Mr. President,

I have the privilege of serving in what

was, for 30 years, Mark Hatfield’s seat

in the United States Senate. And as

those who served with him know, no

one is more dedicated to peace than

Mark Hatfield. As I have thought about

the question of going to war with Iraq,

I find myself mindful of Senator Hatfield,

and I am likewise committed to

working for peace.

I am also very mindful of the Oregonians

who have expressed to me their

hopes and prayers for peace. And it is

precisely because I want peace that I

stand today to express my support for

this resolution.

I believe in peace and diplomacy.

These values have guided my service on

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

And rather than an immediate

declaration of war, I strongly believe

that this resolution is but one step in a

continuing diplomatic process.

I have no doubt that Saddam Hussein

presents an imminent threat to America,

our freedom and our way of life.

The proof lies in Baghdad. Over the

last decade we have collected a considerable

body of evidence that Hussein is

amassing weapons of mass destruction,

weapons that he has already used on

his own people.

It is only with a heavy heart that

any of us can reach the solemn conclusion

that our young men and women

may have to risk their lives in defense

of our Nation. But the heavy weight of

proof moves us now to prevent the loss

of more American lives.

More than a decade ago, the United

States led a coalition of nations

against the tyrannical regime of Saddam

Hussein. The United Nations resolutions

that followed Saddam’s surrender

required Iraq, among other

things, to halt its chemical, biological

and nuclear weapons programs, account

for POWs from the Gulf War, and

cease its support for terrorism. Since

that time, Saddam Hussein has continually

and flagrantly violated the U.N.’s

requirements. In less than 12 years, he

has defied 16 Security Council resolutions

and provoked at least 30 Council

statements condemning these violations.

He has exploited the goodwill of

the international community, oppressed

his people, devastated his nation

and developed weapons of mass destruction.

Today, as it was then, we are called

as Americans not simply to contribute

to an international coalition, but to

lead it. That obligation became all the

more clear when last year’s terrorist

attacks ushered in an era when threats

are more tangible, where civilians are

at risk, and where deterrence no longer

works. I believe the free nations of the

world will again join us in the fight

against tyranny, and I still hold out

hope that the danger Iraq poses can be

eliminated without war.

But today, we must choose whether

to allow Saddam Hussein to continue

threatening the civilized world or to

disarm him. I believe we must choose

the latter. We will first exhaust every

peaceful means in our effort, but confront

him we must.

Saddam Hussein has attacked Iran,

Israel, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. He recently

called on the people of the Arab

world to attack the United States and

he is an avowed enemy of the democracy

in the Middle East, Israel. He is a

man who murdered his own people in

chemical attacks and systematically

attempted to destroy an ethnic minority

in his nation. To believe that Saddam

Hussein would hesitate to launch

future attacks would be to turn a blind

eye to a lethal mix of weapons of mass

destruction and terrorists waiting to

use them.

In addition to the arms we are certain

he has, overwhelming evidence indicates

that he continues to develop

weapons of mass destruction with the

full intention of using them. High level

Iraqi defectors have provided similar

evidence of biological and nuclear

weapons programs, evidence that is

substantiated by Saddam’s actions. We

know that he has sold $3 billion worth

of oil illegally this year, money that is

unaccounted for, while importing materials

used in nuclear enrichment programs.

All the while, he has called

Iraq’s nuclear scientists ‘‘the salvation

of his nation.’’

On September 12, President Bush outlined

these facts when he spoke to the

United Nations. As he said then, Saddam

is truly defying the U.N., not only

the United States. The 16 resolutions

Iraq has violated were not issued by

the U.S. Congress, but by the U.N. Security

Council, the highest body of

international diplomacy. While few

reasonable people would disagree that

Saddam Hussein is dangerous and will

attack America and its allies whenever

it is possible, the President was correct

in seeking international support for

confronting Iraq.

Diplomacy and efforts toward peace

are always preferable to war. But if

war is unavoidable, it is best to have

the backing of the world community.

Immediately following the president’s

call to action, international support

began to increase. And the president

continues to build on that support. I

believe that with the passage of this

resolution we will see our allies join in

lending our sons and daughters in seeking

a peaceful regime in Iraq.

The United Nations now has the opportunity

to prove itself to be an important

world body. It is incumbent

upon the U.N., and especially the Security

Council, to ensure that if Saddam

Hussein fails to fulfill his most recent

commitments to weapons inspectors,

he does not do so with impunity.

I would like to conclude by telling

you about a trip I made earlier this

year, I traveled to Coos Bay, OR to attend

the memorial service of a remarkable

young man named Byran

Bertrand. Bryan was a 23-year-old Marine

who gave his life for his country

when his C–130 crashed into a mountain

near the Afghan-Pakistan border. The

memorial service program included excerpts

from the last letter that Bryan

had send this parents.

In this letter he explained why he

had turned down the opportunity to return

to duty in the United States.

‘‘You know me,’’ wrote the former high

school athlete, ‘‘I always hated sitting

on the bench.’’

In those words, we can find our calling

as a Nation. If Saddam Hussein

does not comply with United Nations

resolutions and if he continues to build

and stockpile weapons of mass destruction,

then America can no longer sit on

the bench. We must take the heavy

mantle of leadership to seek a peaceful

regime change. This burden rests on

the President, on the Congress, but

more importantly, it rests on the people

of the United States. For it is the

American people, 3,000 of whom died on

September 11, 2001, who are Saddam’s

targets. We are targets because ours is

a Nation that is the beacon of liberty

in the world. We must never forget

that, and we must never take it for

granted.