



## EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

### **Interviewer's Briefing Materials** **John Warner Interview, 05/06/2009**

Robert A. Martin, Research Director

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

- John Warner Timeline.
- John Warner Fact Sheet.
- Post-Vietnam Uses of U.S. Military Force.
- Iraq Timeline.

#### **Secondary Source Materials**

- John Warner bio, <http://bioguide.congress.gov>.
- Edward M. Kennedy, "Tribute to John Warner," [www.govtrack.us](http://www.govtrack.us), 09/07/2007.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999) pp. 500-503.
- Adam Clymer interview with Nick Littlefield, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 1/30/1999, pp. 14-15.
- William Drozdiak, "Senators take part at Geneva; Key role seen for observer panel," *The Washington Post*, 03/19/1985.
- Press release, "Wellstone, Warner, Kennedy & bipartisan coalition offer mental health measure to DoD bill assisting victims of terrorist disaster," *Congressional Press Records*, 10/01/2001.
- Peter S. Canellos, ed., *Last Lion: the Fall and Rise of Ted Kennedy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009) pp. 363-369.

#### **Oral History Interviews**

- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/09/2007.
- Melody Miller, interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/15/2008.

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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.

- Kathy Kruse, interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/08/2008.
- Nick Littlefield interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/04/2008.
- John Hilley interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/21/2007.
- Brian and Alma Hart interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 02/18/2009.
- Sharon Waxman interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/16/2008.
- Don Riegle interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/08/2008.

## JOHN WARNER (R-VA) TIMELINE

*Prepared by Rob Martin*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/28/2009*

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- 1944-46** John Warner serves in the U.S. Navy during World War II.
- 1950-52** Warner serves in the U.S. Marine Corps in the Korean War.
- 1952-56** Warner serves in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve.
- 1953** Warner graduates from the University of Virginia Law School and admitted to the Washington, D.C. bar. Warner briefly overlaps with Robert F. Kennedy (RFK), who had graduated from UVa Law School in 1951. Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) later graduates from UVA Law School in 1959.
- 1953** Warner serves as a law clerk to Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman of the U.S. Court of Appeals. Prettyman's son, E. Barrett Prettyman, Jr., had attended Virginia Law at the same time as Warner. Prettyman had known and was friends with RFK in law school, and had become RFK's pick to succeed him as head of the Legal Forum. Prettyman later works in the Kennedy Administration and is very likely the same Barrett Prettyman who goes on to do advance work for EMK in the 1968 Vietnam trip.
- 1956-60** Warner serves as an assistant U.S. attorney.
- 1960:** Warner enters private law practice.
- 1969-72** Warner serves as Under Secretary of the U.S. Navy.
- 1972-74** Warner serves as Secretary of the U.S. Navy.
- 1978** Warner is elected to the U.S. Senate from the state of Virginia.
- 1982**
- March* In response to the Reagan administration military build-up, EMK embraces the goals of the nuclear freeze movement and offers a non-binding resolution, together with Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR), to freeze nuclear weapons at present levels and then reduce them. (Clymer, pp. 331-332; Clymer interview with Horowitz, 01/07/1999, p. 1; Clymer interview with Horowitz, 05/29/1992, p. 18)
- The New York Times* reports the Reagan Administration is going to favor the nuclear freeze proposal made by Senators John Warner (R-VA) and Henry M. Jackson (D-WA), which advocates a freeze after the U.S. has overcome what they term a Soviet lead. Backers of the EMK-Hatfield proposal reportedly send letters

to Congress arguing the **Warner**-Jackson proposal is dangerous because it encourages production and deployment of new weapons. EMK later argues that the nuclear freeze movement did have an impact on the way people thought about nuclear weapons, and that it changed the atmosphere of the debate. (*The New York Times*, 03/30/1982; Clymer, pp. 331-32)

**1983** EMK begins serving on the Senate Armed Services Committee with **Warner**.

Important military and defense issues EMK works on this year include U.S. marines in Lebanon, opposition to SDI, nuclear warheads on conventional missiles, the B-I and stealth bombers, Contra Aid, and the assassination of Philippines opposition leader Aquino.

*February* At a hearing of the Armed Services Committee, EMK questions Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger on Reagan's requested 14 percent increase in the defense budget. **Warner** and Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA) also challenge Weinberger on the large increase. (Clymer, pp. 346-47)

*September* Congress authorizes the Reagan Administration to keep U.S. forces in Lebanon for as long as 18 months after Reagan dispatched a contingent of Marines in 1982 to take part in a four-nation peacekeeping force.

*October* On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, a terrorist attack on Marine headquarters at Beirut's airport kills 241 Americans, quickly eroding congressional support for a U.S. presence in Lebanon. On the 28<sup>th</sup>, EMK, along with Senators Alan J. Dixon (D-Ill) and Thomas F. Eagleton (D-MO) propose that Congress limit the Marines to three more months in Beirut but give itself the right to vote three-month extensions. The proposal is referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where Republicans stall action on it until 1984. (*1983 CQ Almanac*, p. 122)

U.S. forces invade Grenada on the 25<sup>th</sup>. On the 28<sup>th</sup>, EMK votes to attach an amendment to a Debt Limit increase bill that will invoke the War Powers Act and require Reagan to withdraw U.S. troops from Grenada within 60 days unless Congress authorizes continued military involvement. The Senate adopts the amendment but later strikes it from the bill. (*1983 CQ Almanac*, pp. 52-S, 53-S)

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, the Senate rejects an amendment to the debt ceiling bill calling for an immediate nuclear weapons freeze, sponsored by EMK and Hatfield. (*1983 CQ Almanac*, p. 205; Clymer, p. 353)

**1985** Important military and defense issues EMK works on this year include the Boland Amendment on Nicaragua.

*March* Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the new leader of the U.S.S.R.

**Warner** and EMK attend the U.S.-Soviet arms control talks in Geneva as members 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). Max Kampelman heads the U.S. negotiating team. The arms talks are intended to open a dialogue between the U.S. and Soviet Union on space, strategic and intermediate nuclear arms. 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)

- 1986** Important military and defense issues EMK works on this year include intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF).
- November* The Democrats regain control of the Senate in the mid-term elections.
- The Iran-Contra scandal breaks in the media.
- 1987** Important military and defense issues EMK works on this year include G.I. bill of rights, nuclear aircraft carriers and Panama.
- September* EMK abandons his effort to block the Navy's plans to build the two new aircraft carriers after an intense effort by **Warner** and Navy brass. (*The Washington Post*, 09/26/1987)
- October* The Bork nomination is rejected 42-58 on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. **Warner** joins with EMK and Democrats to vote against the nomination.
- 1989** Important military and defense issues EMK works on this year include aid to Poland and Hungary, the Tower nomination, aid to El Salvador, SDI, and Tiananmen Square.
- 1990** Important military and defense issues EMK works on include the Gulf War.
- August* Iraqi forces invade Kuwait on the 2<sup>nd</sup>.
- 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; **Warner** votes for 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. **Warner** votes against it. The Gulf War begins on the 16<sup>th</sup> and is over by the end of February. (1991 CQ Almanac, pp. 438-441, 2-S; Roll Call Vote Summary, 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress; *Selected Congressional Votes Since 1982*)

### October

EMK attempts for a second time to pass a bill overturning a series of 1989 Supreme Court decisions negatively affecting civil rights. He and Senator John Danforth (R-MO) had sponsored a similar bill the previous year that had been vetoed by President George H.W. Bush. Despite EMK’s and Danforth’s efforts, Bush’s veto had been narrowly sustained in the Senate. The bill (often referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1991) generally makes it easier for workers to file/win job discrimination suits. It also amends Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to permit sexual harassment victims to seek damages but caps damages at \$300,000. Bush threatens to veto again, but is convinced not to by Robert Dole (R-KS), who takes a small group of undecided Republicans, including Stevens, to the White House on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Stevens and Senator John **Warner** (R-VA) tell Bush that he cannot count on their votes to sustain the veto, a move which reportedly brings the White House back to the bargaining table. This results in Bush signing the bill, which passes in the Senate on the 30<sup>th</sup>, 93-5. Many credit Danforth’s work in building moderate Republican support as well as the ongoing controversy over Clarence Thomas’ Supreme Court nomination battle as the deciding factors in gaining the Bush administration’s support.

- 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.
- 1992**
- July*          EMK marries Vicki Reggie in McLean, Virginia.
- November*   Clinton is elected president, as the Democrats win the House, Senate, and White House.
- 1994**
- November*   The GOP wins control of both the House and Senate in the “Republican Revolution.” EMK loses his chairmanship of the Labor Committee.
- 1995**        **Warner** is one of a handful of republicans to vote with EMK on a “sense of the Senate” bill to raise the minimum wage. The bill is defeated 49-48.
- 1997-98**    **Warner** serves on the HELP Committee with EMK. EMK’s important legislation on the HELP Committee at this time includes the State Children’s Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) of 1997, which EMK passes with Orin Hatch and Hillary Clinton to create federal coverage of children’s health care. The bill is passed as part of the Balanced Budget Amendment and is funded in part by a cigarette tax increase. EMK also begins making repeated attempts during this time to enact legislation to strengthen patients’ rights, including giving patients the right to sue their HMOs to hold their health plans accountable for harm done.
- 1999**        **Warner** becomes chairman of the Armed Services Committee.
- February*    President Clinton is acquitted on both articles of impeachment, by 55-45 on the perjury charge and 50-50 on obstruction of justice. **Warner** votes against the perjury charge and for the obstruction of justice charge.
- 2001**        **Warner** sits on the HELP Committee with EMK in 2001-2002, much of this time under EMK’s chairmanship. After the Democrats retake the Senate in 2001, the Senate passes the McCain-Edwards-Kennedy Patients’ Bill of Rights. However negotiations with the Bush White House are unable to resolve the issue of damages and no legislation is enacted. EMK also continues his work from the late 90s during this time to add prescription drug coverage to Medicare.
- 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. **Warner** briefly loses then regains his Armed Services chairmanship.

*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. **Warner** loses chairmanship of Armed Services.

*September* 9/11 terrorist attacks.

**Warner**, EMK and Paul Wellstone (D-MN) sponsor an amendment to the defense authorization bill to provide mental health care for those affected by the 9/11 terrorist attacks. (*Congressional Press Records*, 10/01/2001)

## 2002

*September* 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.

In speech at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, 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 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)

*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.

**2003** **Warner** regains chairmanship of Armed Services.

*March* Bush orders U.S. forces to invade Iraq. (See Iraq timeline under separate tab.)

*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.

## 2004



*April* 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 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)

## 2005

*April* The Senate passes an emergency spending supplemental bill on the 21<sup>st</sup> 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. 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.” (*The Last Lion*, p. 369; 2005 CQ Almanac, p. 2-55; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109<sup>th</sup> Congress)

*May* A bipartisan group of 14 Senators, including **Warner**, John McCain (R-AZ) and Robert Byrd (D-WV), strikes a compromise agreement ending a heated Senate showdown over the elimination the filibuster against judicial nominations. The seven Democratic Senators who take part in the deal agree to hold a vote on three of the five blocked judicial nominees and vowed that they will filibuster future judicial nominees only under “extraordinary” circumstances. The seven Republican Senators promise to oppose any changes to the filibuster rule. The agreement does not resolve what might happen if Democrats filibuster a Supreme Court nominee. Neither EMK nor Lott is a party to the agreement. (*The New York Times*, 05/24/2005)

*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. The bill also bars "cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" of detainees. (2005 *CQ Almanac*, p. C-10; Roll Call Vote Summary, 109<sup>th</sup> Congress)

**2006** **Warner** criticizes the abuses committed by U.S. military in the war on terror, arguing it puts U.S. military personnel in future danger by eroding the Geneva Convention. **Warner**, Graham and McCain negotiate a compromise with the Bush White House on the 2006 Military Commissions Act.

*March* Trial of Saddam Hussein begins.

*June* Proposed amendments to the defense authorization bill that would create a timetable for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq, including one authored by John Kerry, are defeated in the Senate. EMK votes for the amendments.

Supreme Court rules in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* that military commissions set up by the Bush Administration to try detainees at Guantanamo Bay are illegal.

*September* The Senate passes (65-34) a bill to authorize a new framework for trying terror suspects held at Guantanamo Bay. EMK votes against the bill because it fails "to renounce abusive interrogation techniques."

*November* The Democrats regain control of the House and Senate.

*December:* Bipartisan report by the Iraq Study Group, headed by James Baker and Lee Hamilton, concludes that "the situation in Iraq is grave and deteriorating" and "U.S. forces seem to be caught in a mission that has no foreseeable end." The report's recommendations include reaching out diplomatically to Iran and Syria and intensifying the U.S. military's training of Iraqi troops.

Saddam Hussein is hanged.

**2007** **Warner** calls for Bush to start withdrawing U.S. forces from Iraq by Christmas.

*January* Bush proposes his "surge" strategy to increase the level of U.S. military forces in Iraq by at least 20,000 additional troops.

*May* Bush vetoes the defense appropriations bill passed by Congress in April because it includes a timetable for withdrawal.

*September*      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.

## **2008**

*May*      EMK is diagnosed with a brain tumor. **Warner** says, “I am so deeply saddened I have lost the words,” adding he has been friends with EMK for over 40 years. (msnbc.com, 05/20/2008)

## **SENATOR JOHN WARNER (R-VA)**

*Prepared by Rob Martin*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/30/2009*

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### **Senate years of service: 1979-2009**

(Warner did not seek reelection in 2008; succeeded by Mark Warner)

### **Warner's committee service with EMK:**

Armed Services Committee, 1983-2009

- under Warner's chairmanship, 2001, 2003-07.

Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP), 1997-98, 2001-2002

- under EMK's chairmanship, 2001-2002.
- on the HELP Subcommittee on Aging.

Senate Arms Control Observers Group, various years in 1980s, 1990s

- both participated in the 1985 Geneva trip with Max Kampelman during U.S.-Soviet arms control talks.

*\*Note: missing 2003-04, 2006-08 volumes of Congressional Staff Directory; information from those years not verified – based on best guesses.*

### **Warner's other committee service:**

**1999-2001, 2001, 2003-07:** Chair, Armed Services Committee

**1995-99:** Chair, Committee on Rules and Administration

Warner also serves on:

Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP)

Environment and Public Works Committee

Select Committee on Intelligence

Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs

Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs

### **Topics:**

**Tennis:** EMK used to invite Warner to play in EMK's regular morning tennis games at his house in McLean; other regular participants included Chris Dodd, Thad Cochran, Nick Littlefield and Lee Fentress. (Clymer interview, 01/30/1999)

**Family cane:** EMK lends Warner his father's cane after he learns that Warner has a bad knee and is having difficulty walking. This is the same cane that EMK had used while recuperating from his 1964 plane crash and during his return to the Senate in 2008. At some point EMK also lends the cane to Chris Dodd. (*Boston Globe*, 11/18/2008)

**1982/83 nuclear freeze:** In response to the EMK-Hatfield nuclear freeze resolution, Warner and Henry Jackson present their own proposal calling for the U.S. to freeze its nuclear arsenal after it has caught up to Soviet levels. Reagan backs the Warner-Jackson proposal. Warner also co-chairs the Nunn-Warner Working Group on Nuclear Risk Reduction in 1983.

**1983 Reagan defense budget:** Warner, EMK and Nunn challenge Reagan's request for 14% increase in defense spending in Armed Services Committee hearings with Defense Secretary Weinberger. (Clymer, p. 346)

**1985 arms control:** EMK and Warner both serve on 10-member Senate Arms Control Observers Group at U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms control talks in Geneva; the group is chaired by Senators Lugar, Stevens, Nunn and Pell; the U.S. delegation is headed by Max Kampelman.

**1987 Bork nomination:** Warner, who had been undecided, votes against the Bork nomination.

**1991 Civil Rights Bill:** Warner and Stevens tell Bush in White House meeting that they would not support a veto of the Danforth/EMK civil rights bill, forcing Bush back to negotiations; (the Senate had sustained Bush's veto of the bill in 1990); the 1991 Civil Rights Act is subsequently passed. (Clymer, pp. 500-501)

**1995 minimum wage:** Warner is one of a handful of republicans to vote with EMK on a "sense of the Senate" bill to raise the minimum wage. The bill is defeated 49-48.

**1999 Clinton impeachment:** Warner votes against the perjury charge and for the obstruction of justice charge.

**2001 9/11 mental health bill:** Warner, EMK and Paul Wellstone sponsor an amendment to the defense authorization bill to provide mental health care for those affected by the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

**2003 body armor/armored vehicles in Iraq:** Warner works with EMK on the push for body armor and armored humvees for U.S. troops in Iraq; Warner holds hearings on the issue at EMK's request, who had just attended the funeral of John Hart. Warner also later agrees, at EMK's request, to hold a hearing on the post-war humanitarian relief effort in Iraq; however, it is reportedly not a "serious" hearing and accomplishes very little.

**2005 "Nuclear Option":** Warner is in the Gang of 14 which reaches a compromise on "nuclear option" regarding judicial filibuster.

**2006 Iraq and torture:** Warner speaks out against the abuses committed by U.S. military in the war on terror, arguing it puts U.S. military personnel in future danger by eroding Geneva Convention and inviting retaliation; Warner, Graham and McCain negotiate compromise with Bush White House on 2006 Military Commissions Act.

**2007 Iraq and withdrawal:** Warner calls for Bush to start withdrawing U.S. forces from Iraq by Christmas.

**2008 on EMK's brain tumor:** Warner says, "I am so deeply saddened I have lost the words," adding he has been friends with EMK for over 40 years. (msnbc.com, 05/20/2008)

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

*Prepared by Rob Martin*

*Miller Center, 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.