



## 2008 Democratic Presidential Primary Endorsement Guide



### *Iraq*

"It does no good to talk about the consequences of defeat unless the public thinks some measure of success is possible." David Frum, former George W. Bush speechwriter

#### **QUESTION**

How many US troops and contractors would you leave in Iraq, if any, as part of your disengagement plan, and what would their mission be? Do you see any reason to continue combat operations?

What are the basic elements of an effective diplomatic and humanitarian strategy for Iraq and the broader Middle East?

#### **BACKGROUND**

The Iraq War began on March 20, 2003, a little more than 5 months after Congress approved the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq (AUMF) on October 10-11, 2002. The AUMF passed the House 296-133. The AUMF passed the Senate 77-23.

- 126 of 207 House Democrats (61%) voted against the AUMF, along with 6 House Republicans and 1 Independent (1 not voting).
- 21 of 50 Senate Democrats (42%) voted against the AUMF, along with 1 Republican and 1 Independent.
- 7 Democrats cosponsored the AUMF in the Senate: Evan Bayh (IN), John Edwards (NC), Mary Landrieu (LA), Max Baucus (MT), John Breaux (LA), Tim Johnson (SD), Zell Miller (GA), Joe Lieberman (CT) (original sponsor)
- 22 Democrats cosponsored the AUMF in the House, including the House Democratic leader, Richard Gephardt (MO).

Fast forward to the present day. As Congress prepares to debate another Iraq war appropriations bill, the White House's remaining (low) credibility is being tested 6 months after the start of the latest troop increase. Despite a full court press by the White House and its supporters claiming progress, the evidence does not show a decline in violence in Iraq, much less any political progress. Additionally, many observers across the political spectrum believe this troop increase is failing.

- According to numerous sources, the number of killings is either largely unchanged or even increasing: "Civilian deaths rose in August to their second-highest monthly level this year, according to figures compiled Saturday by The Associated Press."; "The Los Angeles Times... citing Iraqi Health Ministry numbers... In June, it was 1,227 civilian deaths in Iraq. In July, it went up to 1,753 civilian deaths in Iraq. And in August, the month that just ended, 1,773 civilian deaths in Iraq. Those numbers are going in the wrong direction."; "But figures provided to The New York Times by an Interior Ministry official who asked to remain anonymous indicated that 2,318 civilians died violently in the country in August, compared with 1,980 in July." (1) (2) (3)
- According to Defense Intelligence Agency data, the number of attacks against Iraqi forces and Iraqi civilians have remained largely flat in 2007, while average levels of attacks against US troops have increased slightly. (4)

- Anthony Cordesman, Center for Strategic & International Studies, former aide to Sen. John McCain: "I did not see any dramatic change in our position in Iraq during this trip. Many of the points, the problems which exist there are problems which have existed really since late 2004, if not earlier. ... But I also want to stress another thing. I did not see success for the strategy that President Bush announced in January." (5)
- A poll of foreign policy and national security experts in the September/October issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine finds that "64 percent of conservative experts say the surge is having either a negative impact or no impact at all." (6)

Much violence remains un(der)reported: "Among the most worrisome trends cited by the NIE was escalating warfare between rival Shiite militias in southern Iraq that has consumed the port city of Basra and resulted last month in the assassination of two southern provincial governors. According to a spokesman for the Baghdad headquarters of the Multi-National Force-Iraq (MNF-I), those attacks are not included in the military's statistics. 'Given a lack of capability to accurately track Shiite-on-Shiite and Sunni-on-Sunni violence, except in certain instances,' the spokesman said, 'we do not track this data to any significant degree.'" (7)

Measurements of violence often do not take into account the number of Iraqis (well over 2 million) who have been turned into refugees.

## BIDEN

Record	Platform/Statements
<p>Voiced skepticism about the Iraqi WMD threat and strongly opposed White House rhetoric linking Saddam Hussein to terrorism, but supported the Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF) and invasion on the grounds of Hussein's violations of UN resolutions.</p> <p>Biden became a strong critic of the occupation soon afterward. He is one of the first members of Congress to propose a plan for national reconciliation in Iraq.</p> <p>5/24/07: Supported final compromise war funding supplemental bill (HR 2206) (passed 80-14)</p> <p>5/16/07: Supported cloture on Feingold Amendment requiring US troop withdrawal in 2008 (cloture failed 29-67)</p> <p>3/15/07: Opposed concurrent resolution calling on Congress not to reduce/cut off funding for war/troops (S. Con. Res. 20) (passed 82-16)</p> <p>3/15/07: Supported resolution requiring beginning of withdrawal within 120 days (S.J. Res. 9) (failed 48-50)</p> <p>10/17/03: Supported war funding supplemental bill (S. 1689/HR 3289) (passed 87-12)</p> <p>10/10/02: Opposed Durbin Amendment requiring finding of "an imminent threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction" (failed 30-70)</p> <p>10/10/02: Opposed Levin Amendment requiring explicit UN Security Council or Congressional authorization for military force against Iraq (failed 24-75)</p>	<p>Introduced most recent version of his proposal for "Iraqi federalism," S. Con. Res. 37, in June 2007, which proposes that US policy encourage Iraq to formalize a federalized Iraqi state made up of equally weighted regional governments and encourage reconciliation region by region.</p> <p>2/1/07: [T]he heart of the administration's strategy -- building a strong central government -- will, in fact, not succeed. ... We have proposed that the Iraqis create what their constitution calls for: three or more... regions consistent with their constitution. We call for Iraq's oil to be shared equally..., We call for aggressive diplomacy..., we call for aggressive diplomacy in the creation of a contact group consisting of Iraq's neighbors and the major powers in the world.... (8)</p> <p>1/28/03: So what should we do? ... The option I would choose in this circumstance, even if we do not get world support, is to act. ... [I]f Saddam does not give up those weapons of mass destruction and the Security Council does not call for the use of force, I think we have little option but to act with a larger group of willing nations, if possible, and alone if we must. Saddam must disarm or be disarmed. (9)</p> <p>10/10/02: I will vote for [the AUMF] because we should be compelling Iraq to make good on its obligations to the United Nations. Because while Iraq's illegal weapons of mass destruction program do not—do not—pose an imminent threat to our national security, in my view, they will, if left unfettered. And because a strong vote in Congress, as I said, increases the prospect for a tough, new U.N. resolution on weapons of mass destruction, it is likely to get weapons inspectors in, which, in turn, decreases the prospects of war, in my view. (10)</p>

## CLINTON

Record	Platform/Statements
<p>Supported AUMF in 2002 and invasion by 2003. Critical of Iraq policy since 2003, and strong opponent since 2005.</p> <p>5/24/07: Opposed final compromise war funding supplemental bill (HR 2206) (passed 80-14)</p> <p>5/16/07: Supported cloture on Feingold Amendment requiring US troop withdrawal in 2008 (cloture failed 29-67)</p> <p>3/15/07: Supported concurrent resolution calling on Congress not to reduce/cut off funding for war/troops (S. Con. Res. 20) (passed 82-16)</p> <p>3/15/07: Supported resolution requiring beginning of withdrawal within 120 days (S.J. Res. 9) (failed 48-50)</p> <p>10/17/03: Supported war funding supplemental bill (S. 1689/HR 3289) (passed 87-12)</p> <p>10/10/02: Opposed Durbin Amendment requiring finding of "an imminent threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction" (failed 30-70)</p> <p>10/10/02: Opposed Levin Amendment requiring explicit UN Security Council or Congressional authorization for military force against Iraq (failed 24-75)</p>	<p>Introduced S. 670, the Iraq Troop Protection and Reduction Act of 2007, which would have limited troop deployments to January 1st levels. Supported a resolution by Sen. Robert Byrd (5/3/2007) which would set a deadline for expiration of the current AUMF on 10/11/2007, the 5-year anniversary of the original 2002 AUMF.</p> <p>4/26/07: This is not America's war to win or lose. We have given the Iraqi people the chance to have freedom, to have their own country. It is up to them to decide whether or not they're going to take that chance. (11)</p> <p>11/29/05: Based on the information that we have today, Congress never would have been asked to give the President authority to use force against Iraq. And if Congress had been asked, based on what we know now, we never would have agreed.... (12)</p> <p>10/29/03: In our efforts abroad, we now go to war as a first resort against perceived threats, not as a necessary final resort. ... [T]o elevate [preemption] to the organizing principle of American strategic policy at the outset of the 21st century is to grant legitimacy to every nation to make war on their enemies before their enemies make war on them. (13)</p> <p>3/6/03: There is a very easy way to prevent anyone from being put into harm's way, and that is for Saddam Hussein to disarm. And I have absolutely no belief that he will. (See the video link below for Clinton's full comments and Q&amp;A.) (14)</p> <p>10/10/02: In the 4 years since the inspectors, intelligence reports show that Saddam Hussein has worked to rebuild his chemical and biological weapons stock, his missile delivery capability, and his nuclear program. He has also given aid, comfort, and sanctuary to terrorists, including al-Qaida members.... If we were to attack Iraq now, alone or with few allies, it would set a precedent that could come back to haunt us. In recent days, Russia has talked of an invasion of Georgia to attack Chechen rebels. India has mentioned the possibility of a pre-emptive strike on Pakistan. And what if China were to perceive a threat from Taiwan? So Mr. President, for all its appeal, a unilateral attack, while it cannot be ruled out, on the present facts is not a good option. (15)</p>

**DODD**

<b>Record</b>	<b>Platform/Statements</b>
<p>Supported AUMF in 2002, but strong opponent of invasion and occupation.</p> <p>5/24/07: Opposed final compromise war funding supplemental bill (HR 2206) (passed 80-14)</p> <p>5/16/07: Supported cloture on Feingold Amendment requiring US troop withdrawal in 2008 (cloture failed 29-67)</p> <p>3/15/07: Opposed concurrent resolution calling on Congress not to reduce/cut off funding for war/troops (S. Con. Res. 20) (passed 82-16)</p> <p>3/15/07: Supported resolution requiring beginning of withdrawal within 120 days (S.J. Res. 9) (failed 48-50)</p> <p>10/17/03: Supported war funding supplemental bill (S. 1689/HR 3289) (passed 87-12)</p> <p>10/10/02: Supported Durbin Amendment requiring finding of "an imminent threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction" (failed 30-70)</p> <p>10/10/02: Opposed Levin Amendment requiring explicit UN Security Council or Congressional authorization for military force against Iraq (failed 24-75)</p>	<p>Supports full withdrawal of US forces. "Based on the amendment he offered in the Senate with Senators Reid and Feingold," Dodd proposes to "begin safely redeploying U.S. combat troops out of Iraq within 120 days," "provide every penny necessary for a safe redeployment of our troops" and "complete redeployment by April 30, 2008." Also calls for "direct negotiation with all the nations in the Middle East" and convening of a regional summit. (16)</p> <p>4/26/07: [Feingold-Reid] would impart an end date, beginning immediately [and] an end date at the end of next March. ... I then believe, also, that we need to engage in the robust diplomacy that we haven't been engaged in. (17)</p> <p>10/19/05: If we want to be a force for good then the United States must use its presence in Iraq to push the reconciliation/inclusion agenda. ... But I do believe that progress in stabilizing Iraq would be better served with fewer troops in major Iraqi cities and with a less visible presence in Sunni areas. (18)</p> <p>3/7/03: This morning U.N. Weapons Inspections chief, Mr. [Hans] Blix... reported that the inspections are making progress, that today inspectors are getting a lot more done than they did in the 1990s. We should listen to Mr. Blix and give his remarks serious consideration as we decide the next steps. (19)</p> <p>2/5/03: I have never doubted for one moment that Saddam Hussein has chemical and biological weapons and has sought to acquire nuclear weapons. For me the issue has always been how best to address that threat. I don't really believe that the Secretary [(Colin Powell)] addressed that question during his remarks. Seemingly, the Bush Administration has decided that the only way to do so is to invade Iraq, regardless of the potential consequences of such a decision. (20)</p> <p>1/28/03: If the President is going to order American men and women into battle he has to make a compelling case as to why all the other options have been exhausted and why the threat is so compelling that the US must act without the support of our key allies. (21)</p>

## EDWARDS

Record	Platform/Statements
<p>Co-sponsor of Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq (AUMF) in 2002. 1 of 4 Intelligence Committee Democrats (9 total) who voted in favor of the AUMF. Supported invasion. Apologized in 2005 for previous support of war. Strong critic of the occupation since late 2003. Opponent of occupation since 2005.</p> <p>10/17/03: Opposed war funding supplemental bill (S. 1689/HR 3289) (passed 87-12)</p> <p>10/10/02: Opposed Durbin Amendment requiring finding of "an imminent threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction" (failed 30-70)</p> <p>10/10/02: Opposed Levin Amendment requiring explicit UN Security Council or Congressional authorization for military force against Iraq (failed 24-75)</p>	<p>Supports "immediate drawdown of 40,000-50,000 combat troops." Argues we should "completely withdraw all combat troops within a year and prohibit U.S. military bases in Iraq" but that we should also "retain sufficient forces in the region to contain the conflict." (22)</p> <p>Supports "[prohibiting] funding to deploy any new troops to Iraq that do not meet real readiness standards," forcing the president to "[a]sk Congress for new authority to manage the withdrawal of the U.S. military presence and to help Iraq achieve stability." (23)</p> <p>"He would also step up U.S. diplomatic efforts by engaging in direct talks with all the nations in the region, including Iran and Syria, to bring a political solution to the sectarian violence inside Iraq, including through a peace conference." (24)</p> <p>11/13/05: It was a mistake to vote for this war in 2002...The intelligence was deeply flawed and, in some cases, manipulated to fit a political agenda. (25)</p> <p>11/3/03: In this case, supporting our military means rejecting a policy that is clearly failing. We must demand that this President change course. That is why today, I vote against the President's request for \$87 billion for Iraq. ... I believe that we were right to act against the threat of Saddam Hussein. But this President's failures in Iraq are undermining many of the goals we meant to accomplish by eliminating his brutal regime. (26)</p> <p>2003 (pre-invasion): This man has to be disarmed. If he doesn't do something to start disarming, then yes, we have to disarm him, and we should be willing to do so militarily. (27)</p> <p>10/10/02: I believe that the risks of inaction are far greater than the risks of action. Saddam Hussein's regime represents a grave threat to America and our allies, including our vital ally, Israel. For more than two decades, Saddam Hussein has sought weapons of mass destruction through every available means. ... After 11 years of watching Hussein play shell-games with his weapons programs, there is little reason to believe he has any intention to comply with an even tougher resolution. (28)</p>

## GRAVEL

Record	Platform/Statements
Fierce opponent of Iraq invasion and occupation. Strong proponent of prompt withdrawal.	Favors immediate withdrawal from Iraq, as well as "hand[ing] over reconstruction contracts to Iraqi businesses which will empower Iraqi nationals to reconstruct their own country. ... Senator Gravel's position on Iraq remains clear and consistent: to commence an immediate and orderly withdrawal of all U.S. troops that will have them home within 120 days." (29)  4/26/07: [U]nderstand that this war was lost the day that George Bush invaded Iraq on a fraudulent basis. ... [H]ow do you get out? You pass a law, not a resolution, a law making it a felony to stay there. ... In the Senate, let them filibuster it. And let [Senator] Reid call up every -- at 12:00 every day to have a cloture vote. And let the American people see clearly who's keeping the war going and who's not. (30)

## KUCINICH

Record	Platform/Statements
Opposed Authorization for Use of Military Force and invasion of Iraq. Has opposed all Iraq appropriations bills. Fierce opponent of Iraq invasion and occupation. Strong proponent of full, prompt withdrawal.  7/12/07: Opposed HR 2956 requiring withdrawal of most US troops by 3/31/08 and transition to "limited mission" (passed 223-201)  5/24/07: Opposed war funding supplemental bill (HR 2206) (as approved by Senate) (passed 280-142)  5/10/07: Opposed war funding supplemental approving 1/2 of president's request and requiring future vote on second half (HR 2206) (passed 221-205)  5/10/07: Supported bill requiring redeployment of most US troops and contractors within 9 months (HR 2237) (failed 171-255)  3/23/07: Opposed war funding supplemental requiring withdrawal of most US troops by 8/1/2008 (HR 1591) (passed 218-212)	HR 1234, introduced in January, calls for a prompt and total withdrawal of US forces. The bill also calls on the UN to organize a peacekeeping force for Iraq and to take charge of multilateral peace talks there.  4/26/07: I have a plan, H.R. 1234, a plan to end the war in Iraq, which calls on the international community to provide peacekeepers and security forces that will move in as our troops leave. But we can't do that until we determine we're going to end the occupation. And we will do that when we stop the funding. (31)

## OBAMA

Record	Platform/Statements
<p>Voiced opposition to AUMF and Iraq invasion as Illinois state senator in 2002. Strong opponent of Iraq occupation.</p> <p>5/24/07: Opposed final compromise war funding supplemental bill (HR 2206) (passed 80-14)</p> <p>5/16/07: Supported cloture on Feingold Amendment requiring US troop withdrawal in 2008 (cloture failed 29-67)</p> <p>3/15/07: Supported concurrent resolution calling on Congress not to reduce/cut off funding for war/troops (S. Con. Res. 20) (passed 82-16)</p> <p>3/15/07: Supported resolution requiring beginning of withdrawal within 120 days (S.J. Res. 9) (failed 48-50)</p>	<p>Introduced S. 433 in January 2007, which calls for the adoption of a series of benchmarks for Iraq, as well as the adoption of most Iraq Study Group proposals, including the appointment of a special presidential envoy and an April 2008 deadline for withdrawing combat troops.</p> <p>Believes "[t]he best way to protect our security and to pressure Iraq's leaders to resolve their civil war is to immediately begin to remove our combat troops." (32)</p> <p>Re: withdrawal, believes "we should enter into talks with the Iraqi government to discuss the process of our drawdown. We must get out strategically and carefully, removing troops from secure areas first, and keeping troops in more volatile areas until later. But our drawdown should proceed at a steady pace of one or two brigades each month." (33)</p> <p>Argues "we have a strategic interest - and a moral obligation - to act" to resolve the Iraqi refugee crisis, that America should "form an international working group with the countries in the region, our European and Asian friends, and the United Nations" to address refugee issues over the long term, and that "[w]e must... direct our support to those who want to hold Iraq together - not those who are tearing it apart." (34)</p> <p>4/26/07: [T]here's no military solution to this. We've got to have a political solution, begin a phased withdrawal, and make certain that we've got benchmarks in place so that the Iraqi people can make a determination about how they want to move forward. (35)</p> <p>6/21/06: We must exit Iraq, but not in a way that leaves behind a security vacuum filled with terrorism, chaos, ethnic cleansing and genocide that could engulf large swaths of the Middle East and endanger America. We have both moral and national security reasons to manage our exit in a responsible way. ... I am a cosponsor of the Levin amendment, which gives us the best opportunity to find this balance between our need to begin a phase-down and our need to help stabilize Iraq. ... Essential to a successful policy is the Administration listening to its generals and diplomats and members of Congress - especially those who disagree with their policies and believe it is time to start bringing our troops home. (36)</p> <p>10/2/02: I don't oppose war in all circumstances. When I look over this crowd today, I know there is no shortage of patriots or patriotism. What I do oppose is a dumb war. (37)</p>

## RICHARDSON

Record	Platform/Statements
Voiced support for AUMF and invasion of Iraq. Strong critic of Iraq occupation in recent years. Strong proponent of both diplomacy and full, prompt withdrawal.	<p>Supports withdrawal of American troops by the end of 2007. His "New Realism" plan calls for de-authorization and full withdrawal of US troops, along with much-increased diplomatic efforts to organize conferences on (1) Iraqi reconciliation, (2) regional security and (3) reconstruction. (38)</p> <p>4/26/07: I would withdraw all of our troops, including residual troops, by the end of this calendar year. I would use the leverage of that withdrawal, coupled with intensive diplomacy in 3 areas: One, a political framework led by the United States where the three religious entities in Iraq have a coalition government, divide oil revenues and possible set up three separate entities. Number two, I would convene a security conference, and I would invite Iran and Syria. ... And, thirdly, I would have a donor conference. I would have other countries take over the reconstruction responsibility and the security of Iraq. (39)</p> <p>7/28/03: We can also win by sending another strong message, and that is that we are, as Democrats, capable in maintaining and defending our country. We have to be able to use force when diplomacy fails and when our national security is threatened. (40)</p> <p>2/18/03: [O]nly one more deadline, only one more chance for Saddam Hussein is going to be allowable. So I think the administration is wise in pursuing this course that says OK, total disarmament in two weeks and that's it. (41)</p>

### FURTHER READING

Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL): [http://www.fcnl.org/issues/item.php?item\\_id=2810&issue\\_id=35](http://www.fcnl.org/issues/item.php?item_id=2810&issue_id=35)

Council on Foreign Relations candidate discussions: <http://www.cfr.org/campaign2008/meetings.html>

Council on Foreign Relations: "The Candidates on Iraq":  
[http://www.cfr.org/publication/13427/candidates\\_on\\_iraq.html?breadcrumb=%2Fcampaign2008%2Fissues](http://www.cfr.org/publication/13427/candidates_on_iraq.html?breadcrumb=%2Fcampaign2008%2Fissues)

Yahoo! News 2008 Democratic Candidate Mashup (includes Iraq as one of three main topics thus far):  
<http://debates.news.yahoo.com/>

### NOTES

(1) Associated Press, September 1, 2007. Available at: [http://www.dailybulletin.com/news/ci\\_6782162](http://www.dailybulletin.com/news/ci_6782162)

(2) Wolf Blitzer, Late Edition, September 2, 2007 (citing Los Angeles Times).

(3) New York Times, September 2, 2007. Available at:  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/02/world/middleeast/02iraq.html?\\_r=1&ref=world&oref=slogin](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/02/world/middleeast/02iraq.html?_r=1&ref=world&oref=slogin)

(4) Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). Available at:  
[http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20070909/ap\\_on\\_go\\_ca\\_st\\_pe/us\\_iraq\\_sea\\_of\\_stats](http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20070909/ap_on_go_ca_st_pe/us_iraq_sea_of_stats) (see photo inset for bar graphs)

(5) CSIS Press Conference, August 9, 2007. Televised on CSPAN and cited by ThinkProgress. Available at:

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Please contact [dcfordemocracy@gmail.com](mailto:dcfordemocracy@gmail.com) with any questions/comments.

<http://thinkprogress.org/2007/08/09/cordesman-iraq/>

(6) Reuters, August 20, 2007. Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/middleeastCrisis/idUSN17457740>

(7) Washington Post, September 5, 2007. Available at:

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/09/05/AR2007090502466\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/09/05/AR2007090502466_pf.html)

(8) Floor statement. Available at: <http://biden.senate.gov/newsroom/details.cfm?id=268307&&>

(9) Floor statement. Available at: <http://biden.senate.gov/newsroom/details.cfm?id=189984&&>

(10) Joe Biden. Floor statement on Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq, 10/10/2002. See Congressional Record, p. S10290 (108th Congress)

(11) Hillary Clinton. South Carolina Democratic Debate, 4/29/2007. Available at: <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18352397/>

(12) Hillary Clinton. Letter to constituents. Available at: <http://clinton.senate.gov/news/statements/details.cfm?id=264263>

(13) Address to Center for American Progress. Available at:  
<http://clinton.senate.gov/news/statements/details.cfm?id=233765&&>

(14) Address to Code Pink delegation. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pYATbsu2cP8>

(15) Floor statement. Available at: <http://clinton.senate.gov/news/statements/details.cfm?id=233783>

(16) Chris Dodd campaign website. Available at: <http://chrisdodd.com/issues/iraq>

(17) Chris Dodd. South Carolina Democratic Debate, 4/29/2007. Available at:  
<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18352397/page/3/>

(18) Foreign Relations Committee statement. Available at:  
[http://dodd.senate.gov/index.php?q=node/3274&pr=press/Speeches/109\\_05/1019.htm](http://dodd.senate.gov/index.php?q=node/3274&pr=press/Speeches/109_05/1019.htm)

(19) Floor statement. Available at:  
[http://dodd.senate.gov/index.php?q=node/3274&pr=press/Speeches/108\\_03/0307a.htm](http://dodd.senate.gov/index.php?q=node/3274&pr=press/Speeches/108_03/0307a.htm)

(20) Floor statement. Available at: [http://dodd.senate.gov/index.php?q=node/3274&pr=press/Speeches/108\\_03/0205.htm](http://dodd.senate.gov/index.php?q=node/3274&pr=press/Speeches/108_03/0205.htm)

(21) Floor statement. Available at: [http://dodd.senate.gov/index.php?q=node/3274&pr=press/Speeches/108\\_03/0128.htm](http://dodd.senate.gov/index.php?q=node/3274&pr=press/Speeches/108_03/0128.htm)

(22) John Edwards. DC for Democracy Questionnaire.

(23) John Edwards campaign website. Available at: <http://www.johnedwards.com/issues/iraq/>

(24) Ibid.

(25) John Edwards, "The Right Way in Iraq." Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/11/AR2005111101623.html>

(26) John Edwards. Floor statement on opposing Iraq war funding, 11/3/2003. See Congressional Record, p. S13774 (108th Congress)

(27) John Edwards. Chris Matthews College Hardball Tour, Central University, North Carolina. Available at:  
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B4x\\_KnWEDjs](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B4x_KnWEDjs)

(28) John Edwards. Floor statement on Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq, 10/10/2002. See Congressional Record, p. S10325 (108th Congress)

(29) Mike Gravel campaign website. Available at: [http://www.gravel2008.us/Meet\\_Mike\\_Gravel.pdf](http://www.gravel2008.us/Meet_Mike_Gravel.pdf) (p. 6)

(30) Mike Gravel. South Carolina Democratic Debate, 4/29/2007. Available at: <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18352397/page/3/>

(31) Dennis Kucinich. South Carolina Democratic Debate. Available at: <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18352397/page/2/>

(32) Barack Obama. DC for Democracy Questionnaire.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Barack Obama. South Carolina Democratic Debate -- available at: <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18352397/>

(36) Floor statement. Available at: [http://obama.senate.gov/speech/060621-floor\\_statement\\_6/](http://obama.senate.gov/speech/060621-floor_statement_6/)

(37) Barack Obama. Address to Chicago anti-war rally, 10/26/2002. Available on YouTube: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B4x\\_KnWEDjs](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B4x_KnWEDjs)

(38) Bill Richardson campaign website. Available at: <http://action.richardsonforpresident.com/page/petition/iraq>

(39) Bill Richardson. South Carolina Democratic Debate, 4/29/2007. Available at: <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18352397/page/3/>

(40) Bill Richardson. Keynote Address to 2003 Democratic Leadership Council, 7/28/03 (introduced by Will Marshall). Available at: [http://www.ppionline.org/ndol/ndol\\_ci.cfm?kaid=106&subid=122&contentid=251978](http://www.ppionline.org/ndol/ndol_ci.cfm?kaid=106&subid=122&contentid=251978)

(41) Bill Richardson. CNN. Available at: <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0302/18/lm.09.html>