Mr. President, I rise

today to discuss the danger of Iraq’s

development of medium range ballistic

missiles in violation of United Nations

Resolution 687. I recently chaired a

hearing of the Governmental Affairs

Subcommittee on International Security,

Proliferation, and Federal Services

on Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction

programs. Two of our witnesses

were weapon inspectors in Iraq during

the 1990s as part of United National

Special Commission, UNSCOM, Inspection

Teams. Their candid statements

painted a dark picture and outlined

some difficult decisions we have to

make.

When the gulf war ended, and the

United National Security Council

passed Resolution 687, Iraq agreed to

destroy, remove or render harmless all

ballistic missiles, related parts, and repair

and production facilities with a

range greater than 150 kilometers. Further,

Iraq agreed to not develop or acquire

them in the future. The dedicated

men and women of UNSCOM and the

International Atomic Energy Agency

ferreted out and destroyed a large

share of Iraq’s prohibited weapons and

related infrastructure in the 1990s. Despite

the remarkable job they did, significant

disarmament tasks and compliance

issues continued through

UNSCOM’s departure from Iraq in December

1998.

Before the gulf war, Iraq had a variety

of missile programs. These programs

were more than missile components

and hardware. Iraq had a trained

team of missile experts, capable of reverse

engineering a Soviet SCUD missile

and moving into indigenous production

of an Iraqi version 2 years after

initial acquisition. Their indigenous

production capability depended upon

low reliability, low technology, low

safety, and a sophisticated foreign assistance

and supplier network.

Iraq has retained a great deal of this

knowledge. Its team remains largely

intact working on permitted U.N. missile

programs, which provide cover for

proscribed missile development. The

liquid-fueled Al-Samoud missile most

likely is capable of exceeding the range

threshold set by U.N. resolutions and is

widely believed to be a precursor for

longer-range missiles. The short-range

Abhabil-100 missile program is providing

Iraq with a solid-propellant infrastructure

and other important technologies

that could be applied to a

longer-range missile in the future.

At what point do allowed programs

fall under the heading of related parts

or production capability for longerrange

missiles? I think the answer in

Iraq’s case is, now.

Likewise, Iraq maintains expertise in

converting aircraft to unmanned aerial

vehicles, lately demonstrated in modifications

to L–29 trainer aircraft. These

unmanned aerial vehicles could be used

to attack Israel or American forces in

the region.

Iraq has persistently deceived,

evaded, and concealed its weapon programs.

In spite of this, UNSCOM believed

that it had accounted for the

elimination of all but a handful of

Iraq’s SCUD missiles. So why are we

faced with this on-going threat to

American security? It is true that Iraq

was able to hide some assets. More importantly,

though, Iraq was able to

maintain its technical expertise and

industrial base under the guise of U.N.

permitted missile programs.

Iraq built its missile programs over a

number of years with assistance from

companies in many countries. We must

work with our allies and international

partners to contain the missile program.

We must get inspectors back

into Iraq and re-establish the U.N.

monitoring program, and we must keep

Saddam Hussein bottled up and force

him to confront obstacles in every direction.

An U.N. inspection team with

full international support and access

can complicate, constrain, and slow

Iraq’s clandestine efforts and give us a

better understanding of what Iraq can

do. But an inspection team, at its best,

can contain or manage, not eliminate,

the threat.

We are now faced with the possibility

that Saddam Hussein could deploy

weapons of mass destruction against

his neighbors. We also must consider

under what conditions would Hussein

give a biological or chemical agent or

short-range ballistic missile to a terrorist

group? This January marked the

11th anniversary since the start of the

gulf war. As the war on terrorism

evolves, we cannot forget our past attempts,

successes, and failures in Iraq.

President Bush is right to continue

to make Iraq an issue for the international

community. We will need

international support if we are going to

have an effective strategy for eliminating

Saddam Hussein as a threat to

world peace.