The hearing will come to order. Mr. Perle,

Dr. Chalabi, delighted to have you here. Welcome to both of you.

We are very pleased to see both of you here to review U.S. policy

toward Iraq, and in particular to review the Clinton-Gore administration’s

progress in implementing the Iraq Liberation Act.

As we have done this drill several times before, I think you will

have some idea just how I feel about the administration’s commitment

to liberating Iraq. To put it as straightforwardly as possible,

I cannot understand why President Clinton signed the Iraq Liberation

Act when he had absolutely no intent of implementing the provisions

of the law.

It is hard for me to figure out why administration officials, from

President Clinton and Vice President Gore on down, keep insisting

they are interested in ousting Saddam, and yet not one official of

this administration has been willing to take even the most minimal

steps toward that end.

Let me just review what the Congress, with complete bipartisanship—

and I emphasize that, complete bipartisanship—has done

trying to press forward on Iraq policy. Since 1998, I count nine

House or Senate resolutions calling for democracy in Iraq, nine promoting

a war crimes tribunal for Iraq, demanding compliance with

U.N. resolutions.

We have authorized tens of millions of dollars to support war

crimes research and for the opposition. The only arguments we

have had are over how more can be done to promote the overthrow

of Saddam and bring him and his cronies to justice. That is the

only debate or argument we have had here, is how more, or what

else we could do.

As far as the administration is concerned, in the last 2 years

alone the Clinton-Gore team has presided over the abolition of

UNSCOM, the end of the sanctions review for a significant number

of products imported into Iraq, and a staggering—a staggering erosion of international support for isolating the Saddam Hussein regime.

This is not a complex matter, but the Clinton administration has

been unable to explain why it is imperative that sanctions remain

on Iraq, failed to explain that. They have failed to remind the

world at large that Saddam Hussein has killed tens of thousands

of his own people, and that it is his choice, and his choice alone,

whether sanctions are lifted. That is up to Saddam Hussein. They

seem to forget that Saddam’s devotion to amassing weapons of

mass destruction is the only remaining obstacle to Iraq’s rehabilitation.

That is it.

As far as the opposition is concerned, the administration has disbursed

approximately $20,000, and I want to emphasize that. The

administration has disbursed approximately $20,000 of the $97

million in available funds under the Iraq Liberation Act [ILA]. I

guess that is for a few fax machines, I am not sure. Of $10 million

appropriated for the opposition and for the prosecution of war

crimes in fiscal year 2000, nothing—nothing has been spent.

On Monday, representatives from the Iraq National Congress,

which we will hear from today, have advised President Gore. Miraculously,

on Tuesday the administration announced that 140

Iraqi National Congress [INC] men would be trained under the

ILA. Now, I am not sure trained for what. I hope we can hear a

little bit about that today exactly whether it is going to be trained

on how to use those fax machines, or if it is going to be on other

things.

They also announced they would support an amendment we have

in this year’s foreign operations appropriations bill giving $15 million

to the INC for humanitarian deliveries into Iraq. This is the

first time since the signature of the Iraq Liberation Act that we

have seen someone in this administration galvanized to do something

for the opposition.

The usual routine we hear in Congress is cannot do it, will not

do it, do not want to do it, do not like them anyway. Most memorably,

General Zinni, soon to be former Commander of CENTCOM,

announced that the Congress was, quote, in his words ‘‘stupid to

support the opposition.’’

Either Saddam is a long-term threat or he is not. If he is, then

we must do something. Short of invading Iraq once again, we must

support the opposition. The opposition is not a group of Boy Scouts,

nor is it a group of Jeffersonian Democrats. It is an agglomeration

of very different people and different groups who have been

crushed under Saddam Hussein for decades. They are the people

willing to work with the United States to overthrow Saddam Hussein.

They are the people with the courage to come to us. They

have been treated with complete contempt by this administration.

To date, the Vice President has done nothing for this group.

Maybe this meeting will mark a turning point. I hope so. Maybe

it is just politics as usual. We will find out soon.

I am pleased again to have both of you here. I hope we can get

some further illumination from the meeting with the Vice President,

and some of your thoughts on this, Mr. Perle, as to what is

taking place in the administration and what needs to take place,

and what possibly might occur under future administrations.

I cannot understand why President Clinton signed the Iraq Liberation Act when

he had absolutely no intention of implementing the provisions of that law. It is hard

for me to figure out why administration officials from Clinton and Gore on down

keep insisting that they are interested in ousting Saddam, and yet not one official

of this administration has been willing to take even the most minimal step toward

that end.

Let me just review what the Congress—with complete bipartisanship—has done

in trying to press forward an Iraq policy: Since 1998, I count nine House or Senate

resolutions calling for democracy in Iraq, promoting a war crimes tribunal for Iraq,

demanding compliance with U.N. resolutions. We have authorized tens of millions

of dollars to support war crimes research and for the opposition.

As far as the administration is concerned, in the last two years alone, the Clinton-

Gore team has presided over the abolition of UNSCOM, the end of the sanctions

review for a significant number of products imported into Iraq, and a staggering erosion

of international support for isolating the Saddam Hussein regime.

This is not a complex matter, but the Clinton administration has failed to explain

why it is imperative that sanctions remain on Iraq. They have failed to remind the

world at large that Saddam Hussein has killed tens of thousands of his own people,

and that it is his choice and his choice alone whether sanctions are lifted. They

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$20,000 of $97 million in available funds under the Iraq Liberation Act. Of

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in FY 2000, nothing—nothing—has been spent.

On Monday, representatives from the Iraqi National Congress met with Vice

President Gore. Miraculously, on Tuesday, the administration announced that 140

INC men would be trained under the ILA. They also announced they would support

an amendment we have in this year’s foreign operations appropriations bill, giving

$15 million to the INC for humanitarian deliveries into Iraq.

This is the first time since the signature of the Iraq Liberation Act that we have

seen someone in this administration galvanized to do something for the opposition.

The usual routine we in the Congress hear is: ‘‘can’t do it, won’t do it, don’t want

to do it, and don’t like them anyway.’’ Most memorably, General Zinni, the soon to

be former Commander of Centcom, announced that the Congress was ‘‘stupid to support

the opposition.’’

Either Saddam is a long term threat, or he is not. If he is, then we must do something.

Short of invading Iraq once again, we must support the opposition. The opposition

is not a group of Girl Scouts, nor is it a group of Jeffersonian democrats. It

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crushed under Saddam Hussein for decades. They are the people willing to work

with the United States to overthrow Saddam Hussein; they have the courage to

come to us. They have been treated with complete contempt by this administration.

To date the Vice President has done nothing for this group; maybe this week’s

meeting will mark a turning point, but maybe it’s just politics as usual. We’ll soon

find out.

With that, Mr. Perle, let me turn the floor

over to you, and I appreciate again your attendance and presentation

here at this meeting.

Thank you, Mr. Perle, for those thoughtful

comments. I look forward to some question and answer between

the two of us.

Dr. Chalabi, I am pleased to see you again, although I am sorry

it is here. I had hoped at this point in time that you would be in

Iraq, organizing, pushing and prodding for the overthrow of the

Saddam Hussein regime.

It has been some years ago that you first met with Members of

Congress and we first expressed our support for your efforts and

put forward resources to do that, and we certainly all thought by

this point in time we would not still be meeting in hearings in

Washington, DC, but that we would be pressing forward in your

homeland with the coalition you have put together.

Yet we are here, and I want to hear what you have to say about

the progress on implementing the Iraq Liberation Act. You might

also take a moment, if you would, to introduce the other people of

the INC that are here, and what groups they represent, so that we

could have that for the record as well.

Very good. Welcome, all of you, and thank

you for coming here.

Thank you, Dr. Chalabi, for that strong

statement. I have a vote that is on on the floor. I thought what we

could do is have a couple of questions and exchange, and then take

a short break and come back.

I am curious. You said opposition actions in the south continue

on a regular basis and are growing, and that you had news directly

from the south. Could the individuals here from the south inform

us of what is taking place there? Would it be possible?

Can I ask what is going on in opposition

to Saddam in the south?

Could he here for a couple of minutes before

I go vote and take a short break? I would be very interested

to hear what is taking place in the south now. We get regular information

out from the north of what is occurring, but not so much

from the south.

If you would, identify yourself and state what is taking place in

the south as far as opposition to Saddam.

Thank you very much for the updated information

of what is taking place. I appreciate that greatly.

We have a vote on the floor, and I am going to have to go over

to vote. I will be back in 10 minutes and will be able to walk over

and back in that period of time, if you could stay with us for a few

minutes.

Mr. Perle, Dr. Chalabi, I have a number of questions, particularly

Dr. Chalabi for how your meeting with the Vice President

went, and whether he pledged any new assistance, direct U.S. assistance,

whether he made any specific offers of assistance and any

timetable in which those offers of assistance would be forthcoming,

because I would like to know if there were any specifics that were

promised at that meeting with the Vice President on Monday.

I will call the hearing back to order. We do

have another vote scheduled shortly, so what I want to do is get

through a couple of key questions for Dr. Chalabi about the meeting

with the Vice President and for Mr. Perle, any thoughts he

might have on the future administration, if it is a Republican administration,

if it is a Bush administration, how might they deal

with Iraq and the INC and the Iraq Liberation Act.

Dr. Chalabi, would you please illuminate us on the specifics from the meeting with the Vice President and any particular pledges of

assistance, and timetables for that assistance to the INC?

Train to do what?

So it is nonlethal training these people

would be submitted to?

Why was he resistant to the lethal training?

But he pledged to you that by this fall

there would be some 140 INC people trained in nonlethal areas,

some of these areas you would find useful and others you do not

particularly understand, and you do not understand the reason for

the resistance to lethal training?

What is the administration’s resistance to

providing any sort of antitank weaponry to the Iraqi National Congress,

or the people that are fighting against Saddam? Why would

they not provide that equipment?

Did they give you a specific reason as to

why they would not provide lethal assistance?

In the period we have had the Iraq Liberation

Act, a period of 2 years, that they have said you are not ready,

they will not provide any assistance or training in lethal weaponry

or any assistance or training at all yet?

I ask the same question. For how long have

we had this available to be trained, to provide this equipment to

you, and that it has not occurred.

Over that period of 18 months, what training

has been offered to the INC?

And that is the extent of the training that

has been offered to you over the 18 months?

And the administration continues to say

you are just not ready to go up against Saddam, but we are not

going to provide you the means to get ready to challenge Saddam.

Well, I am terribly disappointed from when

we started this process, and we have continually pressed the administration

and nothing is forthcoming, and it strikes me as mostly

just a stall of where we are going to play this game out to the

end of the administration and we are not going to do anything legitimate

or real, just enough to provide press cover that we are actually

trying to do something here, and then nothing happens.

How did the Vice President react to the request

for the change in the rules of engagement for U.S. aircraft

to be able to target massed military operations that Saddam has,

particularly in the south? How did he react to that proposal?

It is under study, but no timetables were

given?

Mr. Perle, I want to direct a question to

you. You have worked in the administration before, know your

views on foreign policy, and particularly have some discussions

with the Republican presumptive nominee, George Bush. How

would he react? What would he do on dealing with Iraq?

I agree. Well, thank you, gentlemen, both

very much, and I want to once again plead with the administration

to take the Iraq Liberation Act seriously, to implement it. They

still have time to press forward with doing these things that they

have promised, that they have stated time and again that they

would do, and I am calling on the administration to do those in the

remaining months of this administration.

I would impress particularly on the Vice President to do as he

has stated and to do far more. The training of 140 in nonlethal

training I suppose is something, but it is not much, and I hope that

they will do far more and far greater than that, along the lines of

some of the things that you have articulated, Dr. Chalabi, that this

should be reviewed and engaged with all speed.

Thank you both very much for being here, and we may very well

meet yet again this fall, though I hope not, and I hope that we

have action taking place that we can be pleased about during the

remaining months of this administration.