Madam President, I

think this is one of the most serious

issues I have ever addressed on this

floor, and I thank Lindsay Hayes and

Karina Waller, who are with me today,

for their help in preparing this statement.

There are few of us still around who

lived through events which led to

World War II. I was in high school, as

a matter of fact, and I studied Hitler’s

actions month after month in history

class. I vividly remember watching the

world appease Hitler while he pursued

an aggressive military policy aimed at

dominating the world.

The current situation reminds me of

the agreements we studied in high

school which were made after World

War I. Hitler just waved them away.

When Hitler flaunted the terms of the

Versailles Peace Treaty, France and

Britain did nothing to enforce it. When

Hitler occupied the Rhineland and the

Anschluss in Austria, no nation tried

to stop him. Instead, the world repeatedly

gave into an obnoxious, aggressive

leader to avoid war.

When I was a senior in high school

many of my friends left school to enlist.

I left Oregon State College in December

of 1942. Only seven of us in the

Senate today served during World War

II, but as one who fought in China, the

‘‘Forgotten War,’’ I see the next Hitler

in Saddam Hussein.

Senator WARNER, Senator INOUYE,

Sam Nunn, and I also experienced the

horror of the gulf war firsthand. In

1991, in an Israeli defense conference

room we were told a Scud had been

fired at Tel Aviv, which is where we

were, and it could be carrying chemical

or biological agents. Gas Masks were

passed around the room and we waited

about 20 minutes before being told that

the Scud had fallen. The next morning

we went to locate the Scud and found

that it had been grazed by a Patriot

missile. It had hit an apartment complex.

This was quite an interesting experience

to Senator INOUYE and I because

several years before this incident Senator

DAN INOUYE and I had demanded

that the anti-aircraft Patriot be modified

to become an anti-missile system,

and we were in Israel witnessing the

use of that Patriot system.

Over 20 years ago, the Israelis saved

the world a great deal of pain when

they destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor.

That action delayed an Iraqi bomb

by at least 15 years, and that raid also

made Hussein more cautious. Today he

has spread out and carefully concealed

his military-weapons infrastructure to

make destruction of those weapons

more difficult.

We seek peace.

We abhor war.

We work to assure our military capacity

is second to none because we believe

in this new world no nation has

time to re-arm. We must be ready instantly

to defend our interests at home

and abroad or perish.

Our President is right to shake

Hussien’s cage. The Middle East is a

tinder box, but only one nation has the

ability to ignite the entire world, and

that is Iraq.

Saddam Hussein cannot be allowed to

expand beyond his borders again and he

cannot continue developing weapons of

mass destruction.

President Bush has an important role

as the leader of the free world as he repeatedly

states there is a menace in

Iraq and it is growing.

This is the most serious situation we

have faced since World War II.

Since the end of the Persian Gulf

war, our forces have been enforcing the

United Nation’s mandate that there

should be two no-fly zones in Iraq. Our

planes fly patrols for the United Nations,

over those no-fly zones daily and

have been shot at almost every day. We

cannot allow this continued risk to the

lives of our own pilots.

The threat of weapons of mass destruction

was real during the Persian

Gulf war. It is even more real today.

Five years ago, weapons inspectors

were forced out of Iraq. Based on classified

briefings I have received I have

no doubt that Saddam Hussein has used

this opportunity to expand his weapons

program.

Iraq has not accounted for hundreds

of tons of chemical precursors and tens

of thousands of unfilled munitions canisters.

It has not accounted for at least

15,000 artillery rockets previously used

for delivering nerve agents or 550 artillery

shells filled with mustard gas.

When inspectors left Iraq in 1998, the

regime was capable of resuming bacterial

warfare agent production within

weeks. Hussein has had time to

produce stockpiles of anthrax and

other agents, including smallpox, and

he is not afraid to use these weapons.

He has used weapons of mass destruction

against Iranians, against his own

people, and, I believe, against some of

our military in the gulf war.

When Hussein begins blackmailing

his neighbors and using his resources,

The world will face an impossible situation.

If Hussein’s weapons program

continues unchecked our allies—his

neighbors—face an unconventional

threat of immense proportions—a

threat more horrible than all Hitler’s

legions.

The President needs our support to

form a coalition that can confront this

crisis. We must grant President Bush

the same powers that Congress has

given his predecessors.

We must pass this resolution now or

our children, or our grandchildren, are

going to shed a monstrous amount of

blood to deal with this threat in the future.

Hussein will use these weapons if he

is not stopped now. He will become a

Hitler. He will continue as Hitler started—

dominating one country after another.

With the weapons he has, he

need only to threaten their use, or to

use them as he did in Iran. Then ours

will be a terrible dilemma: how does

the world deal with a madman who has

weapons against which the world cannot

defend?

If any Senator has doubts about this

resolution, I ask them to ask themselves

this question: is Saddam Hussein

really ready to become part of the family

of nations again? Can anyone on

this Senator floor answer that question

‘‘Yes’’?

The U.N. has told Hussein that he

must disarm 16 times. Sixteen times he

has defied that body. He has lied. He

has not once complied. Between 1991

and 1998, Iraq practiced a series of deceitful

tactics designed to prevent U.N.

inspectors from completing inspections.

The same course of action will

bring the same results.

As I have traveled at home, I am

often asked ‘‘How do we know Hussein

is so bad?’’ Our intelligence agencies

have developed an enormous amount of

evidence on his activities, his use of

weapons of mass destruction, and his

lies and deceptions. Unfortunately, this

information is mostly classified to protect

sources and methods by which the

information was acquired.

As one of the Senate who is briefed

on a regular basis I believe our intelligence

agencies understand the nature

of the threat Iraq poses. However,

while it is likely that Iraq has large

amounts of biological and chemical

weapons, our knowledge of their ability

to deliver those agents against long range

targets outside of Iraq is limited.

To assure the formation of a coalition

to contain Hussein, we must pass

this resolution.

The President must have this authority.

We want the U.N. to demand full

inspections before this threat becomes

even greater. This Congressional authorization

to use force if necessary

will send a message to the United Nations:

Congress is united. We stand behind

our Commander in Chief.

In 1945 the world community gathered

together to denounce the atrocities

committed by Hitler and form the

United Nations. That action made a

commitment to protect succeeding

generations from the scourge of war

and promised such horrors would never

again take place. Now it is incumbent

upon the United National to fulfill that

promise. The U.N. must send a message

that the international community will

not tolerate regimes which commit

genocide against their own people, employ

weapons of mass destruction

against other countries, and harbor

terrorists.

The world community must confront

this Iraqi threat. This resolution gives

the President the support he needs to

convince the U.N. to join in building

that coalition.

United States policy must be clear.

Should the United Nations fail to live

up to its promise, this resolution authorizes

the President to take the necessary

steps to protect the United

States and ensure the stability of the

world community.

With this authority the President

may state clearly to members of other

nations: Are you with us? Do you support

our determination to face this

threat now?

We are not alone, Great Britain and

other nations are already supporting

our President.

A new history of international courage

can be written now. This generation

need not endure a long and bloody

world war if our leaders stand together

and state clearly: the world will not

condone defiance and deception, we

will not allow a dictator to rise from

the ashes of defeat to menace the world

with awesome weapons.

I support our Commander in Chief.

I shall vote for the administration’s

bipartisan resolution.

Our Nation is the last real superpower.

The burden of that status is

that every nation in the world must

know we will use our military force, if

necessary, to prevent tyrants from acquiring

and using weapons of annihilation.

It is my belief that with this authority

President Bush may prove that determination

to the United Nations and

there will be a coalition that will bring

peace through strength to the Middle

East.

I certainly do. I share

deeply the views of the Senator from

Virginia. It does seem to me that we

should have learned a lesson from the

period of World War II. It took a terrible

attack upon Pearl Harbor to bring

us to the point where we were willing

to enter that war. Our Nation was part

of the group trying to brush Hitler

under the rug, thinking somehow or

another this would go away. But President

Roosevelt, to his great credit, had

the courage to stand up and try to find

ways to help those who were willing to

stand in Hitler’s way.

Now is the time to recognize that

once a person becomes President of the

United States and becomes Commander

in Chief, there is an awesome responsibility,

and particularly after the events

of September 11 of last year, we have to

recognize that as Commander in Chief

he needs our support. Politics in my

mind has always stopped at the water’s

edge. We ought to be united behind our

President when he is dealing with problems

such as Saddam Hussein. We certainly

ought to be united in terms of

voicing the sentiment that the United

Nations must stand up and be counted

this time.

Sixteen times. How many times does

he have to go to the well before he

finds out that he must comply with

these U.N. mandates? There is enough

evidence out there now that Saddam

Hussein has failed to comply with the

mandates that give rise to a world coalition

to contain him. We thought we

already had.

We have our Coast Guard stopping

ships going into the station. We have

pilots flying over the two no-fly zones

every day. And on the ground he has

palaces all over the place and will not

let anyone know what is in them.

I have spoken to

those young pilots at the Prince Sultan

airbase in Saudi Arabia and at our offices

in Kuwait and even in London.

Many of our own pilots who flew those

missions day in and day out did not reenlist.

They just got tired of the stress

of flying over the no-fly zone and being

shot at daily by missiles that are capable

of downing their aircraft.

Thank God we have some of the systems

to defend against those missiles,

but the U.N. has absolutely had blinders

on. They have not even seen that.

Both British and American pilots are

shot at daily by this person. Why? Because

they are flying over no-fly zones.

They have every right under international

law to be there because Saddam

Hussein agreed they could be

there.

He is shooting missiles at them every

day.

It is high time we did away with that

concept that the area of Baghdad is off

limits. If they down an airplane, I don’t

think there is any question in the

world we should declare war against

them because he has violated the

United Nations agreement he entered

into himself. The idea of allowing him

to shoot at pilots day in and day out

with impunity is totally beyond my

comprehension.

Mr. President, the

Senator is absolutely correct. The real

problem is until the members of the

United Nations know we mean business,

they are not going to come and

join a coalition. It takes money, it

takes time, it takes commitment, it

takes internal debates like this in

every democracy. But the necessity is

there for us to tell the world we are

ready. We are ready to bring an end to

this man’s deceitful action against the

world. But until we do, who is going to

join a coalition until they know the superpower

is really in there? We have to

put our money on the table first. We

have to put our hand out there to anyone

who is ready to join this coalition,

to say: We are there. Are you with us

or not? If you are not, then you are not

part of history, as far as I am concerned.

History will read the nations

who stood together and stopped Saddam

Hussein, saved the world, as well

as those who joined with us in World

War II saved the world.

I think this threat is even worse,

though, than the one we faced. It is the

most awesome thing possible, the more

I learn about these weapons he has,

weapons of mass destruction that can

be deployed and used in so many ways.

To think a person is there who has

been willing to use them against Iran,

against his own people, the Kurds. I

still believe some of the problems our

people had in the Persian Gulf war

came from his testing some of those

weapons. There is no question in my

mind.

Mr. President, the

Senator and I are of another generation.

There is no question about that. I

never thought I would live to see the

day I would say there is no question in

my mind this is a greater threat than

what we faced when we were young.

But we had time. There was time to adjust.

Even in the Persian Gulf war, we

had time to take the actions that were

necessary to evict Saddam Hussein’s

likes from Kuwait.

But now it is not a matter of time. I

am convinced the clock is ticking on

the world as far as this threat is concerned.

These are weapons of mass destruction.

Even one of them should

lead a person to have some fear. The

only thing we can do is to join together

with the world.

Someone said to me the other day we

can’t do it alone. Whoever said that is

absolutely right. This is not something

one nation can do alone. But this is

something where one nation can lead.

That is what is happening right now.

We must lead. We must form this coalition,

and we must convince the U.N. to

be a part of that coalition and to be

firm. And this time—this time, to

know either they enforce those mandates

that come from the U.N., or we

will lead the world to enforce them. It

must be done.