Mr. President, I rise

in support of the Levin amendment to

the underlying resolution and am

proud to be counted as a cosponsor. I

believe Senator LEVIN’s legislation represents

a rational and measured approach

to military action against

Iraq’s tyrannical regime.

The Levin amendment emphasizes

the importance of multilateralism and

understands that the cooperation of

the world community is an important

component of American success in disarming

Iraq and in Iraq’s eventual reconstruction.

As I said in my statement

last night, if the world community

is not with us when we take off, it

will be hard to ask for their help when

we land.

Although the administration at

times appears to believe otherwise,

multilateralism is not an unnecessary

inconvenience, but an important precondition

for success not just for actions

to disarm Iraq but more importantly

is prosecuting our war on terrorism.

We rely on other countries for

logistics, intelligence, and overflight

rights. We have called on other countries

to help cover the costs of previous

military engagements. And we rely on

other countries to provide peacekeepers

to help restore law and order

around the globe, including most recently

in Afghanistan. And we most

certainly depend on the 90-odd countries

in our global coalition to combat

terrorism at home in the post 9–11 government.

However, if we adopt a unilateral approach,

we undermine cooperation of

the world community we have so often

enjoyed.

Furthermore, the Levin amendment

wisely stops short of codifying the

Bush preemption doctrine, a dangerous

and reckless new development in

American foreign policy.

Many countries have adversaries who

they believe present continuing

threats, maybe even imminent threats,

to their security. If we establish a

precedent of preemption, how in the future

can we criticize Russia for attacking

Georgia, stop India from taking action

against Pakistan, or oppose a Chinese

invasion of Taiwan in the court of

world public opinion.

Nothing in the Levin amendment

precludes unilateral action by the

United States in self-defense where imminent

and immediate threats exist.

And nothing in the Levin amendment

prevents the Congress from authorizing

force at a later date if the U.N. does

not take action.

I urge my colleagues to support the

Levin amendment. I believe that it presents

an excellent balance between the

desire to contain and eliminate potential

threats to American interests

while demonstrating leadership in the

post-cold-war world, and the value of

devising a multilateral approach.

Thank you and I yield the floor.