Mr. President, I want to

express my support for President Clinton,

in consultation with Congress and

consistent with the United States Constitution

and laws, taking necessary

and appropriate actions to respond effectively

to the threat posed by Iraq’s

refusal to end its weapons of mass destruction

programs.

I am presently in Moscow accompanying

Secretary of Defense William

Cohen on a trip that has taken us to

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, the

United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Bahrain.

I believe that it would be useful to

briefly review some of the historical

record relating to Iraq’s compliance

with United Nations Security Council

resolutions leading up to the present

crisis.

United Nations Security Council Resolution

660 of August 2, 1990, condemned

the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait

and demanded that it withdraw its

forces from Kuwait. The Security

Council’s Resolution 678 of November

29, 1990, affirmed by Resolution 687 of

April 3, 1991, authorized the use of all

necessary means to restore international

peace and security. During

this period and up to the actual use of

force by the United States-led coalition,

there were a series of diplomatic

efforts to convince the government of

Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

But Saddam Hussein didn’t get it.

Following the Gulf War, the Security

Council continued the economic and

weapons sanctions on Iraq that were

imposed after it invaded Kuwait. The

Security Council conditioned the lifting

of the sanctions on Iraq’s accepting

the destruction, removal or rendering

harmless, under international supervision,

of its nuclear, chemical, and biological

weapons programs and all ballistic

missiles with a range greater

than 150 kilometers. Despite the crippling

international economic sanctions

that have been imposed on his country

by the international community, Saddam

Hussein still didn’t get it.

In recognition of the need to reduce

the harm to the Iraqi people that were

caused by Saddam Hussein’s misadventures,

the Security Council on August

15, 1991, in Resolution 706, authorized

the sale of Iraqi oil for the dual purpose

of the payment of claims against

Iraq and for the purchase of foodstuffs,

medicines, materials and supplies for

essential civilian humanitarian needs.

That authorization was made subject

to the Security Council’s approval of a

plan for such sales and for international

monitoring and supervision to

assure their equitable distribution in

all regions of Iraq and to all categories

of the Iraqi civilian population. But

Saddam Hussein rejected the plan. It

wasn’t until a Memorandum of Understanding

on the plan was signed by Iraq

and the United Nations on May 20, 1996,

and after several additional months of

contentious negotiations on implementation

details, that Iraq finally began

pumping oil on December 10, 1996. That

was more than 5 years after the Security

Council authorized such action.

Saddam Hussein still didn’t get it.

There were several major confrontations

between Iraq and the international

community over access for

United Nations Special Commission on

Iraq or UNSCOM inspectors between

May 1991 and June 1993. That pattern of

confrontation was repeated on numerous

occasions from March 1996 to October

1997. Since that time, the situation

worsened until Iraq agreed that

UNSCOM could return to Iraq unconditionally.

Although UNSCOM inspections

resumed on November 21, 1997, access

was denied to presidential palaces

and many other sites, and in mid-January

1998, an inspection team headed by

an American was blocked. By the way,

there are many dozens of these palaces.

Some have grounds as large as Washington

D.C. They are suspect weapons

of mass destruction sites as long as access

is denied.

And so we have reached the present

moment in time in which Iraq is blocking

the UNSCOM inspectors from performing

their mission on behalf of the

international community. Saddam

Hussein still doesn’t get it.

Mr. President, United Nations Secretary

General Kofi Annan stated it

well at a press conference on February

2 when he said:

Mr. President, this crisis is due entirely

to the actions of Saddam Hussein.

He alone is responsible. We all

wish that diplomacy will cause him to

back down but history does not give

me cause for optimism that Saddam

Hussein will finally get it.

Mr. President, Saddam Hussein’s

weapons of mass destruction programs

and the means to deliver them are a

menace to international peace and security.

They pose a threat to Iraq’s

neighbors, to U.S. forces in the Gulf region,

to the world’s energy supplies,

and to the integrity and credibility of

the United Nations Security Council.

Mr. President, as I noted earlier, I

have visited a number of countries in

the Middle East with Secretary Cohen.

In each country, we have met with the

head of state. We’ve had a series of

very positive meetings in every country.

We’re very confident that the support

that is needed and has been requested

from these countries would be

forthcoming if diplomatic efforts fail

to get Saddam Hussein to comply and

if there is a military strike. They all

say, in various ways, basically the

same thing—he must comply with U.N.

Security Council resolutions and, if he

fails to comply and if there is military

action, the responsibility is his and his

alone since he has the key to a peaceful

solution, which is compliance with the

U.N. resolutions. And we are assured

privately that we will have their support

if diplomatic efforts fail and if

military action is necessary.

Mr. President, yesterday the Gulf Cooperation

Council at the Ministerial

level issued a statement concerning the

Iraqi crisis. I ask that the text of the

statement by printed in the RECORD at

the conclusion of my remarks. That

statement included the following and I

quote:

Further, General Zinni, the Commander

in Chief of the Central Command

(CINCENT), has personally advised

us that, in his professional opinion,

the United States has the support

from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf nations

needed to meet the requirements

of the CINCCENT plan to execute a

successful military operation, should it

be necessary.

Mr. President, the use of military

force is a measure of last resort. The

best choice of avoiding it will be if Saddam

Hussein understands he has no

choice except to open up to UNSCOM

inspections and destroy his weapons of

mass destruction. The use of military

force may not result in that desired result

but it will serve to degrade Saddam

Hussein’s ability to develop weapons

of mass destruction and to threaten

international peace and security.

Although not as useful as inspection

and destruction, it is still a worthy

goal.