Mr. President, I

came to the floor last week to talk

about Iraq. I indicated that U.S. forces

enforcing the no-fly zone since 1992

were fired on for the second time this

year. Of course, our forces responded

by destroying an Iraqi air defense

group north of Baghdad. This is a continuing

commitment we have had to

enforce a no-fly zone under the U.N.

proclamation over Iraq.

The inconsistency is that, on one

hand, we are enforcing this no-fly zone;

on the other, we are importing oil from

Iraq. Even on September 11, when the

attack on the Trade Centers occurred,

we were importing a little over 1 million

barrels of oil a day from Iraq.

Today we import some 875,000 barrels.

We are enforcing a no-fly zone, putting

the lives of our men and women at

risk, yet we are becoming even more

dependent on that part of the world for

our oil supply.

As I indicated, this is the second

time this year we have bombed Iraq,

taking out targets. We are off to a

troubling start. Last year, Iraq shot at

U.S. forces enforcing the no-fly zone

some 400 times. We responded with a

like force some 25 times. On one hand,

we make a fist at Iraq; on the other, we

want to take their oil.

As I indicated, in September there

was more than a million barrels. This

is a point that I think has been lost to

some extent, but it has not been lost on

the brave men and women who enforce

this no-fly zone each day.

I would like to read a passage I found

in today’s National Journal. It quoted

BG Edward Ellis, Commander, Northern

Watch, Combined Task Forces. He

says very eloquently:

That comes from BG Edward Ellis,

Commander of the Northern Watch,

Combined Task Forces.

Our Nation was built on the premise

that statesman and soldier are two different

professions. But in this instance,

I hope my colleagues will make a note

of the warning of General Ellis from

the front lines, that perhaps his wisdom

will guide us to make the right

choices for dealing with Iraq and certainly

the right choices about our dependence

on Iraq; that is, to substantially

eliminate that dependence and

reduce our dependence on imported oil

through the Mideast.

I was also struck by a Gallup Poll

that came out the other day. It was in

USA Today and a number of our national

periodicals. I am told it was the

most comprehensive poll on Muslim

countries and their views with regard

to America. They polled people in

Pakistan, Indonesia, Lebanon, Jordan,

Morocco, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.

I don’t know about you, Mr.

President, but when I read those results

they were frightening, and they

should give us pause. Residents of

these countries viewed America unfavorably

by a 2-to-1 margin. Some of

these countries are supposed to be good

friends of ours, but their views and

their people’s attitude towards us certainly

doesn’t show it.

Friends or not, we get a lot of energy

from this area, and I think we have become

dangerously reliant upon them.

Let’s look at the numbers: 61 percent

of the residents of those countries, in

polling information from Gallup, suggest

that the Arabs were not responsible

for 9–11. In other words, those who

carried citizenship from those countries,

they bear no responsibility. Only

18 percent of the people in these countries

believe that Arabs were even involved

in the terrorism that took place

on September 11.

In Kuwait, 36 percent said the attacks

were justifiable, the highest

number of any country. That is rather

troubling to me because we only have

to go back to 1992 when we fought a

war to keep Saddam Hussein from invading

Kuwait and going on into Saudi

Arabia. Here is Kuwait, 36 percent of

the people say the attacks were justifiable.

If it were not for our action, Saddam

Hussein would be in Saudi Arabia

today; he would have taken over Kuwait.

Only 9 percent say U.S. military action

in Afghanistan is justified. Let me

say that again. Only 9 percent, according

to the Gallup Poll, say U.S. military

action is justified even though the

people of Afghanistan were happy, in

our view at least, to throw off the yoke

of the Taliban and al-Qaida that was

strangling them to death, certainly, in

our opinion, using that country as a

clubhouse for gangsters and terrorists.

I am appalled by these figures. I am

worried and I think it should bother all

Members of this body. Why? Because

we are too dependent on these countries

that clearly have a different view

of the United States. The poll shows

the United States has a 16-percent approval

rating in Saudi Arabia. I hope

that irony is not lost, that we also get

16 percent of our oil from Saudi Arabia.

What are we going to do about it?

The governments of some of these

countries are friends of ours, but what

about the people? The Gallup Poll

shows that, despite our money, our aid,

our support, they either don’t like us

or they don’t trust us, or both.

What really concerns all of us is the

manner in which this lack of trust, this

hatred, is fostered within these countries.

We know that fundamentalist

schools in some of the Muslim countries

do not necessarily preach democracy.

We have heard about these

schools, where they teach youngsters

to hate western ideas, western democracy,

and especially America. The real

concern is they are teaching some of

these young people who are going to be

the leaders of tomorrow. These are

youngsters who might grow up believing

that dying while killing an American

is a great thing. These are the

young people who will not forever be

satisfied with their government’s sending

them to schools. They will want to

take the power themselves from what

they learned. As we know, children are

very impressionable.

What I am concerned with today is

what this leadership could become. I

am also concerned at the lack, in this

body, of a concentrated effort to reduce

our dependence on oil from that part of

the world. We are sending money to

Saddam Hussein every day for oil—

somewhere in the area of $15 million

every day.

Our President has taken a strong

stance for energy independence,

against terrorism, recognizing that we

can’t eliminate that dependence but we

can reduce it.

I think the Gallup Poll numbers are

so true. I think it is also true that we

should reflect, at this crucial time, on

our relationship with Iraq, particularly

our knowledge that Saddam Hussein

has been able to evade the monitoring

activities of the United Nations within

Iraq, particularly recognizing that we

have not had any inspectors there

under the U.N. for nearly 4 years, particularly

in view of the fact that we

have evidence that shows he has a missile

capability, a delivery capability,

and that he may be working towards a

biological and/or nuclear warhead.

Where is he aiming? We know Israel

is one of the countries within his

sights. The question is, When do we address

and resolve, if you will, what this

threat might become? Do we initiate,

through a mandate, inspections that

occur immediately? And what kind of

reaction can we expect from Saddam

Hussein? Clearly, the U.N. is unable to

do its job, but this threat is increasing.

It is being fostered by dollars from the

United States that we pay Saddam

Hussein for his oil at the same time we

are bombing him and taking out his

targets. He is using the money to keep

his Republican Guard alive. He is obviously

using the money to develop his

missile capability.

The question is, How do we begin to

unwind Iraq? What is it going to take?

Do we wait for an action that costs

American lives? This is a very sobering

question, but I cannot stand in this

body and condone our continued dependence

on oil from a neighbor such

as Saddam Hussein.

I challenge the leader, who has previously

given me his assurance that we

would be able to address in this session

an action that would be initiated

against Iraq, Senate action expressing

not only our displeasure but setting up

the mechanics to ensure that we did

not purchase any more oil from Saddam

Hussein. We can do that, just as

we initiated action against Iran, from

which the United States has not had

any oil for many years. Basically, what

we are talking about is a sanction. We

have sanctions against Libya. We have

sanctions against Iran. But I find it

very frustrating that we have not gone

forth and sanctioned Saddam Hussein

and oil imports coming to the United

States from Iraq.

As I mentioned some time ago, when

we had the unanimous consent agreement—

and the RECORD will show that

the leader allowed me an opportunity

to bring this matter up at the appropriate

time—I will again bring this

matter up with the leader for his consideration.

I think the time is right to

initiate such action of a sanction

against oil from Iraq.

We find ourselves in a situation

where not only are we enforcing a nofly

zone but we are taking out targets

when he attempts to take us down, suggesting

that it is certainly not in the

national interest of our Nation to

maintain this kind of relationship. I

will be calling on the majority leader

to honor his commitment to me to

allow us to take up a sanction against

Iraq. I suggest we do it as soon as possible.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence

of a quorum.