EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer’s Briefing Materials
Greg Craig Interview, 07/13/2010

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Miller Center Documents

• Greg Craig Timeline.
• Greg Craig Fact Sheet.

Secondary Source Materials


Oral History Interviews

• Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/19/2008, 02/18/2005, 08/14/2006.
• Ranny Cooper interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/14/2007.
• John Douglas interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/30/2005.
• Michael Frazier interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/29/2007.
• Michael Myers interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 08/28/2006.
• Mary Beth Cahill interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/24/2009.

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.
• Stephanie Cutter interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/10/2009.
• Paul Donovan interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/17/2009.
• Lee Fentress interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/19/2009.
• Larry Horowitz interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/16/2008.
• Nick Littlefield interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/14/2009.
• Paul Donovan interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/15/2008.
• Melody Miller interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/07/2008.
• Carey Parker interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 11/17/2008.
• Tom Rollins interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/14/2009.
• Stuart Shapiro interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/03/2009.
• Robert Shrum interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/06/2009.
• Milton Gwirtzman consultation, interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia 08/28/2006.

Other
• John McNamara, “Notes on South Africa.”
1966  **Greg Craig** is president of the student council at Harvard University and is very involved in the anti-war movement. His activities lead to front page coverage on *The New York Times* in a letter to President Lyndon Johnson protesting the war. (Adam Clymer interview with Greg Craig, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 02/13/1995, p. 2)

1972  **Craig** graduates from Yale Law School. (Clymer interview, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 02/13/1995, p. 2)

**Craig** meets Bob Shrum while working on the Edmund Muskie (D-ME) and George McGovern (D-MN) campaigns. They remain in touch for the next ten years. (Clymer interview, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 02/13/1995)

1983  Shrum, who is Senator Edward M. Kennedy’s (EMK) press secretary and speechwriter, asks **Craig** if he is interested in leaving his law firm, Williams and Connolly, to work for EMK on foreign policy matters. Before joining his staff, **Craig** travels to Nicaragua and El Salvador with journalists covering the Contras. (Clymer interview, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 02/13/1995, p. 2)

January  EMK begins serving on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

1984  **January**  EMK hires **Craig** as a national security aide to replace Jan Kalicki.

On the 11th, a Ronald Reagan-appointed commission, headed by Kissinger, reports in favor of the administration’s policy of covert action in support of the Contras. Over Kissinger’s objections, a majority of the commission says aid to El Salvador should be conditioned on improvements in human rights, especially a curb on the right-wing death squads that have killed thousands of civilians. (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow, 1999, p. 355)

**Craig** helps write EMK’s op-ed piece in *The Washington Post* criticizing the Reagan Administration’s policies in the region, as well as the Kissinger report. (Clymer, pp. 355-356)

**March**  EMK and congressional Democrats object to Reagan’s request for military aid to El Salvador until after the El Salvadorian presidential elections. The leftists boycott the election as no clear-cut winner emerges, and a runoff election is to be held on May 6th between “moderate” Jose Napoleon Duarte and rightist Roberto
d’Aubuisson. Senate Democrats manage to debate U.S. support for the Salvadoran government, but 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. (*1984 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., p. 79)

Reagan tells *The New York Times* that aid to the Contras is meant to block the export of arms to guerillas in El Salvador as well as to force the Sandinistas to accept the Contra “freedom fighters” as part of their government and hold elections. EMK insists the only reason is to oust the Ortega government of Nicaragua. (Clymer, p. 356)

**April**

EMK offers an amendment to cut El Salvador funding from $61.75 million to $21 million. The amendment fails. Two other EMK amendments are adopted. The first provides $7 million for displaced persons in El Salvador, and the second requires progress on land reform as a condition for military aid. (*1984 CQ Almanac*, p. 434)

The Senate tables two EMK amendments. The first is to cut funds by 15 percent for El Salvador until the Salvadoran government obtains a verdict in the 1981 assassinations of two U.S. labor advisers in the country. The second is a prohibition on military aid after May 31, 1984 unless the Salvadoran government agrees to participate in unconditional negotiations with all parties in the civil war. (*1984 CQ Almanac*, p. 79)

The Senate adopts an amendment, opposed by the Reagan Administration, to cut off funds to El Salvador in the event of a military coup against Duarte. Calling the administration’s policy in Nicaragua “illegal” and “indefensible,” EMK sponsors an amendment to cut all aid to Nicaragua in the FY 1985 appropriations bill, but it fails to pass. (*1984 CQ Almanac*, pp. 79, 88)

EMK learns through Senator Joseph Biden (D-DE) and his membership on the Intelligence Committee that the Sandinista charges are true that the CIA, in breach of international law, has mined its harbors. EMK introduces a non-binding resolution to a tax bill stating, “It is the sense of Congress no funds heretofore or hereafter appropriated shall be obligated or expended for the purpose of planning, executing or supporting the mining of the ports or territorial waters of Nicaragua.” It passes by 84-12. EMK says this means the Senate has taken a first step towards halting Reagan’s “secret war in Nicaragua.” The House of Representatives passes the resolution two days later with a 281-111 vote. (Clymer, pp. 356-358; *1984 CQ Almanac*, p. 89)

**May**

EMK chairs a congressional forum where Miskito Indians from Nicaragua testify that the Contras are murdering children and kidnapping young men. (*The Washington Post*, 05/26/1984)
EMK’s amendment prohibiting U.S. assistance to the Nicaraguan Contras and the Salvadoran government forces is defeated. EMK also proposes a non-binding amendment with Senator Charles Mathias (R-MD) calling on the president to seek ratification of two nuclear test ban treaties and to resume negotiations of a comprehensive treaty banning all nuclear tests, which is approved. EMK and Mathias have worked with test ban lobby groups in the spring to promote the issue. (1984 CQ Almanac, p. 51; The New York Times, 06/19/1984)

The Senate drops Reagan’s request for an additional $21 million to the Contras from a domestic spending bill. EMK says this may turn out to be an historic day, “the beginning of the end of Senate support for the secret war in Nicaragua.” (The New York Times, 06/26/1984)

On the 5th, the Senate tables a U.S.-Soviet freeze on the testing, production, and development of nuclear weapons amendment offered by EMK and Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR). EMK’s fight for the nuclear freeze amendment forces him to cancel a planned forum on South Africa for the same day. He does meet with Reverend Desmond Tutu later in the day, however, and asks what he can do to help in the fight against apartheid. Tutu responds EMK must visit South Africa to garner international attention. (Clymer, p. 363; 1984 CQ Almanac, p. 167)

On the 11th, Congress approves a compromise barring Reagan from providing further aid to the Contras until after February 28, 1985 – and then only if Congress agrees. (1984 CQ Almanac, pp. 22, 86-103)

On the 14th, the Associated Press reports the use of a guerilla manual prepared in part by the CIA giving advice on how to “neutralize” Sandinista officials. Many in Congress say it violates Reagan’s 1981 executive order barring any U.S. role in assassinations. (Clymer, p. 358; 1984 CQ Almanac, p. 91)

1985

Nancy Soderberg joins Craig’s foreign policy shop in EMK’s Senate office as a foreign policy advisor. Issues Soderberg works on include Ireland and Latin America. (Federal Staff Directory 1996, p. 1325)

January

Reagan suspends negotiations with Nicaragua, claiming Nicaragua is refusing serious discussions. (1985 CQ Almanac, p. 73)

EMK travels to South Africa with his children, EMK, Jr., Kara Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith (JKS), Stephen Smith, Shrum, and Craig. Ending apartheid had been an important cause to RFK, who had visited South Africa in 1966. After arriving in Johannesburg, EMK tours Soweto and meets with the South African foreign minister. EMK renews his request to see Nelson Mandela, imprisoned since 1962, and meets with his wife, Winnie Mandela. 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. During the trip, Kathleen Townsend presents Tutu with the 1985 Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award. EMK also travels to Zambia to meet with Oliver Tambo, the exiled acting head of the African National Congress. (Clymer, pp. 363-371)

**March**

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

EMK attends the U.S.-Soviet arms control talks in Geneva as a member of the Senate Arms Control Observers Group. The group is co-chaired by Senators Richard G. Lugar (R-IN), Ted Stevens (R-AS), Sam Nunn (D-GA) and Claiborne Pell (D-RI). The arms talks are intended to open a dialogue between the U.S. and Soviet Union on space, strategic and intermediate nuclear arms. Around this time, EMK also attends the UN Conference on Famine in Geneva with Jerry Tinker and travels to Germany to discuss arms control issues. 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 this year. (*The Washington Post*, 03/19/1985)

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

**April**

On the 3rd, the Senate approves 89-4 a resolution (SJ Res 96) introduced by EMK that condemns apartheid in South Africa. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, pp. 85, 9-S)

On the 16th, EMK and Weicker testify before the Senate Banking Committee on South African sanctions. EMK also testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which shares jurisdiction over the sanctions legislation with the banking committee. (Clymer, p. 378)

**May**

On the 2nd, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approves EMK’s Senate resolution against apartheid, but the resolution never makes it to the House floor. On the same day, the committee approves a bill (HR 1460) that would impose immediate sanctions on South Africa, which can be waived for an initial period of one year and successive periods of six months if the Pretoria government demonstrates progress in deconstructing apartheid. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, p. 85)

**June**

On the 4th, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approves 16-1 a compromise bill that imposes a combination of immediate and delayed sanctions on South Africa. The bill incorporates provisions from a bill offered by Lugar, Mathias, and Robert Dole (R-KS), and a stronger alternative formulated by Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT). The committee defeated tough provisions to ban new investment by U.S. firms, technology sales to the Pretoria government, and the importation of Krugerrands. These unsuccessful provisions were taken from a bill sponsored by Weicker and EMK that was nearly identical to the House bill. On the 5th, the
House votes overwhelmingly to impose sanctions on South Africa. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, pp. 86-88)

**July**  
On the 8th, the South Africa sanctions bill comes to the Senate floor. Reportedly, conservatives try to delay action on the measure while many Democrats try to add harsher sanctions to it. 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 demand in exchange for a GOP pledge to oppose amendments that would further dilute the bill. On the 11th, the Senate votes to approve sanctions, 80-12. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, p. 30-S)

**September**  
Reagan signs an executive order for sanctions on South Africa just hours before the scheduled Senate vote, but he declares he will be forced to veto the Congressional legislation if passed. Dole persuades most Republicans to accept the executive order and not vote for cloture, and asks for unanimous consent to put aside the cloture vote. EMK objects on the grounds that the executive order is too weak. (*1985 CQ Almanac*, p. 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 alive, with EMK proposing repeated cloture motions. On the 11th, his motion falls three votes short (57-41), and after further parliamentary maneuvering, Dole and Lugar remove the bill from the Senate chamber. EMK and Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV) are reportedly furious. When the bill resurfaces two weeks later, the Democratic effort has lost steam. (Clymer, pp. 380-381; *1985 CQ Almanac*, pp. 88-90)

**1986**  
**January**  
EMK travels to Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina with JKS, Pat Lawford, Craig, Nancy Soderberg, and Mark Schneider. In Chile, EMK is confronted by hostile protesters organized by the country’s military rulers. EMK alters his itinerary after his car is pelted by eggs at his first scheduled stop at a local hospital. He meets with opposition leaders and family members of “disappeared” persons. EMK praises them for their courage to meet with him, saying: “You have spoken out on behalf of those condemned to silence.” (Clymer, pp. 387-388)

**February**  
On the 4th, EMK, Horowitz, and Thomas K. Longstreth, EMK’s new arms control expert, arrive in Moscow. Meeting with Gorbachev on the 6th, EMK and Horowitz discuss three broad issue areas: arms control, bilateral relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and human rights. Jack Matlock, Soviet specialist on the National Security Council, later states that because of EMK’s political differences with Reagan, the fact that his views on arms control and human rights
were the same as Reagan’s made an impact in Moscow. (Clymer, pp. 393-394; Clymer interview with Horowitz, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 05/29/1992, pp. 12-17)

**March**

EMK offers two amendments, subsequently defeated, to the FY1987 omnibus spending bill resuming military aid to the Contras. The first calls for prohibiting all U.S. aid to the Contras by reinstating the Boland Amendment, the second amendment bars the introduction of U.S. combat troops to Nicaragua unless approved by Congress in advance. The bill passes. *(1986 CQ Almanac, p. 403)*

**April**

Reagan orders airstrikes against military targets and terrorist facilities in Libya. EMK says, “I think all Americans would stand with the commander-in-chief at this moment.” *(The Washington Post, 04/15/1986)*

**May**

EMK, Weicker, and Representative William H. Gray III (D-PA) introduce new legislation on South Africa sanctions. The legislation seeks to ban all new investment and bank loans to South Africa, ban raw material imports from South Africa such as coal and uranium, and keep South African companies off U.S. stock exchanges. The White House continues to oppose further sanctions. *(The Washington Post, 05/22/1986)*

**June**

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

**Craig** flies to Havana, Cuba to oversee the release of the last surviving prisoner from the failed invasion of the Bay of Pigs in 1961. Castro has promised the release of Colonel Ricardo Miguel B. Montero-Duque as a personal favor to EMK, as opposed to an official gesture to the U.S. While there, **Craig** learns there is another surviving prisoner. **Craig** and EMK press the Cuban foreign ministry to release the second prisoner, which is done four months later. *(Clymer, pp. 402-403)*

**July**

In an op-ed article for *The New York Times*, EMK attacks Reagan’s South Africa policy for being too timid and argues in favor of economic sanctions. EMK testifies in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and repeats his arguments. *(Clymer, pp. 397-398; The New York Times, 07/21/1986)*

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

**August**

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

**September**
The House passes the South Africa sanctions bill on the 12th, and on the 26th, Reagan vetoes it. (Clymer, p. 401; 1986 CQ Almanac, p. 370)

**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. Helms accuses EMK and Lugar of turning South Africa over to “militant blacks” and ultimately the Soviet Union. (Clymer, p. 402; 1986 CQ Almanac, p. 373)

**November**
The Democrats regain control of the Senate in the mid-term elections.

The Iran-Contra scandal breaks in the media.

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

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

**January**
EMK becomes chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, as well as the Judiciary’s Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee.

**May**
EMK travels to Poland with his three children, JKS, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Patricia Kennedy Lawford, Ethel Kennedy, and five of RFK and Ethel’s children to present the Robert F. Kennedy Award to three Solidarity activists. EMK is also accompanied by Craig, Lee Fentress, Soderberg, Jim Rooney, Chris Doherty, Caroline Croft, and John Robinson of the Boston Globe. EMK meets with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and the Polish foreign and defense ministers, but not General Jaruzelski. Jaruzelskionly only would have met with EMK had EMK agreed to play down the award ceremony. EMK then travels to Rome to discuss his trip to Poland with Pope John Paul II. (Clymer, pp. 413-414)
July

The Senate Judiciary Committee approves legislation to temporarily suspend the deportation of illegal immigrants from El Salvador and Nicaragua, similar to legislation already passed in the House. The initial Senate bill only includes Salvadorans, but EMK proposes an amendment to include Nicaraguans, which is adopted. However, Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) opposes the bill and holds it up until 1988. (1987 CQ Almanac, p. 286)

The U.S. begins providing naval and air protection to Kuwaiti oil tankers sailing under the U.S. flag in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq war. EMK argues against the escort, saying, “A direct United States-Iranian confrontation would set back our interests in the gulf in several ways. First, it would raise obstacles to our diplomatic efforts in the UN and elsewhere to end the Iran-Iraq war. It is these efforts, not U.S. convoys of Kuwaiti tankers, that is most likely to end the war….Second, an escalating confrontation with Iran would ensure long-term hostility between the United States and the most powerful state in the gulf. It could also reignite the waning enthusiasm of the Iranian people for their 7-year war with Iraq.” (Congressional Record, 07/01/1987; The New York Times, 07/22/1987)

September

The Senate debates amendments to a supplemental appropriations bill regarding nuclear test bans and SALT II observance provisions. EMK, with Hatfield, sponsors an amendment barring any nuclear test explosions for FY1988 with force greater than 1,000 tons of TNT. The amendment, as do the general provisions for a ban on nuclear tests, fails. (1987 CQ Almanac, p. 214)

EMK abandons his effort to block the Navy’s plans to build the two new aircraft carriers after an intense effort by Senator John Warner (R-VA) and Navy brass. (The Washington Post, 09/26/1987)

Fall

EMK leads the fight in the Senate to defeat the Bork nomination.

December

Gorbachev and Reagan sign the INF Treaty at the Washington summit. EMK and Horowitz attend the dinners with Gorbachev during the visit. (Clymer interview with Horowitz, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 05/29/1992, p. 13)

EMK travels with Craig, Bill Lynn, Jim Rooney, and military escorts to Kuwait, Oman, Israel, Bahrain and Geneva.

1988

February

Former General Manuel Noriega aide Jose I. Blandon testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Narcotics, stating that the CIA and White House routinely gave Noriega information about the personal lives and political activities of Congress members. Blandon testifies that Noriega showed him CIA reports that included both Helms and EMK. EMK states, “We had all kinds of
information on him.” (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 551)

March A bipartisan resolution sponsored by EMK urges Reagan to “impose additional diplomatic, political, and economic” sanctions against Panama, calls for Noriega’s extradition on drug trafficking charges, and urges Noriega to “step aside now, while you still have the chance.” The measure passes 92-0. (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 554)

May EMK and Hatfield introduce an amendment to the FY1989 defense authorization bill to ban for two years all but the smallest nuclear test explosions, but it is defeated for a second year in a row. (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 422)

In May, EMK reintroduces an amendment prohibiting the deployment of U.S. troops in Honduras and Nicaragua, which is tabled and killed. (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 424)

Fall Craig approaches Nick Littlefield about taking over his job as national security aide. Littlefield is reluctant to take the job because EMK’s influence in foreign policy is “limited.” (Clymer interview with Littlefield, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 01/30/1999, pp. 14-15, 12/10/1998, pp. 1-2; Clymer, p. 456)

December On the 31st, Craig leaves EMK’s staff and returns to private practice at Williams & Connolly. After Craig leaves, foreign policy on EMK’s staff is handled by Soderberg, Trina Vargo, who had recently moved over from domestic policy, and Gare Smith, who begins working as a foreign policy advisor to EMK in 1989.

1991

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

October 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.

December EMK is called to testify at Smith’s Palm Beach trial. Smith is found not guilty. (Clymer, pp. 504-505)

1996

November Craig helps establish the U.S. Committee to Expand NATO committee that encourages NATO to extend into Central Europe. (The New York Times, 06/29/1997)

1997 Craig becomes Director of the Office of Policy and Planning at the State Department. (Martindale-Hubbell)
1998

September

On the 11th, Independent Counsel Kenneth W. Starr recommends to the House that it impeach President William J. Clinton for perjury and obstruction of justice, specifically for lying under oath about his affair with Monica S. Lewinsky and then trying to cover it up. The House votes to release the Starr report to the public on that day. (Clymer, p. 600; Peter Baker, The Breech: Inside the Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton, New York: Scribner, 2000, p. 427)

On the 12th, Craig is summoned to the White House. EMK recommended that Clinton add Craig to his defense team, and officially joins Clinton’s defense team on the 15th. (Clymer, p. 600; Baker, p. 88; The Daily News, 09/16/1998)

December

On the 9th, at the Judiciary Committee hearings, Craig says “I am willing to concede that in the Jones deposition, the President’s testimony was evasive, incomplete, misleading, even maddening but it is not perjury.” He goes to say that the conflict in testimony between Lewinsky and Clinton over what he did to her physically is a “he said she said” situation. Clinton says he would accept “rebuke and censure” for his acts. (USA Today, 12/09/1998)

On the 19th the House votes to impeach Clinton for high crimes and misdemeanors on two out of four accounts. Article I alleges that Clinton gave “perjurious, false and misleading testimony” about his sexual relationship with Lewinsky in the trial against him for sexual harassment charges brought Jones. Article III (which becomes Article II in the Senate, since Articles II and IV were rejected by the House) alleges that the president headed a “scheme designed to delay, impede, cover up and conceal” investigations into his sexual relationships with Lewinsky and Jones. (Clymer, p. 601; 1999 CQ Almanac, p. 13-3)

1999

January

On the 8th, the Senate holds a closed-door caucus in the Old Senate Chamber to debate on how to proceed with the impeachment trial. While the White House and Clinton’s attorneys hope for a quick and decisive vote along partisan lines, many senators, including EMK, want to stay above the kind of ‘partisan meltdown’ that the House succumbed to when voting for impeachment. EMK surprisingly comes to the aid of Senator William Philip ‘Phil’ Gramm (R-TX), an ideological opposite of his, when Gramm calls for a preliminary agreement for a trial to at least hear the House Managers regarding the impeachment charges, rather than simply having a partisan vote right away. EMK and Gramm are widely credited for the agreement that keeps the Senate proceedings more civilized and less partisan than those in the House. After some tense debates in private, an agreement is reached and a 4 PM Senate vote is scheduled. The plan calls for a two week trial in which the House Managers would have 24 hours to present their case, followed by 24 hours from the White House defense, followed by 16 hours of questions for both sides from the Senate. After this, the plan calls for a vote on
two contentious motions, one to dismiss the charges entirely, and the other to call
witnesses. The proposal seems to succeed precisely because it puts off the
contentious issue of calling witnesses (most controversially, Lewinsky) until a
later date. As EMK says, “We can get to second base together. Let’s worry about
how to get from second base to home plate later.” (Baker, p. 292) With a 100-0
vote, the senators unanimously agree on this preliminary schedule for the
impeachment trial. (Baker, pp. 292-293; Clymer, pp. 601-602; 1999 CQ Almanac,
p. 13-4)

On the 25th-26th, the Senate debates behind closed doors regarding contentious
motions to dismiss the impeachment charges immediately and to conduct
depositions of key witnesses that would be videotaped and shown in the Senate
and to the national public. Prior to the closed debates, EMK votes with the
unsuccessful minority on two motions to amend impeachment rules and allow
open (rather than closed) debate on both the motion to dismiss and the motion to
depose. Both motions (for open debate) fall well short of the two-thirds majority
needed to amend impeachment rules. (1999 CQ Almanac, p. 13-18)

On the 27th, after three days of presentations from House Managers, three days of
presentation from Clinton’s defense, and two days of questions from Senators for
both the prosecution and defense, the Senate votes on a motion to dismiss the
charges. Although it fails, the 44 votes in favor of dismissal (all Democrats)
clearly show that finding a two-thirds majority to convict Clinton will be difficult.
Yet on the same day, the Senate votes 54-44 in favor of holding and recording the
depositions of Lewinsky. EMK votes yes to dismiss the charges and no to depose
the three witnesses. (1999 CQ Almanac, pp. 13-3, 13-18, S-5; Baker, p. 360)

February

On the 4th, after seeing tapes of depositions taken from the three witnesses, the
Senate rejects 30-70 a motion by the House Managers to bring Lewinsky to the
Senate floor as their key witness. EMK votes no to the motion. On the same day,
the Senate unanimously (100-0) votes to admit the videotapes and transcripts of
the depositions into evidence. Regarding the actual use of the transcripts and
videotapes by both the House Managers and the White House defense in their
cases, EMK votes yes for a Democratic motion that would allow only the written
transcripts to be used. When that fails, he votes no to the use of the transcripts and
up to six hours of the videotapes themselves. This motion passes, 62-38. (1999
CQ Almanac, pp. 13-3, S-6)

Both sides present closing arguments on the 8th. (Baker, p. 432)

On the 9th, the Senate falls 6 votes short (59-41) of the two-thirds majority needed
to amend impeachment rules in an effort to open up Senators’ final statements and
votes to the general public and the news media. EMK votes for opening up the
debate to cameras and the public. (1999 CQ Almanac, pp. 13-24, S-7)
In EMK’s final statement that is initially closed to the public, he urges the Senate to reject the articles of impeachment. He argues against conviction mostly on constitutional grounds, saying that the framers of the constitution “clearly did not intend the Impeachment Clause to nullify the vote of the people, except in the most extraordinary cases of great danger to the nation.” Though he agrees that Clinton intentionally “misled the country for many months” he argues that “nothing [Clinton] did rises to the high constitutional standard required for impeachment and removal of a President from office.” With EMK’s permission, his statement is printed as part of the Congressional Record for 12 February. ([http://www.australianpolitics.com/usa/clinton/trial/statements/kennedy.shtml](http://www.australianpolitics.com/usa/clinton/trial/statements/kennedy.shtml))

On the 12th, the Senate rejects both articles of impeachment against Clinton. Article I is rejected 45-55 and Article II is rejected 50-50. EMK votes not guilty on each article. (1999 CQ Almanac, pp. 13-3, 13-21)

Also on the 12th, the Senate rejects a motion (43-56) by Gramm to postpone debate indefinitely on Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) and Bennett’s proposed motion to suspend Senate rules to allow for consideration of a resolution to censure Clinton. Feinstein and Bennett’s motion is subsequently withdrawn by unanimous consent since opposition to Gramm’s motion did not reach the two-thirds majority that Feinstein and Bennett’s motion would need to amend Senate rules. EMK votes against Gramm’s motion to postpone Feinstein and Bennett’s motion (thereby indicating some support for a censure resolution). Condemning the call for censure, Gramm says, “The motivation is clear. People want it both ways. They want to find the president guilty and not guilty at the same time.” (1999 CQ Almanac, p. S-7; The Washington Post, 02/13/1999)


July EMK successfully works to bring the 2004 Democratic National Convention to Boston. John Kerry is nominated as the Democratic presidential nominee.

November Bush defeats Kerry in the presidential election.

2007 **Craig** becomes a foreign policy adviser to Senator Barack Obama’s (D-IL) presidential campaign. (The New Yorker, 02/28/2008)
2008

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

May    EMK is diagnosed with a brain tumor.

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

November **Craig** is appointed to become White House counsel to Obama. One of his primary responsibilities is to reverse the legal framework that Bush developed for the detainee issue. He later helps former EMK staffer, Stephanie Cutter, with the Sonia Sotomayor Supreme Court nomination. (*The Washington Post*, 11/17/2008, 08/09/2009; *Time*, 11/19/2009)

2009

August  EMK dies at his home in Hyannis Port. **Craig** is an honorary pall bearer at EMK’s funeral on the 29th. (http://tedkennedy.org/pages/arrangements_press)

November On the 13th, **Craig** announces he will resign as White House Counsel effective January 3, 2010. (http://www.whitehouse.gov/)
**Greg Craig Fact Sheet**

*Prepared by Dustin Cable, Rob Martin, and Bryan Craig*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/08/2010*

**Positions w/ EMK:**
- 1984-88: Advisor for defense, foreign policy, and national security.

**Other positions:**
- 1990: Counsel for Panama during Noriega trials.
- 1997-98: Director of Policy Planning at the State Department.
- 1998-99: Special Counsel and Assistant to President Clinton during impeachment trial.
- 2004: Adviser to the John Kerry presidential campaign.
- 2007-08: Foreign policy adviser in Barack Obama’s presidential campaign.
- 2009-10: Obama’s White House Counsel.

**Issues Craig worked on with EMK:**
- Central America: EMK fought to cut off funding for the Nicaragua Contras and the El Salvadorian government.
- South Africa trip: In 1985, Craig traveled with EMK to South Africa.
- Latin American trip: In 1986, Craig traveled with EMK to Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina.
- Arms Control: EMK and Hatfield sponsored various pieces of legislation in the 1980s calling for a nuclear test ban and a nuclear freeze. EMK also tried to curb military spending on programs like aircraft carriers and SDI. In 1985, EMK attended the U.S.-Soviet arms control talks in Geneva as a member of the Senate Arms Control Observers Group. In 1986, EMK visited the Soviet Union to discuss arms control and human rights.
- Cuba: In 1986, Craig visited Cuba to help free the last two survivors of the Bay of Pigs invasion from Cuban prison.
- Middle East trip: In 1986, Craig traveled with EMK to Israel, Jordan, and Egypt in the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal.
- Panama trip: EMK and Craig traveled to Panama in 1987.
- Poland/Rome trip: In 1987, Craig joined EMK on a trip to Poland to honor the leaders of the Solidarity movement with the RFK Award. They also met with Pope John Paul II in Rome to discuss the Poland trip.
- Persian Gulf trip: In 1987, EMK and Craig visited Kuwait, Oman, Israel and Bahrain.
- Palm Beach rape trial: In 1991, Craig was EMK’s attorney when his nephew, William Smith, was charged with rape. EMK testified at his trial. Smith was acquitted.
- Presidential campaigning: Craig was a senior adviser to John Kerry (D-MA) in 2004 and Barack Obama (D-IL), two candidates EMK supported. Craig lobbied EMK to support Obama over Hillary Clinton in 2008.