



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials **Sharon Waxman Interview, 12/19/2008, 05/11/2009**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

Miller Center Documents¹

- Sharon Waxman Timeline.
- Sharon Waxman Fact Sheet.

Secondary Source Materials

- Sharon Waxman bio, <http://bioguide.congress.gov>.
- Edward M. Kennedy, "America's Future in Iraq," School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, January 27, 2005.
- Helen Dewar, "Senate Rebuffs Democrats' Moves to Challenge Bush on Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 07/17/2003.
- Bryan Bender, "Kennedy Seeks Armor Funds," *The Boston Globe*, 04/21/2005.
- Spencer Hsu and Robin Wright, "Crocker Blasts Refugee Process; Iraqis Could Wait Two Years for Entry, Ambassador Says," *The Washington Post*, 09/17/2007.

Oral History Interviews

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/09/2007.
- Jim Flug interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/18/2007.

Other

- EMK dictated notes, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007.
- Overview of EMK Iraq speeches: "Themes on Major Iraq Speeches," undated.

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SHARON WAXMAN TIMELINE

Prepared Mark D. Nevin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/21/2008

1983-Present EMK serves on the Armed Services Committee.

1986-1998 Sharon **Waxman** works for Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) in various capacities, including as legislative assistant for foreign policy and defense in 1998. (*Congressional Staff Directory*)

1999-2000 **Waxman** is hired to be EMK's foreign policy advisor.

May **Waxman** attends the first three days of the trial for the two Libyans accused of bombing Pan Am flight 103 that exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. The trial is held on a former U.S. army base in the Netherlands. **Waxman** says she is there to support the families of the victims. (*Newhouse News Service*, 05/05/2000)

November George W. Bush defeats Al Gore in a contested presidential election. The Democrats pick up seats in the Senate to force a 50-50 split.

2001

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

February U.S. and British forces conduct air strikes against Iraq's air defense network. ("Iraq: Timeline," BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk>)

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

September Al-Qaeda conducts 9/11 terrorist attacks.

October U.S. forces invade Afghanistan.

Bush signs the Patriot Act into law on the 26th.

2002

January In the State of the Union address, President George W. Bush includes Iraq as a member of the "axis of evil" with N. Korea and Iran. (*2002 CQ Almanac*, p. 9-3)

September Bush agrees on the 4th to submit a resolution to Congress seeking approval for the use of military force in Iraq. (2002 CQ Almanac, p. 1-8)

On the 9th, EMK speaks with Nelson Mandela, who tells him that the international community does not support unilateral action against Iraq and that an invasion of Iraq would be a catastrophe.

On the 12th, 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 19th, 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 11th, 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.

October The House passes a resolution authorizing the use of military force against Iraq on the 11th, 296-133; the Senate approves the resolution later that day 77-23. 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 16th. (2002 CQ Almanac, p. 9-3)

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

The Homeland Security Act establishes the Department of Homeland Security on the 25th.

2003

- January* In his annual speech at the National Press Club, EMK attacks the Bush administration for its preoccupation with war in Iraq, argues that weapons inspections are working, and that North Korea and domestic terrorism are more immediate threats. A few days later EMK meets with Sandy Berger, William Perry, and other former Clinton officials. They confirm that North Korea is the biggest threat the U.S. faces and going to war with Iraq would hurt the pursuit of Al-Qaeda. (*The Washington Post*, 01/22/2003)
- February* On the 5th, Secretary of State Powell argues before the UN that Iraq is concealing its weapons program. A few hours after Powell's remarks, EMK holds a press conference. Although he acknowledges he was impressed by Powell's presentation, EMK says Powell "didn't tell us anything we didn't already know." EMK asks: "How can we fight a war in Iraq and deal effectively with the obviously urgent crisis over nuclear weapons in North Korea, the ongoing threat from international terrorism, and the increased terrorist threat that could result from war?" EMK insists the President needs to get another vote from Congress before taking military action. ("Iraq Use-of-Force Resolution, 2001-2002 Legislative Chronology"; *The Boston Globe*, 02/06/2003)
- March* EMK attends briefings in the Armed Services Committee and with Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and others on Iraq that he calls "very, very weak, nothing meaningful." There is no discussion on the cost or length of the war or post-war Iraq.
- After UN efforts fail to approve a final resolution, Bush initiates military action against Iraq on the 19th. On the 20th, 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 21st 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, 108th 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 25th. 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 votes against a motion to table an amendment he had worked on with Byrd to make continued reconstruction funding for Iraq contingent on the President reaching out to other nations for military and financial support. Byrd fails to inform EMK that the bill is coming up to a vote, and, as a result, there is no coordinated effort to generate support for it. The amendment is tabled. (S.Amdt.1854, Roll Call Vote Summary, 107th Senate)

November EMK attends the burial at Arlington Cemetery of a Massachusetts soldier who had died in Iraq.

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.

April EMK makes a speech at the Brookings Institution, in which he calls Iraq Bush’s Vietnam.

Abu Ghraib abuses story breaks in the press.

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 Senator John Warner (R-VA) 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 23rd by a vote of 97-0. EMK votes in favor of the bill. The president signs the legislation on August 5th. (2004 CQ Almanac, p. 2-12 – 2-15; Congressional Record, 06/22/2004; Roll Call Vote Summary, 108th 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 11th attacks.

On the 28th, 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*, 06/09/2004)

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

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.”

November Bush defeats Kerry in the presidential election.

December EMK and **Waxman** meet with former Bush I National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft to get his views on Iraq and other foreign policy issues. He tells EMK that there is a real danger of civil war in Iraq. Afterwards, EMK and Waxman discuss making arrangements for Scowcroft to speak to the Armed Services or the Foreign Relations Committee.

2005

January On the 19th, EMK and **Waxman** meet with former Carter National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski to discuss Iraq. Brzezinski tells them that the U.S. has lost the war morally, politically, and militarily and ought to disengage.

In a speech at SAIS on the 27th, 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 21st, virtually all of it to pay for operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. EMK and Evan Bayh (D-IN) sponsor an amendment adding funds for “up-armored” troop vehicles, which the Pentagon has said it needs to sustain maximum production of heavily armored Humvees through the end of the fiscal year. The Senate accepts the amendment 61-39. (2005 CQ Almanac, p. 2-55; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109th 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, 109th 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)

EMK begins calling for greater body armor to help protect U.S. troops in Iraq. The Senate passes legislation in the spring.

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 1st, 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 7th, and the president signs it into law on September 29th. (2006 CQ Almanac, pp. 2-11 – 22-15; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109th Congress)

November The Democrats regain control of the House and Senate in the midterm elections. EMK regains chairmanship of the HELP Committee. Rumsfeld resigns as Secretary of Defense.

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 9th, 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 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. The same day, EMK gives a speech at the National Press Club in which he calls on Congress to take action to prevent an escalation of the war in Iraq.

Bush announces a "surge" of 28,500 new U.S. troops into the Bagdad and the Anbar Province to help improve security. EMK works with other Senators leaders to make sure there will be a vote on the surge. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the*

Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110th Congress,
Congressional Research Services, p. 4)

February After the House approves a non-binding resolution expressing disapproval of the surge, a Republican filibuster blocks the Senate from voting on the measure. EMK votes in favor of invoking cloture but the Senate fails to override the filibuster 56-34. (*Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Global War on Terror: Selected Legislation from the 110th Congress*, p. 4; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110th 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 110th Congress*, p. 5; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110th 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 110th Congress*, pp. 18, 23; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110th Congress)

On the 29th, 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 110th Congress*, p. 11; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110th 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, 110th Congress; *The Washington Post*, 09/10/2007)

Waxman is part of a presidential delegation, which includes EMK, Jean Kennedy Smith, and Vicki Kennedy, to the Stormont ceremony in Northern Ireland to witness the opening of the new, power-sharing government. (*States News Service*, 05/04/2007; *US Fed News*, 05/08/2007; *The Boston Globe*, 05/09/2007)

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 110th Congress*, pp. 9, 15; Roll Call Vote Summary, 110th 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, 110th 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.

2008

- January* EMK announces his support for Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama.
- Waxman** and Perry Cammack of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee spend two days in Jordan and three days in Syria to evaluate the status of Iraqi refugees and American and international responses to their plight. In April, EMK and Senator Joseph Biden (D-DE) issue a report based on their findings and call on President George Bush to do more to deal with the more than 2 million Iraqi refugees in Jordan, Syria, and other Middle East countries. (*States News Service*, 04/07/2008)
- May* EMK is diagnosed with a brain tumor.
- August* EMK makes a surprise appearance and speech at the Democratic National Convention.

SHARON WAXMAN FACT SHEET (1999/2000-PRESENT)

Prepared by Mark D. Nevin and Rob Martin

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/27/2008

Waxman's Work with Kennedy:

- 1999/2000-present: EMK foreign policy advisor and staffer for the HELP Committee.

Waxman's Prior Experience:

- 1986-98: Staffer for Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) in various capacities. In 1998, Waxman was his leg. asst. for foreign policy and defense.

Waxman's Trips for Kennedy:

- May 2000: Waxman attends trial of two Libyans accused of bombing Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. The trial is held on a former U.S. army base in the Netherlands. Waxman is there to support the families of the victims.
- May 2007: Waxman travels with EMK, Vicki Kennedy and JKS to Stormont ceremony in Northern Ireland to witness the opening of the new, power-sharing government.
- Jan 2008: Waxman and Perry Cammack of Senate Foreign Relations Committee travel to Jordan and Syria to evaluate status of Iraqi refugees and U.S. and international responses to their plight. In April, EMK and Biden issue a report calling on Bush to do more to assist the 2 million Iraqi refugees in Jordan, Syria, and other Middle East countries.

Major Events during Waxman's time in Kennedy's office:

- Sept 2001: 9/11 terrorist attacks.
- Oct 2001: U.S. forces invade Afghanistan.
- Oct 2001: Bush signs the Patriot Act.
- Nov 2001: Bush orders "enemy combatants" to be tried in military tribunals.
- Dec 2001: Bush tells cong. leaders he will unilaterally withdraw from ABM treaty.
- Jan 2002: First Afghan prisoners arrive at Guantanamo Bay; Rumsfeld declares them "unlawful combatants" with no rights under Geneva Convention.
- Jan 2002: Bush identifies Iraq, Iran and North Korea as "axis of evil" in speech.
- May 2002: Ashcroft removes restrictions on FBI in counterterrorism investigations.
- May 2002: Bush voids U.S. signing of treaty creating the International Criminal Court.
- June 2002: Bush announces "Bush Doctrine" on preemptive strikes in West Point speech.
- Sept 2002: Bush makes his case for war against Iraq to UN General Assembly.
- Sept 2002: EMK gives speech at SAIS arguing against preemptive strike as unnecessary.

- Oct 2002: Congress passes resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq.
- Oct 2002: North Korea admits to having secret nuclear weapons program.
- Nov 2002: GOP wins Senate, giving GOP control of Senate, House and White House.
- Nov 2002: Department of Homeland Security is created.
- Jan 2003: EMK gives speech at National Press Club arguing against invasion of Iraq.
- Feb 2003: Powell presents case for WMDs in Iraq before UN Security Council.
- March 2003: U.S. forces invade Iraq.
- Mid 2003: EMK begins sponsoring legislation calling for international community to play a greater role in Iraqi reconstruction.
- June 2003: Inspector General finds DOJ violated rights of immigrants detained after 9/11.
- July 2003: EMK gives speech at SAIS calling for greater international role in Iraq.
- Dec 2003: Saddam Hussein is captured.
- March 2004: EMK gives speech at Council on Foreign Relations charging that Bush manipulated intelligence to justify war in Iraq.
- April 2004: Abu Ghraib story breaks in the press.
- June 2004: 9/11 Commission finds no link between Hussein and Al Qaeda.
- June 2004: Supreme Court rules against Bush Administration that enemy combatants must be allowed to challenge their imprisonment before an American judge.
- July 2004: Congress passes resolution declaring genocide is occurring in Darfur, Sudan.
- Sept 2004: EMK gives speech on Iraq at George Washington warning of civil war.
- Sept 2004: Iran announces it will resume its uranium enrichment program.
- Nov 2004: Bush defeats Kerry to win reelection.
- Dec 04/Jan 05: EMK & Waxman consult with Scowcroft & Brzezinski on Iraq.
- Jan 2005: EMK gives speech on Iraq at SAIS calling for timetable for withdrawal. EMK says Waxman did a “great job” in writing the speech.
- April 2005: EMK and Bayh amendment for “up-armored” troop vehicles is passed.
- Nov 2005: Congress passes legislation requiring Bush to report on progress of the war.
- Early 2006: EMK calls for body armor to protect U.S. troops; bill is passed in spring.
- April 2006: Iran announces it has enriched uranium to become a nuclear power.

- Oct 2006: North Korea announces it successfully conducted its 1st nuclear weapons test; UN Security Council imposes sanctions.
- Nov 2006: Democrats win Senate and House; Rumsfeld resigns as Secretary of Defense.
- Dec 2006: Saddam Hussein is executed.
- Jan 2007: EMK gives speech at National Press Club arguing against escalation in Iraq.
- Jan 2007: Bush announces a “surge” of 28,500 new U.S. troops in Iraq.
- Feb 2007: North Korea agrees to shut down nuclear program and allow IAEA inspectors.
- March 2007: Senate passes spending bill for first time tied to timetable for withdrawal, but is unable to override Bush’s veto in May.
- May 2007: Waxman travels with EMK to attend Stormont Ceremony.
- Sept 2007: Gen. Petraeus testifies before Congress on the surge.
- Sept 2007: Blackwater employees kill Iraqi civilians.
- Sept 2007: Bush outlines plan for U.S. troop withdrawals from Iraq.
- Sept. 2007: Senate passes EMK’s Iraqi refugee bill to permit resettlement of Iraqis whose work for the U.S. puts them in danger.
- Jan 2008: Waxman travels to Jordan and Syria to assess refugee situation.
- May 2008: EMK is diagnosed with a brain tumor.