Mr. Speaker, I came to the House floor because I felt

that I needed to come down here and

speak before this body about my oppo-

sition to the war that seems to be

pending in Iraq.

I come to the floor today to say that

war is not inevitable; that this great

Nation, whose power and hegemony is

not disputed, can assert its leadership

without the terrible destruction of a

preemptive all-out war.

I come to the floor today to pay trib-

ute to the millions and millions of ev-

eryday people all around the world, in-

cluding throughout the United States,

who have expressed so clearly their

conviction that a U.S.-led invasion of

Iraq is not the answer.

I come to pay tribute to the city of

Chicago, one of about 100 U.S. cities

whose elected leaders, responding to

their citizens, voted ‘‘no’’ to a preemp-

tive war. In Chicago it was by a vote of

46 to 1.

We are on the brink of the first war

in history started by the United States

against a country that has not threat-

ened violence against the United

States. We are on the brink of imple-

menting a new policy of preemptive

war, and ushering in not a new world

order but a world of unprecedented disorder.

Let us examine the facts: Iraq is led

by a tyrannical dictator, one who may

have, who probably has, chemical and

biological weapons; one who violates

human rights and oppresses his people;

the same tyrannical dictator, by the

way, who was our ally in the 1980s

when Iraq was at war with Iran; the

same dictator to whom we sent chem-

ical and biological materials in the

eighties; the same dictator who we now

charge with using chemical and bio-

logical weapons, but at the time, the

United States refused to support a U.N.

resolution condemning Iraq.

The same Saddam who was in place

in 1998 when the Haliburton Company,

led by Vice President DICK CHENEY, was

doing business in Iraq. The same dic-

tator that has onerous characteristics

that can be applied to many other

countries, many of which we call ally,

friends and coalition partner. And can

be applied to countries like North

Korea and Iran, who pose an even

greater danger to the United States.

So why Iraq and why now? I stand

here today as a patriot and particu-

larly resentful, not only for myself, but

all of my constituents who oppose this

war because we deeply love this coun-

try. But we believe that this war fails

to meet the threshold test. Will it

make us citizens and residents of the

United States safer? Will it make the

Middle East, and of particular concern

to me, Israel, safer? Will it make the

world safer?

I say the answer is, and I feel in my

heart, a resounding no.

The Central Intelligence Agency re-

ports that Saddam is likely to use

chemical and biological weapons only

if we attack. Saddam and Iraq had

nothing to do with September 11, or at

the time, Osama bin Laden, despite

desperate attempts by this administra-

tion to link them. But an attack on

Iraq now could meld an unlikely coali-

tion of terrorist organizations and fun-

damental Muslim organizations that

will be a real threat to the United

States and other countries around the

globe.

Most importantly, we have real op-

tions to disarm Saddam Hussein. The

way this debate has been shaped is you

are either for all-out war, or you are

for nothing and that could not be fur-

ther from the truth.

Saddam Hussein must be disarmed

and no one disagrees with that. And we

have a structure for doing that. The

United Nations was set up for that, is

ready to do that and with the mighty

leadership that the United States could

exert, can do an even better job to

make sure that Saddam Hussein who

has, in fact, been violating resolutions,

will comply now with disarmament. We

can be part of a large and growing coa-

lition of civilized nations who says

that in this 21st century, where the

technology allows for chemical and bi-

ological and even nuclear weapons to

proliferate around the globe, and it will

be hard given this century and this

knowledge to stop that, unless we have

a coalition of civilized nations that

will surround and isolate rogue states

and rogue nations.

We should lead in developing that co-

alition. We do not have to go to war

now. I say no war on behalf of my con-

stituents and to this Congress.