Mr. President, I thank

my good friend from Virginia.

I thank my good friend from Delaware,

whose kindness and generosity is

as good as the size of his State is small,

in allowing me to speak now. And I understand

the Presiding Officer may get

some relief in a little bit and will be

able to make his statement.

As we get into a debate such as this,

every time we spend a lot of time going

over and saying about the same thing.

We know who Mr. Hussein is.

I congratulate the President for an

excellent speech on Monday night. Not

only did it complement his words before

the United Nations, some would

construe the speech as a statement of

war. I think that is not the case. I had

an opportunity to hear our Secretary

of State, General Powell, put it very

well when he said it was ‘‘a statement

of what we intend to do.’’

We know and we have seen this man

operate who claims the Presidency of

Iraq, going way back to the time he attacked

Iran, then his actions against a

neighbor, Kuwait. And since then, Saddam

Hussein has deceived the world for

over a decade.

He has violated 16 U.N. resolutions

without consequence. He has stockpiled

weapons of mass destruction and

has a clear intention of obtaining nuclear

weapons. His brutal regime has

used these weapons on his own people.

On one occasion this dictator used

sarin, VX, and mustard gas agents to

kill 5,000 innocent civilians in a single

day.

He has abused the U.N.-established

Oil-for-Food Program, weaponizing his

oil to finance his fanaticism. All this

time he has bankrupted his own country.

Saddam has amassed black market

revenues of $6.6 billion since 1996. I tell

the American people this is not an Oilfor-

Food Program. It is oil for terror.

Peace in our time, how long have we

been kicking that phrase around? And

it is still with us. It is in peril again

and will be so long as Saddam Hussein

is in power with the most destructive

weapons in history in his hands.

Evidence of Saddam Hussein’s complicity

in and sponsorship of international

terrorism is ample. He praised

the September 11 attacks, calling them

‘‘God’s punishment’’ in his government-

controlled press. Al-Qaida terrorists

are known to be hiding and harbored

in Iraq. He continues to play

host to networks and has ordered acts

of terror on foreign soil. And the worst

of all worlds, though, is that he paid

Palestinian families of Palestinian suicide

bombers $25,000 as a reward for

mass murder.

We know he violated U.N. sanctions

and resolutions for inspections in that

country, and now we are going back to

the U.N. again for another resolution.

There is one pitfall that we do not

want to fall in again. By allowing new

weapons inspections with conditions

makes a mockery of our capacity for

trust. He will exploit every opportunity

to conceal and lie about what he

has and where he has it—not only from

us here in this country, but from the

rest of the world. And the rest of the

world should be outraged. What else is

new?

He has a known record. Rather than

playing the role of appeasers with a

terrorist regime, the world community

must vigorously pursue enforcement

and compliance of those United Nations

resolutions. If the United Nations

Security Council cannot enforce its

own authority and prove itself relevant

and effective, then President Bush has

no choice but to take whatever action

he deems necessary to protect America

from avowed enemies.

I understand fully the seriousness of

committing our military, our men and

women, in harm’s way. I also understand

the seriousness of the situation,

not only just for Americans but for

those freedom-loving and those freedom-

desiring nations and societies

around the world. I see a threat that

overrides my fears and most of my concerns.

We must act to depose a brutal

regime and religious extremist who

hates our freedoms and would do us

harm.

I know America’s intent is never to

dominate other nations but to liberate

them. We have a strong historical

track record there. Our intent today

with Iraq should be no different—to

bring liberty and democracy to the

Iraqi people who suffer arbitrary imprisonment,

execution, torture, starvation,

gang rape, and mutilation at the

hands of this tyrant.

It is a changed world. It is a different

time. Let me tell you that September

11 did not make it this way. September

11 gave us a horrible and graphic picture

of the dangers of a changed and

smaller world. No longer can we look

the other way when the bully on the

other side of the world pushes us and

others around.

By today’s standards, Saddam Hussein

has been the bully on the block,

right here at home. No longer can the

international community simply do

nothing.

How can we idly stand by and allow

this monster to hide behind the veil of

sovereign nation status? My conscience

cannot allow it. There are no national

boundaries when it comes to ferreting

out and ending human injustice and

suffering. We do have a responsibility

to our fellow man. We always have. We

also have an absolute right to defend

ourselves.

Monsters are not going to be given a

free hand to inflict unending suffering

and death upon their own people and

others, nor shall they be allowed to export

terrorism or provide solace for

terrorists. As Americans, we have a

moral and ethical obligation to assure

that each global member conducts

themselves in an acceptable manner.

Depending upon the magnitude of the

offense, the remedy is different.

Saddam Hussein’s oppressive regime

has committed such severe atrocities

that the world community can no

longer stand idly by and do nothing.

We cannot turn a blind eye.

A new world requires a new philosophy

regarding defense. This new philosophy

has been evolving for over a

decade, ever since the end of the cold

war. Deterrence and containment no

longer suffice.

In this new age, this smaller world,

we can no longer look the other way

because a conflict is on the other side

of the world. It is just like a conflict in

our own neighborhood. There is no

other side of the world anymore. It is

just down the street.

So not only do we have a right, but a

duty to protect ourselves and freedomloving

people around the world. The

world community needs to be involved

in making sure our partners in the

world community treat their citizens

and other nations fairly and with respect.

If nations fail to do this and rise

to a certain level of threat, just like

kids at home, these nations must be

dealt with. This is an evolving sense of

conscience, and mine cannot sit back

and wait until there is another strike.

Three-thousand people died on September

11, 2001. I do not want to see the

tragic loss of American life again because

of our inaction. It cannot happen

to me, my children, or their children,

or any innocent life.

So what do we do with a leader who

has so blatantly violated 16 U.N. resolutions

over the last decade, has invaded

neighboring countries, and has

tortured and killed his own people? Do

we sit idly by and watch? That has

never been the American way. America

has never stood paralyzed by inaction

when its citizens are threatened. Does

Saddam pose a threat to this country’s

livelihood and to the American people?

I believe he does.

September 11 also taught us another

lesson—how fragile our freedoms are,

especially when you inject fear. Also,

we found out how fragile our economy

was. He clearly has growing and increasingly

sophisticated biological and

chemical weapons capabilities, which

strikes fear into the heart of every citizen

on this planet. He has used them

in the past and has the intent to use

them again. He also actively continues

his efforts to acquire nuclear weapons.

To those who still do not see the link

between Iraq and the terrorist attacks

on America and American interests, I

say look again. The absence of an obvious

link does not mean that one link

does not exist. To those of us who

study and learn from history, there

should be no question what we need

and should do. Hussein is a monster

and a threat to the United States as we

know it. Congress must speak with one

united voice. The Nation must speak

with a united voice. The world community

must speak with one united voice.

Those who resist speaking with a

strong, united voice have a very short

memory. The security of this country

is the responsibility of each and every

one of us who live here. If this great

Nation wants to stand by and pacify, I

tell you we will get hit again.

We have heard lots of speeches and

seemingly a lot of logic that would say

this is a wrong thing to do. I can remember

when another President by the

name of Theodore Roosevelt said,

‘‘Speak softly, but carry a big stick.’’

With Saddam Hussein, we have tried to

speak softly and, so far, it has not

worked. He has not responded to any

U.N. resolution, sanctions, or even oil

for food. So people like Saddam Hussein

and Osama bin Laden, who hate

Americans, hate our system, hate what

free people have built here, will find a

soft spot somewhere else at a later

time—another vulnerability—and they

will seize upon this opportunity to attack

us once again.

That is what a blind eye creates. So

I will vote for this resolution. I would

even like to see it stronger because I

think it strengthens the hands of our

Secretary of State as he maneuvers his

way through developing a new resolution

in the world community called the

United Nations. It also sends a very

strong message to the rest of the world

that all of us have a responsibility

when a cancer falls upon the face of our

planet. I will vote for this one and even

a stronger one if I could get it.

Once again, speak softly, but carry a

big stick.

I yield the floor.