

## IRAQ

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I have sought recognition to discuss the present grave concern in the United States, and for that matter, around the world, about the menace posed by Saddam Hussein and Iraq.

I am pleased to note that the President has announced his intention to come to Congress to seek authorization before there is any military action taken by the United States as to Iraq. Senator HARKIN and I had introduced a resolution back in July asking that congressional authority be obtained before any military action. The President, as Commander in Chief, under the Constitution certainly has the authority to act in times of emergency. When there is time for discussion, deliberation, debate, and decision, then under the Constitution, it is the authority of the Congress to act.

The events are moving very fast. There have been briefings of Members of the Congress by the Administration and there is a great concern, which I have personally noted in my State, Pennsylvania, on a series of town meetings across the State. Everywhere I traveled there was concern as to what action would be taken as to Iraq.

There was no doubt that the United States has learned a very bitter lesson from 9/11; we should have taken preemptive action against Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida. We had evidence against civilians in Mogadishu in 1993, and embassy bombings in 1993. In all of those events, bin Laden was under indictment. We knew about his involvement in the USS *Cole* and his proclamation for a worldwide jihad; preemptive action should have been taken.

Taking preemptive action against a nation-state would be a change in policy for the United States. It is my view that we ought to exhaust every alternative—economic sanctions, inspections, diplomacy.

We have seen a number of people very close to President Bush and to the first President Bush, come out and caution against action. We have seen General Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser to President George Herbert Walker Bush, come out and raise a great many concerns about taking action without support from our allies. We have seen former Secretary of State James Baker raise an issue about going to the United Nations for inspections, which I think is a very sound point.

It is my hope that President Bush will go to the United Nations and will press to have inspections of Iraq proceed. The obligation for Iraq to submit to those inspections is an obligation which runs to the United Nations. Iraq's commitments to the UN have been flouted.

Former Secretary of State Baker makes the cogent suggestion that the United Nations ought to be called upon to take military action to enforce those inspection rights, if Saddam Hus-

sein does not acquiesce. Certainly, if Saddam Hussein continues to stiff the UN, to thumb his nose at the UN, and thumb his nose at the international community, then there will be a stronger basis for the United States to act, if we decide that our national interests compel us to do so.

There is an obvious difficulty in communicating to the American people all that President Bush and the intelligence agencies know about the threat posed by Iraq and posed by Saddam Hussein. There is a problem, as we have seen from our experience, in telling the Congress, even in closed session, even in top secret briefings, where that information, regrettably, is disclosed to the press. Leaks in Washington are epidemic. However, if the Congress is to discharge its duty to pass on the question of what is tantamount to a declaration of war, a resolution authorizing the use of force, we have to know the basis on which we are acting.

There have been strong suggestions that there is very substantial evidence pointing to a clear and present danger now. We do know Saddam has chemical weapons. We do know he has used them on his own people, the Kurds. We do know he has used them in the Iran-Iraq war. There is substantial evidence about weapons of mass destruction and biological weapons. As best we know, Saddam Hussein does not yet have nuclear weapons, but how long it would take him to develop them is a question.

For the Congress to act, we really have to have this information, and the President has intimated, really suggested, that more information will be coming to the Congress. So far, I do not think we have seen the indicators of a clear and present danger, but that is something which will have to be taken up.

This is an issue which is now, obviously, on the front burner. There are indications that the President will seek a vote by the Congress before we adjourn. So it is a matter which will require very intensive consideration and analysis. However, it is my hope that when the President makes his speech at the United Nations next week, he will call on the UN to enforce the UN's inspection rights.

Recently, Senator SHELBY and I made a trip to Africa. Included in that trip was a visit to the Sudan. I had attempted to go there in the past and was advised against it because of the civil war, which has been raging in that country. We talked to U.S. intelligence personnel in the Sudan and found that they have worked out an arrangement with the Government of Sudan to make surprise inspections of weapons manufacturing locations and also on laboratories—going in with no notice, breaking locks, and taking photographs. They have concluded that, as to the installations they had identified and inspected, they were satisfied that there were no weapons of mass destruction being pursued by the Government of Sudan.

That could be a model to go after as to inspections in Iraq. Of course, it still leaves open the possibility that there are some locations about which we do not know. It leaves open the possibility that some of the weapons of mass destruction could be transported, could be moved around. However, I think it would be a very significant step. Then, if Saddam and Iraq refused to honor their commitments, it would put us on the high ground to take action in our own national interest.

I yield the floor. In the absence of any other Senator seeking recognition, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CANTWELL). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the time for debate on the Interior appropriations be extended for 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2003—Continued

Mr. REID. Madam President, we are attempting to work out a time to vote on the Harkin amendment which he will shortly offer. We are very close to having that done. I suggest that Senator HARKIN go ahead and give his speech. If we can work out a unanimous consent agreement, he can offer the amendment, and then we can vote on it. He would give the speech now, and we would move to the amendment, if we could get the approval of the Senator from Montana.

Mr. BURNS. I have no objection to that.

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Iowa be recognized for 5 minutes to speak on the amendment which he will offer at a subsequent time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, over 40 million Americans rely on Medicare for their health care security. For these Americans and their loved ones Medicare is a lifeline. And because of this Medicare must be protected and secured for today and tomorrow.

Medicare, however, is not without its problems. Clearly, its benefits package needs to be updated to include prescription drugs. Seniors shouldn't have to make the choice between the drugs they need to stay healthy and food or heat. The Senate should once again try to craft a prescription drug plan to fill this great need.

But there is also another problem with Medicare. And that is the principal subject of my sense-of-the-Senate resolution.