



## EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

### **Interviewer's Briefing Materials** **Edward M. Kennedy Interview, 12/08/2007**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

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

- Iraq Timeline
- Post-Vietnam Uses of Military Force.

#### **Secondary Source Materials**

- Peter W. Galbraith, "Cast of Characters," *The End of Iraq* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006) pp. 234-239.
- Lisa Mages, "U.S. Armed Forces Abroad: Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982," *CRS Report for Congress*, 9/7/2007.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow, 1999) pp. 482-485.
- "Congress Cautiously Supports Bush's Past Gulf Actions," *CQ Weekly*, 10/6/1990.
- "Senate Votes 1, 2," *CQ Weekly*, 1/12/1991.
- "Bush is Given Authorization to Use Force Against Iraq," *CQ Weekly*, 1/12/1991.
- "Concerns Linger for Lawmakers Following Difficult Vote for War," *CQ Weekly*, 10/12/2002.
- "Congress Seeks to Find Its Voice as Iraq War Rages," *CQ Weekly*, 03/22/2003.
- "Democrats Struggle for Consensus in Opposition to GOP's Iraq Plans," *CQ Weekly*, 10/18/2003.
- "Senate Presses for Iraq Oversight," *CQ Weekly*, 11/21/2005.
- "Waging War on the Surge," *CQ Weekly*, 01/15/2007.
- F. Ugboaja Ohaegbulam, *A Culture of Deference: Congress, the President, and the Course of the U.S.-Led Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007) pp. 234-237.
- "Months after Beginning Iraq War Debate, Senate Votes Against Withdrawal Deadline," *CQ Weekly*, 03/19/2007.

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<sup>1</sup> These are original documents created by Miller Center researchers for the Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project. Please acknowledge credit for any use of these materials.

**Oral History Interviews**

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 5/30/2007.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 6/17/2005.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1/6/2007.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 2/12/2007.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 5/30/2007.

**Documents Provided by Senator Kennedy**

- “Iraq Timeline.”
- Documents requested by Senator Kennedy from his staff.
- “Selected Dictations Dealing with Iraq, 2002-2007.”
- “Major Speeches on Iraq.”

## IRAQ TIMELINE

*Prepared by Rob Martin, Hilde Eliassen Restad and Randi Lewis  
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### 1990

*August* Iraqi forces invade Kuwait on the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Senator Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) supports S Res. 318 condemning the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and urging President George H.W. Bush to “to act immediately, using unilateral and multilateral measures, to seek the full and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwaiti territory” through trade sanctions, diplomatic efforts, and, if necessary, multilateral military action. Bush deploys troops to Saudi Arabia, stating the invasion “will not stand.” (*U.S. Armed Forces Abroad: Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*, Congressional Research Service; S Res. 318, Roll Call Vote Summary, 101<sup>st</sup> Congress; *1990 CQ Almanac*, p. 680; Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow, 1999, p. 480)

*October* The House and Senate pass non-binding resolutions on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> respectively endorsing Bush’s economic embargo against Iraq and the deployment of 100,000 U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia. They do not, however, provide explicit authority to go to war. EMK votes against the resolution, calling it a “blank check endorsement for future actions ... in effect, a Tonkin Gulf Resolution for the Persian Gulf.” Only Senators Mark Hatfield (R-OR) and Bob Kerrey (D-NE) vote with EMK. (*1990 CQ Almanac*, pp. 717, 734; Clymer, p. 483)

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

The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 678 on the 29<sup>th</sup> setting 01/15/1991 as the deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. (*1990 CQ Almanac*, p. 717)

### 1991

*January* On the 4<sup>th</sup>, the Senate begins debate on the Gulf crisis. EMK states that going to war without the consent of Congress would precipitate a “constitutional crisis.” (Clymer, p. 483; *1991 CQ Almanac*, p. 439)

Bush formally requests an authorization from Congress for the use of force against Iraq on the 8<sup>th</sup>, the first such request by a president since the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. (Clymer, p. 483; *1991 CQ Almanac*, p. 439)

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, the House and Senate vote in favor of S.J. Res. 2 authorizing the president to use military force against Iraq pursuant to U.N. Security Council Resolution 678. The Senate passes the authorization 52-47. EMK votes against it.

EMK instead had supported the Mitchell-Nunn substitute authorizing “the use of American military force to enforce the United Nations (U.N.) economic embargo against Iraq; to defend Saudi Arabia from direct Iraqi attack; and to protect American forces in the region.” (S.J. Res. 1, Library of Congress) The resolution also called for continued sanctions and diplomatic pressures and declared that Congress, vested with the power to declare war, will consider future requests by the president for a declaration of war and for authority to use military force against Iraq, but the resolution failed in the Senate 53-46. (1991 CQ Almanac, pp. 438-441, 2-S; Roll Call Vote Summary, 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress; *Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*)

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Bush orders an air campaign against Iraq, transforming Operation Desert Shield into Operation Desert Storm. (1991 CQ Almanac, pp. 438-441)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, EMK votes in favor of a resolution supporting the U.S. military in the Persian Gulf and commending the “efforts and leadership of the President as Commander in Chief in the Persian Gulf hostilities.” The resolution passes unanimously in the Senate. (1991 CQ Almanac, p. 2-S; S Con Res 2, Roll Call Vote Summary, 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress)

*February* On the 27<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces a cease-fire and declares Kuwait “liberated.” Iraq accepts cease-fire terms in March, agreeing to destroy weapons of mass destruction and allow monitoring by U.N. inspectors. A formal cease-fire is signed in April, which establishes a no-fly zone in Northern Iraq to protect the Kurds.

*July* First U.N. weapons inspectors report indicates that Iraq has concealed much of its nuclear and chemical weapons programs.

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, EMK argues that women in the armed forces should be allowed to fly combat missions. “The issue is not whether women should be shot at. They already are – five women died from enemy fire during the gulf war. The real issue is whether women can shoot back. The issue is not whether woman should fly high-performance aircraft. They already do. Women serve as instructors for combat pilots. The real issue is whether we select our pilots based on ability or on gender.” (Clymer, p. 485)

*October* The U.N. Security Council unanimously passes new restrictions on Iraq, forbidding the possession and production of weapons of mass destruction. (*The New York Times*, 10/12/1991)

## **1992**

*August* A southern no-fly zone is created in southern Iraq to protect the Shiites.

- 1993** U.S. forces launch air strikes against Iraq in January for its failure to remove missiles from the southern no-fly zone, and again in June in retaliation for the attempted assassination of President Bush in Kuwait in April.
- 1994** Iraqi troops move toward Kuwait in October, then pull back after President Bill Clinton sends 54,000 troops and warplanes to the region.
- 1995** UN Security Council Resolution 986 allows the partial resumption of Iraq's oil-for-food program in April. Iraq does not accept the resolution until May 1996 and does not implement it until December 1996. (<http://news.bbc.co.uk>)
- 1996** The U.S. launches air strikes against targets in Iraq in September, in response to Saddam Hussein's aggression against the Kurds in Northern Iraq. The U.S. also extends the northern limit of the southern no-fly zone to just south of Baghdad.
- 1998** Iraq ends cooperation with UN weapons inspectors in January. Inspections resume after a deal is brokered by UN General Secretary Annan, but Hussein halts inspections again in October.
- December* After UN staff is evacuated from Baghdad, the U.S. and U.K. launch a bombing campaign to destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs. EMK supports the strikes. ("Iraq: Timeline," BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk>)
- 2001**
- February* U.S. and British forces conduct air strikes against Iraq's air defense network. ("Iraq: Timeline," BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk>)
- September* Al-Qaeda conducts 9/11 terrorist attacks.
- 2002**
- January* In the State of the Union address, President George W. Bush includes Iraq as a member of the "axis of evil," along with North Korea and Iran. (2002 CQ Almanac, p. 9-3)
- September* Bush agrees on the 4<sup>th</sup> to submit a resolution to Congress seeking approval for the use of military force in Iraq. (2002 CQ Almanac, p. 1-8)
- On the 12<sup>th</sup>, Bush makes his case for war against Iraq to the UN General Assembly, citing Iraq's dismissal of UN resolutions and its weapons program. He warns that the U.S. will take action against Iraq with or without the UN. (2002 CQ Almanac, p. D-14)
- On the 19<sup>th</sup>, the White House introduces a resolution to the Senate authorizing the use of force in Iraq. During debate, EMK votes in favor of a Senator Robert Byrd

(D-WV) amendment to put a termination date on the congressional authorization of military action (defeated 31-66); EMK votes in favor of a Byrd amendment clarifying that any congressional authorization for the use of force in Iraq does not alter the congressional authority to declare war (rejected 14-86); EMK votes in favor of a Senator Carl Levin (D-MI) amendment authorizing the use of force in Iraq to destroy weapons of mass destruction if the country fails to admit UN weapons inspectors under a UN resolution (rejected 24-75); EMK votes in favor of a Senator Richard Durbin (D-IL) amendment authorizing the use of force against an imminent, as opposed to continuing, threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (rejected 30-70). Democrats led by Senator Tom Daschle (D-ND) reportedly place too many restrictions on military action for Bush, and the White House moves its negotiations to the House. On October 11<sup>th</sup>, the Senate postpones its resolution by unanimous consent. (*Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*, p. 35-6; *2002 CQ Almanac*, p. 9-5; "Iraq Use-of-Force Resolution, 2001-2002 Legislative Chronology")

In speech at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), EMK argues that a preemptive strike is unnecessary, that Iraq does not pose an imminent threat, and that we should not go to war without the clear support of the international community. (Senate timeline)

*October* The House passes a resolution authorizing the use of military force against Iraq on the 11<sup>th</sup>, 296-133; the Senate approves the resolution later that day 77-23. EMK votes against the resolution and argues on the Senate floor, "The more we debate the war, the more we learn of the danger of going to war alone...let us build international support, try the United Nations, and pursue disarmament before we turn to armed conflict." (*Congressional Record*, 10/10/2002) Bush signs the bill on the 16<sup>th</sup>. (*2002 CQ Almanac*, p. 9-3)

## 2003

*February* Secretary of State Colin Powell argues before the UN that Iraq is concealing its weapons program.

*March* After UN efforts fail to approve a final resolution, Bush initiates military action against Iraq on the 19<sup>th</sup>. On the 20<sup>th</sup>, the Senate adopts a resolution commending the president and the U.S. armed forces for their efforts in the Iraqi conflict. EMK votes in favor of this resolution. On the 21<sup>st</sup> EMK votes in favor of and the Senate adopts a resolution to "to set aside a reserve fund for possible military action and reconstruction in Iraq." (S.Amdt.270, Roll Call Vote Summary, 108<sup>th</sup> Congress; *Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*, p. 36; *2002 CQ Almanac*, p. S-17)

*May* Standing before a "Mission Accomplished" banner, Bush announces aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln that "major combat missions in Iraq have ended... And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country." (*The Washington Post*, 05/02/2003)

- July* After conferring with Kofi Annan and others, EMK makes a second speech at SAIS calling for greater international cooperation in Iraq. EMK argues that if current policies continue, we may “lose the peace.”
- During Senate debate of the FY2004 Defense Appropriations bill, EMK proposes an amendment requiring the Bush administration to report on strategies for Iraqi reconstruction and schedules for seeking international assistance in Iraq, but it is tabled. (*2003 CQ Almanac*, p. 2-44)
- September* Faced with two wars in south central Asia, Congress passes its most expensive defense spending package in history in conference on the 25<sup>th</sup>. EMK votes in favor of this bill. (*2003 CQ Almanac*, p. 2-42, S-67)
- October* Report by U.S. weapons inspector David Kay finds no evidence of WMDs.
- EMK votes against the FY 2004 emergency funding supplemental bill for Iraq and Afghanistan reconstruction. The resolution passes in the Senate 87-12. Earlier that day, EMK had voted against a motion to table a Daschle amendment “to achieve the most effective means of reconstructing Iraq and to reduce the future costs to the American taxpayer of such reconstruction by ensuring broad-based international cooperation for this effort.” The Senate accepts the motion to table the amendment. (S.Amdt.1854, Roll Call Vote Summary, 107<sup>th</sup> Senate)
- November* EMK attends the burial of John Hart at Arlington National Cemetery. His parents, Brian and Alma, tell EMK about their son’s wish to improve the availability of armored humvees in Iraq. EMK speaks to Senator John Warner (R-VA), who is chairman of the Armed Forces Committee, about scheduling hearings. Warner agrees to hold hearings later that month, and EMK raises the lack of armored humvees issue to General Schoomaker.
- December* Saddam Hussein is captured.

## **2004**

- January* In a speech to the Center for American Progress, EMK says the war in Iraq was a “war of choice,” and that the buildup to the war began in the earliest days of the Administration, months before 9/11.
- May* During Senate debate of the FY2005 Defense Authorization Act, EMK proposes an amendment requiring the president to report to Congress on plans to bring more international troops, police, and resources to Iraq. The amendment also requires the administration to provide an estimate for troop requirements at the end of 2005. The Senate rejects the amendment 48-50. EMK votes in favor of and the Senate accepts an amendment by Warner to include \$25 billion emergency funds for ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan as requested by the White

House, but Congress chooses to allocate most of the money rather than grant the Pentagon full discretion. The Senate also accepts an amendment to increase the size of the army by 20,000 in 2005 against the wishes of the White House. EMK votes in favor of this amendment. The Senate passes the bill on June 23<sup>rd</sup> by a vote of 97-0. EMK votes in favor of the bill. The president signs the legislation on August 5<sup>th</sup>. (2004 CQ Almanac, p. 2-12 – 2-15; Congressional Record, 06/22/2004; Roll Call Vote Summary, 108<sup>th</sup> Congress)

EMK and the Senate approve a resolution “Condemning the abuse of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison, urging a full and complete investigation to ensure justice is served, and expressing support for all Americans serving nobly in Iraq.” Photos of the abuses had become public in April. (S.Res.356, Roll Call Vote Summary, 108th Congress)

*June* The 9/11 Commission finds no credible evidence that Iraq and al-Qaeda cooperated on the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks.

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, the U.S. hands over limited sovereignty to the provisional Iraqi government. (2004 CQ Almanac, p. 1-7)

EMK challenges Attorney General John Ashcroft, who appears before the Judiciary Committee to defend Bush’s wartime presidential prerogatives regarding interrogation and torture. (*The New York Times*, 6/9/2004)

*September* In a speech at George Washington University, EMK says Iraq could devolve into “outright civil war” by the end of 2005, and that according to the National Intelligence Estimate, even the best case scenario is that “our soldiers will be bogged down in a continuing quagmire with no end in sight.”

## **2005**

*January* In a speech at SAIS, EMK calls for “a timetable for a drawdown of American combat forces with the new Iraqi Government,” with withdrawal to be completed in 2006.

*April* The Senate passes an emergency spending supplemental bill on the 21<sup>st</sup> to pay for operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Working with the Hart family, EMK and Evan Bayh (D-IN) sponsor an amendment adding funds for “up-armored” troop vehicles. The Senate accepts the amendment 61-39. EMK sends a framed tally sheet of the roll-call vote to the Harts, which is signed, “To Brian & Alma, this one was for you and for John. We couldn’t have done it without you. April 05. Ted Kennedy.” (Peter Canellos, ed., *The Last Lion: The Fall and Rise of Ted Kennedy*, Simon & Schuster: New York, 2009, p. 369; (2005 CQ Almanac, p. 2-55; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109<sup>th</sup> Congress)



- May* The Downing Street memo, indicating that British leaders were skeptical of Bush's case against Iraq, is leaked.
- November* As public support for the Iraq war declines, the Senate attaches an amendment to the FY2006 Defense Authorization bill requiring increased White House reporting to congress on the progress of the war. Warner submits an amendment requiring quarterly White House reports on the current situation in Iraq; the progress of the Iraqi government, police, and military; the criteria used to evaluate progress in Iraq; and a schedule for meeting these criteria. EMK cosponsors a Levin amendment identical to Warner's with an additional provision requiring "A campaign plan with estimated dates for the phased redeployment of the United States Armed Forces from Iraq as each condition is met." (S.Amdt 2519, Roll Call Vote Summary, 109th Congress) EMK votes against Warner's amendment and in favor of Levin's. The Senate approves Warner's amendment 79-19 and rejects Levin's 40-58. For the first time, congress requires the president to submit unclassified reports tying conditions in Iraq to progress and withdrawal. EMK and the Senate approve the FY 2006 Defense Authorization bill 98-0. (2005 CQ Almanac, p. C-10; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109<sup>th</sup> Congress)
- December* The intelligence authorization bill for FY 2006 is scheduled for Senate floor action, but an unidentified Republican member uses senatorial prerogative to put a hold on the measure, preventing it from coming up for debate. Democrats argue this is because the senator wants to block consideration of three amendments that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has agreed to allow, two of which are EMK's. His amendments would have required the President to provide Congress with the President's daily intelligence briefings for the period preceding the 2003 invasion of Iraq, as well as call on the Administration to submit periodic reports to the House and Senate Intelligence Committees on the health and status of suspected terrorists held by the CIA in any "clandestine prison or detention facility operated by the United States government." (2005 CQ Almanac, p. 9-6)
- 2006**
- Early* Congress requests the creation of an Iraq Study Group to study U.S. policy in Iraq. (2006 CQ Almanac, p. 5-13)
- June* The Senate debates the FY2007 National Defense Authorization Act. EMK votes for a Levin amendment expressing the sense of the Congress that the president should plan for and begin the phased redeployment of U.S. forces in Iraq, and for a Senator John Kerry (D-MA) amendment requiring the redeployment of U.S. forces in Iraq. Both amendments are rejected 39-60 and 13-86 respectively, and the Senate approves the authorization act 96-0. EMK ultimately votes in favor of the act. (Roll Call Vote Summary, 109th Congress)
- August* On the 1<sup>st</sup>, the Senate begins debate on the FY 2007 Defense Appropriations bill. Citing concerns over sectarian violence in Iraq, EMK submits an amendment

which is approved by a voice vote calling on the president to provide a National Intelligence Estimate on conditions in Iraq within 90 days. EMK submits another amendment which is ultimately tabled that calls for the president to include in his quarterly reports to Congress information on civil war in Iraq. The Senate passes the Defense Appropriations bill 98-0 on September 7<sup>th</sup>, and the president signs it into law on September 29<sup>th</sup>. (2006 CQ Almanac, pp. 2-11 – 22-15; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109<sup>th</sup> Congress)

*November* The Democrats regain control of the House and Senate in the midterm elections; Rumsfeld resigns as Secretary of Defense shortly thereafter.

*December* The Senate confirms the nomination of Robert Gates to replace Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense. EMK votes to approve Gates. (2006 CQ Almanac, p. 9-3)

On the 9<sup>th</sup>, the Iraq Study Group releases its report recommending diplomatic initiatives, including talks with Syria and Iran, and decreasing the number of U.S. troops in Iraq. The report also recommends that the U.S. set achievement goals with Iraqi leaders. (2006 CQ Almanac, p. 5-13 – 5-14)

Saddam Hussein is executed.

## **2007**

*January* Bush announces a “surge” of 28,500 new U.S. troops into the Bagdad and the Anbar Province to help improve security. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress*, Congressional Research Services, p. 4)

EMK introduces a bill to prohibit the use of funds to increase U.S. military forces in Iraq unless Congress approves the President’s plan.

*February* EMK votes in favor of invoking cloture on two bills expressing disagreement with the president’s plan to increase troop levels in Iraq. The Senate rejects both measures, 49-47 and 56-34. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress*, p. 4; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110<sup>th</sup> Congress)

Blair announces a reduction of British troops in Iraq.

*March* EMK cosponsors a resolution calling for the redeployment of U.S. troops from Iraq by March 31, 2008, and for a comprehensive diplomatic, economic, and political strategy in the region. The Senate rejects the resolution 48-50. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress*, p. 5; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110<sup>th</sup> Congress)

EMK votes in favor of a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that no action should be taken to undermine the safety of the U.S. military or affect their ability to complete missions in Iraq. The Senate passes this resolution 96-2. EMK also votes against a concurrent resolution with a new provision against the elimination or reduction of funds for troops in the field. The Senate agrees to this resolution 82-16. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress*, pp. 18, 23; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110<sup>th</sup> Congress)

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, EMK votes in favor of the U.S. Troop Readiness, Veterans Care, Katrina Recovery, and Iraq Accountability Appropriations Act for 2007. A resolution within this act requires the president to report to Congress by July 1, 2007 on the progress of the Iraqi government in meeting certain benchmarks. Lacking substantial progress, the resolution calls for U.S. troop withdrawal from Iraq, with certain exemptions. The Senate and house both pass this resolution, but the veto override vote fails in May. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress*, p. 11; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110<sup>th</sup> Congress)

*May* EMK cosponsors a Senator Russell Feingold (D-WI) amendment to an Iraq spending bill calling for the reduction of U.S. forces in Iraq and prohibiting the use of funds to continue the deployment of U.S. forces in Iraq past March 31, 2008, with certain exceptions. The Senate rejects the motion to invoke cloture on the amendment 29-67. Later in the month, EMK is one of 14 senators to vote against a second Iraq funding bill that does not include a troop withdrawal deadline. (Roll Call Vote Summary, 110<sup>th</sup> Congress; *The Washington Post*, 09/10/2007)

*July* The Senate begins debate on the FY 2008 National Defense Authorization Act. EMK cosponsors a Levin amendment calling for troop reduction to commence within 120 of enactment, a complete transition of U.S. forces to a limited presence by April 30, 2008, and a new economic, diplomatic, and political strategy which engages the international community. The Senate rejects the motion to invoke cloture on this amendment 52-47. EMK also votes in favor of a Senator Charles Hagel (R-NE) amendment limiting the deployment time for an individual or unit to 12 months. The Senate rejects this amendment 52-45. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress*, pp. 9, 15; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110<sup>th</sup> Congress)

*September* The Senate debates the FY 2008 Department of Defense appropriations bill. During debate, EMK votes in favor of a Senator Joseph Biden (D-DE) amendment expressing the sense of Congress that the U.S. should support a federal system of Iraqi government (agreed 75-23); EMK votes in favor of two Feingold amendments, including one that EMK cosponsors, calling for the redeployment of U.S. troops from Iraq and the discontinuance of funds for continued military action in Iraq after June 2008, with certain exceptions (rejected

28-68, 28-70); EMK votes in favor of a Levin amendment providing for the reduction and transition of U.S. forces in Iraq (rejected 47-47). (Roll Call Vote Summary, 110<sup>th</sup> Congress)

Seventeen civilians in Baghdad are killed by employees of Blackwater USA, raising concerns about the role of private security firms in Iraq.

General David Petraeus testifies before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the surge. At the hearing, you remind him that his own test for measuring the success of counterinsurgency campaigns relies on meeting “essential political goals” and say “it’s hard to see how the surge has advanced Iraq’s essential political goals.”

Bush outlines a plan for withdrawing troops from Iraq. EMK calls it a continuation of his open-ended commitment to keeping troops in the country.

Senate passes EMK’s Iraqi refugee bill, to permit resettlement for Iraqis whose work for the U.S. has put them in danger.

*October*

EMK supports the Feingold-Reid amendment, which sets a timeline for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and requires most of them to return home within nine months.

## POST-VIETNAM USES OF U.S. MILITARY FORCE

*Prepared by Rob Martin*

*Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 10/23/2007*

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