
VETS ★FOR★
FREEDOM

A NATION AT WAR—A CONGRESS DIVIDED
ANALYSIS OF KEY WAR-RELATED SENATE VOTES

ALPHA SECTION—SITREP

Vets for Freedom has examined the voting records of all 100 U.S. Senators on issues that affect Iraq, Afghanistan, and other battlefields of the Global War on Terror and have graded them in the following after-action report.

To calculate the grades, *Vets for Freedom* reviewed all legislation voted on in the Senate that impacted the missions in Iraq, Afghanistan or GWOT, as well as the men and women who were carrying out that mission in the United States Armed Forces during the 110th Congress. *Vets for Freedom* took a position on each piece of legislation that was voted on, and graded each Senator based on the percentage of times his/her vote corresponded with the position of *Vets for Freedom*.

In the 110th Congress during the years of 2007 and 2008, a total of 30 votes were used to determine ratings according to the following grading system:

A+	97 to 100	C	74 to 76
A	94 to 96	C-	70 to 73
A-	90 to 93	D+	67 to 69
B+	87 to 89	D	64 to 66
B	84 to 86	D-	60 to 63
B-	80 to 83	F	Below 60
C+	77 to 79		

score for each Senator has been generated based on simple percentage of the time a Senator voted in a manner consistent with the Vets for Freedom position on legislation. One-half percent has been deducted for every missed vote.

BRAVO SECTION—WHY WE FIGHT

“WARS THAT ARE WON ON THE BATTLEFIELD CAN BE LOST HERE AT HOME ON THE POLITICAL BATTLEFIELD. DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE CONTRIBUTION YOU HAVE MADE ON THE POLITICAL BATTLEFIELD HERE AT HOME. YOU HAVE STUCK WITH THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, AND AS A RESULT, WE ARE NOT ONLY WINNING THE WAR IN IRAQ, WE ARE WINNING THE WAR HERE AT HOME IN AMERICA.”

- SEN. JOSEPH LIEBERMAN (I-CT)

While the brave men and women who wear our nation’s uniform continue to serve and fight in harm’s way, *Vets for Freedom* continues to fight the fight on the political battlefield in Washington, DC.

WHAT’S AT STAKE?

In September of 2007, General Petraeus testified before Congress that Iraq was the central front in the Global War on Terror. He cited Al Qaeda leadership, intelligence reports, and internal Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) memos that acknowledged the same. That same month, the Senate Leadership came within 2 votes of cutting off funding for our troops fighting in Iraq, effectively ending offensive operations within the country by American forces.

Had this happened, American soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines would have come home in defeat. The fragile Iraqi government would have crumbled at the hands of Islamic extremists, giving them a stronghold in the Middle East and a place to base terrorist operations against the United States and our allies. In short, defeat in Iraq would have put the lives of American citizens at risk.

In analyzing the 110th Congress on its handling of the Iraq War, *Vets for Freedom* applied three sets of criteria:

Funding for the Troops—On numerous occasions in the 110th Congress, the Senate voted on legislation that would have cut off funds for the men and women fighting in Iraq. *Vets for Freedom* believes this would have been detrimental to the U.S. mission and strongly advocated against any such legislation.

Timelines for Withdrawal—On numerous occasions in the 110th Congress, the Senate voted on legislation that would have set arbitrary timelines for American forces to leave Iraq. *Vets for Freedom* believes this would have been nothing short of retreat and strongly advocated against any such legislation.

Mission and Morale Changers—There were several occasions during the 110th Congress when the Senate voted on legislation that could have affected the morale of American forces, as well as their ability to carry out their mission. *Vets for Freedom* reviewed each piece of legislation and took a position consistent with the defense of the national interest and the welfare of the members of the U.S. military.

CHARLIE SECTION—FEATURED LEGISLATION

Senate Amendment 4320 to S.2766, the Defense Authorization Act for FY 2007 (110th Congress, Senate Vote 182 on June 22, 2006)

- Amendment urges the President to begin a phased redeployment of U.S. troops from Iraq by the end of 2006.
- States that the [Surge] is unsustainable and a deterrent to the Iraqis making the political compromises and personnel and resource commitments that are needed for the stability and security of Iraq.
- Senators who voted in favor of this amendment were voting against the surge and in favor of retreat in Iraq.
- The Amendment was not agreed to by a vote of 39 in favor, 60 against.

Senate Amendment 2022 to H.R. 1585, the Defense Authorization Act for FY 2008 (110th Congress, Senate Vote 340 on September 19, 2007)

- Amendment aims to “restore” Habeas Corpus rights for terrorists and other combatants detained by the United States.
- The extension of Habeas Corpus rights to these individuals would provide constitutional protections to non-citizens who are waging terrorist activities against American citizens.
- Senators who voted in favor of this amendment were voting to extend constitutional protections to detained enemy combatants, even if they had killed Americans.
- The Amendment was not agreed to because cloture was not invoked by a vote of 56 in favor, 43 against (60 votes required to invoke cloture).

**Senate Amendment 2934 to H.R. 1585, the
Defense Authorization Act for FY 2008** (110th
Congress, Senate Vote 344 on September 20, 2007)

- Amendment expresses the sense of the Senate that General Petraeus, Commanding General, Multi-National Force-Iraq, deserves the full support of the Senate.
- Amendment strongly condemns personal attacks on the honor and integrity of General Petraeus, and all members of the United States Armed Forces.
- Senators who voted in favor of this amendment were voting to send a message of support to General Petraeus, and all members of the Armed Forces, after his character was attacked by Moveon.org.
- The Amendment was agreed to by a vote of 72 in favor, 25 against.

**Senate Amendment 2898 to H.R. 1585, the
Defense Authorization Act for FY 2008** (110th
Congress, Senate Vote 345 on September 21, 2007)

- Amendment instructed the Secretary of Defense to begin reducing the number of military forces in Iraq within 90 days, completing the reduction within 9 months.
- This Amendment was the closest that Congress came to losing the war in Iraq.
- Senators who voted in favor of this Amendment were voting to set a timeline for retreat, which would have resulted in the U.S. losing the war in Iraq.
- The Amendment was not agreed to by a vote of 47 in favor, 47 against.

DELTA SECTION— CONGRESSIONAL PROFICIENCY AND CONDUCT MARKS

Alabama Senators	Score	Grade
Richard Shelby (R-AL)	96.0%	A+
Jeff Sessions (R-AL)	100.0%	A+
Alaska Senators	Score	Grade
Ted Stevens (R-AK)	96.0%	A+
Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)	95.5%	A+
Arizona Senators	Score	Grade
Jon Kyl (R-AZ)	95.5%	A+
John McCain (R-AZ)	93.5%	A-
Arkansas Senators	Score	Grade
Blanche Lincoln (D-AR)	33.0%	F
Mark Pryor (D-AR)	48.0%	F
California Senators	Score	Grade
Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)	14.5%	F
Barbara Boxer (D-CA)	2.5%	F
Colorado Senators	Score	Grade
Ken Salazar (D-CO)	37.0%	F
Wayne Allard (R-CO)	100.0%	A+
Connecticut Senators	Score	Grade
Joseph Lieberman (I-CT)	92.0%	A-
Christopher Dodd (D-CT)	6.5%	F
Delaware Senators	Score	Grade
Thomas Carper (D-DE)	33.0%	F
Joseph Biden (D-DE)	0.0%	F

Florida Senators	Score	Grade
Mel Martinez (R-FL)	95.5%	A+
Bill Nelson (D-FL)	37.0%	F
Georgia Senators	Score	Grade
Saxby Chambliss (R-GA)	95.5%	A+
Johnny Isakson (R-GA)	96.0%	A+
Hawaii Senators	Score	Grade
Daniel Inouye (D-HI)	14.0%	F
Daniel Akaka (D-HI)	7.0%	F
Idaho Senators	Score	Grade
Mike Crapo (R-ID)	100.0%	A+
Larry Craig (R-ID)	100.0%	A+
Illinois Senators	Score	Grade
Barack Obama (D-IL)	0.5%	F
Richard Durbin (D-IL)	6.5%	F
Indiana Senators	Score	Grade
Richard Lugar (R-IN)	88.0%	B+
Evan Bayh (D-IN)	33.0%	F
Iowa Senators	Score	Grade
Charles Grassley (R-IA)	96.0%	A+
Tom Harkin (D-IA)	3.0%	F
Kansas Senators	Score	Grade
Pat Roberts (R-KS)	96.0%	A+
Sam Brownback (R-KS)	95.0%	A+

Kentucky Senators	Score	Grade
Jim Bunning (R-KY)	100.0%	A+
Mitch McConnell (R-KY)	96.0%	A+
Louisiana Senators	Score	Grade
David Vitter (R-LA)	95.5%	A+
Mary Landrieu (D-LA)	37.5%	F
Maine Senators	Score	Grade
Susan Collins (R-ME)	70.0%	C-
Olympia Snowe (R-ME)	59.0%	F
Maryland Senators	Score	Grade
Barbara Mikulski (D-MD)	29.0%	F
Benjamin Cardin (D-MD)	14.0%	F
Massachusetts Senators	Score	Grade
John Kerry (D-MA)	3.0%	F
Edward Kennedy (D-MA)	0.0%	F
Michigan Senators	Score	Grade
Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)	7.0%	F
Carl Levin (D-MI)	25.0%	F
Minnesota Senators	Score	Grade
Norm Coleman (R-MN)	81.0%	B-
Amy Klobuchar (D-MN)	11.0%	F
Mississippi Senators	Score	Grade
Trent Lott (R-MS)	93.5%	A-
Thad Cochran (R-MS)	95.5%	A+
Roger Wicker (R-MS)		
Missouri Senators	Score	Grade
Claire McCaskill (D-MO)	29.0%	F
Christopher Bond (R-MO)	99.5%	A+

Montana Senators	Score	Grade
Max Baucus (D-MT)	33.0%	F
Jon Tester (D-MT)	29.0%	F
Nebraska Senators	Score	Grade
Chuck Hagel (R-NE)	44.0%	F
Ben Nelson (D-NE)	44.0%	F
Nevada Senators	Score	Grade
John Ensign (R-NV)	95.5%	A+
Harry Reid (D-NV)	11.0%	F
New Hampshire Senators	Score	Grade
Judd Gregg (R-NH)	96.0%	A+
John Sununu (R-NH)	85.0%	B+
New Jersey Senators	Score	Grade
Robert Menendez (D-NJ)	3.0%	F
Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ)	7.0%	F
New Mexico Senators	Score	Grade
Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)	14.0%	F
Pete Domenici (R-NM)	95.5%	A+
New York Senators	Score	Grade
Charles Schumer (D-NY)	7.0%	F
Hillary Clinton (D-NY)	6.5%	F
North Carolina Senators	Score	Grade
Elizabeth Dole (R-NC)	95.0%	A+
Richard Burr (R-NC)	100.0%	A+
North Dakota Senators	Score	Grade
Kent Conrad (D-ND)	33.0%	F
Byron Dorgan (D-ND)	33.0%	F

Ohio Senators	Score	Grade
Sherrod Brown (D-OH)	3.0%	F
George Voinovich (R-OH)	92.0%	A-
Oklahoma Senators	Score	Grade
Tom Coburn (R-OK)	100.0%	A+
James Inhofe (R-OK)	96.0%	A+
Oregon Senators	Score	Grade
Ron Wyden (D-OR)	3.0%	F
Gordon Smith (R-OR)	40.0%	F
Pennsylvania Senators	Score	Grade
Robert Casey (D-PA)	33.0%	F
Arlen Specter (R-PA)	87.5%	B+
Rhode Island Senators	Score	Grade
Jack Reed (D-RI)	18.0%	F
Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI)	3.0%	F
South Carolina Senators	Score	Grade
Jim DeMint (R-SC)	100.0%	A+
Lindsey Graham (R-SC)	99.5%	A+
South Dakota Senators	Score	Grade
John Thune (R-SD)	100.0%	A+
Tim Johnson (D-SD)	40.0%	F
Tennessee Senators	Score	Grade
Lamar Alexander (R-TN)	100.0%	A+
Bob Corker (R-TN)	95.5%	A+
Texas Senators	Score	Grade
John Cornyn (R-TX)	100.0%	A+
Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX)	96.0%	A+

Utah Senators	Score	Grade
Orrin Hatch (R-UT)	95.5%	A+
Robert Bennett (R-UT)	95.0%	A+
Vermont Senators	Score	Grade
Patrick Leahy (D-VT)	7.0%	F
Bernard Sanders (I-VT)	0.0%	F
Virginia Senators	Score	Grade
John Warner (R-VA)	91.5%	A-
James Webb (D-VA)	29.0%	F
Washington Senators	Score	Grade
Maria Cantwell (D-WA)	2.5%	F
Patty Murray (D-WA)	3.0%	F
West Virginia Senators	Score	Grade
John Rockefeller (D-WV)	11.0%	F
Robert Byrd (D-WV)	3.0%	F
Wisconsin Senators	Score	Grade
Herbert Kohl (D-WI)	14.0%	F
Russ Feingold (D-WI)	7.0%	F
Wyoming Senators	Score	Grade
John Barrasso (R-WY)	100.0%	A+
Craig Thomas (R-WY)	100.0%	A+
Michael Enzi (R-WY)	99.0%	A+

ECHO SECTION—FULL LIST OF INCLUDED LEGISLATION

(NOTE: FEATURED LEGISLATION IN BOLD)

Outcome	Legislation	VFF Position
Passed	Defense Authorization Act 2007 S Amdt 4269 to S 2766	Support
Failed	Defense Authorization Act 2007 S Amdt 4320 to S2766	Oppose
Failed	Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Motion to Proceed to S .574	Oppose
Failed	A Joint Resolution to Revise United States policy on Iraq SJRes9	Oppose
Passed	Concurrent Resolution S. Con. Res 20	Support
Failed	Cochran Amdt. No. 643	Support
Passed	On Passage of the Bill H.R. 1591, as Ammended	Oppose
Failed	Cloture Motion for Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007	Oppose
Passed	U.S. Troop Readiness, Veterans' Care, Katrina Recovery, and Iraq Accountability Appropriations Act, 2007	Oppose
Failed	Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Feingold Amdt. No. 1098; to provide for a transition of the Iraq Missions	Oppose
Failed	On the Cloture Motion (Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Warner Amdt. No. 1134	Support
Failed	On the Cloture Motion (Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Webb Amdt. No. 2012 to National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008	Oppose
Failed	Hagel Amdt. No. 2032 to National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008	Oppose
Failed	Motion to Invoke Cloture on the LevinAmdt. No. 2087	Oppose
Failed	Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Specter Amdt. No. 2022 to National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008	Oppose

Outcome	Legislation	VFF Position
Failed	Webb Amdt. No. 2909 to National Defense Authorization Act Fiscal Year 2008	Oppose
Passed	Cornyn Amdt. No. 2934 to National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008	Support
Failed	Feingold Amdt. No. 2924 to National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008	Oppose
Failed	Levin Amdt. No. 2898 to National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008	Oppose
Passed	Biden Amdt. No. 2997 as Modified to National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008	Oppose
Passed	Kyl Amdt. No. 3017 as Modified to National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008	Support
Failed	Feingold Amdt. No. 3164 to Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2008	Oppose
Failed	Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Motion to Proceed to Consider S. 2340	Support
Failed	Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Motion to Proceed to Consider Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act, 2008	Oppose
Failed	Feingold Amdt. No. 3875 to Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2008	Oppose
Failed	Levin Amdt. No. 3876 to Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2008	Oppose
Passed	McConnell Motion to Concur in House Amdt. No. 2 to the Senate Amdt. to H.R. 2764, with an Amdt. No. 3874	Support
Failed	To Express the Sense of Congress that the Surge Strategy will not work	Oppose

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