

Vagueness as a Political Strategy

Vagueness as a Political Strategy:
Weasel Words in Security Council Resolutions
Relating to the Second Gulf War

By

Giuseppina Scotto di Carlo

**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

P U B L I S H I N G

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*To S. M.,
who has shown me how 'Chance'
can radically change a life...*

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PREFACE

Vagueness is an intrinsic component of the normative and diplomatic dimension of discourse. It can be defined as a fair balance between the different orientations and semantic nuances of a text. Numerous scholars have discussed the need for legal language to be purposely vague as well as inclusive enough in order to cover a maximally wide variety of different circumstances. In international law, provisions tend to lack specificity and favour all-inclusiveness so that they can be accommodated to the different national judicial systems. In diplomatic settings this textual strategy proves particularly meaningful since sacrificing clarity is a way of obtaining consensus among the parties involved and helps represent their diverse, sometimes contrasting, interests. This is also true of the United Nations, where the strategic use of broader expressions and definitions in legal provisions and treaties is instrumental to reaching political compromise among the 193 member states.

The UN is an organisation dedicated to promoting international cooperation and security among its member states, mainly by means of debate and diplomatic negotiation. If security is threatened it can also authorise military action through the Security Council, the UN body responsible for maintaining international peace. The Security Council also has the jurisdiction to issue resolutions which are legally binding. Resolutions are the primary tools of discussion on several issues in the United Nations and are brought to the floor so they can be amended or ratified by the UN representatives. As Resolutions may also require action or military intervention, their final formulation is often the outcome of a long and delicate negotiation process among the different parties involved. Understandably enough, the need to find political agreement among the fifteen Council members and secure unanimity often leads to deliberate ambiguity in the resolutions' final formulation.

In her highly insightful work, Pina Scotto di Carlo observes this scenario from a linguistic angle and poses some thought-provoking questions: what are the real repercussions of discursive vagueness in UN legal texts on international relations and, more importantly, what is the impact of vagueness in terms of conflict prevention? Can excessive indeterminacy of UN provisions leave them open to a manipulative and twisted interpretation on the part of some member states? In her view,

excessive vagueness can lead to biased or even strategically-motivated interpretations of UN Security Council resolutions, deviating their impact and triggering conflict instead of a diplomatic solution of the controversy. Against this background, Pina Scotto di Carlo investigates whether strategic vagueness in Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq contributed to the breakout of the 2002-2003 Second Gulf War.

The study draws upon the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis in assuming that a dialogic relationship exists between discourse and society. Discursive instantiations are therefore scrutinised as reflecting, and in turn affecting, society and the outer world. More specifically, through the lens of a Discourse-Historical Approach, the discursive events under scrutiny are framed and investigated within the historical and political background of the Second Gulf War.

This interesting work presents vagueness as a double-edged sword in the UN arena and considers the tangible historical repercussions of discursive indeterminacy. History proves that vagueness can generate lingering conflicts between nations and ideologies. More importantly, vagueness can be inflected to mean peace or war. This reflection becomes all the more articulate when considering that words such as ‘democracy’, apparently used to define widely shared principles across cultures and political systems, also fall within the category of the so-called “weasel word”, i.e. terms displaying a high semantic oscillation, hinged on subjective and conflicting interpretation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGMEST	Al-Mazd Group for Medical and Engineering Systems and Technology
AMISOM	African Union Mission to Somalia
ASVI	Amiriyah Serum and Vaccine Institute
BW	Bio-Weapons
CBW	Chemical Bio-Weapons
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CISADA	Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act
CW	Chemical Weapons
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence
DNI	Director of National Intelligence
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
GA	General Assembly
GM	Genetically Modified
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
GRL	Goods Review List
H. J. R.	House Joint Resolution
I. C. J.	International Court of Justice
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAMB	International Advisory and Monitoring Board
IFSA	Iran Freedom Support Act
IIS	Iraqi Intelligence Service
ILSA	Iran and Libya Sanctions Act
ISA	Iran Sanctions Act
ISG	Iraq Survey Group
KWIC	Key Word in Context
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIC	Military Industrial Commission
MoI	Ministry of Interior
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
P. L.	Public Law
POGAR	Programme on Governance in the Arab Region
SGC	Syrian Group Company
S. J. R	Senate Joint Resolution
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TTSA	Technology Trading S.A
UN	United Nations
UNAMI	United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
UNAMID	The African Union/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNESCO	United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIKOM	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission
UNMOVIC	United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few years, UN resolutions have been repeatedly questioned for the excessive presence of vagueness (Jonas and Swift, 2008 and Lobel and Ratner, 1999).

Vagueness is a pervasive phenomenon in natural language, as it seems to be expressed through nearly all linguistic categories. In daily experiences, meanings are conveyed and understood even though many ordinary words are vague. Words such as ‘dangerous’, ‘wealthy’, and ‘happy’ are actually understood without needing to know their precise meaning. Unfortunately, problems start with attempts of forcing continuums into a step function by assigning them an arbitrary breakpoint. The issue becomes even more complex when it involves specific linguistic fields, such as law and diplomacy.

Applying vagueness to legal norms may appear paradoxical, as “vagueness seems repugnant to the very idea of making a norm” (Endicott 2005: 27). However, it is an intrinsic element of the legal and diplomatic fields, because it can be used to express extremely generic concepts in many different situations.

Legal and diplomatic texts need to accomplish a double role: on the one hand, they must be precise and accurate, but on the other they must be all-inclusive (Bhatia 1993: 117) and have a wide applicability. For this reason, diplomatic texts are characterised by many words and expressions having a very flexible and variable meaning. Such terms, whose meaning is strictly dependent on context and interpretation, have been defined by Mellinkoff (1963: 21) as “weasel words”.

In an era of expanding international contacts between different legal systems, many international instruments are the result of political compromises and delicate balances of interests between different parties. International institutions, such as the United Nations, are acquiring a growing weight over domestic legislations and are thus constantly faced with the need of overcoming cultural divergences of the recipient countries. To meet these requirements, UN diplomatic texts may use vague, general, or ambiguous words quite extensively. In Šarčević’s (1997: 204) words “negotiators frequently reach compromises using vague, obscure or ambiguous wording, sacrificing clarity for the sake of obtaining consensus in treaties and conventions to represent the diverse interests of the participating State parties”.

The use of vague terms could be connected to the genre of diplomatic texts, as resolutions should be applicable to every international contingency. In a way, UN resolutions can be considered a hybrid genre, as they use prescriptive legal language but also typical diplomatic elements to set agreements in a mosaic of divergent legal systems.

Vagueness is thus generally accepted as essential and unavoidable in these texts; as Frade (2005: 133) observes: “the conventional use of vague language has been tacitly agreed on by legal drafters and interpreters”. Diplomats engaged in negotiations will often strive to persuade interlocutors to reach agreements on a word form that combines precision with ambiguity.

However, there are also positions against vagueness and indeterminacy in legal texts. Sometimes vagueness and ambiguity constitute a risk for the correct interpretation and implementation of a law. Ambiguous and vague agreements can give origin to severe intellectual conflicts, as each party tends to interpret the agreement to its own benefit. Parties could start critics over interpretation, which then may cause a serious rupture in their relations.

Excessive vagueness could also lead to biased or even strategically-motivated interpretations of resolutions, triggering conflicts instead of diplomatic solutions. As a matter of fact, strategic agents are frequently intentionally vague, i.e., they deliberately choose less precise messages among the ones available.

Due to their underinformativeness, the same linguistic devices used legitimately as tools of persuasion and information can be used illegitimately for manipulation. As van Dijk (2006: 372) notes, “as such, discourse structures are not manipulative; they only have such functions or effects in specific communicative situations”. Obviously, the boundary between legitimate persuasion and illegitimate manipulation is fuzzy and context-dependent. Vague expressions, deliberate ambiguities, and obscure meanings, corrupt public language and obstruct people from formulating complex arguments. This language is used to legitimise what many see as indefensible (e.g. infringement of fundamental rights and liberties, and war) and to make sentences more acceptable to the hearer/reader. This increases their chance of acceptance and ratification, and reduces the risk of rejection.

Intentional vagueness does not always achieve the same consequences: it can be welfare enhancing when it is used to mitigate conflicts. In other cases, it can have negative consequences, as happened for the Second Gulf War, which is the main topic of this study.

This analysis is based on two main research objectives.

A first part of this study aims at investigating intentional vagueness used in UN resolutions by focusing on whether strategic vagueness has contributed to the breakout of the 2002-2003 Second Gulf War instead of a diplomatic solution.

Four main justifications have been indicated as the *casus belli* of the Iraqi conflict: pre-emption against a potential Iraqi threat, Iraq's alleged links to terrorism, material breach of precedent resolutions, and humanitarian intervention.

At the end of the war (officially May 1, 2003), no evidence of weapons of mass destruction had been found; what is more, the the international community has accused the resolutions of being vague enough to allow a U.S. strategically-motivated interpretation of not impeding war (I. P. A. 2002). In particular, it was questioned whether the war had been implicitly authorised by S/RES/678 (1990), S/RES/687 (1991), and S/RES/1441 (2002), or it has been a violation of the UN system of collective security and an unauthorised use of force. In fact, one of the vaguest passages of the corpus analysed is in S/RES/1441 (2002) related to the controversy over authorisation. Without Security Council authorisation, States do not have the right to enforce UN resolutions. Thus, the lack of a UN authorisation for the use of force would determine that U.S. military action in that territory has been illegal. These accusations reveal that vagueness on the issue has further weakened and undermined the value and the strength of the UN.

A second section of the study was originated by the desire to understand whether the same patterns would be used in resolutions relating to the Iranian nuclear crisis in 2010, revealing a relation between the choice of vague linguistic features and an overall legislative intent of using intentional vagueness and indeterminacy as a political strategy.

In his "Axis of Evil" speech held on January 29, 2002¹, President Bush warned that the proliferation of long-range missiles developed by Iran, with North Korea and Iraq, constituted an act of "terrorism" and was a "threat" for the United States. In particular, Iran has been accused of not respecting the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)² and UN resolutions issued to verify whether the three pillars of the NPT (non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, disarmament, and the right to peacefully use nuclear energy) were being respected.

Through the analysis of Security Council resolutions related to this issue, this second part attempts to show how vagueness can be used either to lead to intentionally biased interpretations of the law, as happened in the Iraqi case, or to mitigate international tensions, depending on the underlying intentions of the legislators, as was supposed for Iran.

As far as concerns the corpora, the analysis is based on two primary corpora and two additional corpora.

The first part of the study is based on a collection of the 14 UN Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq, henceforth referred to as ‘SCRIraq1’. The time span of the documents used for this first primary corpus is from November 2001 to June 2004, including resolutions from S/RES/1382 (2001), which is the first issued against Iraq after September 11, 2001, to S/RES/1546 (2004), which established an *interim* government in Iraq.

A second primary corpus has been built collecting the 7 UN Security Council resolutions relating to Iran, henceforth referred to as ‘SCRIran1’. The time span of these documents is from July 2006 to June 2010, including Security Council resolutions from S/RES/1696 (2006) to the most recent resolution issued when this work was written, namely, S/RES/1929 (2010), dated June 9, 2010.

Two additional corpora have been included respectively for U.S. Congress legislation relating to the authorisation for the second war against Iraq (‘SCRIraq2’) and U.S. Congress legislation relating to the Iranian nuclear issue (‘SCRIran2’). The analysis of these additional corpora has been useful to reinforce the hypothesis of intentional vagueness, in order to analyse how vague and indeterminate expressions used in UN resolutions have been interpreted and implemented in U.S. national legislation.

As the study is based on quantitative and qualitative methods, it relies on two software: the study combines the use of *AntConc* concordance tools, to investigate the co-text of specific words and phrases, with the function of automatic POS-tagging of *Sketch Engine*³, which was necessary especially for the sections analysing weasel words, adjectives, and modals.

The theoretical framework is mainly provided by the qualitative Discourse-Historical Approach (Wodak 1999 and 2001) because special attention is given to the historical/political consequences of vagueness and indeterminacy used in the resolutions related to Iraq and Iran. By investigating historical, organisational, and political topics and texts, the Discourse-Historical Approach attempts to integrate knowledge of the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded. This approach has been very useful because it allows going beyond the mere linguistic aspects of a text, especially to understand intentionality.

Studies on vagueness in normative texts in general (Bhatia, Engberg, Gotti, Heller 2005, and Kurbalija and Slavik 2001) have had a fundamental importance in this study to understand the world of institutional and le-

gal discourse. Particular attention has been devoted to theories concerning vagueness of “weasel words” (Mellinkoff 1963). Studies carried out by Fjeld (2005 and 2001), Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980), and Endicott (2005) have been a very valid support in the analysis of adjectives, which have revealed to be the vaguest group of weasel words as their interpretation is mainly subjective. Studies on modality (Coates 1983, Garzone 2003, Gotti 2003, Trosborg 1997, and Palmer 1990 and 2001) have also been a valid source because modals can contribute to the vagueness of the sentences in which they occur, by clearly expressing the text producer’s will or leaving his/her intentions implied.

This study is divided into nine chapters. The mere linguistic analysis contained in the chapters from 5 to 9 is preceded by an introductory theoretical section included in the first four chapters.

Chapter 1 introduces the linguistic analysis by thoroughly describing the in-depth aspects of the corpora, the search tools used for the quantitative analysis, and the theoretical framework on which the qualitative analysis is grounded.

Chapter 2 includes some introductory notes on the history of the United Nations, and a description of its main organs, focusing on the Security Council and the General Assembly. It also deals with the current debate on criticism of the United Nations and its reform proposals.

Chapter 3 introduces the text type of resolutions. This section includes a description of definitions and functions of UN resolutions. Some notes are provided on the approval procedure of resolutions and on the translation process of these resolutions into the six official languages of the UN. Finally, chapter 4 focuses on the definition of vagueness and its role in normative and diplomatic texts. Information is provided on semantic vagueness (mainly on sorites and approaches to semantic vagueness) and on linguistic theories about vagueness and ambiguity. This section is concluded by approaching the main topic of this work, by providing some information on the historical background that led to the Second Gulf War, on the accusations of vagueness of the resolutions, and on whether it has been authorised.

The subsequent chapters focus on the linguistic analysis.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the description of the style and wording of Security Council resolutions, mainly to the analysis of preambulatory and operative phrases used in SCRIraq1. Reference is made to the *United Nations Editorial Manual*, which includes guidelines for drafting and editing Security Council resolutions, to illustrate that for some issues the UN does establish guidelines, such as for the arrangement of paragraphs and sub-

paragraphs, capitalisation, italicisation, and punctuation, whereas it leaves other aspects in vague conditions.

The structure of UN resolutions is also analysed with a particular look into the relation between lexical cohesion, coherence, and rhetoric devices. However, a main part of this section is devoted to the analysis of emotive wording used in preambulatory clauses and instructive wording used in operative clauses.

Chapter 6 focuses on the use of modality in SCRIraq1. After an introduction to the concepts of modalisation and the different types of modality, the chapter proceeds with an analysis of the modal verbs used in SCRIraq1, paying attention to the value of vagueness that they contribute to the text.

Chapter 7 is based on 'weasel words' and evaluative adjectives found in SCRIraq1. After some introductory notes on weasel words and studies on adjectives and indeterminacy, the chapter proceeds with the analysis of the vague adjectives and nouns found in SCRIraq1 adopting Mellinkoff (1963) and Fjeld's (2005) classification. This part is particularly relevant because this type of words leads to underinformativeness and subjective interpretations of the law. The hypothesis of intentional vagueness is further reinforced through the analysis of the American legislation related to the outbreak of the war, and to the most recent nuclear issue in Iran.

Chapter 8 contains a linguistic and legal comparative analysis between UN and U.S. documents and their drafts (corpus SCRIraq2), to demonstrate how vagueness was deliberately added to the final versions of the documents before being passed. In particular, the analysis of S/RES/1441 (2002) and its draft is reinforced by a letter dated 6 February 2003 written by the U.K. Foreign Minister Jack Straw to the Attorney General, in which he refers to the existence of an implicit and explicit version of the resolution to authorise war. Then the chapter proceeds with the analysis of U.S. legislation related to the authorisation for war, to understand how vague expressions used in UN resolutions have allowed the U.S. to interpret them as a means to go to war.

Finally, the last chapter analyses UN resolutions relating to Iran through a comparison with SCRIraq1 results. The contrastive analysis regards all the main topics discussed for the Iraqi case, including modals, adjectives, weasel nouns, and preambulatory and operative phrases. Similarly to what has been done for SCRIraq1, the analysis includes observations on the UN resolution related to Iran S/RES/1929 (2010) and its draft and U.S. Public Laws relating to Iran (corpus SCRIran2), analysing the differences and similarities between the Iranian and Iraqi results.

The final section drawing on conclusions indicates that vagueness in resolutions has triggered the Iraqi conflict instead of diplomatic solutions; and although being less vague, the Iranian legislation still suggests the UN's intentional use of some vague and indeterminate linguistic patterns as a political strategy.

CHAPTER ONE

DESCRIPTION OF THE INSTRUMENTS FOR THE ANALYSIS

1.1 Introduction to the Analysis

Before introducing the core section of this work, the present section will provide an in-depth description of the instruments and methodological principles that have been used for the analysis. The section will thoroughly describe the corpora on which the analysis is based and the search tools that have been used for the quantitative analysis aspects. Furthermore, it will give further details on the theoretical framework used to conduct a qualitative analysis of the corpora under scrutiny.

1.2 Aims

The aims of this analysis are twofold. A first part of the study aimed at investigating whether strategic vagueness in Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq has contributed to the breakout of the 2002-2003 Second Gulf War instead of a diplomatic solution. In particular, it was questioned whether the war had been implicitly authorised by precedent UN resolutions, or it has been an illegal use of force.

A second section of the study was originated by the desire to understand whether the same patterns would be used in resolutions relating to the Iranian nuclear crisis in 2010, revealing a relation between the choice of vague linguistic features and an overall legislative intent of using intentional vagueness as a political strategy.

Through the analysis of Security Council resolutions related to this issue, it has been attempted to show how vagueness can be used either to lead to intentionally biased interpretations of the law, as happened in the Iraqi case, or to mitigate international tensions, as was supposed for the Iranian case.

1.3 Description of the Corpora

For the purposes of this analysis, four *ad-hoc* corpora have been compiled: two primary corpora and two additional corpora, to allow comparison and extension.

The first part of the study, focusing on vague language used in UN resolutions relating to the Second Gulf War, is based on a collection of 14 UN Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq, henceforth referred to as ‘SCRIraq1’. This corpus, which is the first primary corpus, includes only Security Council resolutions and not General Assembly (GA) resolutions, as the former are the only UN resolutions having binding force. The time span of the documents is from November 2001 to June 2004, including resolutions from S/RES/1382 (2001), which is the first resolution issued against Iraq after September 11, 2001, to S/RES/1546 (2004), which established an *interim* government in Iraq. Table 1 below is a synopsis of SCRIraq1:

SCRIraq1 Synopsis			
Resolution	Date	Description	Token (Tot. 14757)
S/RES/1382	November 29, 2001	On Improvement of the Humanitarian Programme for Iraq	514
S/RES/1409	May 14, 2002	On Arrangements for the Sale and Supply of Commodities and Products to Iraq as a Basis for the Humanitarian Programme	761
S/RES/1441	November 8, 2002	On Decision to Set up an Enhanced Inspection Regime to Ensure Iraq’s Compliance of its Disarmament Obligations	2026
S/RES/1443	November 25, 2002	On Measures to Provide for the Humanitarian Needs of the Iraqi People	216
S/RES/1447	December 4, 2002	On Extension of Provisions of Resolution 1409 (2002) On Humanitarian Programme for Iraq	503
S/RES/1454	December 30, 2002	On Adjustments and Revised Procedures for Implementation of the Goods Review List of the Humanitarian Programme in Iraq	498

SCRIraq1 Synopsis			
Resolution	Date	Description	Token (Tot. 14757)
S/RES/1472	March 28, 2003	On Providing Humanitarian Assistance to Iraq and Resuming the “Oil-for-Food” Programme Established under Resolution 986 (1995)	1491
S/RES/1476	April 24, 2003	On Providing Humanitarian Assistance to the People of Iraq	119
S/RES/1483	May 22, 2003	On Extension of the Mandate of the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)	3223
S/RES/1490	July 3, 2003	On Lifting the Economic Sanctions on Iraq Imposed by Resolution 661 (1990)	310
S/RES/1500	August 14, 2003	On Establishment of the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq	172
S/RES/1511	October 16, 2003	On Authorizing a Multinational Force Under Unified Command to Take all Necessary Measures to Contribute to the Maintenance of Security and Stability in Iraq	1724
S/RES/1518	November 24, 2003	On Establishment of a Committee to Continue to Identify Individuals and Entities Dealing with Iraq’s Funds or Other Financial Assets	307
S/RES/1546	June 8, 2004	On Formation of a Sovereign Interim Government of Iraq	2903

Table 1-1: Synopsis of SCRIraq1

The hypothesis of the use of intentional vagueness in resolutions relating to the Second Gulf War will be further strengthened through a side investigation based on an additional corpus, henceforth referred to as ‘SCRIraq2’. Its purpose is to further investigate the consequences of vague language used in S/RES/1441 (2002), which left Member States infinite ranges of interpretation and implementation of the resolution at a national legislative level. ‘SCRIraq2’ can be defined as a heterogeneous corpus, consisting of thirteen texts divided into three types of documents:

-A first part includes the draft version of S/RES/1441 (2002), which will be compared with its final version. It will be used to verify the hypothesis that vague language has been strategically inserted into the final version for political reasons, giving thus the possibility of infinite interpretations of its wording, including implicit authorisation for war.

-A second type of documents includes the American legislation related to the outbreak of the war. The comparison between UN and U.S. drafts is important to reveal how the U.S. has legally interpreted and implemented UN legislation and to understand the purposes and consequences of vague language contained in them. The U.S. Congress has produced many bills on the issue, using its four sources of Congressional legislation: joint resolutions, House and Senate bills, concurrent resolutions, and simple resolutions, each with some peculiar legal characteristics. However, for the purpose of this work, only joint resolutions have been considered, because this form-along with House and Senate bills-is the only having legal force and that is used to produce Public Laws, which have binding force. The corpus thus consists of ten documents: one Public Law (P.L. 107-273) and its four versions; two House joint resolutions, and three Senate joint resolutions, closely related to P.L. 107-273 because they can be considered 'drafts' of the final Public Law version.

-A third type of documents used in SCRIraq2 includes two amendments proposed to H.J.RES. 114 [107th] (later passed as P. L. 107-273), which have not been accepted for the final version. They have been included because their acceptance by the Congress would have given a completely different interpretation of the UN vagueness on the Iraqi issue by proposing a firm but diplomatic solution to the issue. These amendments, which will be analysed closely, demonstrate that there could have been other solutions rather than war, but they were deliberately put aside. The following Table 1 is a synopsis of SCRIraq2:

Resolution	Date	Description	Tokens (Tot. 20978)
Draft of S/RES/ 1441 (2002)	October 23, 2002	On Decision to Set up an Enhanced Inspection Regime to Ensure Iraq's Compliance of its Disarmament Obligations.	1600
S.J.Res 41[107th]	July 18, 2002	A joint Resolution calling for Congress to consider and vote on a Resolution for the use of force by the United States Armed Forces against Iraq before such force is deployed.	691

Resolution	Date	Description	Tokens (Tot. 20978)
S.J.Res 45 [107th]	September 26, 2002	Further Resolution on Iraq.	960
S.J.Res 46 [107th]	October 3, 2002	Authorization for the Use of Military Force against Iraq.	1940
H.J.Res 109 [107th]	July 26, 2002	Calling for Congress to consider and vote on a Resolution for the use of force by the United States Armed Forces against Iraq before such force is de- ployed.	728
H.J.Res. 110 [107th]	September 23, 2002	Liberation of the Iraqi People Resolu- tion.	1332
H.J.Res 114 [107th]-IH	October 16, 2002	Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq Resolution of 2002. (Intro- duced in House).	1917
H.J.Res 114 [107th]-RH	October 16, 2002	Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq Resolution of 2002. (Re- ported in House).	2021
H.J.Res 114 [107th]-EH	October 16, 2002	Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq Resolution of 2002. (En- grossed in House [Passed House]).	1916
H.J.Res 114 [107th]- RDS	October 16, 2002	Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq Resolution of 2002. (Re- ceived in Senate).	1931
P. L. 107- 243. (H.J.Res 114 [107th]- ENR)	October 16, 2002	Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq Resolution of 2002. En- rolled.	1942
H.Amdt. 608 to H.J.RES. 114[107th]	October 10, 2002	Amendment in the nature of a substitute sought to have the United States work through the United Nations to seek to resolve the matter of ensuring that Iraq is not developing weapons of mass de- struction, through mechanisms such as the resumption of weapons inspections, negotiation, enquiry, mediation, regional arrangements, and other peaceful means.	779