

the force necessary to do that. It seems to me that this is a glaring contradiction in arguments made by the critics of President Clinton's approach. You can't have it both ways.

I believe that the Presidents resolve in backing diplomacy with force has been vindicated. It has not been easy. He was subjected to criticism from those who wanted to go farther and those who wished he hadn't gone as far as he did. These critics make some valid arguments, but they fail to put any realistic alternatives forward. They also fail to recognize that their suggested course would entail far greater costs than the President's approach.

In their rush to criticize the Clinton administration, the critics have gotten lost in the proverbial weeds. They have conjured up worst-case scenarios and portrayed American options as being much more limited than they actually are.

As the facts come in, the false picture they have painted is gradually being chipped away. The agreement moves us to a far more advantageous position than we were in before the crisis began. If Iraq implements the agreement, we will have access to all suspect weapons sites in Iraq for the first time. If Iraq refuses to comply this time around, then we will be in a much stronger position to justify our use of force, which I am convinced we will exercise.

The bottom line, Mr. President, is that we have given up none of our options, while the agreement has very likely narrowed the options for Saddam Hussein.

I yield the floor.

UNSCOM CHAIRMAN BUTLER'S REMARKS ON AGREEMENT WITH IRAQ

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, yesterday, I came to the floor to discuss the agreement that has been achieved between the UN and Iraq with regard to access to suspect sites in Iraq. At that time, I indicated that clarifications over the course of the last 48 hours had increased our confidence about the degree to which we think the agreement can be successful.

I want to talk a bit more about that agreement now, given the comments just made this morning by UNSCOM Chairman Richard Butler. His statement helps clarify even further the degree to which the agreement may be as successful as we had hoped it would.

As I stated yesterday, what we are seeking could not be more clear. We are simply seeking unconditional, unfettered access to all suspect sites, as called for in prior Security Council resolutions. We also noted yesterday that diplomacy, backed by the threat to use overwhelming force, has brought us closer to that goal.

The comments made over the last 24 hours by UNSCOM Chairman Richard Butler are of immense help in clarifying

the important details of the agreement, some of which we have not had access to until now.

As the process of clarification continues, there is a growing sense of just what we have achieved here. The perspective of UNSCOM Chairman Richard Butler, whose track record of toughness with Iraq is legendary, is especially valuable.

I want to take just a moment to highlight some portions of Chairman Butler's take on UNSCOM's role in the agreement.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the remarks of Chairman Butler be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

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

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, in his statement earlier today, he made a number of comments, and I want to describe them at this point. His first comment on the overall agreement says that the agreement:

... gave expression to a fundamental commitment that is set forth in the resolutions of the Security Council, mainly that UNSCOM must have immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to all sites in Iraq for the purpose of carrying out its mandate. The memorandum of understanding at high political level reaffirms and reiterates that commitment.

In other words, what Chairman Butler has said is that his highest priority is to assure that we have this unrestricted, unfettered access to all sites in Iraq. Having now examined the details of the memorandum of understanding incorporated within the agreement, Chairman Butler concludes that the commitment is intact. With regard to the UNSCOM role in the context of the agreement, he said:

I view it [the agreement] as strengthening UNSCOM in the conduct of its work in Iraq.

With regard to UNSCOM's access to presidential sites, he noted:

The arrangements that are made for that access, set forth principally in paragraph 4 of the memorandum of understanding, have been the subject of some misunderstanding and, regrettably, some misrepresentation. I want to make clear that those arrangements are entirely satisfactory to me and the organization that I lead.

With regard to the role of diplomats in the inspection effort, Chairman Butler said the following:

With the establishment of a special inspection group within UNSCOM, to be led by a chief inspector of UNSCOM, to which diplomatic observers will be added to insure concerns that Iraq has expressed and the council has acknowledged with respect to the particular dignity of those sites, we will be able to do our work.

Putting it in simple language, Chairman Butler has noted that adding a diplomatic contingent to the inspection effort will not hinder UNSCOM in fulfilling its mission.

With regard to the concern about unclear lines of authority as UNSCOM performs its duties, he said the following:

These lines of authority and reporting are clear, and I find them entirely satisfactory. Going beyond that, quite frankly, I find it a positive additional resource which will now be put at our disposal to enable us to do the work in those designated sites within Iraq.

Chairman Butler also adds a note of caution regarding implementation of this agreement, as have the President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and many Members of Congress: that the proof will be in the testing.

If Iraq implements the agreement, weapons inspectors will, for the first time, have unrestricted, unconditional access to all suspect sites in Iraq, with no limits on the numbers of visits or deadlines to complete their work. If Iraq does not cooperate and we need to take action, we are in a stronger position internationally than ever. Again, if Iraq fails to comply, our response will be swift, strong and certain.

Chairman Butler concludes that this is a strong agreement. I share his view. This agreement allows us to complete our work. This agreement, backed up by the use or the threat of force, would allow us the access that we did not have before.

Mr. President, I don't know how much clearer one can say it than that. Chairman Butler has concluded that this agreement does the job—as long as the Iraqis comply. Now, the question is, will Saddam Hussein be willing to live by his word? Will he provide the access he committed to in this MOU? If not, it's back to business, it's the use of force, it's a swift response militarily and by whatever other means may be necessary.

So, Mr. President, I think we need to get on with it. Let's take the necessary steps to get the inspection teams to Iraq and inspect these sites. Let's clarify, to whatever extent may be required, whether these sites contain material that needs to be destroyed. Let us continue the overall assessment of compliance on the part of Iraq. We are in a position to do that now. This agreement allows us to pursue our work. I applaud those responsible and will continue to monitor this situation with every expectation that, one way or the other, we will get the job done.

I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN U.N. AND IRAQ FOR INSPECTIONS OF CONTROVERSIAL SITES IN IRAQ
(By Richard Butler, Chairman, U.N. Special Commission)

BUTLER: ... level, it gave expression to a fundamental commitment that is set forth in the resolutions of the Security Council, mainly that UNSCOM must have immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to all sites in Iraq for the purpose of carrying out its mandate.

The memorandum of understanding at high political level reaffirms and reiterates that commitment.

Thirdly, it follows logically from those two facts that, as far as I am concerned, I welcome it. I view it as strengthening UNSCOM in the conduct of its work in Iraq.

There is some detail in the memorandum of understanding with respect to the specific object that was addressed—namely, access

for UNSCOM to presidential sites within Iraq. The arrangements that are made for that access, set forth principally in paragraph 4 of the memorandum of understanding, have been the subject of some understanding and, regrettably, some misrepresentation.

I want to make clear that those arrangements are entirely satisfactory to me and the organization that I lead. They will give us access to the presidential sites in Iraq, which have now been described accurately as a consequence of the work of the UN mapping team, and presented yesterday to the Security Council.

With the establishment of a special inspection group within UNSCOM, to be led by a chief inspector of UNSCOM, to which diplomatic observers will be added to insure concerns that Iraq has expressed and the council has acknowledged with respect to the particular dignity of those sites, we will be able to do our work.

I welcome very much in addition the appointment of a new commissioner of the special commission, who will have particular responsibility for the work of inspection of those sites, and who will work very closely with me.

With respect to the reporting and scientific analysis responsibilities arising out of the inspection of those sites, the analysis will be conducted by UNSCOM, and the reporting will be done from the new commissioner of UNSCOM to me, and I in the usual way to the Security Council through the secretary-general.

These lines of authority and reporting are clear, and I find them entirely satisfactory. Going beyond that, quite frankly, I find it a positive additional resource which will now be put at our disposal to enable us to do the work in those designated sites within Iraq.

So under these circumstances, I have to say to you that I am aware of some of the reports that suggest that this has weakened UNSCOM. I disagree. Some have gone further to say that it's the beginning of the end of UNSCOM. I view that much as the legendary reports of Mark Twain's death when he was still alive. He said they were somewhat exaggerated.

Now, this is a strong agreement. It's an agreement where I suggest to you you should not look so much at the fine print, although that's fine by me, but not so much at the fine print, but the thumbprint. The thumbprint—prints—on this agreement are those of the secretary-general of the United Nations and the president of Iraq, with whom he consulted personally on this agreement.

I look forward to implementing it as soon as possible, and, as many have said, to going out into the field and to testing in practice what is written on paper. I earnestly hope that Iraq will give as the full cooperation that it has pledged to give in this agreement, and under those circumstances, I hope that we would be able to complete the disarmament portion of our work in Iraq and put all of what remains under long-term monitoring in a relatively short time.

Now Fred, I must just quickly divert to a report from Baghdad in which a UN official in Baghdad made some remarks about the conduct of our Chilean staff—that is, the helicopter crews provided to us by Chile. I just want to say that I regret those remarks. They were an unauthorized statement for which—which was not in fact—which was not factual. I have, in fact, received within this house an apology for those remarks. I didn't require that it was made, and I gratefully received it.

The main point I would want to make to you in addition to saying that those remarks, which you may have seen, but I felt the need to address is that they are not fac-

tual. What is factual is that the work that is done for us by the 40 Chilean air force personnel who fly our helicopters is simply outstanding.

They are diligent and courageous young men. They're indispensable to the work we do in Iraq. And I want to reiterate my deep gratitude to the government of Chile for continuing to make those persons available to us.

Thank you.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Wednesday, February 25, 1998, the federal debt stood at \$5,524,032,303,574.34 (Five trillion, five hundred twenty-four billion, thirty-two million, three hundred three thousand, five hundred seventy-four dollars and thirty-four cents).

One year ago, February 25, 1997, the federal debt stood at \$5,342,930,000,000 (Five trillion, three hundred forty-two billion, nine hundred thirty million).

Five years ago, February 25, 1993, the federal debt stood at \$4,199,328,000,000 (Four trillion, one hundred ninety-nine billion, three hundred twenty-eight million).

Ten years ago, February 25, 1988, the federal debt stood at \$2,473,169,000,000 (Two trillion, four hundred seventy-three billion, one hundred sixty-nine million).

Fifteen years ago, February 25, 1983, the federal debt stood at \$1,211,806,000,000 (One trillion, two hundred eleven billion, eight hundred six million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,312,226,303,574.34 (Four trillion, three hundred twelve billion, two hundred twenty-six million, three hundred three thousand, five hundred seventy-four dollars and thirty-four cents) during the past 15 years.

REMARKS BY GENERAL DONALD S. DAWSON CELEBRATING THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the United States Army Reserve is celebrating its 90th anniversary this year, and for almost the past century, this force has repeatedly made important and significant contributions to the defense of the Nation, both in times of peace and war. The men and women who comprise the citizen-soldiers of the Army Reserve, and all our reserve forces, can take great pride in the tradition of service and excellence they have established from the wooded battlefields of World War II to the sands of the Persian Gulf.

One organization that has worked tirelessly to promote not only the Reserve forces of all the services, but the security of the United States is the Reserve Officers Association. Located just across the street from the United States Capitol, this association has been one of the leading advocates for an effective and responsible national security policy for the past three-quarters of a century.

Last year, the Reserve Officers Association celebrated their 75th birthday and one of its past National Presidents, Major General Donald S. Dawson (USAF Retired), who served as the Chairman of the Chairman of the Anniversary Committee, made an address that I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD. General Dawson personifies the type of individual who chooses to serve our Nation through the military and I think my colleagues would find his remarks of interest and inspiring.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF DONALD S. DAWSON, MAJOR GENERAL USAF (RETIRED), CHAIRMAN OF THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE, RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION AT THE UNVEILING OF THE HISTORICAL PLAQUE COMMEMORATING ITS FOUNDING AT THE WILLARD HOTEL, OCTOBER 2, 1997

My fellow Americans, welcome! We are here today because the Congress of the USA, in its wisdom, passed the Reserve Act in 1920, establishing a two million Reserve Force, led by a 200,000 officer Reserve Corps, based on the experience of World War I and the centuries of experience before that gave us a trained, equipped, and experienced hard core military force, ready to respond and serve at a moment's notice when the need arises.

George Washington, a century and a quarter before, proclaimed, "To be prepared for war is the surest way to insure the peace," and, accompanying that policy, he said, "Every citizen of a free government owes his services, and a proportion of his property to defense of it."

Just 75 years ago today, General of the Armies, John J. Pershing hosted a luncheon for 140 Reserve officers of World War I in this very historic and beautiful Willard Hotel—at which he proposed the formation of an association of Reserve Officers that would give our country an equipped, organized, trained military force ready to insure our country's security.

General Pershing said at that meeting, "I consider this gathering one of the most important, from a military point of view, that has assembled in Washington or anywhere else within my time."

General Pershing further realized that, while he had Congressional legislation, implementation would be the key to success and he knew that the only way this civilian force could be recruited was with broad-based citizen support—since it depended entirely upon patriotism and the voluntary will of the people to participate.

Let us look at his foresight.

In December 1940, one year before our entry in World War II, General George C. Marshall commented about this Reserve Force, "In contrast with the hectic days of 1917, when the War Department, with no adequate reservoir of officers to draw upon, had hurried to select and train the great number of officers required for the vast expansion of the Army, we now have available in the Officers Reserve Corps, a great pool of trained men available for instant service."

"Today, almost 60 percent of the officers on duty with regular Army units in the field are from the Reserve Corps, and almost 90 percent of the Lieutenants are Reserve Officers."

ROA had done its job and has continued to glorify that record in every emergency since.

Yes, we have kept our contract with America, and honored it.

Just this year our Commander in Chief, President Clinton, congratulated ROA for its