Mr. President, I rise

to share with my colleagues my very

great concern over ties between Iraq’s

probable possession of biological and

chemical weapons and the potentially

catastrophic actions taken by the

Reagan and Bush, Sr., administrations,

including the active assistance of then

‘‘special envoy’’ and now Secretary of

Defense Donald Rumsfeld. This arming

of Saddam Hussein with weapons of

mass destruction by the Reagan and

Bush, Sr., administrations has now

been disclosed from what were previously

classified documents, as reported

recently by the Washington

Post.

I ask unanimous consent that the

Washington Post article be printed in

the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material

was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, my

concern today is not to lay blame for

past decisions which now place every

American family, every American community

in very real jeopardy from

these weapons of mass destruction and

which now give rise to the clear possibility,

if not great likelihood, of war in

Iraq with its attendant costs in lives of

combatants and innocent civilians

alike. Rather, it is my concern that

this Senate and this Nation clearly understand

how we arrived at this point

so that we might learn from our Nation’s

past tragic mistakes.

As Mr. Michael Dobbs of the Washington

Post writes:

The story of U.S. involvement with Saddam

Hussein in the years before his 1990 attack

on Kuwait—which included large-scale

intelligence sharing, supply of cluster bombs

through a Chilean front company, and facilitating

Iraq’s acquisition of chemical and biological

precursors—is a topical example of

the underside of U.S. foreign policy. It is a

world in which deals can be struck with dictators,

human rights violations sometimes

overlooked, and accommodations made with

arms proliferators. . . .

The United States also provided billions

of dollars in credits to help arm

Iraq, ostensibly to assist with its war

at that time against Iran.

The review of declassified documents

and interviews with former policymakers:

reveals that the administrations of Ronald

Reagan and George H. W. Bush authorized

the sale to Iraq of numerous items that had

both military and civilian applications, including

poisonous chemicals and deadly biological

viruses, such as anthrax and bubonic

plague.

Anthrax and bubonic plague from the

United States to Iraq.

The Reagan administration removed Iraq

from the State Department terrorism list in

1982 over the strong objections of Congress.

Despite this delisting, Iraq continued

throughout the 1980s to harbor terrorists, including

even Abu Abbas, leader of the Palestinian

Liberation Front.

The Reagan administration effectively

turned a blind eye to the export of dual use

items such as chemical precursors and steel

tubes that can have military and civilian applications.

. . . When United Nations weapons

inspectors were allowed into Iraq after

the 1991 Gulf war, they compiled long lists of

chemicals, missile components, and computers

from American suppliers.

Mr. President, sadly, there is no new

precedent in our Government using our

citizens’ tax dollars to finance the purchase

of weaponry for antidemocratic,

antihuman rights, and unstable foreign

nations only to see their short-term

friendship disappear and to have them

become enemies to the United States

and the Western World. What is truly

shocking here, however, is that the

very possession of chemical and biological

weapons of mass destruction,

which is the justification for a new war

in Iraq and which places in jeopardy

the safety of American families, American

communities, and American military

personnel, is, in large measure,

the consequence of decisions made by

the Reagan and Bush administrations.

As we speak, tens of thousands of

U.S. gulf war veterans continue to suffer

from exposure to chemical agents

over a decade ago. We in Congress debate

whether and how to inoculate

hundreds of thousands, if not millions,

of Americans to protect them from biological

weapons that their own Government

helped create in Iraq.

It is one thing that our Nation would

have provided cluster bombs and conventional

weaponry to Saddam Hussein—

it no doubt seemed important

and strategically helpful to the purpose

of stabilizing the Middle East during

the 1980’s. But how can members of this

Senate look members of our military

in the eye—and I include my own son,

a sergeant in the 101st Airborne and a

veteran of Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan—

and acknowledge that these past

administrations, albeit without congressional

knowledge or consent, allowed

Iraq to acquire the anthrax, and

bubonic plague viruses?

The circumstance our Nation now

faces, from the threats of Iraqi weapons

of mass destruction as well as the

possibility that these weapons have or

will fall into the hands of Al-Qaida or

other non-state terrorist organizations,

are to a great degree, circumstances of

our own making. Obviously, no American

administration has ever supported

terrorism against our own people,

though interfering with Iraq’s use of

these weapons against many of its own

people was apparently not a matter of

first concern to the U.S.

The lesson should be clear—to the extent

that the U.S. arms the world, it

undertakes a risk that those weapons

could be used against our own citizens.

While helping proven democratic allies

to defend themselves will always be a

legitimate role for the U.S., it is hard

to imagine a lesson driven home more

profoundly than we find today that

arming non-democracies is a much

greater risk, and arming non-democracies

with weapons of chemical and biological

warfare capability is an outrageous

and utterly unacceptable risk

to the U.S. and the world. It may be

impossible for our Nation to avoid

reaping what is has sown in the past,

but this administration, this Congress

and the American people must be

united now in committing never again

to be even a unwitting instrument of

chemical, biological or nuclear terror

in the world.

I yield the floor.