Madam President, I

reiterate what our distinguished colleague

from Connecticut has said, what

my longtime friend of over 30 years,

Senator MCCAIN, just said.

This is the last option. What we are

doing in the Senate today, tomorrow,

and when that vote comes is to vote

our conscience, 100 individuals, to do

our very best to deter the use of force

but to make it clear that our Constitution

has given this President and every

President who has preceded him, and

every President who will come after,

the authority to utilize all the assets

of our Nation, principally the men and

women of the Armed Forces, to secure

our interests and protect our people.

I have been privileged to be a Member

of this body nearly a quarter of a

century now, and if the good Lord returns

me in January, it will mark the

25th year. I cannot recall any moment

when I have stood on the floor with a

greater sense of humility and pride to

be associated with three more courageous

individuals than Senator

LIEBERMAN, Senator MCCAIN, and Senator

BAYH, as we, the four horsemen,

work to direct and guide a resolution

which the four of us put together with

the assistance of the President,

through his surrogates, and the leadership

of the Senate on both sides of the

aisle. It is our best effort to provide

leadership to this body which we do so,

the four of us, with a great sense of humility.

There is not a day in the life of those

who serve in the Senate when politics

is not raised. It has been raised with

regard to this issue. When Senator

MCCAIN and I approached Senator

LIEBERMAN in the past few weeks about

his interest, Senator LIEBERMAN stood

up and said, I want to be counted from

the very first.

I remember so well in 1990 and 1991

when I was privileged to work with

Senator Dole, Senator MCCAIN, and

many others, Senator Dole said: Let us

find a partner for the 1991 resolution.

This great Senator from Connecticut

had just joined the Armed Services

Committee. He was, if I may say, a

freshman Senator. I said to our leadership

on this side: I think there is our

man. And the Senator proved to be just

that man.

The resolution that the Senator and I

and others drew up in 1991 provided the

basis for one of the great debates in

contemporary times in the Senate, 3

days and 3 nights, culminating in a historic

bipartisan vote. By a mere margin

of only five votes did the Senate

pass and adopt that resolution which

gave the President the support of the

Senate to follow through with his constitutional

responsibilities. That was

George Bush, we call him ‘‘old 41,’’

President at that time, the father of

our President today.

I say to you, Senator, as the history

of this institution is written, you will

properly take your place in history.

You showed courage then, courage

now, and not politics.

Last night, we listened carefully to

our President as he addressed the Nation

to provide the leadership necessary

with regard to this very serious

issue of Saddam Hussein and eliminating

his weapons of mass destruction.

Speaking just for myself, but I

think it is shared by other Senators,

this President has shown remarkable

courage. We would not be here today in

this debate, we would not be watching

the debate in the United Nations on a

possible 17th resolution, we would not

be seeing our country focusing on this

issue, had it not been for George Bush,

our President, having the foresight to

see the essential need for the United

States to lead at this time. Not tomorrow,

not the next day, not the next

month, not the next year, but now in

the effort of the free world to rid Saddam

Hussein of the weapons of mass

destruction.

We owe a debt of gratitude to that

President, who, in clear, forthright,

and often soft tones of voice, last night

addressed the Nation with the need for

action now.

I thank our President. It is important,

in my judgment, and, I think,

that of the three of my cosponsors,

that the Congress and the President

speak with one voice on behalf of this

Nation—one voice. It is my fervent

hope this body will adopt this resolution,

the House of Representatives will

adopt the identical language which is

before the House at this moment, and

there be no air, no daylight, no distance

perceived by anyone between the

Congress and the President—arm in

arm, leading the world towards a solution

to this problem.

The President, time and time again,

made tireless efforts, engaging heads of

state and governments throughout the

world to join. Now is the time.

We will be visited today by the Secretary

of State, who has courageously

worked on behalf of the President, with

the nations at the United Nations, in

framing a resolution which leaves no

doubt in the mind of anyone that this

Nation and other nations are together

for an inspection regime. It will not be

like the previous regimes but will have

clear directions clearly showing Saddam

Hussein now is the time for cooperation,

not for thwarting the efforts

of the team. Should this resolution be

adopted and should they go in, and that

is yet to be determined, clearly, the enforceability

of their task is with the

commitment of the member nations of

the union.

More will be said following the four

of us as we speak about that resolution.

Right now it is being debated

largely behind closed doors. But we

know enough that our President and

our Secretary of State have made it

eminently clear past efforts have

failed, and if we are to undertake a

17th resolution, it must leave no doubt

as to the outcome in terms of enforceability

of carrying out that inspection.

The question is raised: Why now?

Let’s wait and see.

I say with no disrespect to those who

raise it, but I say it for my own views,

that is sort of: Give Saddam Hussein

the benefit of the doubt. I do not find

anywhere in the history of that dictator,

those facts, that justify—whether

it is the Senate, whether it is the

House, whether it is the Congress,

whether it is the President, whether it

is any nation in the world—that this

man is entitled to the benefit of the

doubt that he will do the right thing

now, tomorrow, or in the future. It is

now we must act. For those who say

take time and wait, then point out

what is the cost of waiting; what is the

cost of waiting if he were to finish his

program. We do not know exactly what

is established with this nuclear program.

We know the courage of the Israeli

government, I believe it was in 1981, to

go in and bomb that plant that was

then clearly manufacturing components

for nuclear weapons. We have

other bits of information from the inspections

that took place following the

1991 conflict that he clearly was endeavoring

to build a nuclear weapon.

More evidence is coming in he is continuing

to acquire the raw material,

the parts, and the other pieces that are

essential to build a nuclear weapon. So

there is no doubt he is propelling his

nation forward to acquire it. What

would be the status of the states in the

Middle East, indeed our own Nation, or

other parts of the world, if this man,

given his past and his proclivity to use

poison gas against his own people, to

behead those in his own nation who

have the courage to disagree with

him—what is the cost of waiting?

I say most respectfully to those who

want to wait and see and give him the

benefit of the doubt, do explain what is

the cost if we wait until he acquires

not only a nuclear capability but further

builds upon the stockpile of weapons

of mass destruction in terms of biological

and chemical weapons.

This is what the President said last

night, very clearly. I would like to read

it:

I think that is the persuasive case of

why not and not wait for the future.

The President went on to say:

He acknowledged that is a option.

The American people understand

that. They understand that, and I

think they will receive with gratitude

the action of this body, as we will pass

this resolution most assuredly in the

days to come.

Last, I will talk about one aspect of

the weapons of mass destruction program

in response to those who say,

What’s new? The four of us follow intelligence

very carefully because of our

respective assignments. But I did not

realize until it is now in open literature

Saddam Hussein had progressed

in his biological infrastructure

to the point where he now has his

plants on truck beds: One, two, three,

four trucks—just like the ones you see

every day on the highways of the

United States—that can be brought together

at, I suppose, any number of

places to manufacture biological material.

It can be containerized in small

vials. Obviously it can be transported,

given it is manufactured as trucks

move about.

As our President said very carefully

last night, that can be placed in the

hands of terrorists, the international

organizations of terror, and transported

to the United States through

our open borders of freedom. Those

small vials can be released upon communities

large and small, and wreak

havoc and devastation.

We have seen that on 9/11, a year ago,

we are no longer protected by these

great oceans, by the friendly nations—

to the north, Canada, and our friends

to the south. We are a vulnerable Nation.

Saddam Hussein has the capability

either directly or indirectly to

strike us.

Last sentence, and

then I will yield.

As the President said, that strike

could come and we cannot trace the

fingerprints.

We are still trying to study who

brought the anthrax against the U.S.

Senate, the post offices—I reiterate,

without fingerprints.

I yield to my friend.

I say to the Senator,

you and I, on the Armed Services Committee—

as a matter of fact, several

years ago, when I was privileged to be

chairman of that committee—initiated

a program among all our U.S. services

to move more in the direction of unmanned

vehicles—aircraft, vehicles on

the ground, and in every other way—

recognizing the tremendous advantages

to that.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of

Staff, General Myers, as well as others,

recently has said that he is pursuing

that program unrelentingly to

encapsule in small, sometimes large,

unmanned aircraft—just point them in

a direction and away they go.

Now, just speaking from my own

knowledge, not intelligence, I say to

my good friend, there are 1,000 hobby

shops in America where anyone—or

you can go into catalogs—and you can

buy model planes with a 6-foot wing

span, and maybe it can carry only a

small amount. But sometimes only a

small amount of a weapon of mass destruction,

if released over a community

or otherwise disbursed, depending on

the winds, can bring about incredible

devastation.

I say to the Senator, you are so right

about that particular set of facts. I tell

you, America should be on alert. And

we should show the support of this Congress

behind our President at this time

so that we can send that message to

the United Nations that this 17th resolution,

if in fact it comes into being,

has to be the last, the final. Hopefully

it will deter any use of force over and

above what is necessary to enforce the

Resolution No. 17, I will call it.

But again, if Saddam Hussein does

not cooperate on No. 17, then it has to

be made imminently clear to him that

the member nations then have no other

recourse but to resort to the use of

force, hopefully collectively.

Madam President, the

Senator is so correct in his views. We

know not what he might be able to

build. Frankly, we do not know a great

deal about what he has today by way of

nuclear capacity. The best knowledge

that is in the open is that he does not

have a finished weapon, but we do not

know whether it is 6 months, 6 years,

or what time it may be.

But that might be a single weapon or

maybe two, whereas the biological, in

small containers, can be multiplied 100

times over in 100 different locations.

Therefore, the tragic death and injury

to Americans or others—as a matter of

fact, we keep focusing on this Nation.

There are other nations that stand at

peril to this dictator.

I must conclude to stay within the

allocation of time. I say to my friend,

I look forward to our further debates

on the floor. But I close by saying this

vote which we will cast here has to be

a vote of conscience, not influenced in

any way by political considerations.

And above all in our hearts and minds

will be the men and women of the

Armed Forces who will undoubtedly

bear the burden if it is necessary to use

force. May God bless them.

Madam President,

may I just add to my colleague’s remarks—

he referred to Senator STEVENS.

He was in the Chamber a few moments

ago talking with me. We shared

those days because I was of that generation.

Saddam Hussein possesses, today, an

arsenal of weapons far more dangerous

to the whole world than Hitler ever

possessed. That was brought out in the

colloquy yesterday. I thank my colleague.

Madam President, I

simply say to my colleague, most respectfully,

I feel this was not a cut-and-

paste job. Senators LIEBERMAN,

BAYH, MCCAIN, myself, and other Senators

have contributed. Senator LOTT

had an open-door policy to engage persons

on this issue.

I draw your attention, most respectfully,

to section 3, authorization for

the use of force.

This is not a blank check. It restricts

this authority clearly to Iraq, and if I

might read it: Authorization. The

President is authorized to use the

Armed Forces of the United States as

he determines to be necessary and appropriate

in order to, one, defend the

national security of the United States

against the continuing threat posed by

Iraq; two, enforce all relevant United

Nations security resolutions regarding

Iraq.

That is a very clear mandate, and

once those two criteria are met, this

authority ceases.