Mr.

Speaker, as many in this Nation and

many around the world, I do not like

Saddam Hussein. I do not like him for

what he does to the children of his nation,

the women of his nation, and the

people who are in need in his nation. I

do not like what he does with the humanitarian

aid, holding it hostage, so

those who need medicine and health

care, nutrition, those who go hungry,

are not served well by his leadership.

There is no doubt that he has the capacity

and has been engaged in manufacturing

weapons of terror and also

the kind of chemical warfare that all

the world abhors. He is not the kind of

leader that any of us would advocate

for.

But I raise my voice out of concern

for the recent announcements over the

past weekend, now finding out that

these are somewhat old in their pronouncements,

that there are those who

previously in months past were aware

of the thinking of the administration

dealing with covert action in Iraq. In

fact, there are articles in our newspapers

across the Nation suggesting

lawmakers back action against Iraq.

Let me step aside, Mr. Speaker, and

stand outside of that circle and speak

for what I believe to be many of those

in the United States who will ask the

question, are we prepared, and what is

the basis of that action? I have already

stated that the leader of this nation,

the leader of the Iraq nation, that is, is

not a person who advocates the values

that we believe in. I have already indicated

that I believe that the country

needs a change in leadership.

But in respect to the approach, the

question has to be, What is the involvement

in oversight of the United States

Congress? What are the decisions that

will be made with respect to these actions?

We well know that, tragically, Saddam

Hussein tried to assassinate one of

our Presidents, and we cannot tolerate

that; and I would not stand for that

kind of action or advocate it or allow it

to go unpunished. But we also know

that there is no indication that he had

anything to do with the horrible act of

September 11. We also know that his

activities can be classified as bumbling.

We also realize that if we are to engage

in a covert action that may include

the killing of this leader out of

self-defense, that we may also put this

Nation’s military personnel in the position

of a ground war. It has been suggested

that 200,000 men and women

would be needed for a ground war in

Iraq. We realize that Korea was not

successful to the point we wanted. The

DMZ still exists between North and

South Korea, and there is the tragedy

of terrible hunger and devastation

going on in North Korea. Though we

pay tribute to the men who fought in

the Korean War, and we thank them,

we still have North and South Korea.

We also realize that though we pay

tribute to the thousands of young men

who lost their lives and those who

served in the Vietnam War, we know

that Vietnam was not successful to the

point we wanted.

We also recognize that out of the turmoil

of the Cold War, that the Berlin

Wall did fall, and it fell because those

in Berlin desired it to fall and the people

brought it down.

I believe we need more oversight and

insight into decisions to be made regarding

Iraq. I oppose these pronouncements

suggesting that the next step is

for this Nation to enter into a war. We

realize that four prior covert actions

involving everything from radio propaganda

to paramilitary plots have failed

to dislodge the Iraqi leader, just as

smart bombs, Cruise Missiles and stiff

economic sanctions have failed as well.

I believe we need more deliberation.

But, most importantly, I am aghast,

if you will, at the fact that we are

making these pronouncements with

what I believe to be little thought.

What is the plan? If we have a plan,

bring it to the United States Congress.

Yes, I understand there is need for the

protection of our intelligence sources,

and as well that there are decisions

that the Commander in Chief has to

make. But I am extremely opposed to

these kind of war mongering efforts

without any facts and without any substance.

It is important to realize that the

lives of Americans are on the line. Yes,

I am standing toe-to-toe and head-tohead

and shoulder-to-shoulder on fighting

terrorism in America. I supported

the resolution that gave the President

the authority to fight terrorism in Afghanistan.

I am pleased that Chairman

Karzai has recently taken over the

leadership of Afghanistan so we will

have a head of state to help us fight

that war.

But it is extremely important, Mr.

Speaker, as I close, in light of the tragedy

of September 11, in light of the

questions about sharing intelligence

between the FBI and the CIA, to know

whether we are making the right decision

of this covert action, whether or

not we are putting our young men and

women in jeopardy, in harm’s way,

without any facts and any study and

any plan.

No, lawmakers in totality are not for

this plan, and we need to question it

and stand up and be counted and not be

afraid of being called unpatriotic, because

I believe that that is what democracy

is all about, is to ask the

questions and get the solutions.

Mr. Speaker, amid a growing debate over

whether to expand the post-September 11

‘‘war on terrorism’’ to Iraq and amid fears that

Iraq could provide weapons of mass destruction

expertise to terrorist groups, President

Bush has threatened unspecified action

against Iraq to prevent its re-emergence as a

threat. The House passed H.J. Res. 75 by a

vote of 392–12, which said that Iraq’s refusal

to readmit U.N. inspectors is a material breach

of its international obligations and a mounting

threat to peace and security. The resolution

did not explicity authorize U.S. military action.

Amid U.S. threats, Iraq held a meeting with

U.N. Secretary General Annan on the restart

of inspections. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld

suggested that the United States would accept

new inspections only if such inspections were

unconditional and comprehensive, a standard

that some Administration officials believe Iraq

will never meet.

Several Western and most Arab governments

are opposed to a U.S. military campaign

against Iraq, a message reinforced by

Arab leaders to Vice President CHENEY on his

trip to the Middle East in March. Arab leaders

have voiced opposition to an attack on Iraq at

the Arab League summit, during which Iraq

and Kuwait took some steps to reconcile.

Top U.S. military leaders see major risks

and difficulties in a large U.S. ground offensive,

which could require up to 250,000 U.S.

troops, intended to overthrow Saddam and install

a new government. President Bush said

that he has not decided on whether to authorize

a U.S. military offensive against Iraq.

The CIA proliferation assessment for Congress

repeats U.S. suspicions of Iraqi rebuilding

of and research on weapons of mass destruction

but presents little hard evidence of

such activity. Britain considered releasing in

April 2002 a dossier of Iraqi weapons of mass

destruction rebuilding but decided not to. The

British concluded that its evidence was not

sufficiently convincing. There are also allegations

of illicit Iraqi imports of conventional military

equipment. Iraq has been illicitly obtaining

spare parts for fighter jets and helicopters

from Belarus, Ukraine, and the former Yugoslavia.

Additional reports discuss weapons

buys from Ukraine.

As international concerns for the plight of

the Iraqi people has grown, the United States

has found it increasingly difficult to maintain

support for international sanctions. The ‘‘oilfor-

food’’ program has been progressively

modified to improve the living standards of

Iraqis. The United States has eased its own

sanctions to align them with the program.

Iraq does not deserve international respect;

that I agree with. However, unilateral foreign

policy decisions affirmed by some leaders of

Congress are not good either. We need full

congressional oversight and review, including

more voices to be heard, on whether covert

action against Iraq would be successful or

lead America into action against Iraq with no

allies. I believe we have no consensus on an

invasion of Iraq and I am requesting a full review

by Congress of the Administration’s

move against Iraq now—and where it will lead

us.