On the 4th, Ronald Reagan defeats Carter for the presidency. Carter wins only 42 percent of the popular vote and 49 electoral votes. (Clymer, p. 319)

**1981**
Horowitz replaces Richard Burke as EMK’s chief of staff after Burke suffers a nervous breakdown. EMK instructs Horowitz, until he hears otherwise, to proceed as if EMK is going to run for president in 1984. (Clymer, p. 328, 338)

**1982**

**February**
EMK attends a Democratic National Committee fundraiser at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York with other contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984. These include Mondale, Governor John Y. Brown, Jr. and Senators Gary Hart and John Glenn. (Clymer, p. 338; *The New York Times*, 02/02/1982)

**June**
EMK is the closing speaker in the national midterm Democratic conference in Philadelphia. Interrupted by cheers and applause nearly 60 times in 35 minutes, he touches on the issues that the conference policy statements have established for the campaign, including Social Security, women’s rights, the environment, and a nuclear weapons freeze. He also emphasizes the unity of the Democratic Party and calls representatives to stand by the traditional principles of the party. (*The Washington Post*, 06/28/1982)

**September**
A series of campaign ads produced by EMK’s new media advisor, Michael Kaye, goes on the air in Massachusetts. The ads feature longtime friends of EMK talking about how the Senator has dealt with the tragedies in his life. “I hope this gives an extra dimension of where I am,” EMK tells reporters. (*The New York Times*, 09/26/1982)

**October**
The *Wall Street Journal* reports that EMK has hired new staff, perhaps in preparation for another presidential run in 1984. The new hires include Bill Carrick, a Democratic official from South Carolina, Ranny Cooper, director of the Women’s Campaign fund, and Dick Sklar, a San Francisco political activist. (Clymer, p. 338; *The Wall Street Journal*, 10/05/1982)

EMK debates his Republican challenger Raymond Shamie, a Walpole businessman. EMK’s attacks focus on Reagan’s economic policies leading Shamie to respond that “You’re not running against Ronald Reagan, not yet.” Shamie accuses EMK of being a “part-time senator,” and calls for new private sector jobs. (*The New York Times*, 10/25/1982)
In his last radio address before the election, Reagan states that his economic policies are working and simply need time. EMK responds for the Democrats from the home of a recently unemployed General Motors worker in Massachusetts. He argues that Reagan’s economic policies are ineffective, and accuses the Administration of having a secret plan to cut Social Security after the election. (*The Washington Post*, 06/28/1982)

**November**

Polls in New Hampshire show that EMK’s new ads were effective in lowering people’s concerns about his character. EMK’s advisors see this as a major breakthrough in terms of the 1984 presidential election. (*The Washington Post*, 10/08/1982)

EMK defeats Republican Raymond Shamie in the general election with 61 percent of the vote. The margin of victory maintains EMK’s status as a viable presidential candidate. EMK argues that his election represents a repudiation of Reagan’s policies. (Congressional Elections 1946-96, p. 127; *The Boston Globe*, 02/03/1982)

EMK meets with family members in Hyannis Port over Thanksgiving weekend to make a final decision about entering the 1984 presidential race. Present at the meeting are EMK’s children, Kara, EMK, Jr., and Patrick, his sisters, Jean Kennedy Smith and Patricia Kennedy Lawford, his nephews, Joseph P. Kennedy II and Stephen Smith, Jr., and Stephen Smith. Horowitz, EMK’s administrative assistant, organizes the session. EMK’s children urge him not to run. Following their wishes, EMK informs his staff. Robert Shrum prepares a withdrawal statement. (Clymer, p. 3-8)

**December**

EMK formally announces that he will not run for president in the 1984 election. While polling data indicates that he could win, EMK says, he does not want to put his children through the stress of a campaign, particularly given his pending divorce. (*The Washington Post*, 12/02/1982)

**1984**

**March**

Despite efforts by Mondale’s presidential campaign, EMK declines to endorse Mondale or any other candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. (*New York Times*, 03/07/1984)

**June**

EMK helps negotiate a reconciliation between Democratic presidential candidates Mondale and Hart. With Mondale gaining enough delegates to win the nomination, EMK convinces Hart to drop his challenge. In return, Mondale agrees to accept some reforms to the Democratic convention rules that prevent lesser-known candidates from gaining delegates. EMK formally endorses Mondale in a speech in St. Paul, Minnesota on the 25th. (Clymer, p. 360; *The New York Times*, 06/26/1984)
September

In a speech at a New York fundraiser, EMK defends vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro and Governor Mario Cuomo from attacks by Archbishop John O’Conner that as faithful Catholics and public officials they have failed to follow teachings of the church on issues such as abortion. EMK asserts a distinction between public policy and private morality. (Clymer, p. 361; *The New York Times*, 11/02/1984)

1985

December

In a televised speech on the 19th, EMK announces that he will not run for president but he will run for reelection to the Senate in 1988. “This decision means that I may never be President. But the pursuit of the Presidency is not my life. Public service is.” (Clymer, p. 386) Kennedy claims he wants to end the speculation that has clouded all of his actions including Senate votes and foreign trips. EMK had explained his decision to a small group of past and present aides at his home in Hyannis Port on the 18th. (*The Washington Post*, 12/21/1985)

1986

November

EMK announces that he will serve as the chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources rather than the Judiciary Committee. He also reiterates that he will not be a candidate for president in 1988. (*The New York Times*, 11/09/1986)

December

EMK says he will support Massachusetts Governor Michael S. Dukakis if Dukakis chooses to run for the presidency in 1988. (Clymer, p. 407)

1988

June

EMK endorses Dukakis as the Democratic presidential nominee and campaigns for him in the primaries. Their relationship goes back to 1980, when Dukakis supported EMK’s presidential run, and 1982, when EMK endorsed Dukakis in the fierce primary battle against conservative Democrat Edward J. King. (*The New York Times*, 06/16/1988)

July

At the Massachusetts Democratic Convention, EMK wins the nomination unopposed. (*Congressional Elections 1946-96*, p. 127)

October

EMK’s children, Kara and Ted, Jr., co-manage EMK’s senate campaign. They attempt to attract younger voters and emphasize his liberal accomplishments. EMK’s Republican challenger Joseph Malone, a Waltham businessman and former state Republican party official, emphasizes his Italian roots and working-class background. Malone charges that EMK has an outdated liberal agenda in an effort to gain the support of Reagan Democrats. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/23/1988; *Christian Science Monitor*, 10/14/1988, 10/17/1988)

**November**

EMK comes out with a new ad using New York Governor Mario Cuomo’s endorsement of him as a candidate. Malone takes it as a sign that EMK is “feeling the heat” about his accusations that EMK is disconnected from working people. EMK aides say the ads are for the purpose of countering Malone’s misquotation of Cuomo that EMK is “a different type of liberal” because of his wealthy background. (*The Boston Globe*, 10/06/1988)


**1991**

**Spring**

EMK’s nephew William Kennedy Smith is charged with sexual battery in Palm Beach. EMK had been with Smith earlier on the night in question and is later called to testify. (Clymer, pp. 488-491)

**1993**

**Summer**

EMK names his nephew Michael Kennedy, chairman of Citizens Energy Co. in Boston, as the manager of his 1994 senate campaign. EMK decides that his campaign will highlight his fight for the middle class and working families in his home state, and that his senate work will concentrate on Massachusetts. He plans to be in Massachusetts for more than 100 days in 1992, 1993, and 1994. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

**1994**

**July**

A $546,000 ad campaign emphasizing EMK’s accomplishments in the Senate goes on the air. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)

**August**

Republican challenger W. Mitt Romney launches a series of ads focusing on welfare and healthcare. Two weeks later, EMK’s pollster finds that Romney has gained over ten points. Near the end of the month, EMK airs an ad on his role in passing the crime bill. Romney counters with an ad mocking the idea of EMK as tough on crime. (*The Boston Globe*, 11/10/1994)
**September**  
EMK’s ex-wife Joan Kennedy announces that she will re-open her divorce settlement. *(*The Boston Globe, 11/10/1994)*

EMK issues a statement saying that he supports the ordination of women as Catholic priests. This statement comes three months after Pope John Paul II’s declaration that only men can become priests. *(*The New York Times, 09/08/1994)*

Despite his June promise not to raise the issue of religion, EMK brings up the fact that Romney is a Mormon. This is followed by a drop in the polls for EMK. *(*The Nation, 10/14/1994)*

At the Massachusetts Democratic Convention, EMK gains the Democratic nomination for senate unopposed. *(*Congressional Elections 1946-96, p. 127)*

EMK and Romney are even in the polls. *(*The Boston Globe, 09/21/94)*

EMK’s new wife, Victoria Reggie Kennedy, campaigns with EMK and is seen as a great political asset by EMK and others. “I reject strongly the label of my husband as a womanizer,” Vicki Kennedy explains, “I know the tremendous respect he has for me, and for his daughters, and for his mother. I think that says it all.” *(*The New York Times, 09/24/1994)*

The EMK campaign interviews Ampad workers on strike from an Indiana paper products mill and produces ads depicting Romney as a heartless businessman. Romney is the chairman of the company that owns Ampad. The commercials are effective in driving up Romney’s negative ratings. *(*The Boston Globe, 11/10/94)*

**October**  
The United Paperworkers union sends a “truth squad” of Ampad strikers to Massachusetts to decry Romney. Publicity of their Massachusetts tour further hurts Romney. *(*The Nation, 10/14/1994)*

Joan Kennedy announces that she will wait to re-open her divorce settlement until after the election. *(*The New York Times, 10/06/1994)*

An invitation-only rally at Faneuil Hall marks an official new start for the campaign, in which former Democratic National Committee chairman Paul Kirk and EMK’s former chiefs of staff David Burke and Ranny Cooper take the campaign over from EMK’s nephew, Michael Kennedy. *(*The Nation, 10/14/1994)*

Romney runs a series of ads charging that EMK made exorbitant monetary gains through a real estate transaction “at taxpayers’ expense.” EMK denies the charge. *(*The New York Times, 10/26/1994)*

EMK and Romney debate. Romney accuses EMK of being soft on crime, and pits his “skill and experience in the private sector” against EMK’s seniority in the Senate to argue that he knows how to create jobs. EMK gets Romney to concede
that he does not know how much his plans for health care would cost, and accuses Romney of not giving medical care to part-time workers he employs. Romney counters with similar accusations about employees at the Kennedy family’s Merchandise Mart in Chicago. Commentators call the debate a “draw,” which would favor the incumbent. (The New York Times, 10/26/1994)

EMK and Romney meet for a second debate. Romney promises to oppose increasing taxes and spending, though he separates himself from other Republicans by saying he does not support cutting money for student loans or reducing the federal tax on capital gains. EMK emphasizes his accomplishments and his ability to build coalitions, which he plans to do next for health care legislation. He also challenges Romney on where he stands on the issue of banning cheap handguns. A telephone survey completed before the debate finds EMK up by 52 percent to 38 percent. The debate is not expected to significantly alter EMK’s lead. (The New York Times, 10/28/1994)

November EMK beats Romney with 58 percent of the vote. (Congressional Elections 1946-96, p. 88)

2000

March Republican businessman Jack E. Robinson III launches his campaign against EMK by issuing an 11-page document reporting actions and events in his past. Several of these put his character in question including an accusation of plagiarizing and a restraining order granted to an ex-girlfriend. Massachusetts Governor Paul Cellucci, a Republican, withdraws his endorsement of Robinson, as does the Republican State Committee. (Associated Press, 03/21/2000)

April Robinson gathers signatures for his nomination while the state GOP searches in vain for another candidate. Carla Howell is supported by the Libertarian Party, and Philip F. Lawler is running for the Constitution Party. (Associated Press, 04/07/2000)

July After two weeks of hearings, the state Ballot Law Commission rules that Robinson does not have enough signatures for his nomination as Republican Senatorial candidate. The Commission eliminates 153 signatures, ninety of which were forged, the panel says; this leaves Robinson fourteen short of the 10,000 signatures he needs in order to be on the primary ballot. (The Boston Globe, 07/01/2000)

The Supreme Judicial Court rules that Robinson has enough signatures to appear on the Republican primary ballot, overturning the Ballot Law Commission’s ruling. The Republican Party still refuses to support Robinson. (Associated Press, 07/18/2000)
**August**

Robinson plans to focus his criticism of EMK on the issues of campaign finance reform, education, health care, and taxes. He also challenges EMK for his work on health care. (*The Boston Globe*, 08/04/2000)

At the Democratic National Convention, EMK honors his brother JFK and offers a strong endorsement of presidential and vice presidential nominees, Al Gore and Joe Lieberman. He is introduced by his niece Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg in a speech marking the 40th anniversary of her father’s presidential nomination. (*The New York Times*, 08/16/2000)

**September**

EMK wins the Massachusetts Democratic nomination with 99 percent of the vote. (http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2000/2000senate.htm)

Although Robinson said before that he would raise at least seven million dollars, his campaign reports that he has only raised 20,000 dollars, which he will supplement with his own private funds. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/23/2000)

**October**

After delaying scheduling a debate for months, EMK announces that he will not debate his challengers. Republican candidate Robinson says he will give $2500 to a charity of EMK’s choice if EMK will agree to debate. EMK cites the unusually late Senate session and says through a spokesman that he wants to spend his time campaigning and “talking directly to the people of Massachusetts.” (*The Boston Globe*, 10/25/2000)

**November**


**2003**

**January**


**May**

EMK hosts a dinner at his Washington home for members of the labor community to meet Kerry. He has also offered advice and helped in fundraising for the candidate. (*The Boston Globe*, 05/10/2003)

**November**

Kerry fires his campaign manager and replaces him with Mary Beth Cahill, chief of staff to EMK. Cahill joins Robert Shrum as former EMK staff on the Kerry campaign. (*The New York Times*, 11/11/2003)
December

Campaigning for Kerry in New Hampshire, EMK responds to former Governor Howard Dean’s attacks on Kerry’s vote for the resolution authorizing war with Iraq and his support of “No Child Left Behind.” (The Boston Globe, 12/14/2003)

2004

January


April

In a speech at the Brookings Institution, EMK criticizes Bush on foreign policy and domestic issues, accusing the president of creating “the largest credibility gap since Richard Nixon.” (The Washington Post, 04/06/2004)

Republicans hope to use EMK’s close ties with the Kerry campaign to portray Kerry as a liberal. (The New York Times, 04/11/2004)

July

On the 7th, Kerry names John Edwards as his running mate. While the two senators opposed each other in the primaries both have close ties to EMK and both have been advised by former EMK aide Robert Shrum. (The New York Times, 07/07/2004)

The Democratic National Convention opens in Boston, an event EMK worked hard to bring about. On the 26th, the second night of the convention, Kennedy gives a speech praising John Kerry and attacking Bush for making the world more dangerous for Americans. Kerry’s speech accepting the nomination receives significant input from Sorensen and Richard Goodwin, as well as Robert Shrum. (The Boston Globe, 07/28/2004; The New York Times, 07/29/2004)