

News from Senator

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DOLE/WARNER

RESOLUTION

LAST BEST HOPE FOR PEACE

I'VE BEEN IN THE SENATE FOR 22 YEARS. A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, I HAD MY STAFF TALLY UP THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES I HAD CAST. AT THAT POINT, IT WAS ABOUT 11,000. WE'VE VOTED A FEW TIMES SINCE THEN. SO I CAN PROBABLY SAY I'M SOMEWHERE UP AROUND 12,000 VOTES CAST NOW.

IN 22 YEARS -- IN 12,000 VOTES -- I'VE NEVER VOTED ON A MORE IMPORTANT ISSUE THAN THIS ONE.

FOR THOSE AMERICAN TROOPS DEPLOYED IN THE SANDS OF SAUDI ARABIA THIS COULD BE, LITERALLY, A LIFE-AND-DEATH ISSUE.

FOR THE PERSIAN GULF REGION, IT COULD BE A WAR-OR-PEACE ISSUE.

FOR NATIONS AROUND THE GLOBE, IT COULD DETERMINE WHETHER WE ARE, INDEED, ENTERING INTO A "NEW WORLD ORDER" -- OR WHETHER WE ARE STARTING DOWN A PATH THAT SOME OF US WHO ARE OLD ENOUGH WILL FIND HAUNTINGLY FAMILIAR: THE PATH OF APPEASING AGGRESSION, AND THEREBY ENCOURAGING NEW AGGRESSION.

LET'S KEEP CLEARLY IN MIND WHAT IT IS WE ARE DEBATING, AND WHAT IT IS THAT WE DISAGREE ON.

NO ONE WANTS WAR

NO ONE WANTS WAR. AND NO ONE ABHORS WAR MORE THAN THOSE OF US WHO HAVE FOUGHT ONE. THAT INCLUDES ME, AND MANY OTHERS IN THE SENATE. IT INCLUDES THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

NO ONE WANTS A SINGLE AMERICAN -- OR, FOR THAT MATTER, A SINGLE IRAQI -- TO DIE.

NO ONE DISAGREES ON OUR GOALS IN THE PERSIAN GULF REGION, OR THAT ACHIEVING THOSE GOALS IS VITAL TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

NONE OF THOSE QUESTIONS IS ON THE TABLE.

THE REAL QUESTION IS: HOW DO WE AVOID WAR, AVOID KILLING -- AND STILL ACHIEVE OUR GOALS?

I CERTAINLY DO NOT BELIEVE THOSE WHO SUPPORT SENATOR NUNN'S RESOLUTION WANT WAR, OR KILLING, OR ARE WILLING TO COMPROMISE ON ACHIEVING OUR GOALS.

NUNN RESOLUTION: INCREASE CHANCE FOR WAR

BUT I DO BELIEVE, WITH ALL MY HEART, THAT A VOTE FOR THE NUNN RESOLUTION WILL TURN OUT TO BE A VOTE FOR A GREATER CHANCE OF WAR, GREATER CARNAGE IF A WAR DOES HAPPEN, AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT WE WILL NOT ACHIEVE ALL OF THE IMPORTANT GOALS WE HAVE LAID OUT.

PASSING THE NUNN RESOLUTION DOES NOT AVOID A WAR. IN FACT, I AM CONVINCED IT MAKES WAR -- WHICH, TRAGICALLY, IS LIKELY IN ANY CASE -- IT MAKES THAT WAR NEARLY INEVITABLE.

AND I BELIEVE WITH THE VERY SAME CONVICTION THAT A VOTE FOR THE RESOLUTION THAT SENATORS WARNER AND LIEBERMAN HAVE OFFERED, ON BEHALF OF MANY OF US FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE, IS A VOTE TO MAXIMIZE THE CHANCE OF PEACE; TO MINIMIZE THE RISK THAT ANY LIVES MUST BE LOST, AND MINIMIZE THE NUMBERS OF THOSE WHO DO LOSE THEIR LIVES IN THE EVENT THAT WE END UP IN WAR.

IT IS A VOTE TO ACHIEVE AMERICA'S GOALS, AT THE LEAST RISK TO AMERICA.

DOLE RESOLUTION

OUR RESOLUTION AUTHORIZES THE PRESIDENT TO USE MILITARY FORCE TO ACHIEVE OUR GOALS.

IT DOES NOT INSTRUCT HIM TO USE FORCE. WE COULDN'T, IF WE WANTED TO. I DON'T THINK THAT ANYONE SUGGESTS THE CONGRESS HAS THAT POWER.

PASSING THE WARNER RESOLUTION DOES NOT START A WAR. IT MEANS THERE WILL BE ONE LAST AND REAL CHANCE TO AVOID IT.

OUR OPPONENTS SAY -- GIVE SANCTIONS A CHANCE.

WELL, THE FACT IS, WITHOUT A CREDIBLE THREAT OF MILITARY FORCE BEHIND THEM, SANCTIONS HAVE NO CHANCE.

(MORE)

IF WE VOLUNTARILY TIE OUR OWN HANDS BEHIND OUR BACK, AND SAY TO SADDAM HUSSEIN -- AS THE NUNN RESOLUTION DOES -- WE'VE TAKEN THE PLEDGE: NO USE OF FORCE FOR THE TIME BEING, WHILE WE WATCH THE SANCTIONS STRANGLE YOU -- IF WE TAKE THAT COURSE, WE FORFEIT ANY CHANCE THAT SANCTIONS CAN WORK, ANYTIME FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

OUR BEST EXPERTS HAVE TOLD US THAT, OVER AND OVER AND OVER. THEY HAVE REPEATED IT AGAIN TODAY, IN A BRIEFING HELD ONE FLOOR ABOVE US, JUST HOURS AGO.

SANCTIONS BY THEMSELVES WILL MAKE THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ SUFFER -- BUT THEY WILL NOT MAKE SADDAM HUSSEIN GET OUT OF KUWAIT.

THAT IS THE BOTTOM LINE.

FORCING SADDAM OUT

THERE ARE ONLY TWO THINGS THAT ARE GOING TO GET SADDAM HUSSEIN OUT OF KUWAIT.

ONE IS DRIVING HIM OUT.

HE MUST KNOW WE CAN DO THAT. HE MAY NOT HAVE A VERY SOPHISTICATED VIEW OF WHAT GOES ON OVER HERE. BUT HE CAN COUNT.

HE CAN COUNT PLANES, AND WEAPONRY, AND FIREPOWER. HE MUST KNOW THAT, IF THE SHOOTING STARTS, HE IS GOING TO LOSE WHAT HE STARTED THIS WHOLE EFFORT TO WIN -- KUWAIT.

AND HE'S GOING TO LOSE A WHOLE LOT MORE, TOO -- MAYBE TO INCLUDE HIS OWN POWER.

SO, THINK ABOUT IT. IF HE KNOWS THAT WE CAN DRIVE HIM OUT, WHY HASN'T HE BACKED DOWN YET?

THE ANSWER TO ME IS PRETTY CLEAR: IT'S BECAUSE HE THINKS, WHEN PUSH COMES TO SHOVE, WE WON'T.

HE DOUBTS OUR WILL. HE DOUBTS OUR STAYING POWER. HE DOUBTS OUR UNITY.

THAT'S WHY HE HAS IGNORED A DOZEN U.N. RESOLUTIONS. THAT'S WHY HE HAS RESPONDED TO OUR MILITARY BUILD-UP NOT BY BACKING DOWN -- BUT JUST DIGGING IN. THAT'S WHY HE HAS REACTED TO OUR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS NOT BY GIVING UP -- BUT JUST TIGHTENING HIS BELT.

STRENGTH AND RESOLVE

THERE IS ONLY ONE THING THAT IS GOING TO GET SADDAM HUSSEIN OUT OF KUWAIT SHORT OF THROWING HIM OUT.

AND THAT IS IF HE BELIEVES WE ARE GOING TO THROW HIM OUT.

THE U.N. HAS SAID WE WILL, IF WE HAVE TO.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS SAID WE WILL, IF WE HAVE TO.

THE BUILD-UP OF ALLIANCE FORCES SAYS LOUDEST AND CLEAREST OF ALL -- WE WILL, IF WE HAVE TO.

HE HASN'T GOTTEN THE MESSAGE YET, AND PERHAPS HE NEVER WILL.

BUT WE MUST MAKE ONE LAST TRY.

WE MUST HAVE THE ONE IMPORTANT BODY THAT HAS NOT YET SPOKEN -- WE MUST HAVE THAT BODY SPEAK AS LOUD AND CLEAR AS ALL THESE OTHERS HAVE: THE PRESIDENT, THE U.N., AND ALL THE REST.

WE MUST, FINALLY, HAVE THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES SPEAK, TOO.

PERHAPS IT WON'T MATTER.

BUT CAN WE DO ANYTHING BUT TRY?

THERE IS ONLY ONE, LAST CHANCE TO ACHIEVE OUR GOALS WITHOUT WAR. THERE IS ONLY ONE LAST CHANCE FOR PEACE.

AND THAT IS FOR THE CONGRESS TO JOIN THE PRESIDENT IN SENDING THIS LOUD AND CLEAR SIGNAL.

WE WANT PEACE.

WE WILL ACHIEVE OUR GOALS.

WE WILL DO WHATEVER WE MUST TO ACHIEVE OUR GOALS.

IF WE DON'T SPEAK AT ALL, WE WILL HAVE WAR, ALMOST CERTAINLY.

IF SADDAM HUSSEIN HEARS US AND BELIEVES US -- PERHAPS WE CAN STILL ACHIEVE OUR GOALS PEACEFULLY.

IT IS THAT SIMPLE.

LET US SPEAK, LOUD AND CLEAR, UNITED AND DETERMINED.

IT IS THE LAST, BEST HOPE FOR PEACE.

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