Mr. President, I likewise

would like to compliment my colleague,

Senator WARNER, because he

has been leading the debate, certainly

on this side of the aisle, but, frankly,

on both sides of the aisle. Senator

WARNER has carried the debate on this

side almost all of Friday, almost all of

Monday, a great deal of today, and I

am sure tomorrow and Thursday.

He has also been joined by Senator

LIEBERMAN as a principal sponsor, as

well as Senator MCCAIN, Senator BAYH,

and others. I compliment them.

I heard some people debating this

resolution as if they had not read it.

Senate Joint Resolution 46 is well written.

It is supported by the administration.

There was a lot of time spent in

putting this resolution together. Sometimes

we legislate without reading.

Sometimes we talk to people without

listening.

I encourage my colleagues to read

the resolution. I hope it will get a

unanimous vote.

I looked at the resolutions we have

passed in the last many years dealing

with Iraq. Going back to the resolution

we passed in 1991, I remember that resolution

very plainly. A few days before

that resolution passed, I was in Israel.

Saddam Hussein was making statements

like: If war broke out, Israel

would burn. It would be consumed with

fire. He was making all kinds of statements

against the United States,

against Israel, against any potential

ally.

As the previous administration,

President Bush 1, was putting together

an international coalition, Saddam

Hussein was threatening anybody in

that coalition. Congress debated, for

months. You might remember that Kuwait

was invaded in August of 1990.

President Bush made a very strong

statement. He said: This invasion will

not stand. And he made that statement:

You are going to be removed

from Kuwait, one way or another.

Frankly, he made that strong statement,

and he backed it up. He sent

550,000 United States troops to Saudi

Arabia and Kuwait to build the military

force and, in the next 6 months,

built an international coalition that

was unprecedented, unbelievably

strong and powerful, with a number of

countries, Arab and other countries,

neighbors and from across the world, to

stand up to Saddam Hussein’s invasion

of Kuwait and to kick him out of Kuwait.

That war was fought. It was very successful.

And then President Bush

stopped the war at that point because

we achieved the U.N. resolution objectives,

kicking Saddam Hussein out of

Kuwait.

Then there were several resolutions

that were passed, to which Saddam

Hussein and the Iraqi Government

agreed, that called for their disarmament

and inspections. They agreed

to these resolutions. We also passed

resolutions that said we would use

military force, if necessary, to compel

compliance. And the United Nations,

subsequent to that, beginning in 1991,

all the way through 1998, passed 16 resolutions

telling Saddam Hussein and

the Iraqi Government: You must comply

with these resolutions.

We went to war, developed an international

coalition to force him out of

Kuwait and to force him to disarm, and

he agreed. Unfortunately, he did not

live up to his agreement. He lied. He

did not comply. He was defiant in his

noncompliance.

As a result, he continued to build

weapons of mass destruction. And the

United Nations passed resolutions saying:

You must comply, and, if necessary,

we will use force. I could put in

all these resolutions.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent

to have printed in the RECORD the

resolution that passed Congress, the

Iraqi Breach Of International Obligations,

because it is about a four-page

summary, a short summary, but it is a

resolution we passed on July 31, 1998,

Public Law 105–235, and talks about the

Iraqi breach of international obligations.

I will not read it all, but basically

the Iraqi Government totally failed to

comply with the U.N. resolutions. The

essence of the resolve—and I will read

it—

That is the key phrase. This is what

passed Congress in 1998. That was our

unified statement that we made in 1998,

that resolved we will ‘‘bring Iraq into

compliance with its international obligations,’’

and we will use ‘‘appropriate

action,’’ i.e., military action, if necessary,

to get him to comply.

That resolution passed the Senate

unanimously—unanimously—with no

opposition.

It had very strong support. I am

looking at some of the statements

made. I will just read part of one made

by President Clinton on February 17,

1998 regarding Iraqi noncompliance. He

made this speech to the Joint Chiefs of

Staff and the Pentagon dealing with

Iraq. It is very relevant today, as it

was in 1998. This is President Clinton:

President Clinton continued:

I mention this. This was from President

Bill Clinton, a very strong statement.

I read that statement. I am kind

of proud of him and I think he was exactly

right. Though his rhetoric was

pretty strong, his actions, unfortunately,

were not. He said, we are going

to compel compliance. The Congress

passed a resolution saying, we will do

what is necessary to compel compliance.

But we didn’t follow up.

I will read to you a statement made

by Senator DASCHLE on the floor, the

Democrat leader at the time. This was

made on February 12, 1998:

I think Senator DASCHLE was right. I

could go on. I have quotes from Vice

President Gore, other prominent leaders

in Congress at the time. We passed

a strong resolution.

I ask unanimous consent that the

1998 resolution be printed in the

RECORD.

There being no objection, the material

was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

Later in 1998, the U.N.

weapons inspectors were kicked out of

Iraq. We bombed them. Then nothing

happened. Since 1998, for the last 4

years, we haven’t had any weapons inspectors

in Iraq. They have done exactly

as President Clinton forecasted

they would do. They have continued to

build their weapons of mass destruction,

and they have been emboldened

by our lack of action, by the lack of

will.

As a matter of fact, in all those

years, the Oil-for-Food program grew.

At that point he was exporting a little

bit of oil for food. That figure has

quadrupled in the last few years. Every

6 months it was renegotiated. And due

to pressure from a lot of countries it

was renegotiated; yes, we don’t want

the Iraqi people to suffer so we will

allow them to sell more oil. Saddam

Hussein has abused that program and

exported a lot more oil. He has basically

been producing almost all he can.

He has taken that money and put it

back into his weapons of mass destruction.

He is not taking care of his people.

We have Congressmen who were in

Iraq last week talking about how pitiful

it is that some of the kids are living

in the hospitals and so on. Saddam

Hussein has made billions off of oil,

most of it illegally, but instead of

using that money for the health and

well-being of the Iraqi people, he has

used it to build weapons of mass destruction.

President Clinton was pretty insightful

of what would happen. Unfortunately,

during his term, things got

worse. The inspectors were basically

kicked out of Iraq. They were denied

access. There is a long litany. I will insert

in the RECORD a list of Iraqi noncompliance

with the arms control inspectors,

how they basically stopped

them from doing their job. They did a

decent job on occasion because they

would get some insights from a defector,

but Saddam Hussein’s mistress was

laughing about the fact Saddam Hussein

would laugh that he would continue

to conceal these weapons and basically

defy the United Nations and the

United States.

We have had a change in the United

States. Now we have President Bush,

who said we should enforce the U.N.

resolutions. We should stand up to Saddam

Hussein. Things have changed.

September 11 of last year did change

things. It made us aware we are vulnerable

to terrorists. Saddam Hussein has

coalesced, has financed, has trained

terrorists. The idea he is building these

weapons of mass destruction and they

might be distributed to potential terrorists

is just not acceptable.

What needs to be done? Frankly,

what needs to be done is to enforce the

existing U.N. resolutions and to reaffirm

them. Some people have said: We

don’t think President Bush should just

move unilaterally. The world community

signed off on those U.N. resolutions,

and at the time we gave those

U.N. resolutions the use of force, if necessary,

to compel compliance. What

has changed?

In 1998, we reaffirmed the use of

force, if necessary, to compel compliance.

Are things better now than they

were in 1998? He kicked the arms control

inspectors out, and they are building

all kinds of weapons. I don’t see

how anything is better. Things are

worse, just as President Clinton predicted

they would be.

We have rewarded his noncompliance.

The international community

has rewarded his noncompliance, and

the United Nations has basically fallen

into a group that lost its prestige and

the status of being able to say: The

world community is making a statement.

This will not stand.

They have allowed it to stand. They

have allowed it to be neutered, to be

ineffective. Now we have a President

Bush who went to the United Nations

and said: These resolutions are still in

effect. We need to enforce them. There

is a real danger out there. It is a danger

not to us, the United States, but to

the world.

Many people in this body have said: I

don’t want him to move unilaterally,

but let’s do it in conjunction with the

United Nations. President Bush didn’t

have to do that, but he did. He went to

the United Nations and made a very

strong speech. He is working to rebuild

the international coalition that dissipated,

if not disappeared, during the

Clinton administration. The Clinton

administration inherited the strongest,

largest international coalition maybe

ever assembled against a tyrant in Saddam

Hussein in 1990 and 1991. By the

year 2000, that international coalition

was totally gone.

Saddam Hussein was producing all

the weapons he wanted. There were no

arms control inspectors. It really deteriorated

over those 8 or 9 years.

President Bush is trying to rebuild

it. He made the speech to the United

Nations. He has contacted Members of

Congress. He has brought many of us

into the White House. He made a

speech last night to the American people

as well as to Congress.

People said: We want Congress to

speak on this so we will be united. He

came to Congress. He asked for a resolution.

We are going to give him a resolution.

We are going to show the Congress

is behind the President, I hope

with an overwhelming vote, an overwhelming

vote.

What have we learned since 1991?

Many people who voted no on the resolution

in 1991 said: Let’s give the sanctions

a chance. I think we have had a

little period of understanding now that

Saddam Hussein doesn’t care about

sanctions and he doesn’t care about

U.N. resolutions. He doesn’t care about

pieces of paper. He does care about

force. He respects force.

He misjudged the will of President

Bush 1. He misjudged the will of the

United States, earlier in his invasion

and also in events that led up to the

war in 1991.

I think he understands, too, that

President Bush is very forceful. He

means exactly what he says. If there is

any chance to have a peaceful resolution

in Iraq, it will only be after we

pass this resolution, and he understands

quite well that we will use

force, if necessary, to compel compliance.

Maybe then he will have a change

of behavior. If not, he will pull the U.N.

around and play them like a fiddle and

try to do some type of diplomatic

dance, never to do anything. He did

that quite successfully for years.

He will not be successful with President

Bush and this team. President

Bush has assembled a team—I respect

President Bush greatly for the speeches

he has made and for his courageous positions

but also for the team he has put

together. His Vice President, DICK CHENEY,

is former Secretary of Defense,

and he has dealt with Saddam Hussein.

His Secretary of State, Colin Powell,

was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs

in the war in 1991. Secretary Rumsfeld

is well respected by our military leaders

and around the world. President

Bush has put together a great team—

one that probably wasn’t designed for

this problem, but it could not be more

experienced and ready to take on this

enormous challenge. I have great confidence

in their ability to be able to do

the job.

Is it without risk? No. Sure, there is

risk involved. There is a lot that is involved.

But doing nothing is a greater

risk. Doing nothing is a much greater

risk. If we want to have any hope of a

peaceful resolution or to have this happen

successfully without military conflict,

it will only be after Saddam Hussein

realizes the United States is behind

our President, our Commander in

Chief, and that we will enforce these

resolutions. These resolutions don’t

have to be pieces of paper that are

going to be ignored; they are the rule

and effect of law. I hope the international

community comes together.

The U.N. passing a strong resolution

is much greater after they see the Congress

speak with one voice and pass

overwhelmingly a resolution stating

we believe the existing resolutions

should be enforced. We do not think it

is satisfactory to have Saddam Hussein—

a person who used chemical

weapons against his own people, who

fought wars with Iran, who has invaded

Kuwait, and who lobbed missiles

against Saudi Arabia and the Israeli

people, we don’t think it is satisfactory

for that person, that regime, to be able

to develop and continue to manufacture

tons and tons and tons of chemical

and biological weapons, and work on

nuclear weapons that could threaten

millions of people—millions of people.

That is not satisfactory. It needs to

be stopped. I believe this President will

do it. I think this resolution will be a

big step in the right direction.

I want to make one final comment,

and this is to the Iraqi people. They

have suffered enough under Saddam

Hussein. This is really for the liberation

of the Iraqi people, just like getting

rid of the Taliban in Afghanistan

was liberation for the Afghan people.

They have been suppressed for too

long. This tyrant, this dictator who executed

people himself and had relatives

executed, and countless people who

might be his political opponents have

been executed—he needs to go.

In 1998, this Congress said we are for

a regime change in Iraq. We were for it

in 1998. We are for it now. In my opinion,

we will not really have a return to

a peaceful, growing, prosperous Iraq

until there is a regime change. We will

not have any confidence that there is

any peaceful outlook for Iraq as long as

Saddam Hussein is in the area. This

Congress spoke in 1998 strongly and

unanimously for regime change. I still

think that is needed. The point I want

to make is that if military conflict

breaks out, it will not be a war with

the Iraqi people. The war is with the

leadership of Iraq, the unelected leader,

Saddam Hussein, the tyrant who

continues to oppress his people, basically

stealing their money and using it

to build weapons of mass destruction

for his purposes, which is not for the

well-being of the Iraqi people, but,

frankly, for his desire to build a military

machine that can threaten us.

That is not acceptable.

I believe this resolution, when it

passes—and I hope it does overwhelmingly—

will send a strong signal to the

world and to Saddam Hussein that

these resolutions can, should, and will

be enforced.

I yield the floor.