Consistent with the Authorization for Use

of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution

(Public Law 102–1) and as part of my effort

to keep the Congress fully informed, I am

reporting on the status of efforts to obtain

Iraq’s compliance with the resolutions adopted

by the United Nations Security Council

(UNSC). This report covers the period from

February 3, 1998, to the present.

For much of the period covered by this

report, Iraq was engaged in a serious challenge

to the authority of the UNSC and the

will of the international community. As documented

in my last report, Iraq refused to

allow U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM)

inspectors to carry out their work at a number

of sites last December; Iraq’s refusal to

cooperate in spite of repeated warnings continued

until the signing of the Memorandum

of Understanding (MOU) between U.N. Secretary

General Kofi Annan and Iraqi Deputy

Prime Minister Tariq Aziz on February 23,

and the enforcement of this agreement by

the UNSC on March 2 when it adopted

UNSCR 1154. Both the MOU and UNSCR

1154 reiterate Iraq’s commitment to provide

immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted

access to UNSCOM and the International

Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). UNSCR

1154 also stresses that any further Iraqi violation

of the relevant UNSC resolutions would

result in the severest consequences for Iraq.

Iraq’s commitment is now in the process of

being tested. A series of UNSCOM inspections

of so-called ‘‘sensitive’’ sites in early

March proceeded without Iraqi interference.

On March 26, UNSCOM inspections of the

so-called ‘‘presidential sites’’ began under the

arrangements agreed to by UNSCOM Chairman

Richard Butler and Iraqi Deputy Foreign

Minister Tariq Aziz. The team of 60

UNSCOM inspectors, accompanied by 20

diplomatic observers, is conducting inspections

of the so-called ‘‘presidential sites’’

through April 5. Chairman Butler traveled

to Baghdad in mid-March for discussions

with Iraqi officials concerning Iraq’s missile

and chemical weapons programs.

Throughout the crisis created by Iraq’s refusal

to cooperate with U.N. weapons inspectors,

the objective of my Administration was

to achieve effective inspections, preferably

through a diplomatic solution. Our vigorous

diplomatic efforts were backed by the credible

threat to use force, if necessary. I consulted

with our allies in the region as well

as with the other members of the U.N. Security

Council. Secretary of State Albright, Secretary

of Defense Cohen, U.N. Ambassador

Richardson, and other Administration officials

also pursued our objectives vigorously

with foreign governments, including several

trips to the region and to relevant capitals

and at the United Nations. Our military

forces responded quickly and effectively to

support our diplomatic efforts by providing

a credible military option, which we were

prepared to use if Iraq had not ultimately

agreed to meet its obligation to provide full

access to UNSCOM and the IAEA.

As a demonstration of U.S. resolve during

the recent crisis with Iraq, the aircraft carriers

USS INDEPENDENCE, USS

GEORGE WASHINGTON, their accompanying

battle group combatant ships, and

additional combat aircraft have remained in

the region. United States force levels in the

region now include land- and carrier-based

aircraft, surface warships, a Marine amphibious

task force, Patriot missile battalions, a

mechanized battalion task force, and a mix

of special operations forces deployed in support

of USCINCCENT operations. To enhance

force protection throughout the region,

additional military security personnel

are also deployed. These U.S. forces were

augmented by the HMS ILLUSTRIOUS and

accompanying ships from the United Kingdom.

In addition to the United Kingdom, a

number of other nations have pledged forces

to our effort to compel Iraq’s compliance

with its commitments. Although all of the

members of this international effort seek a

peaceful diplomatic resolution of the crisis

in Iraq, all have shown their resolve to

achieve our common objective by military

force if that becomes necessary. Without this

demonstration of resolve to both use military

force and impose the severest consequences

on Iraq for any further Iraqi transgressions,

it is unlikely that the MOU and UNSCR 1154

(see below) would have been achieved.

Twenty nations have deployed forces to

the region or have readied their forces for

contingency deployment. Those countries

currently represented in the Gulf include

Australia, Argentina, Canada, the Czech Republic,

Kuwait, Netherlands, New Zealand,

Romania, and the United Kingdom. Another

12 nations have offered important access,

basing, overflight, and other assistance essential

for the multi-national effort. Still others

have identified force contributions that are

being held in reserve for deployment should

the need arise. United States and Allied

forces in the region are prepared to deal with

numerous contingencies, either conventional

or weapons of mass destruction-related.

UNSCR 949, adopted in October 1994, demands

that Iraq not use its military forces

to threaten its neighbors or U.N. operations

in Iraq and that it not redeploy troops nor

enhance its military capacity in southern

Iraq. In view of Saddam’s record of brutality

and unreliability, it is prudent to retain a significant

force presence in the region to deter

Iraq. This gives us the capability to respond

rapidly to possible Iraqi aggression or threats

against its neighbors.

Until Iraqi intent to comply with the MOU

is verified, it will be necessary to maintain

our current augmented force posture in the

region. The ongoing inspections of the socalled

‘‘presidential sites’’ mark the next critical

phase in the UNSCOM inspections process.

Once Iraqi compliance is assured, we will

consider whether we can reduce our present

force posture.

The United States and coalition partners

continue to enforce the no-fly zones over

Iraq under Operation Northern Watch and

Operation Southern Watch. In response to

a series of Iraqi no-fly zone violations in October

and November 1997, we increased the

number of aircraft participating in these operations.

There have been no observed nofly

zone violations during the period covered

by this report. We have repeatedly made

clear to the Government of Iraq and to all

other relevant parties that the United States

and coalition partners will continue to enforce

both no-fly zones, and that we reserve

the right to respond appropriately and decisively

to any Iraqi provocations.

The Maritime Interception Force (MIF),

operating under the authority of UNSCR

665, vigorously enforces U.N. sanctions in

the Gulf. The U.S. Navy is the single largest

component of this international naval force,

but it is augmented by ships and aircraft from

Australia, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands,

New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

Member states of the Gulf Cooperation

Council support the MIF by providing

logistical support and shipriders, and accepting

vessels caught violating sanctions.

Since my last report, the MIF has intercepted

15 sanctions violators in the Gulf for

a total of over 25,000 metric tons of illegal

Iraqi petroleum products. Ships involved in

smuggling have often utilized the territorial

seas of Iran to avoid MIF inspections. We

have given detailed reports of these illegal

activities to the U.N. Sanctions Committee

in New York.

The level of petroleum smuggling from

Iraq appears to be decreasing. There are indications,

still preliminary, that the Government

of Iran may be takings steps to curb

the flow of illegal petroleum products

through its territorial seas. While it is too

early to tell if Iran will completely and permanently

stop this illegal traffic, we are hopeful

that Iran will help enforce the provisions

of UNSCR 661 and other relevant UNSCRs.

In this regard, we note that the Iranian government

has recently played a helpful role

in enforcing the sanctions of air travel to and

from Iraq by requiring that planes wishing

to enter Iraq obtain the appropriate approval

from the U.N. Sanctions Committee before

overflying Iranian territory.

Recent actions by the United Arab Emirates

(UAE) will greatly enhance our efforts

to halt illegal exports from Iraq. After diplomatic

consultations with the United States

and our MIF allies, the UAE has significantly

increased its level of cooperation with the

MIF. These efforts have resulted in a significant

increase in the number of ships caught

with illegal cargoes. In addition, the UAE has

prohibited the use of tankers, barges, and

other vessel types to transport petroleum

products to UAE ports and through its waters

or to store such products there. While it is

still too early to determine the full effect of

these measures, we are hopeful that these

actions will deal a significant blow to sanctions-

busting activity in the region.

While Iran and the UAE are taking positive

steps, Iraq continues to improve loading

facilities in the Shatt Al Arab waterway,

which gives it the potential to smuggle even

larger quantities of gasoil and fuel oil. The

U.S. Government will seek to address this

problem in the context of the expansion of

the ‘‘oil-for-food’’ program approved under

UNSCR 1153.

Iraq’s refusal to cooperate fully and unconditionally

with UNSCOM and the IAEA,

which are tasked with tracking down and destroying

Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction

(WMD) programs, was once again at the

heart of the latest crisis between the U.N.

and Iraq.

On February 23, the United Nations Secretary

General signed the MOU with the

Government of Iraq reiterating Iraq’s obligation

to cooperate fully and unconditionally

with inspections by UNSCOM and IAEA for

weapons of mass destruction. The agreement

stipulates that Iraq will provide UNSCOM

and IAEA weapons inspectors with immediate,

unconditional, and unrestricted access

to any suspect site inside Iraq, including

presidential palaces, and provides for specific

procedures for inspections at eight clearly

identified presidential sites.

The recent crisis with Iraq was only the

latest chapter in the long history of efforts

by the Iraqi regime to flout its obligations

under relevant UNSC resolutions. Iraq has

persistently failed to disclose fully its programs

for WMD. Iraq has admitted, when

confronted with incontrovertible evidence,

that it has repeatedly and consistently concealed

information from UNSCOM and the

IAEA and has moved significant pieces of

dual-use equipment that are subject to monitoring

in violation of its obligations. Without

full disclosure and free access to all sites

UNSCOM and IAEA wish to inspect, the ongoing

monitoring and verification mandated

by relevant UNSC resolutions, including

Resolutions 687, 707, and 715, cannot effectively

be conducted.

On March 2, the Security Council unanimously

adopted resolution 1154, which welcomed

the MOU and reiterated that Iraq

must cooperate fully with UNSCOM and the

IAEA. In the clearest possible terms, the

Council warned Iraq in UNSCR 1154 that

it will face the ‘‘severest consequences’’ if it

fails to adhere to the commitments it reaffirmed

in the MOU. This resolution is one

of the strongest and clearest statements the

Council has made in 7 years with regard to

what Iraq must do to comply with its obligations,

and what the consequences of failing

to meet those obligations will be. This strong

language of UNSCR 1154 is critical to ensuring

that UNSCOM and IAEA can do their

job and that Iraq is held accountable to its

agreement. We welcomed Resolution 1154

and agreed with Secretary General Annan

that, if respected, honored, and sustained,

the agreement ‘‘could constitute one of the

U.N.’s most important steps in addressing

the consequences of Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait

7 years ago.’’

Iraq’s compliance with the agreement is

now being tested. Since the beginning of

March, UNSCOM has pursued an intensive

agenda of inspections, including inspections

of so-called ‘‘sensitive’’ sites and ‘‘presidential

sites’’ to which the Iraqis had previously

blocked access. Iraq has not significantly obstructed

access to any sites UNSCOM and

the IAEA wished to visit since the MOU was

signed. This may mean Iraq will comply with

the relevant UNSC resolutions, but the testing

process must continue until UNSCOM

and the IAEA are fully satisfied. We have

consistently stressed that full, unconditional,

repeated access by UNSCOM to all sites,

personnel, equipment, documents, and

means of transportation provides the only

means by which the world can make certain

Iraq does not maintain or develop WMD. We

have full faith and confidence in UNSCOM

and its Executive Chairman.

Iraqi biological and chemical weapons remain

the most troubling issues for

UNSCOM. This is due to the innate dualuse

nature of the technology; it can easily

be hidden within civilian industries such as,

for biological agents, the pharmaceutical industry

and, for chemical agents, the pesticide

industry. UNSCOM is still unable to verify

that all of Iraq’s SCUD missile warheads

filled with biological agents—anthrax and

botulinum toxin—have been destroyed.

The Iraqi regime contends that UNSCOM

and the IAEA should ‘‘close the books’’ on

nuclear and missile inspections. But there are

still many uncertainties and questions that

need to be resolved. Iraq has never provided

a full and accurate account of its indigenous

efforts to develop nuclear weapons and prohibited

long-range missiles. Among the many

problems, Iraq has failed to answer critical

questions on nuclear weapons design and

fabrication, procurement, and centrifuge enrichment;

failed to provide a written description

of its post-war nuclear weapons procurement

program; and failed to account for

major engine components, special warheads,

missing propellants, and guidance instruments

that could be used to assemble fully

operational missiles. Until Iraq complies with

its obligation to provide a full accounting of

these and other relevant aspects of its program,

the questions must remain open.

The U.N. Special Commission’s work must

include vigorous efforts to expose Iraq’s

‘‘Concealment Mechanism.’’ During the last

60 days, but before signature of the MOU,

UNSCOM launched two special inspection

teams that once again targeted this mechanism

in order to ferret out WMD programs

and documents that UNSCOM—and we—

believe Iraq stubbornly retains. Unfortunately,

it became clear that the Iraqi government

had no intention of cooperating with

these inspections as specifically called for in

the most recent UNSCRs on the topic—resolutions

1134 of October 23, 1997, and 1137

of November 12, 1997. The teams were

stopped *en route*, denied access, and prevented

from videotaping equipment movement

or document-destruction activity at suspect

sites.

In accordance with relevant UNSC resolutions,

UNSCOM and the IAEA must be allowed

to continue to investigate all aspects

of Iraq’s prohibited programs until they can

verify that all relevant components have been

destroyed under international supervision,

and that all remaining capabilities have been

eliminated. Without such verification, Iraq

could quickly develop the ability to strike at

any city in the region—and perhaps even as

far as Europe—with weapons of mass destruction.

United Nations Security Council Resolution

1051 established a joint UNSCOM/

IAEA unit to monitor Iraq’s efforts to reacquire

proscribed weapons. Iraq must notify

the unit before it imports any items that can

be used in both military and civilian applications.

Similarly, U.N. members must provide

timely notification of exports to Iraq of such

dual-use items.

We continue to be concerned that Iraq’s

land borders are extremely porous. Iraq continues

substantial trade with its neighbors.

There is significant potential for evasion of

sanctions by land routes, giving additional

weight to our position that UNSCOM must

have full and unconditional access to all locations

and be allowed to inspect and monitor

Iraqi compliance over time.

On February 20, the Security Council

adopted resolution 1153, which expands to

$5.2 billion the amount of oil Iraq is authorized

to sell every 6 months. The previous

amount was $2.0 billion every 6 months. Resolution

1153 states that the nutritional and

health requirements of the Iraqi people are

the top priority and allocates $1 billion to

rebuild hospitals, schools, water, and sanitation

facilities. My Administration’s support

for resolution 1153 is fully consistent with

long-standing U.S. policy. Since 1990, at the

height of the Gulf War, the United States

has held that the international community’s

dispute is with Iraq’s leadership, not its people.

We proposed an ‘‘oil-for-food’’ program

in 1991 (UNSCR 706/712), which Iraq rejected.

A similar program (UNSCR 986) was

eventually accepted by Iraq in 1996. We supported

the expansion of the oil-for-food program

under UNSCR 1153 because it will

provide additional humanitarian assistance to

the Iraqi people, under strict U.N. supervision,

without benefiting the regime.

Since the beginning of the oil-for-food

program, we have consistently worked with

the U.N. and other U.N. member states to

find ways to improve the program’s effectiveness

to better meet the humanitarian needs

of Iraq’s civilian population. Iraq, however,

has frequently failed to provide the full cooperation

necessary to ensure that the program

functions smoothly. For example, during

calendar year 1997, the Government of

Iraq refused to pump oil under UNSCR 986

for more than 3 months, all the while blaming

the U.N. and the United States for disruptions

in the flow of food and medicine

that it had caused. We will be watching closely

to determine how the Government of Iraq

performs under UNSCR 1153. The Iraqi

government refused to provide appropriate

input to the Secretary General’s report of

January 30 on Iraq’s humanitarian needs,

which provided the basis for determining allocations

under UNSCR 1153. On February

5, Iraq sent its official ‘‘observations’’ on that

report to the Secretary General, rejecting

many of its proposals and recommendations

to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people

without stating whether or not the Government

of Iraq would ‘‘accept’’ the resolution.

The U.N. Secretariat continues to work to

reach agreement with Iraq on implementing

UNSCR 1153.

Among its other provisions, UNSCR 1153

calls for an independent assessment of Iraq’s

oil infrastructure to ascertain whether it can

export enough oil to cover the $5.2 billion

oil export ceiling. Based on this report, the

Secretary General will recommend to the

UNSC whether repairs to Iraq’s oil infrastructure

will be needed to meet the new

export target. The United States is prepared

to support only those oil infrastructure repairs

needed to fund the expanded humanitarian

program.

The U.N. must carefully monitor how Iraq

implements resolution 1153. The Iraqi government

continues to insist on the need for

rapid lifting of the sanctions regime, despite

its record of non-compliance with its obligations

under relevant U.N. resolutions. Saddam

Hussein has exploited the suffering he

himself has imposed on his people to build

sympathy for Iraq and its government and

to create pressure to lift the sanctions. In the

meantime, he has continued to build lavish

palaces that benefit only the elite within his

regime.

The human rights situation throughout

Iraq continues to be a cause for grave concern.

U.N. Special Rapporteur for Iraq, Max

Van der Stoel, is investigating credible reports

from numerous independent sources

that the Government of Iraq may have summarily

executed hundreds—perhaps thousands—

of political detainees in November

and December 1997. According to these reports,

many of those killed were serving sentences

of 15–20 years for such crimes as insulting

the regime or being members of an

opposition political party. Families in Iraq reportedly

received the bodies of the executed

that bore, in some cases, clear signs of torture.

In addition, the possibility that the government

used humans as experimental subjects

in its chemical and biological weapons

programs remains a grave concern.

In southern Iraq, the government continues

to repress the Shi’a population, destroying

the Marsh Arabs’ way of life and the

unique ecology of the southern marshes. In

the north, the government continues the

forced expulsion of tens of thousands of ethnic

Kurds from Kirkuk and other cities. The

government continues to stall and obfuscate,

rather than work in good faith toward accounting

for more than 600 Kuwaitis and

third-country nationals who disappeared at

the hands of Iraqi authorities during or after

the occupation of Kuwait, and the nearly

5,000 Iranian prisoners of war taken prisoner

by Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war. The Government

of Iraq shows no sign of complying

with UNSCR 688, which demands that Iraq

cease the repression of its own people. The

U.N. Special Rapporteur reported to the

General Assembly his particular concern that

extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions,

and the practice of torture continue

to occur in Iraq.

The INDICT campaign continues to gain

momentum. Led by various independent

Iraqi opposition groups and nongovernmental

organizations, this effort seeks to document

crimes against humanity and other

violations of international humanitarian law

committed by the Iraqi regime. We applaud

the tenacity of the Iraqi opposition in the

face of one of the most repressive regimes

in history. We take note of, and welcome,

Senate Resolution 179 of March 13 expressing

the sense of the Senate concerning the

need for an international criminal tribunal to

try members of the Iraqi regime for war

crimes and crimes against humanity.

March 16, 1998, marked the tenth anniversary

of the Iraqi military’s devastating chemical

attack on the Iraqi Kurdish town of

Halabja. As many as 5,000 civilians were

killed. More than 10,000 were injured. The

Iraqi regime never expressed remorse for

Halabja. In fact, the regime defended its use

of chemical weapons in its war with Iran by

claiming, ‘‘every nation has the right to protect

itself against invasion,’’ even though a

1925 Geneva Protocol, to which Iraq is subject,

outlaws the use of chemical weapons.

Ten years after the massacre, the people of

Halabja still suffer from the effects of the

attack, including much higher rates of serious

diseases (such as cancer), birth defects, and

miscarriages. The sympathies of the United

States are with the people of Halabja and

other victims of Iraqi chemical attacks as we

remind ourselves and the international community

that the U.N. must remain vigilant

to stop Iraq from reacquiring weapons of

mass destruction.

In northern Iraq, the cease-fire between

the Kurdish parties, established in November

1997 as the result of U.S. efforts, continues

to hold. Both Massoud Barzani, leader of the

Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jalal

Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of

Kurdistan (PUK) have made positive, forward-

looking statements on political reconciliation,

and talks between the two groups

have commenced. We will continue our efforts

to reach a permanent reconciliation

through mediation in order to help the people

of northern Iraq find the permanent, stable

settlement that they deserve, and to minimize

the opportunities for Baghdad and

Tehran to insert themselves into the conflict

and threaten Iraqi citizens in this region.

The United Nations Compensation Commission

(UNCC), established pursuant to

UNSCRs 687 and 692, continues to resolve

claims against Iraq arising from Iraq’s unlawful

invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The

UNCC has issued almost 1.3 million awards

worth $6 billion. Thirty percent of the proceeds

from the oil sales permitted by

UNSCRs 986, 1111, and 1143 have been allocated

to the Compensation Fund to pay

awards and to finance operations of the

UNCC. To the extent that money is available

in the Compensation Fund, initial payments

to each claimant are authorized for awards

in the order in which the UNCC has approved

them, in installments of $2,500. To

date, 457 U.S. claimants have received an initial

installment payment, and payment is in

process for an additional 323 U.S. claimants.

Iraq remains a serious threat to international

peace and security. I remain determined

to see Iraq comply fully with all of

its obligations under U.N. Security Council

resolutions. The United States looks forward

to the day when Iraq rejoins the family of

nations as a responsible and law-abiding

member.

I appreciate the support of the Congress

for our efforts and shall continue to keep the

Congress informed about this important

issue.