Middle East. Statements by the U.N. Secretary General that imply U.N. oversight of U.S. military forces are indicative of U.N. arrogance and disrespect for U.S. sovereignty. The deployment of our forces to defend our national interests is not subject to the approval of the United Nations or any other multinational organization.

I intend to place before the Senate an opportunity for the body to state clearly the ability of the United States to make decisions about the deployment of its forces, without regard to, or prior consent from, the Security Council or any other international organization. I believe it is imperative that we make it clear that the United States will not cede any measure of sovereign control of its Armed Forces to the United Nations.

The Constitution charges the President with the duties of Commander in Chief, and it is time for this administration to defend America's interests with clarity and resolve. The drift and inconsistency that has defined this administration's Iraq policy over the last 6 years will only be perpetuated by subcontracting U.S. foreign policy to the United Nations.

If we continue to drift, Mr. President, the President of the United States will find himself asking permission of U.N. bureaucrats before he takes action to secure the interests of the United States. That cannot be allowed.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business Friday, March 6, 1998, the federal debt stood at $5,525,824,113,483.61 (Five trillion, five hundred twenty-five billion, eight hundred twenty-four million, one hundred thirteen thousand, four hundred eighty-three dollars and sixty-one cents).

One year ago, March 6, 1997, the federal debt stood at $5,538,686,000,000 (Five trillion, five hundred thirty-eight billion, six hundred eighty-six million).

Twenty-five years ago, March 6, 1973, the federal debt stood at $454,901,000,000 (Four hundred fifty-four billion, nine hundred one million) which reflects a debt increase of more than $5 trillion—$5,070,923,113,483.61 (Five trillion, seventy billion, nine hundred twenty-three million, one hundred thirteen thousand, four hundred eighty-three dollars and sixty-one cents) during the past 25 years.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KYL). Morning business is closed.

INTERMODAL SURFACE TRANSPORTATION EFFICIENCY ACT OF 1997

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1173, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1173) to authorize funds for construction of highways, for highway safety programs, and for mass transit programs, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill with a modified committee amendment in the nature of a substitute (Amendment No. 1676.)

Mr. CHAFEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, we are here ready to do business on the so-called ISTEA II legislation. There are a host of amendments out there which we would like to have brought up; either present them, or consideration to see if we can accept them, work out something, or, if not, go to votes.

But we are here to do business. The store is open. I very much hope that those who have amendments will bring them over.

I must say, Mr. President, if people who say they have amendments do not bring amendments over, I lose sympathy for them if later on they say they have amendments and they want time and so forth. Now is the time when nothing else is interfering with the action. So I urge my colleagues who are listening to please bring their amendments over so that we can deal with them.

Seeing nobody on the floor who wishes to present an amendment, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I wonder if I may speak as in morning business for about 10 minutes?

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

ENFORCE OIL EMBARGO ON IRAQ

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, although stories about Iraq have moved off page 1, history teaches us that we should be prepared for another crisis, and I will tell you why. Most of the previous debate on Iraq has focused on military options or support for opposition groups, but I am here to call the attention of my colleagues to an issue that seems to have been lost. Where is the will of the world to enforce the economic sanctions, including the embargo on oil sales, that date back to the end of Operation Desert Storm?

We must go back, I think, to the original purpose of the economic sanctions against Iraq and simply shut down Saddam Hussein's ability to fund his program for weapons of mass destruction. Because there is a significant amount of oil that he is able to sell, and the proceeds are not going for humanitarian needs in Iraq; they are going into Saddam Hussein's pocket, and, as a consequence, he is fueling his military machine.

In my opinion there is only one way to shut down Saddam's military machine. We must effectively cut off the flow of oil from Iraq. I would like to share a few facts that my colleagues may not be aware of, but that are critical to the issue of how Saddam Hussein maintains his current grip on power. He does that by the cash flow generated from illegal oil sales.

Revenue from oil exports have historically represented nearly all of Iraq's foreign exchange earnings. In the year preceding Operation Desert Storm, Iraq's export earnings totaled $10.5 billion with 95 percent attributed to oil exports, so that's really his cash flow. Iraq's imports during the same year, 1990, totaled only $6.6 billion.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 687, passed in the 1991 at the end of the gulf war, requires that international economic sanctions, including an embargo on the sale of oil from Iraq, remain in place until Iraq discloses and destroys its weapons of mass destruction programs and capabilities and undertakes unconditionally never to resume such activities.

But the teeth in Resolution 687 have effectively been removed with the expansion of the so-called ''oil-for-food'' exception to the sanctions. The first loosening of the sanctions occurred in 1995, when Security Council Resolution 986 allowed Iraq to export $1 billion in oil every 90 days—$4 billion over one year.

And most recently, during the period when Saddam was again violating Security Council resolution by refusing to allow international inspectors to conduct their work, the United Nations voted to more than double the amount of oil Iraq can export per year.

On February 20, the U.N. Security Council, with the Clinton administration's support, adopted Resolution 1153 which will allow Iraq to export $10.52 billion in oil per year—$5.256 billion every 180 days. In other words, Iraq is now authorized to export nearly as much oil, in today's dollars, as it did before it invaded Kuwait.

So we have now given Saddam Hussein the green light to completely rebuild his oil export capacity. As Patrick Clawson, from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, observed in a recent analysis of Resolution 1153:

The UN-authorized limit translates into 2.25 million barrels per day (mbd), if the price averages $13 barrel. In addition, Iraq produces .4 mbd for domestic use and .2 mbd for export to Jordan and smuggling out the Gulf or to Turkey. That means Iraq would have to produce 2.85 mbd to make use of the full UN quota. In fact, it is unlikely that Iraq could produce more than 2.5 mbd today and it may take Iraq until the end of 1999 before it could reach a production level that takes full advantage of the UN-authorized export. In short, Iraq faces no effective limit