Mr. President, I

am pleased this evening to rise in

strong support of the underlying resolution.

I am pleased this bipartisan resolution

Senators LIEBERMAN and

MCCAIN and Senator WARNER have introduced

is before the Senate. I am

pleased to be able to cosponsor that. I

believe after a full debate, the Senate

will pass this resolution in its current

version, and I urge it to do that.

The decision to authorize the use of

force is a very serious, grave decision.

I will further acknowledge that some

Members of Congress, men and women

of good conscience, have very significant

concerns about this resolution.

They have been articulated well. They

have been argued well. I also acknowledge

that when we take a vote on anything

that deals with war and peace

and life and death, that it must be done

in the most sober and serious manner.

I have had a number of moms and dads

who have come to me concerned about

what this might mean for their children,

their young men and women who

may face war. I see the tears in their

eyes. I have heard their anxieties and

worries. I approach this with a great

deal of serious contemplation and prayer.

However, I believe this resolution is

not only warranted but necessary in

order to protect our Nation. We are

rapidly reaching a point at which the

risk of utilizing military force is far

outweighed by the danger that Saddam

Hussein poses to the American people.

I have heard that we are setting a dangerous

precedent. There are concerns

about what this new strategic policy

might mean, and how other nations

might interpret it.

I respond, with all respect, the case

of Saddam Hussein, the case of Iraq, is

in every way unique. It is unique in law

because here is a man and here is a nation

that has stood now for a decade in

defiance of the world community; that

is in violation and defiance of resolution

after resolution from the United

Nations. They are, as they have rightly

been called this evening, an international

outlaw. How is it that enforcing

the resolutions of the United Nations,

and in doing so defend our Nation,

set a dangerous precedent?

Not only is Iraq in violation of resolutions,

and in defiance of the civilized

world, but Iraq is also unique in the

threat it poses to the civilized world in

amassing weapons of mass destruction.

It is not at all that the United States

is some kind of international bully

wanting to throw its weight around the

world. It is, rather, we are the one Nation

in the world that is capable of

doing something about this threat to

the civilized world. Not only do we

have the ability to do it, but we have

the will to do it.

The President has come to Congress

as he was asked. He believed, I believe,

that he had the legal authority already

from previous resolutions from this

Congress to have acted without coming

to us. But Congress said: We want to be

involved in this, we want to be consulted.

So he came to Congress and laid

out his case.

Administration officials have appeared

before the Senate Armed Services

Committee and the Senate Foreign

Affairs Committee. Briefings have been

provided for all Senators. Certainly,

this issue has been a matter of public

discourse now for months.

It is time now for this distinguished

body to act. As we continue debate on

this resolution, we must remember this

debate is not about arms inspectors, it

is not primarily about United Nations

resolutions, and it is not about assuaging

the international community. History

has not looked well upon those

who fail to act for fear of provoking a

tyrant.

What this debate is about is the protection

of the American people, the

protection of our national security.

The best way for the Senate to do that

is to provide the President with the authority

he has requested.

It is helpful to recount what has

brought us to this point, to the brink

of being forced to use military force.

For over a decade, the United States

has pursued diplomatic and economic

avenues to deal with the threat that

Saddam Hussein poses.

We have tried to contain, we have

tried to deter. But in truth, we have

been in a virtually unbroken state of

conflict with Iraq since the beginning

of the gulf war in 1991. After the American

military along with coalition allies

routed the Iraqi military, the

international community pledged to

ensure that Saddam Hussein would

never have the capability to threaten

the region again.

Toward that end, the United Nations

Security Council passed Resolution 687.

This resolution, which Iraq accepted as

part of the cease-fire, required Iraq to

end its pursuit of weapons of mass destruction,

destroy its stockpile of

chemical and biological weapons, and

end its support of terrorism.

As we convene this evening, more

than a decade later, Saddam Hussein

stands in violation of this agreement in

virtually every point. To ensure that

Iraq was complying with its commitments,

the United Nations established

a weapons inspection program. In recent

times, there has been a great deal

of discussion about the inspectors. Forgotten

in the debate is the original

purpose of the inspectors. Inspections

were only supposed to confirm that

Iraq was living up to its commitment

to cease the development of weapons of

mass destruction. Inspectors were not

sent in to play a cat-and-mouse game.

Saddam Hussein used every means at

his disposal to thwart the inspections.

In the past decade, Iraq has stood in

violation of 16 different resolutions.

The world community has spoken

strongly and frequently against Saddam

Hussein. Saddam’s response has

been continual deception and defiance.

Saddam Hussein has made every attempt

to accelerate his development of

weapons, biological and nuclear weapons.

Based on intelligence we have a very

frightening picture of Iraq’s capabilities.

We have had the briefings. I had

the most recent briefing this afternoon.

We have solid information, public

information, that Iraq currently has

a large stockpile of chemical weapons.

In the initial aftermath of the gulf war,

the U.N. inspectors were able to ensure

that some chemical weapons were destroyed.

A disturbing amount were not

uncovered. In fact, 31,600 chemical munitions,

550 mustard gas bombs, and

4,000 tons of chemical precursors were

unaccounted for by the U.N. inspectors.

Even more disturbing is the likelihood

that Iraq retained the means to

produce chemical weapons. The U.N.

has stated Iraq has imported enough

raw materials to produce 200 tons of

the VX gas.

Since inspectors were ejected from

Iraq in 1998, there is a substantial body

of evidence that Saddam Hussein has

reconstituted his ability to produce VX

and other chemical weapons. People

question whether there is an imminent

threat? People question the currency of

the threat that faces us? They think we

have time to burn? Time to delay? Perhaps

even more terrifying, Iraq continued

virtually unabated to produce biological

weapons. Senator FRIST spoke

of this earlier today. In fact, the Iraqi

Government has admitted in the past

to the weaponization of anthrax, botulism,

and aflatoxin on Scuds and on

aircraft.

United Nations inspectors never accounted

for at least 4 tons of raw material

that can be used to produce biological

weapons. Recent reports are

that the Iraqis are testing unmanned

vehicles that could be used to deliver

these weapons over wide territories.

I am told these unmanned vehicles

would be almost impossible to be detected

or to be shot down.

We also have reason to believe that

Saddam Hussein has developed mobile

biological weapon laboratories that

would be virtually impossible for inspectors,

were they to get back in, to

detect, to locate, and to destroy.

In this debate, it is important that

we have an appreciation for the terrible

power of these kinds of weapons.

VX nerve gas is one of the most dangerous

chemicals known to man. It operates

by cutting off a person’s nervous

system, making it impossible for them

to breath. Exposure to only a few drops

can kill in minutes.

The danger of anthrax was made

shockingly clear during last year’s attacks.

Over 20 Americans were infected,

and 7 were killed, and it could

have been much, much worse. The letter

that was sent to Senator LEAHY’s

office contained enough spores to kill

tens of thousands of people, in one single

envelop. There is every indication

that Saddam Hussein has enough anthrax

to kill millions of Americans.

Iraq has accelerated work on its missile

development program. In fact,

some of his chemical and biological

weapons are deployable with 45 minutes

warning.

According to the dossier recently released

by the British Government, Iraq

currently has ballistic missiles capable

of reaching Israel, Turkey, and Saudi

Arabia. He is actively working to extend

the range of his armaments, with

the ambition of being able to strike as

far as Europe in the coming years.

Even with his success in developing

chemical and biological weapons, Saddam

Hussein continues to pursue the

ultimate weapon of mass destruction

. . . a nuclear bomb.

He has scoured the world attempting

to procure enriched uranium to finalize

his development of a nuclear weapon.

Estimates are that, should Iraq be successful

in getting this material, a nuclear

weapon would take no longer

than a few months to produce. We can’t

be sure he hasn’t succeeded already.

It is evident that Saddam Hussein

has the capabilities to inflict great

devastation. His intentions are even

clearer.

His hatred of the United States is

only matched by his hunger for power.

The Iraqi Government has repressed its

own people, committed acts of aggression

against its neighbors, and been an

active supporter of international terrorism.

In a very unstable region, Saddam

Hussein has taken every opportunity

to add to the turmoil in the

Middle East.

He has plotted to assassinate a

former U.S. President. In 1993, the Iraqi

Government plotted to kill former

President George Bush during his trip

to Kuwait.

American pilots are taking fire from

the Iraqi military virtually every day

during patrols of the no-fly zones.

Unprovoked? Hardly. It does not set a

dangerous precedent to act in a preemptive

way in light of his violations

of international law and his continual

firing upon American aircraft.

So far this year, American and British

aircraft have been fired on over 406

times. In the past 2 weeks alone they

have been fired on over 60 times.

Until his recent death, Iraq harbored

Abu Nidal, who masterminded terrorist

attacks in 20 countries, resulting in the

deaths of 900 people.

There are credible reports that members

of al-Qaida have found sanctuary

in Iraq. It is becoming increasingly

clear that Iraq has provided training to

al-Qaida, including instruction on the

use of chemical weapons.

Earlier this year, Saddam Hussein offered

$25,000 to each of the families of

Palestinian suicide bombers. The only

condition is that the bomber has a full

belt of explosives when he blows himself

up. This despicable offer essentially

provides a bounty for the deaths

of innocent Israelis and establishes a

perverse incentive program for terror.

His invasion of Kuwait is well-documented.

However, I would like to take

a moment to discuss the atrocities he

has committed against his own people.

I believe that it will shed further light

on the horrors of which Saddam is capable.

The U.N. Commission on Human

Rights and the U.N. General Assembly

has issued a report criticizing ‘‘systematic,

widespread, and extremely grave

violations of human rights,’’ and cited

‘‘all-pervasive repression and oppression

sustained by broad-based discrimination

and widespread terror.’’

That is the diplomatic language of

the U.N. Commission on Human

Rights.

In ‘‘The Threatening Storm,’’ Kenneth

Pollack puts it a little plainer. He

said:

And on and on it goes.

I ask unanimous consent that this citation

from ‘‘The Threatening Storm’’

by Kenneth Pollack be printed in the

RECORD.

There being no objection, the material

was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President,

freedom of speech does not exist in

Iraq, and summary executions are commonplace.

Torture is seen as a legitimate tool

of control, and violence against women

is not just condoned but perpetrated by

the Iraqi government.

Political opponents of Saddam Hussein

are subject to unimaginable cruelty.

They are jailed without cause.

Amnesty International reports ‘‘Detainees

have been threatened with

bringing in a female relative, especially

the wife or the mother, and raping

her in front of the detainee. Some

of these threats have been carried

out.’’

In 1997, the UN reported that Iraq executed

more than 1,500 people for political

reasons. There are even reports

that the victims families are forced to

pay the cost of the execution.

Saddam stays in power through fear.

It is terror—sheer terror—that sustains

his evil regime.

Saddam Hussein has never been

called to account for the Kuwaitis that

are still missing from the Gulf War.

There are still 609 cases of missing Gulf

War POW/MIAs.

Included in that number is one American

Navy Pilot. The Iraqi government

continues to refuse to provide full information

about his fate.

The passage of this resolution will

provide the President with authority

he requires in order to address the

grave threat posed by Iraq.

I fully support his efforts to rally the

international community, and believe

that a strong vote on this resolution

will strengthen his case before the

United Nations.

It is the hope of all of us that military

action will not be necessary. However,

after a full decade of effort, we

have almost completely exhausted diplomacy.

There are some who believe that preemptive

military action against Iraq

represents a break from our nation’s

traditions.

My colleagues, unfortunately, we are

facing untraditional threats. We have

tried containment. It was built upon

the idea of inspection and sanction.

The inspectors were thrown out, and

the sanctions have been broken.

Again, from Kenneth Pollack and

from ‘‘The Threatening Storm,’’ he

says:

We tried inspections. The sanctions

have been eroded, and deterrence only

works with a rational person. It assumes

rationality. And the fact that he

can transmit weapons of mass destruction

to terrorists who could inflict

enormous damage upon the United

States with no fingerprints—with

Saddam’s fingerprints not even being

on it—is evidence that the idea of containment

to no longer be a workable

approach.

The attacks of 9/11 tore our hearts

and left us with a grief that will never

be forgotten. At the same time, those

acts of evil have brought forth a new

resolve and a new commitment.

It is the responsibility of the U.S.

Government, and it is the responsibility

of this Senate to ensure that the

heartbreak of September 11 is not repeated.

Our enemies have grown more cunning

and their methods more sinister.

We must move swiftly and decisively to

deny them the opportunity to attack

us. When the threat is real, preemption

is not just tactically critical, but, I believe,

it is a moral imperative.

In Saddam Hussein we are facing a

menace that has long expressed hatred

of the United States, established links

to international terrorists, and has

amassed large stockpiles of weapons of

mass destruction. He has been accorded

every opportunity to cooperate with

the international community, and he

has refused.

Every day that goes by, the threat

grows. He continues to amass his

stockpile and strengthens his ties to

terrorists. We cannot—we must not—

stand by and allow this to continue.

And we must not delay. There have

been many people quoted in this debate,

so let me add one more to the

record. Winston Churchill said:

The world is watching us. And freedom-

loving people across the globe are

waiting to see if America will answer

the challenge that history has put before

us. They are waiting to see if our

Nation will assume the mantle of leadership

in dealing with a tyrant with

maniacal ambitions.

Our enemies are hoping we falter.

They hope we will continue to be mired

in the web of deception spun by Saddam

Hussein. They need to be shown

that our resolve to protect the American

people has never been stronger.

While my greatest hope is that military

action will not be necessary, it

may be unavoidable. Others have come

to this floor to talk about the cost of

such an operation. They rightly cite estimates

ranging in the tens of billions

of dollars. Some may discuss the damage

that might be done to our relationships

with other nations. More gravely,

some have spoken about the cost of

human life that any military action

would entail. These risks are real, but

these risks must be weighed against

the very real risks of delay.

The price of inaction is far too high.

Mr. President, 9/11 taught us that. We

will never know the complete economic

damage of the terrorist attacks of last

year. Some have estimated it at more

than $600 billion, but the true cost can

only be seen by looking in the eyes of:\CR\FM\G09OC6.154 S09PT1

those who lost loved ones. The true impact

is only realized with the understanding

that over 3,000 families are

still grieving.

Saddam Hussein has the capacity to

wreak even more destruction than that

which we saw last year. He has weapons

that could kill millions, and he

consorts with terrorists who would unflinchingly

do so if they had the means.

So again, I remind you, opponents

say this resolution sets a dangerous

precedent of preemption. I remind my

colleagues of sixteen U.N. resolutions

defied, rejected, ignored by Saddam

Hussein. The dangerous action would

be to do nothing. The dangerous precedent

would be to back down in the face

of a tyrant who dares us.

The resolution put forth by Senator

LIEBERMAN, and endorsed by our President,

is a statement by this body that

the risk posed by Iraq is unacceptable.

It is a statement that we will not allow

international outlaws to threaten our

Nation. It is a statement that we will

not sit back in the face of the growing

danger that our country faces.

Thus, I call on my colleagues for

their support of S.J. Res. 46.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.