Mr. Speaker, to provide

for the common defense of our Nation

is a constitutional duty here in Congress,

and we have no responsibility

more serious than to look after the security

of the people of America, and to

do it in a way that honors and protects

the men and women who defend our security.

We certainly recognize their

courage, their sacrifice and their patriotism.

I am concerned that the Americanled

war upon which we are about to

launch, followed by an American military

occupation, would make Americans

here at home less secure, not

more. With that in mind, I would like

to refer to a resolution introduced by

the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN)

and cosponsored by a number of others

of us. The joint resolution has a number

of whereas clauses, including that

whereas Saddam Hussein is a repressive

dictator who has demonstrated

through his own actions, including the

invasion of Kuwait and the oppression

of the Iraqi people, that it is necessary

for the international community to ensure

his conduct is in accordance with

international law.

And whereas on September 12, 2002,

President Bush committed the United

States to ‘‘work with the United Nations

Security Council to meet our

common challenge’’, posed by Iraq and

to, ‘‘work for the necessary resolutions’’

while also making clear that,

‘‘the Security Council resolutions will

be enforced and that the just demands

of peace and security will be met or action

will be unavoidable;’’ . . .

And whereas Congress recognizes the

efforts of the President to obtain unanimous

approval for United Nations Security

Council resolution 1441 which affords

Iraq, ‘‘a final opportunity to comply

with its disarmament obligations

under relevant resolutions of the Council.’’

And following various other whereas

clauses, we call upon the President to

report to Congress prior to using U.S.

Armed Forces against Iraq pursuant to

section 3(a) of the Authorization for

the Use of Military Force, to report on

the following:

1. A determination that further diplomatic

and other peaceful means will

not adequately protect the national security

of the United States against the

threat posed by Iraq. In other words,

that war is, indeed, a last resort.

2. A full accounting of the implications,

both positive and negative, of

initiating military action against Iraq

in regard to homeland security, the

war on terrorism, regional stability in

the Middle East, the Middle East peace

process, and the proliferation of weapons

of mass destruction. In other

words, to understand the implications

that an invasion of Iraq would have for

our other international interests, including

the combat against terrorism

and the regional stability in the Middle

East.

3. The steps the United States and its

allies will take to ensure that any and

all weapons of mass destruction and

the related knowledge base will be

safeguarded from dispersal to other

rogue states and international terrorist

organizations. In other words, to

see that the risk of use of weapons of

mass destruction would actually be reduced,

not increased, by an invasion of

Iraq. As an aside, I might comment,

the serious problem that is created by

our lowering the threshold for the use

of nuclear weapons in that area.

4. The United States’ plan for achieving

long-term social, economic and political

stabilization of a post-conflict

Iraq, including a plan to provide humanitarian

assistance to the Iraqi people

and to ensure respect of their

human rights as well as bringing to

justice the individuals responsible for

serious violations of international humanitarian

and human rights law committed

in Iraq.

5. The nature and extent of the international

support for military action

against Iraq and the impact of military

action against Iraq on allied support

for the broader war on terrorism. In

other words, it is not just a matter of

‘‘you’re either with us or against us’’

but how does this help us work together

to accomplish our goals around

the world now and in the future.

6. The steps the United States and its

allies will take to protect United

States soldiers, allied forces and Iraqi

civilians from any known or suspected

environmental hazards, associated with

battlefield agents.

7. An estimate of the full costs including

humanitarian aid in light of

possible refugee flows, reconstructing

Iraq, and securing political stability in

the region, and

8. The anticipated short and longterm

effects of military action on the

economy and the Federal budget.

We end by saying it is the sense of

Congress that the report required by

subsection (a) should be delivered by

the President in the form of a public

address to a joint session of Congress. I

think with this kind of report, that is

satisfactory on all these points, our

men and women in uniform will have

everything they need to defend the security

of the American people. Without

such a report I must conclude that it is

at least premature, or more likely contrary

to our national interest, the fight

against terrorism, to our ability to

lead the world, to launch a military attack

against Iraq now.