

Chairman Dick Lugar opening statement Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Hearing on Iraq: Inspectors' report to the UN Security Council

Thursday, January 30, 2003

Today the committee meets to hear testimony from Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations John Negroponte. Both are principal actors in the formulation and implementation of U.S. policy towards Iraq. They will provide comments on the U.S. reaction to the 60-day progress report on Iraq's compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441.

On Monday, January 27, Mohammed El Baradei, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) delivered an update to the United Nations Security Council on their efforts to verify disarmament in Iraq. Mr. Blix's assessment that, "Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance, not even today, of the disarmament which was demanded of it" should not come as a surprise to those who have watched this process unfold over the last twelve years. Iraq continues to resist United Nations efforts to verify its compliance with a host of Security Council resolutions.

On November 8, 2002, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1441 requiring Iraq's immediate, unconditional, and active cooperation in verifying the dismantlement of its weapons of mass destruction and the programs that support them. **In my opinion, Iraq has failed to comply with these requirements and is in material breach of these obligations. Iraq continues to deny U-2 overflights, requested documentation, and unfettered access to weapons scientists. Furthermore, the recent discovery of chemical warheads in**

Iraq and Iraq's failure to provide proof as to the final disposition of tons of chemical and biological agent are clear instances of noncompliance.

It is Iraq's responsibility to prove compliance with the resolutions passed since the end of the Persian Gulf War. To date, Baghdad has failed to do so. Simply stated, previous United Nations inspection reports have listed weapons, materials, and programs of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Resolution 1441 gives Iraq one final chance to destroy the weapons and materials and stop the programs by showing evidence of that destruction or inviting the UNMOVIC inspectors to view items previously listed and to destroy all of this with worldwide observation. To date, Iraq has shown no required evidence nor directed the inspectors to the weapons and materials even though the Security Council voted 15 - 0 that such a monumental defiance of the United Nations would result in grave consequences.

Demands are heard in our country and in other countries that the U.N. inspectors produce "smoking guns" or dramatic pictures. The U.N. has listed the "smoking guns" in past reports. Iraqis apparently persist in the notion that all past reports are an illusion, that nothing ever happened, nothing can be reported, and that any consequences of such wholesale evasion are unwarranted.

The report Iraq submitted to the United Nations in early December on the current state of its weapons of mass destruction programs contains no new information and is largely a reprint of earlier documents. Still Iraqi leaders claim they have given the United Nations full cooperation. As Hans Blix reported to the Security Council, there are glaring omissions and apparent violations that Iraq has failed to explain. Among these omissions and violations are the following:

- Iraq has tested missiles that exceed the permitted range;
- Iraq has failed to prove that it has destroyed all of its anthrax stockpile;
- Iraq has illegally imported rocket engines and fuel;
- Iraq has failed to account for 6,500 chemical weapons;
- Iraq has failed to declare 650 kilograms of bacterial growth medium that could be used in the development of biological weapons;
- Iraq has rebuilt missile production facilities that were destroyed by inspectors; and
- UNMOVIC inspectors have discovered precursors to mustard gas.

Furthermore, Iraqi scientists continue to refuse to meet with United Nations inspectors in private. To date, those who have agreed to interviews have demanded that representatives of Iraq's Monitoring Directorate be present. It is apparent that Baghdad is working to discourage private meetings.

On numerous occasions, I have urged UNMOVIC and the IAEA to utilize the authority it has been given to hold interviews outside of Iraq. Scientists who agree to be interviewed should be given the opportunity to emigrate with their families. Our experience has shown that these scientists are the best source of information on weapons programs.

As Iraqi intransigence has become more deliberate, President Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair have ordered military forces into the region in increasing numbers. The presence of these military forces in the region and the insistence of President Bush and Prime Minister Blair on complete disarmament have been the catalyst behind what little cooperation the United Nations has received to date from Iraq.

All Americans are hopeful that military action against Iraq can be avoided. Iraqi actions are providing little encouragement. The list of outstanding Iraqi obligations and requirements is the same today as it was when United Nations inspectors left in 1998. There is little evidence that Saddam Hussein has decided to comply or cooperate.

Our nation will and must act when our national security interests are threatened. Iraq armed with weapons of mass destruction and the possibility of their transfer to terrorist organizations is unacceptable. Saddam Hussein has launched chemical and biological weapons attacks against his neighbors as well as his own people. We cannot permit him to maintain weapons of mass destruction.

On November 8 the United Nations made a strong statement requiring full Iraqi compliance with the terms of the Resolution 1441. Those days of hope and consensus have waned as narrower interests have begun to peel back the Security Council's unanimous support for Resolution 1441. This is unfortunate but not unexpected. The Administration should continue to work to build support

at the United Nations for full implementation of Resolution 1441 including the need for action in the absence of complete Iraqi compliance. As President Bush noted in September in his speech before the General Assembly: "the United Nations [faces] a difficult and defining moment. Are Security Council resolutions to be honored and enforced, or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding, or will it be irrelevant?"

In recent days the Administration has begun to consider the release of highly sensitive intelligence on Iraq's weapons ambitions. I am encouraged that Secretary of State Powell will visit with the Security Council and share some of our Intelligence Community's assessments of Iraq's behavior. I appreciate the importance of safeguarding sources and methods in sharing highly classified information, but I believe those risks are now outweighed both by the need to point United Nations inspectors in the direction of suspect sites and by the need to demonstrate to the Security Council and allied governments the seriousness of our purpose.

If, after continued discussions, United Nations support is not forthcoming, the United States must consider a different course. We must work with like-minded nations to form a "coalition of the willing" committed to the disarmament of Iraq