Mr. President, the primary

reason I came to the floor this

afternoon is to speak about the administration’s

failed policy on Iraq. I say it

is a failed policy. I wish that weren’t

the case, but it is. It is a failed policy.

The administration, this administration,

President Clinton, inherited a situation

where President Bush and the

Secretary of State had won the war

with Iraq. We achieved our military objective,

which was to get Iraq out of

Kuwait. We stated that was our objective.

We accomplished that objective.

We came home. We implemented sanctions

against Iraq for its invasion of

Kuwait in the summer of 1990. We had

a total embargo on Iraqi products, including

oil. Oil was the No. 1 product,

or commodity, that Iraq exported. It

provided 95 percent, I believe, of its foreign

currencies.

We put that embargo on because they

invaded a neighbor. And, frankly, they

probably intended to invade other

neighbors—maybe Saudi Arabia—and

really became the dominating power in

the Persian Gulf. We didn’t think that

was right. We sent 550,000 troops. We

stopped them. We kicked them out of

Kuwait, and we imposed sanctions to

make sure that we would get rid of

their weapons of mass destruction, because

we knew they were building

chemical and biological weapons and

possibly nuclear weapons.

And so we set up an international regime

called UNSCOM to inspect to

make sure they wouldn’t be doing this

again, that they wouldn’t be building

these weapons of mass destruction to

cause more problems for their neighbors

and surrounding countries in the

foreseeable future. The entire world

community supported us, applauded us

in that effort. I think we had 30 countries

that were involved in the coalition

aligned against Iraq in 1990, 1991,

1992. That is what President Clinton inherited.

Well, what has happened since? Let

me walk you through what has happened

since.

Saddam Hussein and the Iraqis and

the Iraqi Government have really baffled

the Clinton administration and, in

my opinion, they have beaten the Clinton

administration if you look at their

objectives.

I will show you. The war was in 1991.

They were producing over 2 million

barrels of oil per day in 1990. After the

embargo, they averaged—in 1991, 1992,

1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, about 4- or 500,000-

barrels per day. We really curtailed

their production. Basically, we had the

implied reward that said, if you will

allow arms control inspectors—if we

know that you are not building weapons

of mass destruction, we will allow

you to produce more oil, there won’t be

an embargo, but we have to know that

you are not building weapons to export

throughout the world.

What did this administration do?

Well, we had a conflict. Actually it

happened in 1994 and 1995; Iraq amassed

about 80,000 troops near the Kuwaiti

border. We started activating troops.

We said, well, we wouldn’t let this

stand; we will respond militarily, if

necessary, and then the problem went

away. How did they go away? In April

of 1995, the United Nations approved

Resolution 986, and this resolution allowed

Iraq to sell $2 billion worth of oil

every 6 months, $4 billion of oil per

year.

Well, you might notice, all right, this

happened in April of 1995. Their oil infrastructure

took awhile to be rebuilt,

but, as a result of the U.N. resolution,

a couple of years later they doubled

their oil production. And this was supposedly

to get their cooperation. We

didn’t have to go to war at the time.

We were able to, supposedly, have arms

control inspectors, and so they had a

little cooperation.

In March of 1996, Iraq blocked inspections.

In June of 1996, we passed U.N.

Resolution 1060 that deplores the refusal

of Iraqi authorities to allow access

to sites designated by UNSCOM. In

August, Iraq launched a campaign

against the Kurds. The United States

launched a few cruise missiles. The crisis

continues. Our arms control inspectors

are continually denied access.

In June of 1997, Iraq demands that

UNSCOM finish their business. In June,

the United Nations passed a resolution

that demands—demands—Iraq comply

fully with UNSCOM. In October of 1997,

Iraq bars American inspectors totally.

In October, the United Nations passed

Resolution 1134 which condemned

Iraq’s refusal to allow UNSCOM access

to certain sites. Boy, the United Nations

is standing tough.

In November of 1997, we passed another

resolution, Resolution 1137. We,

again, condemned Iraq because they

wouldn’t allow these arms control inspectors

to have access. We are getting

close to finding their weapons of mass

destruction.

Now, this is only a year ago. A year

ago in January this administration was

sending 35,000 troops to the Persian

Gulf. We are getting ready to go to war

again. We are going to have a significant

strike. We had significant debate

in this body: Is this the right thing to

do? Will this bring about compliance?

The administration is getting close to

going to war. And then what happened?

The standoff continues. The inspectors

are not allowed access to any of these

sites. And then you might remember,

the Secretary General of the United

Nations, Kofi Annan, well, he flies to

Baghdad and they come to an agreement.

Peace is at hand. Arms control

inspectors will be allowed back in.

Well, guess what. There was a little

deal made that not too many people

were aware of. I venture to say there

weren’t two colleagues in the Senate

who were aware the administration already

cut a deal with Iraq and on U.N.

Resolution 1153, they allowed Iraq to

sell $5.2 billion worth of oil every 6

months; in other words, allowed Iraq to

more than double its oil sales.

This is in February of last year. One

year ago, February of 1998, the administration

signed a deal. We are getting

ready to go to war with Iraq because

they wouldn’t let us have our arms

control inspectors in, and all of a sudden

we delegate the authority to the

Secretary General. He runs to Baghdad.

They signed a deal. Everybody is

shaking hands. War is avoided. Everybody

can be at ease—no real problems

now. We have an agreement. We have

Kofi Annan’s signature. We have the

Iraqis saying they are going to comply;

they are going to let in arms control

people. And, yes, there was a little deal

that they could double oil sales, the

Iraqis could double their oil exports to

as much as $5.2 billion of oil every 6

months. That was February, a year

ago, 12 months from this time.

What happened last August? Let’s

see. Last August, the Iraqis stopped inspectors

again. Now, they have done

this repeatedly.

What happened in September and October?

They announced they would no

longer cooperate. We withdrew the inspectors

because they weren’t doing

anything. They were sitting in hotel

rooms. They weren’t allowed to have

any inspections. And so we started saying

this is not satisfactory.

President Clinton, again, he is talking

tough—we are going to go to war.

We are going to bomb them. We have

the international community on our

side now because they kicked the arms

control inspectors out. We have the

international community on our side.

We are ready to go.

Well, the administration wasn’t

ready to go to war so we will give peace

a little more of a chance. And we gave

peace a little more of a chance, but

they still didn’t cooperate. We negotiated

more. And so in September the

United Nations passed another resolution

demanding Iraq cooperate. That

was in September.

In November, we passed another resolution,

U.N. Resolution 1205. We demanded

that Iraq cooperate. And then

in December we had 3 days of bombing,

December 17, 18, and 19. Iraq didn’t cooperate.

We had 3 days of bombing.

Some people called them the impeachment

bombings. They happened to be

on the day of impeachment. Maybe

that is coincidence; maybe it isn’t. I

don’t know.

So we had 3 days of bombing. Boy,

that taught them a lesson because they

weren’t complying, and we are going to

make sure they are going to comply.

So we bombed them for 3 days. And

then what happened? And I don’t know

if anybody can read this or not, but

then on December 23 ‘‘U.S. Offers To

Raise Crude Sales Cap.’’ Just days

after the bombing, Clinton administration

officials are negotiating to lift the

oil sales cap.

My point is that we have rewarded

Iraq three times in the past for noncompliance

with arms control inspectors

by raising the oil sales cap. In

April of 1995, we allowed them to go

from a total embargo to where they

could sell $2 billion of oil every 6

months.

That was in April of 1995. Why? Because

they weren’t allowing the inspectors.

Then in February of 1998—again,

we are ready to go to war, Kofi Annan,

negotiates this deal that will allow

them to double it again. So, yes, we

had a promise that the inspectors

would be allowed to have access. Maybe

they had access for a few months. The

inspectors start getting close to finding

something and Saddam Hussein

kicks them out again. We threatened

to go to war again. This time we actually

did bomb them for 3 days and then,

guess what. Days later, we can’t wait;

we run back and say, hey, we are going

to reward you for your noncompliance.

That has been the administration’s policy

dealing with Iraq. Let’s reward

their noncompliance with arms control

inspectors. Let’s reward them; we will

let them sell more oil. And that is exactly

what has happened.

This was the administration’s statement

days after the bombing. But it is

interesting. And this was made by Tom

Pickering.

Incidentally, I might mention, Mr.

President, we are trying to get the administration

to testify at a hearing,

and they have been very reluctant to

do so. But I think we have a commitment

from Secretary of Energy Richardson,

and I hope we will have Secretary

Albright, or at least Under Secretary

Pickering to testify, to explain

this position.

His statement is interesting. It says:

In other words, if Iraq doesn’t give

cooperation, we are going to guarantee

that those sanctions will remain in

place forever. That was our administration’s

policy on December 23, just days

after the bombing.

Well, guess what. I am critical of this

administration. Their policy here, 3

weeks later, on January 14—again in

the Washington Post, it says, ‘‘Gore

Signals Flexibility on Iraq Sanctions;

France Proposes Ending Oil Embargo,

Changing Weapons Inspections.’’

But guess what. Vice President GORE

proposed eliminating weapons sanctions.

That is our own Vice President

who said that. Three weeks after we

said we would never lift sanctions unless

we had total cooperation, we had

the Vice President of the United States

talking about—I will just quote part of

the article:

‘‘The ceiling should be lifted.’’ He

didn’t say in exchange for cooperation.

He didn’t say in exchange for having

arms control inspectors in. He just said

we should lift it. That is very inconsistent,

totally overriding what the

Under Secretary said 3 weeks before,

but totally consistent with what this

administration has done.

What this administration has done—

Saddam Hussein has tested them. He

has pushed them up to the edge of

going to war, defied arms control, defied

the international community and

the arms control community—by kicking

the inspectors out. We would talk

tough, and then at the last second we

would say, ‘‘Well, wait a minute, just

give us a little inspection, let us have

some inspections, let us do it, and you

can sell more oil.’’

So what has happened? The Iraqis

have done just that. Their oil sales

have gone way up. Guess what. They

have no inspections—none—zero. They

are selling as much oil today as they

were prior to the war. That is 95 percent

of their currency that they earn

for all sorts of things.

The administration will say this is

only used for food or humanitarian reasons.

Hogwash. Money is fungible. If

they are ready to take care of humanitarian

needs with this money, that

means with the other money they

have, they can use that to buy arms

and weapons and anything else they desire—

maybe more castles that they

happen to have.

So the administration’s policy has

been a total disaster. Here is just the

oil production charts. It shows for

years, 1996 and so on, they were only

producing 550,000 barrels a day. Then

the administration policy where they

allow more and more changes—and you

notice now we are up to over 21⁄2 million

barrels per day, exactly 2 million

barrels a day more than it was in 1996.

That has also had the consequence of

glutting an already flooded market and

is driving a lot of producers totally out

of business—totally out of business.

We have a depression going on right

now in the oil industry. You have 111

oil rigs running today. Last year we

had 372. You go from 370 rigs to 111 in

12 months, and part of the reason happens

to be this administration’s policy

dealing with Iraq.

So I have some concern on what is

happening with the domestic oil industry.

But my biggest concern is that the

administration has had a habit of rewarding

Iraqi noncompliance with

more oil sales. Now the administration’s

policy, as stated by the Vice

President of the United States, is we

should not have a cap on oil sales.

Incidentally, we do not need—or,

they don’t say this, but we do not have

arms control inspectors in; so there is

no connection. We are not saying,

‘‘Hey, you can sell all the oil you want

to; all you have to do is make sure we

have access, have arms control inspection;

then we’ll take all the embargo

off.’’ That should be our policy. But

until they do that, we should keep the

embargo on. Let’s put a little squeeze

on.

I said, ‘‘What are we doing today?’’

We are flying daily flights over the nofly

zones. They are shooting at our pilots.

Thank goodness they haven’t been

successful yet. But how successful is

our policy? We have already proven to

Saddam Hussein, if he denies us, we

will reward him. That is what we have

done. This is what this administration

has done throughout their policy.

Our administration policy has been

pretty poor in dealing with Iraq. We

have continued to reward their noncompliance,

going all the way back to

April 1995, and I think it has made the

world a lot more dangerous as a result.

Saddam Hussein is able to produce all

the oil he wants. He is able to generate

the moneys he needs, able to build the

weapons of mass destruction without

anybody checking him whatsoever—

not the United States, not the United

Nations. As a result, the world is a

much more dangerous place.

The administration should be held

accountable for their failed policies in

Iraq. I also think it is important that

we speak up now so we don’t have

failed policies in Kosovo.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent

to have the newspaper articles and

tables to which I referred printed in

the RECORD, and I yield the floor.

There being no objection, the material

was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows: