Mr. President, the Members

of this body will soon vote on authorizing

the President to use the military

might of this Nation against Saddam

Hussein. This decision has

weighed heavily on me, as it has on us

all. No one takes lightly the prospect

of young Americans risking their lives

on the battlefield of war, but we and

they swear an oath to defend our rights

and freedoms against all enemies. And

so our duty we must now do.

Saddam Hussein is a direct and deadly

threat to the American people and

to the people of the world. He holds the

power to murder not just hundreds or

thousands or tens of thousands, but

millions. He defies all international efforts

to restrain that power and keep

world peace, and he disdains the value

of human life, even the lives of his own

people. This is an evil, lawless, and

murderous man.

The resolution before the Senate is

carefully constructed to encourage the

widest possible international support

for unified action against Saddam Hussein.

The nations of the world need to

show him they will no longer tolerate

his arrogant contempt for United Nations

resolutions, requiring him to give

up his weapons of mass destruction and

cease the gross human rights violations

he has committed on his own people.

I support the President’s intensive

efforts to build such a coalition, and I

pray for his success.

No one wants to avoid a war more

than I do. I am a physician. I have devoted

my life to a profession that is

centered on saving lives. Only when we

have exhausted all reasonable efforts

at keeping peace should we consider

waging war. The President shares a

firm commitment to this principle. I

consider this resolution a strong statement

of support for peace and, if the

Nation must, for war as well. For if the

safety of our people, the security of our

Nation, and the stability of the world

remain so threatened, we must risk

war for peace. To do anything less

would leave a grave and growing danger

looming over the lives of millions.

This evening I will talk about Saddam

Hussein’s past, his present, and

what I consider his greatest danger, a

robust biological weapons program.

More than chemical and nuclear weapons,

Saddam’s biological weapons pose

a unique and immediate threat. Unlike

other conventional weapons, they are

easily made. They can be readily concealed

and are beyond the reach of inspectors

and can readily be delivered

across borders and, yes, even across

oceans. In the hands of a madman, biological

weapons literally threaten us

all.

I refer to the words on this chart concerning

Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction,

excerpts from an October 2002 unclassified

CIA report, which reads:

Biological weapon—

Indeed, these biological weapons literally

threaten us all—‘‘potentially

against the U.S. homeland.’’

Saddam Hussein has pursued the

most deadly weapons known to man,

with brutal determination. His arsenal

has included tens of thousands of tons

of chemical agents and biological

agents. He has come within months of

acquiring nuclear weapons, and he has

developed many means, both in number

and type, to deliver his desired destruction.

History shows that dictators do not

amass such weapons without the intent

to use them. Indeed, Saddam Hussein

has accumulated chemical weapons and

used them to attack his neighbors and

even murder his own people. During

the Iran-Iraq war, which lasted from

1980 to 1988, Saddam Hussein inflicted

20,000 casualties by striking with

chemicals—mustard gas, sarin, and

tabun. He also used mustard and nerve

agents to murder as many as 5,000 Iraqi

Kurds and inflict the misery of chemical

warfare on another 10,000.

I show this chart briefly to demonstrate

the impact of these chemicals.

Saddam Hussein used the chemicals on

his own people. We can see the effects

of this tragedy among the victims, who

are women and children in this picture.

Saddam Hussein was fully prepared

to use biological weapons during the

gulf war. In 1995, Iraq admitted it had

produced 19,000 liters of botulinum

toxin, 8,500 liters of anthrax, and 2,200

liters of aflatoxin. That is enough botulinum

toxin—remember, that is the

most potent poison known to man—to

kill every man, woman and child on

Earth.

Iraq also admitted it had loaded

thousands of liters of agents into

bombs, into munitions, into dozens of

warheads and aircraft spray tanks, just

as American and allied forces prepared

to liberate Kuwait. Before the gulf war,

intelligence experts believed Saddam

Hussein was at least 8 to 10 years from

having a nuclear weapon. That estimate

was way off. Iraq had already assembled

many of the pieces needed to

build a nuclear weapon. What it lacked

was fissile material that makes up the

explosive core of a nuclear device. If

Saddam Hussein had been able to obtain

that material, either by making it

or buying it, he would likely have had

a nuclear bomb by no later than 1993.

Indeed, Iraq has gone to great

lengths to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

Its efforts to hide the weapons

have been equally ambitious. Saddam

Hussein has defied the international

community almost from the

moment he came to power in 1979. His

rule has been a constant threat to

peace among the Iraqi people, in the

Middle East, and throughout the world.

Saddam Hussein has twice invaded

sovereign nations. In 1980, he launched

the Iran-Iraq war solely for territorial

gain. Eight years, one million casualties

and hundreds of billions of dollars

later, the war ended with Iraq gaining

nothing. In 1990, Saddam Hussein started

the gulf war by invading Kuwait.

His objective? Seize control of his

neighbor’s oil fields. We expelled him.

As we did, he fired dozens of Scud missiles

into Israel and into Saudi Arabia

and the waters off Qatar.

Iraq has shown as much contempt for

the international community as it has

shown aggression toward its neighbors.

Since 1990, Iraq has violated 16 United

Nations Security Council resolutions.

Inspectors charged with enforcing

those resolutions have been deceived,

they have been obstructed, they have

been intimidated by Saddam Hussein

and his henchmen.

Saddam Hussein has funneled as

much as $9 billion from the United Nations

Oil-for-Food program into his

weapons of mass destruction program

and other illegal activities, starving

his people and strangling the economy.

To Saddam Hussein international

treaties are worth less than the paper

on which they are written. Iraq is the

only nation publicly cited for violating

the Geneva Convention ban on using

chemical weapons. Its biological weapons

program has directly violated the

Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.

And Iraq has utterly ignored the

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,

which has been signed by 187 countries

since its inception in 1968.

Saddam Hussein said in a recent

speech, ‘‘The present of any nation or

people cannot be isolated from its past

. . .’’ Indeed. What Saddam has done in

the past is reckless, lawless and appalling.

But what he is doing now should

frighten us all and compel the world to

action. Not only does he continue to

develop and produce weapons of mass

destruction, but he’s more likely to use

them than ever before. I am particularly

concerned about the unique and

immediate threat Saddam’s biological

weapons program presents.

Iraq has lethal and incapacitating biological

weapons agents potentially to

use against the United States homeland.

Iraq likely produced two to four

times more biological agents than it

publicly admitted in 1995. United Nations

inspection teams could not account

for biological culture growth

media that would have easily tripled

Saddam’s stocks of anthrax—a bacteria

that can be rapidly and easily produced

as a weapon of mass destruction. Mr.

President, 30,000 munitions designed

solely for chemical and biological

agents were also unaccounted for.

Missing biological agents, missing biological

munitions and Iraq’s pattern of

deception lead to only one conclusion:

Saddam Hussein today retains a large

arsenal of deadly living microorganisms

available as weapons of mass destruction.

That arsenal likely contains stocks

of live viruses and bacteria produced

not only before the Gulf War, but also

after, especially since weapons inspectors

left Iraq in 1998. Saddam has expanded

so-called ‘‘dual-use’’ facilities—

laboratories, research centers and manufacturing

plants that have civilian or

commercial uses, but are likely used to

build his arsenal of microbiological

terror, as well.

Iraq has rebuilt known biological

weapons facilities that were destroyed

during the Gulf War, by our military,

or after, by weapons inspectors. Also,

Saddam retains the equipment and,

even more crucial, the human expertise

to continue building his biological

weapons capability. Unlike nuclear

weapons, which take years and massive

resources to make, biological weapons

are inexpensive, can be made easily,

within weeks, in a small room, with

minimal equipment and manpower.

That is what makes biological weapons

so unique and capable of causing such

death and destruction.

To that end, our intelligence community

believes Iraq has built mobile

germ warfare production laboratories.

Iraq has learned a lot about weapons

inspections since the Gulf War. Saddam

hid his biological weapons program

from inspectors for 4 years. Mobile biological

labs are the ideal weapon of deception.

They can be quickly moved in

inconspicuous trailers and hidden in

very small spaces, including, for example,

in a single room in one of Saddam

Hussein’s presidential palaces. Such

laboratories would be almost invisible

to the outside world.

There is also evidence that Iraq may

be developing and producing a new generation

of more virulent biological

agents. Defectors allege that Iraq is developing

an agent called ‘‘Blue Nile’’—

which may be a code name for the

ebola virus. Ebola is a deadly virus for

which there is no treatment and there

is no vaccine. And many experts believe

Saddam Hussein may have stocks

of the smallpox virus. One of the last

naturally occurring smallpox outbreaks

occurred on Iraqi soil in the

early 1970s, which is precisely when

Iraq launched its weapons of mass destruction

program.

Though U.S. defenses against smallpox

are now much stronger, a 2001

study by Johns Hopkins University

found that a smallpox attack launched

at three locations in the United States

could kill in a worst case scenario one

million and infect another two million

Americans within two months.

Saddam has invested not only in developing

and producing new viruses and

bacteria, but also new means to deliver

those agents. Iraq has experimented

with a variety of unmanned aerial vehicles

as part of its longstanding weapons

of mass destruction program. But

intelligence experts believe Iraq has

vastly improved its designs and now

has a drone aircraft that can carry and

spray up to 80 gallons of anthrax. Such

an airplane would be the most effective

way to deliver biological weapons over

a vast area and would represent a dire

threat to the Iraqi people, its neighbors

and the international community.

The danger of germ weapons is not

merely that Saddam Hussein has them,

but that he would use them . . . even

against the United States. Biological

agents are ideal terrorist weapons. Unlikely

other weapons of mass destruction,

one cannot hear them or taste

them or smell them. They can be invisible

to the human eye.

They can be transported long distances

without detection in, for example,

a terrorist’s pocket. They can take

hours and even days to take effect, allowing

a terrorist to be long gone—to

escape.

Thus, Saddam’s robust biological

weapons program, combined with the

support of terrorism, is a deadly force

capable of exceeding the death and destruction

of even a nuclear bomb.

Saddam does support terrorism. Iraq

harbors several terrorist groups that

have targeted and murdered American

citizens. The Iraqi regime has been in

contact with al-Qaida for at least a

decade and, as recently as this year, allowed

a senior leader to receive medical

treatment in Baghdad.

I am hopeful that inspectors will return

to Iraq with totally unfettered access

to all suspected biological weapons

sites. But, remember, such a site

can be an 8-by-12-foot room deep in the

basement of a huge Presidential palace.

I am hopeful that Saddam Hussein

will disarm and destroy his ability to

develop and produce such weapons in

the future. But I am not optimistic.

Saddam Hussein knows his chemical

and biological stocks are the source of

his power at home and in his region

and can be a tool of blackmail. Weapons

of mass destruction are as much a

part of Saddam Hussein as freedom and

democracy are of America.

The test of our resolve in the war on

terror was Afghanistan. There we

fought the terrorist group and its supporting

regimes that murdered more

than 3,000 of our own citizens. We were

attacked, and, as any capable nation

would do, we responded.

Now we face a second test. Saddam

Hussein has not yet struck, and we

hope he doesn’t. We hope he disarms

his weapons of mass destruction and

chooses peace over war. It is his choice.

But should he force us to war, we will

fight for a noble and a just cause—to

prevent a future and far worse attack

than that of September 11, 2001. America

will be victorious in this next phase

of the war on terror, for the worst of a

dictator cannot defeat the will of a free

people.

Saddam Hussein will fight to preserve

his grip on power and protect

weapons that murder millions. But if

we must fight, we will do so for love of

country, for respect of humanity, and

for the rights and freedoms that all

people deserve to enjoy, including the

Iraqi people.