

agreed not to have strict time limits because we do want to give everybody that opportunity. But we have agreed we will have a vote on this resolution of support for our troops today. Again, it is imperative, I believe, that the Senate express its support today through this resolution.

We will resume the budget resolution following the conclusion of the resolution of support. There are about 5 hours, I believe, remaining on the budget resolution; therefore, we will finish that resolution this week and we will talk a little bit more back and forth in a few minutes about what our expectations are for later tonight and tomorrow.

I know the managers on both sides of the aisle have encouraged Members to submit their amendments. I hope Senators are listening and working with the chairman and ranking member so we can have an orderly process. Although we have all tried on both sides to avoid a vote-athon, there is going to be a vote-athon tomorrow. But we want to have an orderly process. To do that, we want to make sure we have those amendments this afternoon so we can go through and prioritize and then be able to plan for tomorrow.

Before I formally call up the resolution, I yield to the Democratic leader for his comments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, let me simply add that it is our hope we can have a vote at about the time that the votes have been called this afternoon. We have a cluster of votes on the budget resolution that will be voted upon at around 4 o'clock. My hope would be that we could have a vote on this resolution as we have those votes as well, providing an opportunity for Senators on both sides. I assume time will be controlled by Senators Warner and Levin or their designees and that we will alternate back and forth until that time. Senators, then, would have the opportunity to continue to express themselves after these votes, either on the resolution supporting our troops or in support of amendments that will be offered during the vote-athon beginning tomorrow.

I think this is as reasonable and as prudent a way possible with which to address the challenges that we face as we close out this week. We have worked in good faith on both sides in drafting a resolution that I hope will enjoy unanimous support within the Senate. I think it deserves that depth and breadth of support. I am proud to be a cosponsor.

I think if we can accommodate the need to address the resolution, as the distinguished majority leader has suggested, if everybody keeps their remarks relatively brief, we will have ample time as the days unfold to come back and express ourselves again.

I hope to set the example. With that, I am going to yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. I thank the Democratic leader because all of us know we are trying to accomplish a lot this week. We have been able to work together in an orderly way thus far this week. It will get increasingly hectic over the next 48 hours. We have an orderly process which would mean the resolution will be introduced now. Over the next several hours we will have ample opportunity for people to make their initial remarks of support. We have a series of votes that begins at 4 o'clock today. As the distinguished Democratic leader said, our intention is to follow those votes with this vote on the resolution for support.

Following whenever that vote is—and again I encourage our colleagues to keep remarks short so we can get to that vote because that is the real signal that we send out from the Senate once we actually vote on that resolution—following that resolution we will come back to the budget and continue the excellent debate, focusing on various amendments today and tonight. We will be here late tonight. There has been time yielded back, from our side, to facilitate that process.

I think what we would like to do—it really depends on how the afternoon and night goes—is to begin the series of votes after all time is exhausted, which would be sometime late tomorrow morning. Again, I do not know exactly what the time would be like. And then it really depends on how many votes we have as part of the so-called vote-arama. It is our intention to finish this budget this week.

As I said this morning, if it is Thursday, Friday, or Saturday, it is important, we all believe, to complete this budget this week.

That is a rough outline of how we would like to see things play over the next 48 hours.

#### COMMENDING THE PRESIDENT AND THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, with that, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of the resolution which is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALEXANDER). Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 95) commending the President and the Armed Forces of the United States of America.

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I will keep my opening remarks short, as well, to restate the support that the resolution addresses very directly, which is, support for the President of the United States as Commander in Chief, for our troops, for the military families, for the civilian families, in support of our military.

The President has ordered the first salvos in Operation Iraqi Freedom. It

was a moment that all of us had hoped to be able to avoid. We prayed for peace. We worked for peace. But the Iraqi regime chose a different destiny.

Now our mission is clear: to use the full might of the American military to disarm Saddam Hussein and liberate the Iraqi people from his oppressive rule.

American warships and planes have been employed to attack enemy targets throughout Iraq, and hundreds of thousands of American troops are fighting their way across the Iraqi border. Our men and women in uniform are in harm's way. They are engaged in battle as we speak. We all pray for their safety and for their success.

I am confident of their victory, and I am confident it will come at the earliest possible moment. Ours is the best equipped, the best trained military in the world. They know they have a job to do. They know how to do it, and they know how to do it with extraordinary skill. And as they do, they have the full support of this body and the American people behind them.

I also applaud the President of the United States, who has shown bold leadership and strong leadership and visionary leadership over the last several months. Our prayers are with him. Through tremendous diplomacy, he has assembled more than 30 countries to join us in this cause. We are grateful for his leadership and the support of our allies.

And to the families of our men and women in uniform, I know they are concerned about the safety of their loved ones. The President and Congress are concerned, too. We are doing all we can to ensure your loved ones return home as quickly and as safely as possible. America is grateful for your sacrifice.

This war is justified by our own laws, by international laws, and by the laws of nature, which state all people are created equal and with a right to live in liberty.

Let there be no mistake, we are defending our own liberty. We have already seen what terrorists can do with the combined power of only three jet aircraft. We are now at war so we will not ever see what terrorists will do if supplied with weapons of mass destruction by Saddam Hussein.

We also fight to liberate the Iraqi people. For those in Iraq who have suffered daily terror from this oppressive tyrant, for those who have survived torture and imprisonment, for those who have watched family members die in agony from chemical weapons, their moment of freedom is near.

For those who will defend this dying regime, the moment of reckoning has come.

Mr. President, I welcome the strong bipartisan support that this resolution has and will receive. It is an honor to stand here side by side with my colleague, the Democratic leader, to send a clear message to those brave Americans who are risking their lives for us

on the battlefield: Our prayers are with you. Godspeed toward victory.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished majority leader for his remarks and for the leadership he has shown as we have come to the floor on this historic occasion.

Last night, the President announced to the Nation that the disarmament campaign against Iraq had begun.

It is the duty of the Senate to address our most solemn decisions now as a nation. As a veteran, I know there is no more important or grave decision than whether we send our sons and daughters into armed conflict.

Once our President makes the decision to commit to the use of force, the Congress has always come together to speak with one voice, for one purpose: to support the efforts of our troops, and to pray for their courage, their success, and their safe and quick return home.

With pride and resolve, we do so again today.

We may have had differences of opinion about what brought us to this point, but the President of the United States is the Commander in Chief, and today we unite behind him as well.

Saddam Hussein is a menace to his own people, and a threat to the peace and stability of the entire region.

As our soldiers risk their own lives to secure the lives and liberty of others, we pledge to repay their courage by guaranteeing that we will spare no resource and no effort to ensure that nothing stands between them and victory.

Recently, within the last couple of weeks, I visited Sturgis, SD, the home of the members of the 109th Engineering Battalion. Its members had just been mobilized and sent to the Persian Gulf.

As American families have done since the birth of our Nation when our country has been called to war, fathers and mothers said goodbye to their children in uniform, and sons and daughters watched as their parents left home for battlefields.

Once again, the families of our troops are left with prayers, and hopes, and the pride that the men and women they love are serving their country and serving the cause of peace and liberty.

One thousand members of the 28th Bomb Wing from Ellsworth Air Force Base in my home State are engaged in the Persian Gulf today. Several thousand more South Dakotans have been activated in what is now the most robust callup in our State's history. We are proud to have one of the highest proportions of deployed troops in the country. It makes sense that so many South Dakotans have volunteered to serve. We are a State of small towns and old neighbors. And when you grow up in a small town, you learn early that your future is bound to those around you. You learn early that if you do not do your part, someone else has to pick up the slack. And you learn

early that all we value about our homes and our lives cannot be created or maintained by leaving the work to someone else.

Soldiers and sailors, airmen and marines, go into battle today driven by that wisdom. As they begin the dangerous work of disarming Saddam Hussein and liberating the people of Iraq, their courage rides on the values of small towns and old neighbors. Our country—generation after generation—has been defended by the same willingness to sacrifice.

Today, our bravest men and women are called upon to carry forward the proud tradition of the American Armed Forces. They are making a more peaceful world for all children—for their own and for the children of Iraq.

History will long remember their service. They have our support, our devotion, and our gratitude.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time on our side be managed by Senator WARNER.

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

The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I announce that the ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, Senator LEVIN, will be our manager. I ask unanimous consent that the time between now and the time the votes are cast on the amendments pending be divided equally.

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

The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, before our distinguished leaders depart the floor, I wish to say as one Senator, I am very proud that the differences have been reconciled and that this resolution bears both of your distinguished names and that we will strive to have unity in this Chamber and to have a very constructive and clear debate as a message to the men and women of the armed forces, their families and, indeed, the whole world.

Mr. LEVIN. If the Senator from Virginia will yield, I want to add a similar thought. I wish all of our troops could see the two of you standing together here. I had no doubt we would unite in support of our troops when the time came, and that is exactly what is happening. This picture is a very eloquent statement about the unity of the Congress once we are committed to combat.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed under the time allocated to the distinguished majority leader, which I am privileged to manage.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I recognize that I have the opportunity to work on this debate with my distinguished colleague, Senator LEVIN. We

have served together, now, this is our 25th year on the Senate Armed Services Committee. I say to my colleague, I know of no debate of greater significance than the one we are about to undertake at a critical hour not only in the history of the United States but the history of the world.

It would be helpful if I were to undertake to read the resolution that is at the desk that hopefully will be voted on by the Senate in a very short period of time after all Senators have had the opportunity to express themselves.

The resolution is entitled "Commending the President and the Armed Forces of the United States of America," submitted by Senators FRIST, DASCHLE, WARNER and LEVIN.

Whereas Saddam Hussein has failed to comply with United Nations Security Council resolutions 678, 686, 687, 688, 707, 715, 949, 1051, 1060, 1115, 1134, 1137, 1154, 1194, 1205, 1284, and 1441;

The most historic of all, in my judgment, resolution 1441, which received the unanimous vote of all Security Council members, 15—

Whereas the military action now underway against Iraq is lawful and fully authorized by the Congress in Sec. 3(a) of Public Law 107-243, which passed the Senate on October 10, 2002, by a vote of 77-23, and which passed the House of Representatives on that same date by a vote of 296-133;

Whereas more than 225,000 men and women of the United States Armed Forces are now involved in conflict against Iraq;

Whereas over 200,000 members of the Reserves and National Guard have been called to active duty for the conflict against Iraq and other purposes; and

Whereas the Congress and the American people have the greatest pride in the men and women of the United States Armed Forces, and the civilian personnel supporting them, and strongly support them in their efforts;

Now therefore be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Congress—

(1) commends and supports the efforts and leadership of the President, as Commander in Chief, in the conflict against Iraq;

(2) commends, and expresses the gratitude of the Nation to all members of the United States Armed Forces (whether on active duty, in the National Guard, or in the Reserves) and the civilian employees who support their efforts, as well as the men and women of civilian national security agencies who are participating in the military operations in the Persian Gulf region, for their professional excellence, dedicated patriotism and exemplary bravery;

(3) commends and expresses the gratitude of the Nation to the family members of soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines and civilians serving in operations against Iraq who have borne the burden of sacrifice and separation from their loved ones;

(4) expresses its deep condolences to the families of brave Americans who have lost their lives in this noble undertaking, over many years, against Iraq;

(5) joins all Americans in remembering those who lost their lives during Operation Desert Shield and Operation Desert Storm in 1991, those still missing from that conflict, including Captain Scott Speicher, USN, and the thousands of Americans who have lost their lives in terrorist attacks over the years, and in the Global War in Terrorism; and

(6) expresses sincere gratitude to British Prime Minister Tony Blair and his government for their courageous and steadfast support, as well as gratitude to other allied nations for their military support, logistical support, and other assistance in the campaign against Saddam Hussein's regime.

Mr. President, today in Iraq, in Afghanistan, on the high seas, at the far corners of the world, and here at home, our forces, active duty and reserve components alike, are confronting the oppression, tyranny, and terrorism that plagues and threatens the world and our Nation. I am so enormously proud of our military and their leaders who fashioned a force unlike any the world has ever known, a force capable of delivering overwhelming might anytime, anywhere, if necessary.

Just weeks ago my distinguished colleague, Senator LEVIN, and I, together with Senator ROBERTS and Senator ROCKEFELLER, were privileged to visit many of these troops in that region, Qatar, Kuwait, and other areas. A disciplined force this is, able to employ measured steps in an honorable and decent manner to ensure that everything possible is done to provide for the humanitarian and security needs of an innocent people, the people of Iraq. Truly the force has never seen an opportunity such as this, and it is under the command not only of our President but of officers of the United States, Great Britain, Australia, and indeed more.

A decision to commit our sons and daughters to combat is never an easy one. Clearly, our President anguished over this decision. I was privileged to meet with him, with the leadership here just days ago. Clearly, he showed his steadfastness, his courage, his wisdom, his very balanced thinking, as he conducted himself with the advice of others, to reach this decision, which he did last night.

We in the Congress debated this solemn responsibility to authorize the use of force last October. We took our constitutional responsibility seriously. We thoroughly examined the circumstances and voted overwhelmingly, 77 to 23, to authorize the Commander in Chief to use military force if, and only if, he determined that all diplomatic efforts to peacefully disarm Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime had been fulfilled. I personally think he did that and did it brilliantly.

Those efforts, unfortunately, did not result in a Security Council resolution of unity, as it did with 15 votes in October.

The Security Council became deadlocked for reasons we all know. It is important to note, however, that our President expended extraordinary efforts to bring this clear and growing threat to the attention of the United Nations and to try to build that consensus for a unified way to proceed.

The United Nations was unable to step up to its responsibilities of enforcing its own mandates largely because of the intransigence of a very few nations to block any form of meaningful enforcement of these U.N. Security

Council resolutions. The failure of the United Nations to step up to its responsibilities is most unfortunate, for the United Nations at this time in its long history of over 50 years is facing a challenge unlike any before, with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly those of nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula, Iran, and other areas of the world. This could have been their finest hour.

Our President has stepped up to his responsibilities to protect the American people from a grave and growing threat to our national security. Ultimately, the President's constitutional responsibility is to the American people. He made the determination that Saddam Hussein, armed with weapons of mass destruction, is an imminent threat to the security of the people of this Nation and, indeed, other nations.

His most sacred responsibility is to protect the American people. The Congress, as a coequal branch of Government, has fulfilled, in my judgment, its constitutional responsibilities by giving the President the authority he needs to do so.

Now the effort has begun to liberate Iraq, restore a secure environment, and ultimately bring a lasting peace with justice and representative democratic principles to a land that has known little peace throughout its history. Our forces are capable of helping Iraqis realize this dream. I have no doubt our forces will conduct themselves in a very responsible way. Our forces, supported by countless civilian employees and by families and loved ones back home, and joined by forces and support from many other nations—over 30, Mr. President—as a coalition to liberate Iraq, will prevail.

We are all hopeful that this operation can be conducted with minimum loss of life, with minimum casualties, with minimum destruction and hardship. We must await that outcome. We must be prepared, however, for a broad and concerted effort that may take longer and involve more sacrifice than some have predicted. We cannot and will not waiver from our resolve to bring freedom and hope to this troubled Nation and to rid the world of this threat to regional and global security.

I, again, salute our men and women in uniform, their families, and those who support them in this noble effort. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I yield as much time as Senator REID needs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, today in the Senate—it does not happen very often—we speak with one voice. Now that the military effort to disarm Saddam Hussein and remove his brutal regime from power has started, it is important that we, the Senate, Democrats and Republicans, express our unified support for our troops.

I personally am very proud of the Nevada sons and daughters who have been

deployed to the Middle East as part of Operation Iraqi Freedom. Nevada has, I believe, the finest military aviation training facilities in the world. That is not something that is just provincial in nature. We have the great Nellis Air Force Base and the Fallon Naval Air Station, plus we have the Indian Springs Air Force Base where the drones are kept, where people train with those unmanned vehicles.

Nellis Air Force Base has a special place in my heart because Bill Nellis was from my hometown of Searchlight, NV, a very small town in size and the number of people who live there. Bill Nellis served in World War II and became a hero. His body now lies in a military cemetery in Belgium, but all of us in Nevada know where Nellis Air Force Base got its name. His family is still there and very proud of the fact that this great training facility for the Air Force is named after Bill Nellis of Searchlight.

The Fallon Naval Air Station is also where we train aviators. These two bases—to show the size of the State of Nevada—are 400 miles apart. One is the premier training facility for our Air Force, and the other, Fallon naval air training facility, is a premier training facility for our naval pilots—Top Gun. It is a rural community 65 miles out of Reno, NV.

These pilots—hundreds from Nellis and other personnel critical to our mission in Iraq—are right now serving on the front lines. Hundreds who trained at Fallon are there also.

When I see those Navy fighters taking off on carriers in the gulf, as I did this morning before I came to work, there is no question in my mind that they were trained at Fallon.

Nevada's Guard and Reserve troops are also playing a significant role, more than 1,000 from Nevada's Guard and Reserve. Nevada's percentage of Guard and Reserve callups and deployments is one of the highest in the Nation. This is, of course, a hardship to the communities, the cities, and the towns from where they come. It is a hardship on the employers and families they leave behind.

I also recognize the honor that is associated with this hardship and this sacrifice. Our Guard units, for example, have a specially train unit to handle prisoners of war. They have been called up. They also have one of the only Blackhawk-equipped medical evacuation teams. It is understandable why they have been called up. There are many other specialties that are needed in the gulf, and Secretary Rumsfeld has called them up. They are heroes. They are talented.

There are other heroes in Nevada, and they are the families who remain behind. Children who are going to school in Nevada have mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters half a world away and hoping and praying they come home but not really knowing if that, in fact, will happen.

The sacrifice that many of these families are making so our forces will prevail cannot be overstated. In many cases, the lead income earner or main caretaker is in the desert right now either pursuing Saddam Hussein or maybe even trying to track down al-Qaida operatives.

I try but I am not sure I fully understand the hardship the families are enduring. This Congress and communities all over America stand with the families and will help in any way we can until their loved ones return. We pray for the safe and speedy return of our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines.

We understand as a Congress that war entails risk; that the American military is the best fighting force ever assembled.

I have to take a pause here and commend and applaud the chairman and ranking member of the Armed Services Committee who have worked together as partners for many years now developing the military that is now serving in the Middle East. They are two fine Senators. There are no two men in the Senate for whom I have more respect than the distinguished Senator from Virginia and my longtime friend, the Senator from Michigan. I had the pleasure and honor of coming to Congress with his brother. I have said this to Senator LEVIN on a number of occasions. The first time I ever met CARL LEVIN, I said: I came to Washington with your brother, Sandy.

He said: Yes, Sandy is my brother, but he is also my best friend.

This is the kind of man we have working with us in the minority. I again commend and applaud the two of them.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield a moment? I remember so well when we had last year's authorization bill on the floor. The distinguished Senator from Michigan and I time and again sought Senator REID's assistance to keep that bill going, to reconcile issues such as health care, current receipts, the BRAC process, and other very strong issues. So the Senator has been a full honorary member of the Armed Services Committee.

Mr. REID. I thank my friend from Virginia. As I said, we in Congress understand the risks that war entails. The American military, as I have said before—parting a little off the subject by complimenting my two friends—is the best fighting force ever assembled. We owe a lot of that to these two men. I am confident that the men and women of our armed services, with the help of British and Australian soldiers, will bring about a decisive victory. Let us hope this can be achieved swiftly and with minimal casualties.

Mr. President, I will do everything in my power to ensure that Congress fully funds and supports the needs of our troops as this conflict proceeds.

As American troops are engaged in war in Iraq, as well as elsewhere around the world, in our ongoing war against terrorists, and defending our

interests and allies, we think also of previous generations who served our Nation faithfully and proudly to protect American lives, liberties and values. To all of our veterans, in Nevada and around the country, I say, "Thank you for your service." And I reassure you that I will continue to make sure our Nation honors our commitment to you.

We are so fortunate to live in a Nation that promises fundamental freedom like the freedom of speech and freedom of belief. Those who have served in the United States Armed Forces in past years and those who serve today have fought to guarantee the rights we hold dear. Thanks to their service and sacrifice, Americans can express opinions even if they disagree with the Government without fear of being harassed, arrested, tortured or murdered. This is a fundamental difference that separates our American democracy from regimes like the Taliban which we ousted from Afghanistan or dictators like Saddam Hussein whom we will remove from Iraq.

So we all appreciate, value and will fight to defend the right of all of us—American citizens and those of us in public service—to speak freely. Regardless of whether Americans agree or disagree with the decision to go to war or how the administration has conducted its foreign policy, we share patriotic feelings. That is what patriotism is about. And I want our troops to know that we all support them completely.

Americans also stand united with our Commander-in-Chief, President George Bush, as he leads the Nation through this difficult period. I will continue to support his efforts to build and strengthen our coalition to assist with post-war reconstruction in Iraq.

But today let me re-emphasize that we stand united, and we speak with one voice, in supporting our troops and working for the swift and decisive defeat of Saddam Hussein. I am confident more peaceful times lie ahead. Certainly, peace and freedom lie on the horizon for the Iraqi people.

Mr. LEVIN. Before the Senator from Nevada leaves, I add my thanks to him not just for his very kind words but, as Senator WARNER said, for his absolutely invaluable leadership on this floor year after year. We were able to get a bill passed last year, in good measure, because of his ability to get us to the point where we could resolve differences among Members to get to votes. One particular instance that I hope the Senator will always be remembered for—at least he will in our minds, I know—is his leadership to make sure that the veterans who are disabled are able to get a disability pension, particularly if they are severely disabled, at the same time they get a retirement benefit.

The absurd result that we had veterans who were severely disabled who lost their disability benefit at the same time their pension became available to

them was wrong. It was corrected by this Senate, in large measure because of the leadership of Senator REID. That is one of the many monuments to his leadership that hopefully will be remembered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I yield such time as he may consume to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. I rise to join my colleagues in support of this resolution. I commend the President and our troops, including civilians and national security personnel. I believe it is important, once the conflict has begun, that there be full support for our troops in the field.

Resolutions were passed by both this body and the House of Representatives by overwhelming majorities. I respect those who have disagreed with the action of the Congress and with the action of the President, however, once the Nation moves forward under our constitutional process, where in a representative democracy the Congress votes and authorizes the President as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces to move ahead, we should support this action.

It is regrettable there was not a united UN because had that been done, I think it might have been possible to back Saddam Hussein down. I had an opportunity to meet with Saddam Hussein for more than an hour back in 1990, and while he is venal and brutal, I do not think he is insane or suicidal. However, the international dance and delay was such that he thought he could wear us down.

Once the United States had more than 200,000 troops in the field, we were constrained by weather factors and our personnel were threatened by chemical and biological attacks, and so we simply had to move. Every action on Saddam's part was a delay. So whether there was agreement or disagreement up to this point, now is the time for unified American action.

This resolution commends Prime Minister Tony Blair and his government, and I believe the coalition of the willing will be doing the work really of the entire free world. It is our hope and expectation that the efforts will be swift and the casualties will be held to a minimum. With success I hope that those who have dissented in the United Nations will come forward because victory will be ours on the battlefield. However, that is not sufficient. Iraq must be rebuilt and our international alliances must be reinstated.

This is the first step today, by having a strong vote, hopefully a unanimous vote, in supporting our troops and supporting the action of the United States of America.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. President, last month a number of us were fortunate enough to visit our troops in Kuwait, Qatar, and other places in the area. As Senator WARNER said, he, Senator ROBERTS, Senator ROCKEFELLER, and I had that opportunity. What an extraordinarily dedicated, and motivated professional group of men and women they are; what representatives of America and the values that we stand for they are; how well trained and equipped they are; how extraordinarily high their morale was and is; and how determined this Congress is, I know now, to give them our total support.

In the course of that visit, I met with a group of about 20 Marines from Michigan at Camp Commando. One young Marine asked me what was going on back home with the antiwar demonstrations. I could tell by the demeanor of the other Marines, both men and women, that this was a matter on the minds of a number of them.

I told them that those demonstrating back home were carrying out and exercising a right which is something we all cherish. As a matter of fact, they were exercising the very freedoms that our Armed Forces have protected throughout our history. I told them we had a vigorous debate in the Senate last fall about the wisdom of initiating an attack against Saddam Hussein if we were unable to persuade the world community, acting through the United Nations, to authorize and support such an attack. I told them that, in the end, a majority of both Houses of the Congress voted to authorize the President to use military force with or without that explicit authority of the United Nations.

I told them that our democracy functions through debate and decision, and that the decision to give the President this authority was democratically arrived at. Finally and most importantly, I told these Marines I was confident that, after the debate in Congress about the wisdom of instituting an attack without the support of the world community through the United Nations, if hostilities should start, those who have such different views will come together and will rally behind them and give them the full support they deserve.

My prediction that we would come together if hostilities ever began, despite differences over the wisdom of the policy of proceeding without U.N. authority, has now come true.

We stand here together, shoulder to shoulder, whichever side of that particular issue we voted on, to support the men and women who are now in harm's way. We saw just a very visual and visible example of that a few minutes ago when the majority and Democratic leaders literally stood shoulder to shoulder here in the well of the Senate as they both presented a resolution of support of our troops and then indicated they were going to work hard for its passage.

The visit we had was quite an extraordinary visit. The men and women

we visited understood fully what we were telling them about the nobility of this system of government of ours and how they represented that nobility by putting their lives on the line. I am pleased to have helped draft this resolution. I am pleased to add my voice and my vote to it.

The hostilities have begun. The democratic debate has occurred. The men and women of our Armed Forces have the unified support of the Nation they love and for which they willingly serve and for which they risk their all. To them I can only say they are in the prayers of every American and that we all hope for a speedy conclusion to this war with the minimal number of casualties and that they return home to their loved ones as soon as possible.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I yield such time as our distinguished colleague from Oklahoma may require.

I might also say Senators ENSIGN, BURNS, the Presiding Officer Senator ALEXANDER, Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON, and Senator ALLARD, we are looking forward to their coming to the floor, in that sequence, on our side. We will alternate with my colleague. I alert my colleagues, this debate is moving right along and we are anxious to keep it going.

Mr. LEVIN. I similarly indicate Senator BINGAMAN and then Senator BILL NELSON would be recognized on this side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, for a moment let me build on something the distinguished Senator from Michigan said talking about our troops. Having been on the Senate Armed Services Committee and having been chairman of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Readiness for a number of years, I have had a chance to talk to troops all over the world in all kinds of circumstances. Never have I seen such a commitment as is out there right now by these young troops.

I remember not long ago I was at a hospital where they were sending injured from Afghanistan. Without exception, each one of the injured troops—some sailors, some marines, some airmen, some Army—all said they were anxious to get back to their units. One young lady, whose name was Stennis—I remember her name because she was on the USS *Stennis*—a young sailor, she who got tangled up in a refueling line. It pulled her off to a free fall all the way down into the ocean, crushing both of her lungs. She was a very small person. She made it. She lived. She was in the hospital. Her words were these: I want to get well to get back to my units, and I want to make a career out of the U.S. Navy.

When I look at our distinguished chairman of the committee, Senator WARNER, who was Secretary of the Navy, I can assure you we have never had sailors more committed than we have today. That is what is happening right now.

I am pleased we are beyond the point of talking about objections. There are three major objections that various individuals are trying to voice. One was: We cannot do anything without allies. We are glad to realize we have allies. We have some 45 nations supporting us in this effort to get rid of this terrorist, Saddam Hussein. But even if we weren't, we remember Grenada, Panama, we remember 1986 when Ronald Reagan was President and when Qadhafi had blown up a building, killing some of our soldiers. We did not have overflight permission, and President Reagan sent in F-111s and pounded Libya, and we have not heard from Qadhafi since.

The smoking gun argument, we all understand that what we are faced with, with Saddam Hussein—not Iraq, but Saddam Hussein—is an ability to do things that would not maybe kill 100 or 200 people but maybe a million people. Rich Butler, probably the most revered of the former weapons inspectors, said one warhead like they have in Iraq filled with 140 liters of VX gas could kill a million people. We have to reprogram ourselves and think in those terms.

If you did need a smoking gun—which we did not have to have—if you did, last night we learned there are smoking guns. He had denied he had the very missiles he sent over and used last night.

The last argument was there had to be a link with Osama bin Laden. We have to again reprogram ourselves because what we are dealing with now is a terrorist. This is not a war on Iraq, it is a liberation of the Iraqi people who have been oppressed and tortured for decades. There is a war involved. It is not a war on Iraq, it is a war against terrorism. This war was declared by our President at 8:30 in the evening on the fateful September 11. He said this is a war on terrorism. You go after the biggest terrorists.

A lot of people do not think of Saddam Hussein as a terrorist, but if you measure the severity of terrorism by the number of people someone has tortured or murdered, certainly no one can hold a candle to Saddam Hussein. In 1983, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International documented that he executed 8,000 of his own Kurdish citizens aged 13 and older. In 1985, it is reported they executed 315 children between the ages of 8 and 17. In 1988—we all remember this very well because that is when he set a record. We believe it is an all-time record that holds to this day. He murdered, in one day, 5,000 of his own citizens using a chemical that produces the most torturous kind of death, where your eyeballs are fried and your lungs are actually fried. There was mustard gas and other chemicals. That was in 1988. Then they talked about the 60 villages—Human Rights Watch—attacked with mustard gas. Women, children, it did not make any difference.

In 1990, Amnesty International listed 38 new methods of torture used by Saddam Hussein including mock execution, piercing of the hands with electric drills, electric shocks, sexual abuse, lowering the victims into baths of acid.

Then in 1999, at a peaceful demonstration, security forces fired into a crowd of protesters, killing hundreds of civilians, including women and children. In the year 2000, they were looking for a new way to punish those who might be suspected of saying something about Saddam Hussein. They had been sending them into prison, but the prisons were full, so the new method was to pull the tongue out and tear the tongue off.

In 1991, with a person I think very highly of, we made the first trip into Kuwait. It was so close after the war was over that they did not know the war was over and the fires were still going in the oil fields. The guns were still being fired. Alexander Haig, I, and a guy named Sauda Saba who was the Ambassador from Kuwait to the United States of America, we went in there to see what it was like. Sauda Saba had his 7-year-old daughter with him. He was of royalty. We went to their house where we found out that Saddam Hussein had used his house as one of the headquarters. We went through the house and found that the young 7-year-old girl's bedroom had been used as a torture chamber. We found body parts and hair stuck to the walls.

I don't believe there is a terrorist anywhere who could be more dangerous than Saddam Hussein. That is what this is all about. This is not a war on Iraq, it is the liberation of the people of Iraq. I honestly believe the dancing in the streets after Afghanistan will not hold a candle to the dancing in the streets we will see not just in Baghdad, but in all the oppressed surrounding nations.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 3 minutes to Senator BINGAMAN.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I appreciate my colleague from Michigan yielding me 3 minutes to speak briefly on this issue.

War in Iraq is underway. It is appropriate that we in the Senate suspend our other work to observe the start of this very serious undertaking. I am very glad to support the resolution the majority leader and the Democratic leader have come together on in stating our solidarity with our servicemen and servicewomen.

We want the brave men and women who wear the American uniform and who have been sent to this region on behalf of our country to know they have the complete, unwavering support of the Senate.

I also state my sincere hope, and the sincere hope, I am sure, of all of us, that this conflict will be short lived and that our mission will be accom-

plished with the fewest possible casualties to our countrymen and to the non-combatants in Iraq.

Prior to the announcement by President Bush on Monday that he had determined to begin a military action this week, many of us expressed our disagreement with the policy and action of the President. In my case, and I am sure in all cases, those opinions were honestly arrived at and were strongly felt. But at this point, now with the war having begun, our focus needs to be on prevailing in this conflict. None of us doubts that we will in fact prevail. I join with all other Senators in the fervent hope that the war will be short, the lives lost on both sides will be few. I further hope that out of this we will arrive at a just and peaceful and prosperous future for the Iraqi people and for the region and for the entire world.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAPO). The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. At this time I yield as much time to Senator ENSIGN as he may require.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee for yielding time. I appreciate his great service to this country leading that important committee.

I rise today to talk about the situation in Iraq. There are some people to pay tribute to. It is important that we as Senators show our troops what they mean to us. It is important that all Americans show the people in uniform how much we appreciate what they are doing, and also to show their families how much we appreciate what they are doing.

I want to start by sharing a thought about a great leader who has shown what it means, in the face of adversity, to lead our country through a difficult time. That leader is our President, George W. Bush. I am very proud that he is, indeed, our Commander-in-Chief at this time. I have heard from so many service men and women how proud they are right now, not only to be Americans, but proud that he is our Commander-in-Chief during this difficult time—not only for the war on Iraq, but for the global war on terrorism, which we are still engaged in and probably will be for some time.

I also want to say thank you as an American to a great friend; somebody who is defining what it means to be a statesman. That is Tony Blair from Great Britain. Tony Blair obviously leads the equivalent of what would be a different party than mine. But Tony Blair has shown, in the face of incredible public opposition, and especially opposition within his own party, what it means to stand up and be a leader. Leaders are expected to lead, and Tony Blair and George W. Bush are doing exactly that right now.

I also thank and take pride in Nellis Air Force Base and the people sta-

tioned there, and the people stationed at Fallon Naval Air Station, and also the Nevada National Guard, all of whom have sent people to the Middle East to engage in this conflict. We as Nevadans say thank you for their service, and take great pride in that they are over there, serving our country and protecting our people.

I also think it is appropriate for us, whenever possible, as Americans, to adopt the families of our service men and women. Back in 1991 my brother-in-law was sent over to the Persian Gulf. He was stationed in Bahrain during the Persian Gulf war. I remember it was a very stressful time for my sister because she could not have any contact with him. She had no idea where he was, what he was doing. It was incredibly difficult for her, as it was for many other families. That is what a lot of families of our service men and women are going through right now, the uncertainty of whether their loved ones are going to be coming home or not. We all in this country need to wrap our arms around them and also lift them up in prayer, when we rise in the morning or go to bed at night, when we get on our knees and look to the Almighty.

There is no question that America has the finest military in the entire world. Nobody's military might is anywhere close to what we have today. But I remind all Americans that no matter how strong our military is, without divine providence—as the entire history of our country has recognized—without divine providence, it doesn't matter how superior your military is. That is not enough to prevail in a war. As Abraham Lincoln said during the Civil War, when asked which side of the conflict God was on, he replied: I don't know. I just want to try to be on God's side.

I think it would be easy for us as Americans to be arrogant and proud and boastful about how great we are and how right we think we are. I think the appropriate approach is for us to go and pray we are right, and look to what the morals are that we stand for and the principles on which this country was founded. If we apply those principles, those principles that I believe were handed down by the Almighty, then we will be on His side.

I believe we are in a just cause. It is time we stand up and support the men and women in uniform and do everything we can as individuals to let them know, while they are there, that they are in our thoughts and our prayers. And then, when they come home, we should never, ever again allow what happened in this country when our troops came home from Vietnam. Whenever our troops come home from now on, they should be celebrated, held high as heroes, because we owe our very freedoms to the sacrifices they are willing to make.

I stand with other Senators today to say to our troops: Thank you. Godspeed. And God bless.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Nevada for his remarks, most particularly the concluding remarks about that period during Vietnam. It was my privilege to serve along with the men and women in that period as Secretary of the Navy. I remember so well how they were received back home, in sharp contrast to the generation in which I had a modest association in World War II. With open arms were they welcomed home. I share your sentiments.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 5 minutes to Senator BILL NELSON.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I have gone around to the National Guard units that have been activated in my State of Florida, and I have gone to the Reserve units, merely representing our grateful Nation. These people have gone off to war, seeing tearful spouses, with the uncertainty of their economic future. And that economic uncertainty is not only from their standpoint as a guard or reservist, but it is also from their employer's standpoint. And yet we see a unity and a coming together that is part of the strength of the character of us as a people.

It is with profound gratitude and humility that I express my support for this resolution for a fighting force of men and women who are not only in the military all over the world but who are civilian as well.

In fact, some of our civilian agencies today were in Iraq, prior to the military units arriving there, along with other clandestine military units performing enormous intelligence functions for us. It is a profound gratefulness that this Nation expresses to our military and civilians.

I particularly wish to call to the attention of the Senate paragraph (5). Paragraph (5) of the resolution states that Congress:

Joins all Americans in remembering those who lost their lives during Operation Desert Shield and Operation Desert Storm in 1991, still those missing from that conflict, including Captain Scott Speicher, United States Navy, and the thousands of Americans who have lost their lives in terrorist attacks over the years, and in the Global War on terrorism. . . .

I take the time to call paragraph (5) to the attention of the Senate because of CPT Scott Speicher, the first American pilot shot down on the first night of the gulf war. Through a series of mistakes, we said he was dead. He was listed as "killed in action."

Years later, the Department of Defense changed his status to "missing in action." And years later, the Department of Defense changed his status to "missing, captured," which is "POW."

I have seen the early evidence, which has been made public, that a defector, who was corroborated—indeed, he passed a lie detector test, as well as being corroborated on other evidence—

actually drove Speicher from near the crash site to a place near a hospital, and picked him out of a lineup of photographs.

I have seen more recent information from a variety of sources that leads me to believe that Scott Speicher is alive. That opinion, by the way, is shared by my colleague, Senator PAT ROBERTS of Kansas, now the chairman of the Intelligence Committee, who has been, along with former Senator Bob Smith, unrelenting—all of us—in the pursuit of a clarification on the status of Scott Speicher.

It is my opinion he is alive. So we have gone to our commanders, and they have assured us, we have gone to the civilian agencies, and they have assured us: Scott Speicher is at the top of their list of priorities as we are now going into Iraq, to go and find him.

And, oh, what a day that would be, if he is alive, and if America can correct the mistake that our DOD made and bring that American pilot home.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. On my time, Mr. President, I commend my colleague, a strong member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Senator PAT ROBERTS, likewise, who is on our committee, and Senator SMITH, a former member of the committee.

These three Senators have involved our committee in this as well. And, I think, heretofore, the Intelligence Committee has taken a very active role.

Senator LEVIN and I are both appreciative of their efforts on this issue on behalf of the committee. We thank them.

I yield such time to the Senator from Montana as he may require.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator will yield, just for a unanimous consent request.

I ask unanimous consent that after the Senator has concluded, Senator KENNEDY then be recognized for 6 minutes.

Let me add my thanks also to Senator NELSON of Florida for the incredible tenacity he has shown supporting Captain Speicher.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Massachusetts will be recognized for 6 minutes following the Senator from Montana.

The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I thank my good friend from Virginia. Yes, we have been conversing and friends ever since the day I got here, he being an old forest firefighter in Montana when he was younger, and his hair was dark. He was a dashing young man on an adventure West.

We have also discussed this subject a lot of times in private conversations. Whether it has been on the Big Horn

River or on a golf course, I have always enjoyed those discussions.

I gave much thought on what I was going to say today. The Senator and I also shared the same uniform, the U.S. Marine Corps, at different times however. He was a good deal ahead of me.

We know what goes through the minds of the young men and women who are confronted with war. Of all the options we have in the world, war is the absolute last one. For our young men and women over there, they have to carry the responsibility.

But the real weight may be on the shoulders of our Commander in Chief and on the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Blair, for they have stood strong for what is right.

We can also call this the commitment of America. It is a commitment to our history. Looking in our history books, we see man can be ruled by many things, by weapons, by sheer military power, by biological weapons, and chemical weapons.

But 9/11 taught us something else, that we can be ruled by fear. Fear is still the greatest motivator of man. Americans have always accepted a certain level of risk for freedom. Sometimes we have accepted a high level of risk for freedom. And we are called upon to do that again. It is not a great option, but it is one that America has assumed the responsibility of since the birth of this country over 200 years ago.

Mr. President, 9/11 proved that we can be ruled by fear. Even a sniper in the Washington area was a reminder that, again, we are curtailed and ruled by fear. It was by only one person, that person not known. But this one is known.

We commend the President. We pray for our troops as they carry out a great tradition. Diplomatically, the timing is never right. It is never right. But I would say this: We could kick this can down the road. Maybe we could have kicked the can down the road in 1940. Would we have forgotten Pearl Harbor as fast as we think some people have forgotten the Twin Towers? No matter what we do, some generation of America is going to have to deal with this cruel man.

We stand in support. We stand in prayer for those who lead, those who commit, and those who do.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, the hour of 4 o'clock, at which time the votes begin on the budget resolution, is fast approaching. I have several Senators indicating a desire to speak on my side. I ask them to limit their remarks now to about 3½ minutes, thereabouts. I think the Senator from Massachusetts should be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for 6 minutes.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the best of America—our men and women in uniform—are now in harm's way in a



distant land. Our prayers go with them in the skies and mountains and deserts and cities of Iraq. Fathers and sons—mothers and daughters—brothers and sisters—friends and neighbors and fellow Americans—they are all our heroes. So many are still in the dawn of life as they risk their lives for our country and our ideals. We pray for the success of their mission and their quick and safe return to their families and to a proud and to a grateful nation.

Many Americans, including many of us in Congress, opposed this war. But today and throughout this conflict, we are united in support of the men and women of our Armed Forces. We pledge to do all we can to support them.

We honor them for their patriotism, their courage, their willingness to endure hardship and sacrifice and to give the last full measure of devotion to the country they love and the country that loves them. In the eloquent words of the Navy Hymn:

O Trinity of love and power!  
Our brethren shield in danger's hour;  
From rock to tempest, fire and foe,  
Protect them wheresoe'er they go.

Our thoughts and our heartfelt prayers are also with our President, as he makes the difficult decisions that will determine the course and success of the war that now begins. May God's wisdom guide our President and protect him in the days that lie ahead.

In Massachusetts, we especially honor and remember the thousands of men and women on active duty from communities throughout our state who are now at war, and the thousands as well who have been activated from the Reserve and the National Guard—from the Barnes and The Otis Air National Guard Bases, from the Westover Air Reserve Base, from Camp Edwards, from the Devens Reserve Forces Training Area, from so many other places in our State. We pray for them all, and we admire them for their dedication to our country and their brave service.

President Bush spoke for all Americans last night in expressing support for our forces. He is right to prepare our country for what may be a long and difficult struggle, and he is right to do his best to safeguard the innocent people of Iraq. We join our President in pledging our commitment to victory—to disarm Saddam and to bring freedom and opportunity to all the people of Iraq.

In Congress, we will do all we can to give our servicemen and women the complete and full support they must have in order to prevail in this war and come safely home. We will do all we can to care for their families while they are apart. We will do all we can to protect the American people on the home front. We will do all we can to help the people of Iraq, and enable them to rebuild and renew their ancient land and rejoin the family of nations. And we will continue in the years to come to do all we can here at home to uphold the same great fundamental values for which our troops are

now risking their lives—for opportunity and hope—for liberty and justice for all.

In his great poem, "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight," Vachel Lindsay wrote:

It is portentous, and a thing of state,  
That here at midnight, in our little town  
A mourning figure walks, and will not rest,  
Near the old court-house pacing up and down,

Or by his homestead, or in shadowed yards  
He lingers where his children used to play,  
Or through the market, on the well-worn stones

He stalks until the dawn-stars burn away.

A bronzed, lank man! His suit of ancient black,

A famous high top-hat and plain worn shawl  
Make him the quaint great figure that men love,

The prairie-lawyer, master of us all.

He cannot sleep upon his hillside now.

He is among us—as in times before!

And we who toss and lie awake for long  
Breathe deep, and start, to see him pass the door.

His head is bowed. He thinks on men and kings.

Yea, when the sick world cries, how can he sleep?

Too many peasants fight, they know not why,

Too many homesteads in black terror weep.

The sins of all the war-lords burn his heart.  
He sees the dreadnaughts scouring every main.

He carries on his shawl-wrapped shoulders now

The bitterness, the folly and the pain.

He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn  
Shall come—the shining hope of Europe free;  
The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,  
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea.

It breaks his heart that kings must murder still.

That all his hours of travail here for men  
Seem yet in vain. And who will bring white peace

That he may sleep upon his hill again?

I withhold the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I thank the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. I ask the Senator if he could limit his remarks to about 3½ minutes.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I thank the Senator. Last night, most Americans stayed up late watching for news of the war. Most Senators did, too. This morning, many Americans got up and said a little prayer for the men and women who will be fighting overseas for our country. I suspect most Senators did as well.

Today, most Americans went about their jobs and the Senate did, too, but our discussions about the budget and our everyday jobs seem a little less important today compared to what our men and women overseas and our Commander in Chief are doing. We pause today to try to show in a united voice the same respect for our President and

our men and women who are fighting overseas and our civilians who are involved, to show the same respect for them that they show for our country. The President has shown real courage. He has told us news we really don't want to hear, and he has been calm. He has used restraint, and he has been determined. But today, we think especially of our Armed Forces.

Tennesseans have a rich history of serving in the armed services. We are the Volunteer State. We earned that name in the War of 1812, in the Mexican War and ever since, and the tradition continues today. Twenty thousand men and women from Fort Campbell have been deployed in the vicinity of Iraq, and another thousand active duty military personnel from across the State as well. More than 4,000 Tennesseans from more than 80 Reserve and National Guard units have been called up. They come from units like the 134th Air Refueling Wing from McGhee Tyson; K company, 3rd Battalion, 23rd Marines in Memphis; and the 3397th U.S. Army Garrison of Chattanooga. They are protecting us from a great threat, and we are grateful to them.

I hope and trust that we speak with a united voice, not just for this one day. I think of Larry Joyce, who sought me out in Chicago in 1995. He was a Vietnam veteran. His son Casey was killed in Somalia while serving in our armed services. He wanted to make sure that I or anyone else who might serve in public life remembered the lessons of Vietnam and Somalia. They were these: First, have a clear objective. Second, have more than enough force to win. And third, have the stomach to see any military action we undertake all the way through to the end.

Mr. President, we have a clear objective. By 77 to 23, we voted to give the President the authority he exercises today. We would disarm Saddam Hussein, liberate Iraq, and help rebuild a strong democratic Iraq.

No. 2, we have more than sufficient force to win, maybe more force than has ever been assembled in a military action.

The question that remains is whether we, not our armed services, but whether we in the Congress and the American people have what we did not have in Vietnam and what we did not have in Somalia, which is the stomach to see our mission all the way through to the end.

I rise today to join in expressing bipartisan support to our President and our Armed Forces and to hope and trust that we will have the stomach to see this mission all the way through to the end.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my name be added as an original cosponsor of the resolution.

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

Mr. ALEXANDER. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.



Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I thank my colleague for yielding time. I was on the floor as we began the session this morning. We had the prayer and the pledge, and of course this morning the prayer, by the pastor of St. Joseph's in our neighborhood here in Washington, and the pledge had renewed and deep meaning.

In terms of the prayer, I pray, too, Mr. President. I pray that our military action in Iraq is swift, is decisive, is successful, and I pray that the number of casualties, both military and civilian, is small.

I am deeply grateful—we all are deeply grateful—to the soldiers who are overseas. I spoke to departing guardsmen and enlisted men throughout my State of New York, in Canandaigua, Fort Drum, and on Long Island. When I addressed them, I had a lump in my throat because of their sacrifice, their bravery, their humanity, and because so many of them were there with their families before they were getting on planes to go to the Middle East.

They are part of a grand tradition, a tradition of young men and young women who are willing to sacrifice for the rest of us, and we pray for them. I think all Americans join in that prayer.

We have so many different views on the issues of the day and on the action in Iraq, but what always happens in this country in time of war is unity and prayer for our fighting men and women occur, and I believe that is what is happening now in this country.

One last point. I have been asked by so many of my fellow New Yorkers what should they do, being that we have been in the epicenter of terrorism. I say to my fellow New Yorkers, first, you cannot be too careful. If there is anything untoward, report it to authorities. Second, our intelligence, our ability to deal with al-Qaida and other terrorist groups, has vastly improved since September 10, 2001, and I believe New Yorkers should continue to go about their duties, their jobs, their businesses, their daily lives. I gave the advice to my wife and daughters who live in New York City to continue going about their life, and I give that advice to all New Yorkers as well.

Again, we hope and pray for a quick, decisive, successful military action in Iraq and for minimal casualties, military and civilian.

I yield whatever time I have remaining to my colleague from Michigan.

Ms. MIKULSKI. I am proud to rise in support of the resolution supporting our troops.

America is now at war. My thoughts are with our troops. Our men and women in uniform have my steadfast support. They have my respect, my admiration, and my gratitude.

Americans have differences over the path that led us to war. Yet Americans are united in support of our men and women in uniform. Each and every member of our military is part of the American family. Their service is a tremendous sacrifice and great risk. These are ordinary men and women called on to act in an extraordinary way. Whatever their nation asks them to do, they will do with bravery, fortitude, and gallantry. All Americans owe them a debt of gratitude.

The military doesn't just need our thanks; they need our help. We must support them not only with words, but with deeds. That means ensuring that our troops have the best training and equipment. That means standing up for military families. They are facing long separations and terrible worries about the safety of their loved ones. They shouldn't also be facing financial worries. So while we are talking about tax cuts for Joe Billionaire, let's not forget GI Joe and Jane.

I believe the war started the right way: targeting Saddam Hussein and members of his regime in their bunkers. Saddam Hussein is our enemy, not the people of Iraq.

Let's not forget why we are at this point: The fault lies squarely with Saddam Hussein. Saddam is dangerous and duplicitous. As part of the gulf war cease-fire agreement, he committed to destroy his weapons of mass destruction. For the past twelve years, Saddam Hussein has ignored UN resolutions by rebuilding his illegal weapons programs. Resolution 1441 gave Saddam Hussein a final opportunity to destroy any prohibited weapons of mass destruction or missiles; to fully report on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs; and to cooperate with inspectors to verify compliance.

I have consistently called for robust multinational action to disarm Iraq. Saddam Hussein is a danger to the world, so the world should share the burden of confronting the Iraqi threat. I appreciate the help and support of other nations, including Great Britain, Australia, and Poland. Other countries are allowing access to territory and airspace, providing logistical and intelligence support, or playing other non-combat roles.

America must continue diplomacy, even as we continue the war, to expand the coalition of the willing to share the burden of war and to share the responsibility and the economic cost of rebuilding Iraq.

Now that America is at war, our troops must know: I am on their side. The American people are on their side. The thoughts and prayers of the American people are with the men and women of our military, and with their families.

God bless our troops, and God bless America.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, with the commencement of engagement by U.S. military forces in Iraq, we stand united in support of the men and

women of our Armed Forces. These young men and women representing the best of America are entering into harm's way in a distant land. Whatever our differences on policy, we speak with one voice in supporting our troops. I have no doubt that our military forces will be successful, although we do not now know how quickly or at what cost.

As do all Marylanders, indeed all Americans, I pray for the safety of our troops and join my colleagues in pledging to them our commitment for the necessary resources and support.

These brave men and women and their families are in our thoughts and in our prayers. We wish them Godspeed, and their prompt and safe return to our shores.

I yield the floor.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, my thoughts and prayers are with Iowa families who have loved ones serving their country in the Middle East. When faced with the difficult and sometimes terrible duty of war, the men and women of our armed services have never let us down. We have the best trained soldiers, the best technology, and the best military commanders in the world. I have full confidence in their performance. My hope is for a swift conclusion and a lasting peace in the entire region. It is also my deep hope that innocent civilians in Iraq and the rest of the Middle East suffer a minimum of harm.

I know the views in the country have been divided as to the need for and the wisdom of this war. Right now, we need to support the men and women who are serving this country. This war and the reconstruction work that follows will not be easy and many of our troops may bravely face risks. They are doing their duty and sacrificing for our security. We need to keep them all in our thoughts and prayers and be fully behind them. That is something on which we can all agree.

Right now, over 3,200 Iowans are serving: 2,200 in the National Guard, 1,760 are overseas, and over 1,000 in our Reserves here and abroad. We are proud of our Iowa, that Iowans are protecting our homeland.

In my home State of Iowa, I know there have been some concerns about our vulnerable areas in this time of Washington. I want Iowans to know I will be working with my fellow Senators to ensure our homeland is protected. As our Governor, Tom Vilsack, said today, it will take the resources of our Federal Government to keep our communities safe. I intend to work to make sure Iowans and all Americans have the protections we need here at home.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise to express my support for the tens of thousands of brave Americans who are risking their lives at this very hour in a distant land to try to bring some peace and stability to a nation that has been ravaged by a dictator.

Late last night the President of the United States ordered United States

forces to begin attacks on Iraqi installations. There are currently almost 300,000 American service men and women in the Persian Gulf region. Several thousand are from my State of Connecticut, and they are doing their part. There are 1,500 members of the Connecticut National Guard, of which I was a member. It seems like hundreds of years ago, but I was a member of that National Guard in my home State. There are 750 deployed to the Middle East, and another 750 activated to participate in homeland security and related responsibilities. The results are 530 sons and daughters serving in the Army who are active members and reservists, 310 in the Air Force, and dozens of police officers and firefighters called to active duty, putting additional pressures on the homeland security issues.

I thank each and every one of them for their service to our State, to our country, and for freedom. I say to them I am proud and honored to represent them in the Senate.

As is always the case, these young men and women stand ready to obey the orders of the Commander in Chief to take up arms and risk their lives in the defense of all Americans and the values of freedom, liberty, and democracy. I greatly admire the courage and professionalism of our service men and women who are now engaged in this dangerous conflict far away from their homes and their loved ones.

Americans stand as one in support of these brave individuals. I express my gratitude to the family members of our soldiers, sailors, marines, and members of the Coast Guard. They, more than anyone, understand the sacrifices involved in the service of our Nation.

War is a treacherous endeavor and we all pray for their safe return. I am confident in the days and weeks ahead America and the U.S. Congress will continue to provide our service men and women the support they deserve and they may need.

Last fall, I supported President Bush's decision to go to the United Nations and seek the support of the U.N. members to resolve the threat posed by Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and supported the deployment of U.S. weapons inspectors to Iraq to verify peaceful disarmament. I wanted the diplomatic efforts to succeed. I believe President Bush did, as well. Unfortunately, Saddam Hussein obviously did not.

While there may have been differing opinions on some aspects of our policy toward Iraq, there has been no disagreement that Saddam Hussein is anything but a cruel and murderous tyrant. At a very critical juncture Saddam Hussein chose to impede the work of the inspectors and at every fork of the road he squandered opportunities for peaceful disarmament presented by the international community. Time has run out and we thus find ourselves in this situation.

My hope is as we begin the reconstruction process, it will be a sense of

cooperation internationally on reconstruction. We cannot do this alone. We have to reach out even to those we have had disagreements with to help rebuild Iraq and build the peace and stability of the region. That is critically important for America's security for the 21st century.

I regret we did not have more time to discuss this and express our views and thoughts. I do not minimize the importance of the budget debate, but this discussion would trump any discussion of a budget issue. Unfortunately, that time is not allocated.

Saddam Hussein must bear full responsibility for what is about to befall him. He brought it upon himself. I have no sympathy for his plight. The real tragedy is that others may have to suffer for his sins although I am confident that American soldiers will make every effort, use every means of intelligence, and employ all available technology to minimize civilian casualties.

Would that Saddam Hussein had shown the same regard for his people that our forces will. His record has been the opposite. This murderous tyrant has routinely had his own people tortured, raped, beaten, and executed. In 1988, he ordered the use of chemical weapons against the Iraqi people, killing 5,000 men, women, and children in a single day. Now, he may be ordering his elite troops to use the city of Baghdad as a fortress a human fortress endangering the lives of countless Iraqi civilians.

It is my hope that United States military action will not only free the world of the dangers posed by Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction, but provide an opportunity for the Iraqi people to free themselves from 30 years of tyranny and oppression, to begin a new chapter in the history of their country.

The current military action may only last a few days or a few weeks. But in the end, I have no doubt that our American service men and women will prevail in this conflict. However, after we emerge successfully from our military conflict with Saddam Hussein, another challenge will face us the task of establishing a free and stable Iraq. In many ways this is an even more important battle than the one currently ongoing in the deserts of Iraq. And it is a battle that we should not "wage" alone. An international coalition of friends, allies, and U.N. humanitarian organizations must be mobilized to share the costs and responsibility for providing humanitarian relief to the Iraqi people, and the larger and more complex reconstruction of Iraqi society.

The United States is not the only nation that has a stake in rebuilding Iraq. The entire world has a huge stake in getting this right. For only an Iraq that is strong, free, and democratic—only an Iraq that respects the rights of all its citizens only an Iraq that respects the territorial integrity of its neighbors can be counted on to con-

tribute to building a Middle East that is stable and prosperous. That is why I am confident that whatever our past differences may have been, our friends and allies at the United Nations will join with us in this effort.

Once again let me express my thanks to the American men and women who have put themselves at risk for each one of us. Let me also thank the service members from other nations who have joined with our forces in this endeavor. And let me offer one more prayer for their swift and safe return home once their mission is complete.

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues and all of America in expressing pride in and gratitude to our men and women in uniform. With one voice this Congress honors our troops, and with one mind we pray for their safe return.

Last night, as we all watched from the safety of our living rooms, our military went to war. Our soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen have left their home country and their home fires to face unknown danger and even death. We cannot be proud enough of these courageous men and women who fight for freedom in Iraq. We cannot be grateful enough to these Americans who are willing to risk their lives for our security.

We have so many people to thank today: our Active Duty forces who have made it their life work to protect and defend us; our citizen soldiers, the Reserves, and the National Guard who have left jobs in offices and on factory floors, kissed children and spouses goodbye, and donned the uniform of our armed services; our troops' families who daily endure the hardships of military life and today worry and wait for their loved ones to come home.

In my State of Wisconsin we have had over 2,200 men and women called up for service in the National Guard and an additional 1,357 mobilized from the Reserves, more people than at any time since the Berlin crisis.

I make special mention of them because they trained in relative anonymity during times of peace. It is only in times of conflict that communities discover how many of their friends and neighbors serve their country quietly, year in and year out. In times of crises they are notable at their absence at scout meetings, church pews, and parent-teacher conferences.

Last Monday I was fortunate enough to observe the 1158 transportation company at Beloit, WI, as they bravely headed off, leaving behind spouses, children, families, and friends. These soldiers had little time to put their affairs in order before being ordered into harm's way. But there were no complaints and no grumbling.

The families I met were concerned about the future, were ready to deal with the personal and financial difficulties.

I was struck to see young children bravely saying goodbye to their parents, without knowing what the future

might bring. These youngsters did not ask for this war and did not understand it, but they, too, are making sacrifices for our security. Our soldiers are ready and willing to do their duty. They understand better than anyone else that freedom is not free. They are ready to pay that price today and every day.

Our soldiers represent the best of the American people and American ideals. While many of us will talk about patriotism and service today, no words can do justice to the burden they have chosen to bear.

So our hearts, our prayers, and our deepest gratitude go out to them today.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. The President has announced that military operations to disarm and liberate Iraq have begun. For those of us who have taken an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution, entering into war is one of the most somber moments we face.

When the President sends our troops to battle, the stakes are unmistakably clear: our courageous troops are preparing to risk everything so that our society can continue to live in freedom. At a time like this, our Nation should come together as one to support our troops in battle, and to support the Commander in Chief.

This military action responds to the growing threat to America and our allies posed by Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. Here at home and around the world, we have debated how best to disarm Saddam. After 12 years of diplomacy, and 17 different U.N. resolutions, Saddam remains a serious threat to the peace and stability of the region, and to the safety of Americans and our allies.

I, like most of my colleagues, believed we could not live with this threat to America's security. And so I voted last October to give the President authority to make one final attempt to disarm Saddam through the U.N.—to give diplomacy one last chance to work—and to resort to forcible disarmament if that failed.

Five months after we passed our congressional resolution, and 4 months after the U.N. Security Council unanimously passed resolution 1441, Saddam has still refused to disarm.

Now the President has decided, drawing on the authority granted him by the Constitution, by the Congress, and by a series of U.N. resolutions, to send our troops into battle—to forcibly disarm Iraq, end Saddam's rule of terror, and allow the oppressed Iraqi people to have a better life.

And it is our responsibility, here in America, to come together to show our troops, who are fighting to protect our freedoms, that they have all our support, and that we are praying for a quick and successful campaign.

I had the opportunity to visit our troops last month in Kuwait, Qatar, and Afghanistan, and had the privilege to meet our fine young West Virginians serving there. I am always impressed by the commitment and profes-

sionalism of our Armed Forces—the brave enlisted men and women who have dedicated their skills and energy to safeguarding America's vital national interests, the officer corps who have honed the most awesome fighting machine the world has ever seen, and the reservists and national guardsmen who willingly disrupt their civilian lives when their country needs them.

To witness their dedication and skill, and their willingness to risk everything to defend the greater good of our Nation, is to be reminded, just as we learned on that fateful September 11, that heroes still walk among us. The Americans who have volunteered to serve in our Nation's Armed Forces are some of the finest individuals our society produces, and we are all in their debt.

We West Virginians have always been particularly proud that while we are a small State, we contribute a significant share of America's Armed Forces. I have here a list of the West Virginia Reserve and National Guard units that have been called up for service overseas in the past 2 years. I realize I can't read the entire list, but I would like to note that it encompasses 28 units based in West Virginia and nearly 2500 servicemembers, as well as thousands of Active Duty servicemembers who hail from West Virginia. I ask unanimous consent to have this list printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WEST VIRGINIA NATIONAL GUARD & RESERVE  
UNITS MOBILIZED SINCE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

1. 157th Military Police Company, Martinsburg, WV, 124 personnel.
2. 152nd Military Police Detachment, Moorefield, WV, 45 personnel.
3. 1257th Transportation Company, Huntington, WV, 167 personnel.
4. 463rd Engineer Battalion Detachment 2, Wheeling, WV, 50 personnel.
5. 554th Adjutant General Company, Ripley, WV, 18 personnel.
6. 111th Engineer Group Headquarters, Headquarters Company, St. Albans, 88 personnel.
7. 119th Engineer Company, Clarksburg, WV, 159 personnel.
8. Detachment 1 1st Battalion 80th Regiment 3rd Brigade, Kingwood, WV, 32 personnel.
9. Army National Guard Special Operations Detachment E, Moorefield, WV, 27 personnel.
10. Army National Guard Special Operation Detachment 3, Charleston, WV, 1 personnel.
11. Special Operations Detachment, Europe Forward 2, Kingwood, WV, 1 personnel.
12. State Area Command West Virginia Detachment 6, Charles Town, WV, 1 personnel.
13. State Area Command West Virginia Army National Guard Headquarters, Charleston, WV, 1 personnel.
14. 1092nd Engineer Battalion, Parkersburg, WV, 522 personnel.
15. 1863rd Transportation Company, Oak Hill, WV, 68 personnel.
16. 156th Military Police Department, Monaville, WV, 45 personnel.
17. 261st Ordnance Company 1st Platoon Medical Lift, Charleston, WV, 44 personnel.
18. 261st Ordnance Company Detachment 1 Ammunition Modular, Kenova, WV, 12 personnel.

19. 261st Ordnance Company Detachment 2, Kenova, WV, 12 personnel.

20. 321st Ordnance Battalion Headquarters Headquarters Company, Charleston, WV, 52 personnel.

21. 363rd Military Police Company Combat Support Group, Grafton, WV, 180 personnel.

22. 459th Engineer Company Heavy Boat Detachment 1, Bridgeport, WV, 10 personnel.

23. 459th Engineer Company Detachment 3, Bridgeport, WV, 173 personnel.

24. 304th Military Police Company, Bluefield, WV 180 personnel.

25. 351st Ordnance Company, Romney, WV, 153 personnel.

26. 811th Ordnance Company, Rainelle, WV, 118 personnel.

27. 2nd Division Special Forces Battalion 19th Special Forces Group 1st Special Forces, Camp Dawson, WV, 9 personnel.

28. 300th Chemical Company, Morgantown, WV, 113 personnel.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. A war will always involve risk and uncertainty. That is especially the case when we are dealing with a dangerous dictator like Saddam Hussein, who has used illegal weapons before, and who knows that in this instance, war will not end until he is removed.

We should never be over-confident, and must go into this knowing that our troops will face real risks. But we can take heart that never, in the history of mankind, have there been Armed Forces better prepared to meet the challenges that come their way.

In skill, in technological sophistication, and in fighting spirit, our troops continue to set new benchmarks the world has never seen. Never in modern history has there been a fighting force so clearly superior to all its competitors.

We now stand at an important threshold in our Nation's history, and our national security. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction has altered America's security forever. Before 2001, we believed that we could only be threatened by another superpower—and the demise of the Soviet Union made us think that threats to America's homeland had more or less vanished. On September 11, we learned how wrong we were.

In the coming years, the spread of weapons of mass destruction—to rogue governments, and to terrorist groups in the developing world—will be America's most important national security challenge. And increasingly, the focus of our diplomacy and defense alliances will shift away from our traditional focus on Europe to respond to these emerging threats from developing countries in Asia, in Africa, and even in Latin America.

Indeed, that is already the case today: besides Iraq, the biggest security threats currently facing America aren't major power rivalries but illegal proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by states such as North Korea and Iran. This threat isn't unique to the United States—but our global leadership role makes us a particularly tempting target for the disaffected and resentful.

We cannot allow foreign terrorist or rogue states to threaten our society

with weapons of mass destruction. Terrorism and proliferation can be stopped, but to do so will require a concerted, sustained strategy, rather than ad hoc, relative efforts.

And it will require broad international support—the kind that helped us win the cold war—rather than working alone, or begin dismissive of our allies because they haven't yet recognized the magnitude of the shared threat.

War is always a tragedy. To put human lives at risk—both military and civilian—can only be considered when all other reasonable options have failed.

And in that regard, the significance of this conflict is not just in disarming Iraq. While that is the primary goal, this mission also demonstrates to the world that the spread of weapons of mass destruction is such a grave threat to our security that we Americans are prepared to use the full force of our military—our fine and brave men and women in uniform—to stop it.

And we are joined in that understanding by the British, and the Australians, and the poles, and many, many allies around the world.

Perhaps some other countries haven't reached that understanding yet. Or they continue to believe the diplomatic processes developed for a cold war environment must be maintained at all costs. But this new threat must be addressed.

If our troops find chemicals or biological weapons in Iraq—and I am confident they will—it will demonstrate to the skeptics around the world that we were right about the threat, and that we had to take action before these illegal weapons were used. And I hold out great hope that a swift victory in Iraq will pave the way for the U.S. and our allies to come together around a strategy to deal with the spread of weapons of mass destruction elsewhere.

I hope, too, that a swift victory in Iraq will provide an opportunity for the U.S. and our allies to come together to support the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Iraq. As the President has said, we bear no ill-will to the Iraqi people, only to the brutal and corrupt regime that governs them. The reconstruction of Iraq will be a long, costly complicated task, but a vital one—for it will ensure that Iraqis, now and in the future, will understand that America and its allies have come as liberators, not conquerors.

Those are longer-term concerns, and we will have to attend to them. For now, though, we must focus on the task at hand, which is the prompt, safe and humane execution of the military operation the President has commenced.

I join my fellow West Virginians in telling our troops they have our support, our gratitude, and our prayers. They represent the best of our society, and we know they will perform in a manner that makes us all proud.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise today with America at war against

the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein, to vote in favor of the concurrent resolution introduced by my colleagues, commending the President and America's Armed Forces.

This is a moment of utmost seriousness and solemnity, without doubt the most critical time of my decade in the Senate.

During this difficult time, America and the world must know that this Chamber stands firmly united behind our men and women in harm's way, men and women willing to make the ultimate sacrifice in defense of our liberties and our lives. Our hopes and our prayers are with them and their families.

I would also like to recognize those now engaged in combat from my home State of California.

More than 102,000 Californians have been sent to the gulf from every branch of the military—Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard, and Marines, along with 13,000 reservists. This is the largest number of Americans from any State fighting in this war.

And while many people in California are opposed to this war, I would urge all of them to unite behind these courageous men and women and their families here at home.

I have had questions about how we got to this point. I would have done it a different way, and I will have more to say about that at the appropriate time.

But now, as we unite behind our military and our Commander in Chief, the United States must be prepared for the long term. Winning the war will mark but the first step.

Once the shooting stops and the dust clears, we must be equally committed to winning the peace in Iraq, and to see that longstanding ethnic rivalries not be allowed to surface. Failure to do so would, at the very least, negate any military success.

This means, of course, that the United States must take the lead in rebuilding the Iraqi nation, in stabilizing its new government, in providing interim security to prevent the emergence of tribal hostilities, and to see that Iraq is no longer a producer of weapons of mass destruction.

Winning the peace in Iraq is absolutely critical. Indeed, winning the peace means: reducing the likelihood of a possible clash of civilizations, pitting the United States and our allies against the Muslim world; reducing the incidence of renewed terrorist attacks, both here and abroad; increasing the chances of achieving lasting peace in the Middle East—of resolving the Israeli-Palestinian crisis; allowing us to recommit ourselves to the still uncertain future of Afghanistan and the government of Hamid Karzai; and ensuring that the United States will persevere, sooner rather than later, in the overall war on terror.

So, as the courageous men and women of the American military set out to remove Saddam Hussein from power, risking their very lives for us

and the liberties we must never take for granted, the focus of our thoughts and our prayers are with them.

We wish them every success and a speedy return home to their families. For those that may fall in battle and pay the highest price, however, their sacrifice must never be forgotten.

And the best way to honor them is by winning the peace in Iraq—by helping the Iraqi people rebuild their lives, and by demonstrating to Muslims everywhere that the United States, while a powerful nation, is also motivated by a sincere desire to one day see the entire world safe, prosperous, and free.

This, after all, is what this conflict is all about, and why we must prevail.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, as this conflict begins, all of us pray for a swift and decisive victory, and the safety of our brave men and women in battle.

North Dakota has sent thousands of sons and daughters to wage this fight at home and abroad, including more National Guard members per capita than any other State.

Along with the men and women from the airbases in Minot and Grand Forks, North Dakotans will bear a heavy burden in this conflict.

I know they will be strong. I pray they will be safe.

I have great confidence that the fourteen B-52s deployed from Minot Air Force Base and their crews will turn in a brilliant performance, once again demonstrating the awesome power and effectiveness of these reliable planes and their expert crews. B-52s made a huge contribution to our success in Afghanistan, helping to turn the tide quickly against the terrorists. They were decisive in the last gulf war, and I know they will again play a key role.

The Grand Forks base is operating at a greater tempo than at any time in its history, flying its massive tankers and providing the air bridge that allows our forces to operate against an enemy halfway around the world.

Our National Guard members have been called up to bases inside the United States, ready to support operations on the ground, and we hope, the operations that will be necessary after a victory. The Guard units have been drawn from Fargo, Bismarck, Grand Forks, Edgeley, Grafton, Rugby, Wishek, Cando, Carrington, Mayville, Oakes, and Wahpeton. There is hardly a town in my State that has not seen at least one of its citizens called up to serve. They have left their jobs and their families to do their duty in defense of the Nation.

I could not be more proud of the tremendous contribution the men and women of my State are making, their dedication and their patriotism.

I had hoped for a peaceful solution, but today we are at war. Like all Americans, my thoughts and prayers will be with our troops and our allies in the difficult hours to come. My greatest hope is that the conflict will be settled quickly, with minimal loss of life,

and that stability will be restored to the region.

As the conflict continues, I stand with my colleagues united behind our troops here at home and overseas. With my family and my colleagues I pray for the men and women who now stand in harm's way. May they be granted a swift victory, and may the sacrifices of this war lead to a safer and more peaceful world.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, On Monday, March 17, the attention of the world was focused on Washington, DC and the White House. The President was about to speak to the Nation about Saddam Hussein and the refusal of the Government of Iraq to live up to its signed agreements and the resolutions of the United Nations to eliminate their stock of weapons of mass destruction. In the 15 or so minutes that followed, our President made clear his determination to take action and resolve the situation in Iraq. He said he was going to end forever the evil presence of a dictator in Iraq who had done nothing during his reign but abuse his power as he pursued his dreams of glory and increased power and prestige while showing little regard for the health and welfare of his own people.

As the President spoke with passion and conviction on the need to rid the world of Hussein's dictatorship, he cut through the rhetoric and the misleading positions and promises that had been so often heard during the past few years. He made it clear that this was an ultimatum of more than words—action was sure to follow if his words were left unheeded. He did everything he could to make it abundantly clear to Saddam Hussein and the people of the world that such evil would not be allowed to stand. He stated a final deadline.

Soon after he spoke, the movement of our troops intensified as an international coalition took up their positions surrounding Iraq as we all waited for Saddam Hussein's response. There could be only one acceptable response to the President's message. Saddam had to leave Iraq, relinquish his power, and take his sons and family with him. Anything less would be unacceptable.

Now we have our answer. A deadline has been set which has come and gone. In response our troops are now advancing into Iraq and heading for its capital of Baghdad. A series of events that began years ago with our defense of Kuwait will now end where it must—with the removal of Saddam Hussein and an end to his brutal dictatorship.

As our troops head further into Iraq, they will be heading into unknown dangers and trouble that cannot be accurately predicted, though they have been trained and will be prepared for it.

Will Saddam Hussein try to use chemical weapons to prolong his hold on power? What has he hidden from the team of inspectors that he may now want to unleash? These and so many other questions will be in the minds of our troops as they come closer and

closer to Iraq's capital city. The rewards that will come with our success will be great. But, as we know from our past experiences, the sacrifices that may lie ahead may be equally as great.

War is a very dangerous business and Wyoming is no stranger to the kind of sacrifice it sometimes requires from those who serve in our military. Down through the years, the people of Wyoming have always answered the call to protect and preserve the peace and answer the threat of any enemy of our Nation, wherever it has led them. Many paid the ultimate price.

In 1991, when Saddam Hussein decided to attack Kuwait and drain that country of its supplies and resources, our Armed Forces were there to respond to the cry for help that came from Kuwait.

Joining in as part of that effort was one of Wyoming's own, Manuel Davila. Manuel was a brave young man, a father, and a nice guy who had a kind word for everyone he met. He was the kind of person you would want on your side if there were tough times ahead. There were tough times on the horizon as this battle began and we were fortunate to have brave men and women like Manuel on our side.

I watched Manuel grow up because he came from my home town. He loved his life and he loved Wyoming. But he loved freedom more. When he was called on to bring the freedoms he loved to people he had never met, he did not hesitate. He traded his beloved blue skies and mountaintops of Wyoming for the flat dessert and skies darkened by Saddam Hussein's desperate attempts to delay the end of his occupation by setting every oil well he could on fire. He traded the sweet smell of Wyoming's clean mountain air for the use of a gas mask and the threat of exposure to the Iraqi war machine's stock of gas and chemical weapons.

Sadly, he was one who didn't come home from that war. But he did leave behind a legacy of standing up for what you believe in, keeping your word, and never allowing evil to win by failing to act or by doing so little in response it was as if you did nothing at all.

Then came September 11, and another round of attacks by a madman fueled by hatred and a mad desire for power. Once again we looked to our sons and daughters to respond and to end the threat of terrorism once and for all. The bravest and best of Wyoming and many other States were soon on the front lines, ready to put their training into action. As they did, one of the first lost was Jonn J. Edmunds, a young man from Cheyenne, who was killed as our Nation took action against those who supported and planned the terrorist attacks of that terrible day.

Now, as we stand here together in prayerful support of our Armed Forces, I have no doubt that Manuel and Jonn and all the others who have served so bravely in our military over the years would be proud of their comrades and

their liberation of Iraq which is finally at hand.

Soon Iraq will be welcomed back into the family of nations and the rights so cherished by our Nation and our people will be part of the daily routine in Iraq, too. By our actions we are showing the world that the rights with which we are endowed by our Creator, the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which are a part of our own Declaration of Independence, were intended to be claimed not just by the people of our own Nation. They are to be rightfully claimed by people all over the world as well.

As we wait for today's news from Iraq, we are fully aware of the seriousness of the challenge that lies before us—its difficulty and its magnitude. For the first time since I was a young boy we are facing an enemy who is faceless and nameless and may have operatives who sympathize with him who may strike us on our own soil. With the exception of Pearl Harbor, we have never faced that kind of a threat in our lives. September 11 changed that and we must now all be more vigilant for in a very real sense we are all part of the war effort—just as we were in the days of World War II.

As the effort to remove the tyranny of Saddam Hussein continues, the fate of both our nations hangs in the balance. The degree of our success in what we set out to do and the aftermath as we work to bring a lasting peace to Iraq will speak volumes to the world about our ability to walk our talk.

When this war is over and Iraq is free, we will have sent a message to all those who would deny their people the basic rights of human existence. The world will no longer tolerate their abuse of power and their refusal to acknowledge or respond to the needs of their people. We will also have ended the regime of a dictator and eliminated his stock of weapons of mass destruction. We will have taken a strong, decisive action which will help to increase the security of our Nation and the world.

Ronald Reagan once said that "Some people live an entire lifetime and wonder if they have ever made a difference in the world. The marines don't have that problem."

Neither does the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Coast Guard or the Merchant Marine. Through their brave and courageous actions on behalf of the people of Iraq, they will do for that country what they did for the people of Kuwait. They will give them their country and their lives back. They will give them the chance to dream again about a better future for their children. They will give those who live under oppression around the world a real reason to hope that someday things will be better for them in their own country.

We all know what brave, remarkable people our soldiers are. They don't see any limits to what they can do because they will never quit until the job is done and the war is won. We owe them

each a debt we will never be able to repay. We can never forget that it is because of them—and not us—that the rights enumerated in our Constitution are guaranteed. Whether it is freedom of religion, the press, or freedom of speech, it has always been the efforts of our soldiers that have provided us with a platform from which to speak, and the ability to exercise these and all our rights. Even those who have spoken out against their efforts have our soldiers to thank for their right to do.

Tonight, when we spend those last few minutes tucking our children into bed, I hope we all take a moment to comfort our children and our grandchildren, and to assure them that things will be all right someday soon. Make sure they know they can sleep peacefully tonight and in the nights to come, because the brave men and women of this Nation, our sons and daughters—and perhaps their own sisters and brothers—are ever vigilant, on guard and have taken a stand on our behalf. We can take a great deal of pride in them all.

As a member of the Senate, I have always been very proud of the way we come together whenever we are faced by a threat, or forced to use our nation's military to answer an attack or address a wrong. As our young men and women head into battle, I know I won't be the only one who will bow his head to pray.

May God bless and protect the men and women of our Armed Forces. May He watch over the Iraqi people and keep them safe from harm as we fight to liberate their country and bring them freedom and peace—a just peace that will recognize their rights and ensure that they have food, medicine, and the essentials of life that have been denied them for too long. May our victory be swift so their wait for relief will not be long. And may all our loved ones return home safely, and in peace.

Mr. CORZINE. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues and the Nation in a strong and unequivocal expression of support for the courageous men and women of the United States military, who now defend America's values in the Persian Gulf.

This expression is far more than a personal expression. It is an expression of the feelings of the people of New Jersey—many who are mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, and spouses of those in harm's way. For all of us, these brave individuals are in our hearts and prayers.

Mr. President, today our Nation is united. United in support for our Nation's military. United in appreciation for the bravery and sacrifice of our service men and women, and their loved ones. United in our unshakable commitment to victory, a victory, with the grace of God, that will be achieved with maximum speed and minimum casualties.

Mr. President, we Americans obviously had our differences as we moved on the path that got us to this point.

There are many reservations I could express and people more thoughtful than myself have done so. But in our democracy, there is a time for differences and a time for debate. That said, there comes a time to end debate and unite. That time is now. That unity is without regard to party, ideology, or philosophy. We all stand together as members of the great American family.

Mr. President, the United States military is unrivaled in its power and its competence. In that strength, I am confident that we will succeed in our mission. A mission to free the Iraqi people. A mission to help ensure that our Nation can live in peace, without the threat of weapons of mass destruction falling into the hands of madmen and terrorists.

So, Mr. President, on behalf of all New Jerseyans and in company with all Americans, let me again express my deep appreciation to the courageous Americans who are putting their lives on the line, and for their loved ones. They are America's heroes. Their Nation will support them every step of the way until the day comes, as we pray it will, when these hostilities are complete.

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, today, our hearts and prayers go out to those people in the Armed Forces who are fighting the war in Iraq. This morning, I put on this orange ribbon I wore when I was Governor of the State of Ohio during Desert Storm. I am going to continue to wear it during the war in Iraq to remind me and others that our men and women are in harm's way, and I will continue to wear it until they return.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, as we stand here today on the Senate floor, America's finest citizens and the world's greatest military men and women have been called upon in the cause of disarming Saddam Hussein.

These are Americans who willingly serve this country, who knowingly place themselves in harm's way to defend our Nation, and who are ready to do the jobs for which they have trained. These men and women in the Armed Services and intelligence community are unmatched in their professionalism and skill, and I have no doubt that they will prevail.

As I said on the House floor in 1991, on behalf of the authorization of what would become Operation Desert Storm, "the magnitude of the vote I now face is greater than any other I have or likely will cast." I was proven wrong on October 9, when I cast a vote of equal gravity and solemnity, authorizing the President to use force in the disarmament of Saddam Hussein.

In the days since that vote, while President Bush pursued a course of diplomacy, Saddam Hussein instead pursued a course of deceit. Under the terms of UN Resolution 1441, approved unanimously by the Security Council, Hussein determined the course upon which we have now embarked by refus-

ing to fully and immediately disarm. Armed conflict was not the hope of anyone among us. Now that it regrettably has become a necessary reality, we stand united in support of our troops who once again will be on the vanguard in service to freedom and the protection of all those nations that embrace this noble ideal.

I have had the great privilege to meet countless soldiers, sailors, airmen and women, and veterans during my quarter-century tenure in Congress. We are grateful because we know that they are the bulwark behind which we stand, and against which our enemies strain. And we are in awe because we cannot fully comprehend their ability to so completely substitute the concept of "self" with the virtue of selflessness.

Today, the realities of war weigh heavily on our hearts, and the focus of all our prayers is now with our men and women in uniform. In the protection of freedom, the disarming of Saddam Hussein, and the liberation of the people of Iraq, American sons and daughters may well make the ultimate sacrifice. That they would undertake that risk for our Nation and the world overwhelms the words available to honor their extraordinary spirit and courage.

The best we can hope to do is to come together, behind our Commander in Chief and all of our troops, with nothing but the greatest pride in their courage and the strongest support for their mission. A freed Iraq, a world free of the tyranny of Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction, and a menacing cloud lifted from the heartland of a troubled region—none of these would be possible without those men and women who put their lives at risk for the greater good.

It is for them that we pass this resolution and pray for safe return. May God bless all those who wear the uniform of our armed forces, and my God bless the United States of America.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, as a citizen, Senator, and former marine, my hopes and prayers are with the troops and their families. I returned just a few weeks ago from the Persian Gulf and will be going back as soon as possible. I went to the region to assess whether the war fighters in the field were armed with the best intelligence possible to fight and win a battle against Saddam Hussein. Take my word for it, our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines are ready. They will take care of business consistent with American values. They will take care of each other. When they return, they will receive the accolades of a grateful nation.

The operation in Iraq is a component of the war against terrorism. We depend on our men and women in uniform to keep the terror plotters and operators far off our shores, away from our families, communities, and our Nation. That is quite a responsibility. I can not imagine a more important mission.

I support the resolution under consideration, and I am pleased it mentions those who have yet to return home from the original conflict in 1991, most notably Navy Captain Scott Speicher. I am also pleased that colleagues have come to the chamber not to argue about Iraq, rather to proclaim support for our service personnel.

The debate ended last October while a 77-to-23 vote to permit a military option, should one be needed, in the case of the Baghdad regime. In passing H.J. Res. 114, Congress specifically authorized the President to "use the Armed Forces of the United States in order to—(1) defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and (2) enforce all relevant United Nations Council resolutions regarding Iraq." This action was, of course, in addition to the Iraq Liberation Act, which Congress passed and President Clinton signed into law October 31, 1988. That act clearly states the United States should foster regime change in Iraq. The House passed that bill by a vote of 360 to 38, with 157 Democrats joining 202 Republicans. Lastly, on November 8, 2002, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 1441 which gave Iraq one last opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations.

A few months later, the Director of Central Intelligence declared "Iraq has in place an active effort to deceive the UN inspectors and deny them access. This effort is directed by the highest levels of the Iraqi regime. Baghdad has given clear directions to its operational forces to hide banned materials in their possession." Let's be candid on the issue of compliance. The truth is that no amount of U-2 surveillance flights nor increase in the number of inspectors would have solved the problem of Saddam Hussein and weapons of mass destruction. Now I don't want war. Nobody wants war. The fact is, however, we are already at war. Over the last two decades, 5,700 Americans have lost their lives as a result of the kind of terrorist activity Saddam Hussein supports. I recall that the Marine Barracks in Lebanon, Pan Am 103, Khobar Towers, the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, the USS *Cole*, and of course, September 11, 2001. Only after the latter tragedy, did we begin to fight back.

So I say to our troops and their families, thank you and I support you. You are freedom's best hope.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I come to the floor this afternoon to express, on behalf of Washington State, our prayers and thoughts for the men and women of the United States armed forces that have now been called to duty in service of their country.

I am proud to join my colleagues in the Senate and Americans throughout the country to come together to support our troops and pray that their mission is completed quickly, effectively, and with minimal casualties.

America's deepest hope is for a swift conclusion to this war to liberate Iraq

and protect the world from its weapons of mass destruction.

In Washington State, we are proud to be the home to thousands of troops from our State that are currently serving our country in this conflict.

The men and women of the U.S.S. *Abraham Lincoln*, homeported in Everett, WA, have been deployed in the region since last summer and are a critical element of our efforts as a launching stage for air operations, including 50 missions over Southern Iraq just yesterday.

Air operations will depend heavily on tanker aircraft, many of which are based in Spokane, WA's Fairchild Air Force Base. And almost all air missions will be dependent upon the critical support of EA-6 radar jammers and P-3 aircraft, many of which are based in Naval Air Station Whidbey Island in Oak Harbor, WA.

In the ground operations, troops from Fort Lewis, near Tacoma, WA, will be providing critical infantry support. And cargo planes from McChord Air Force Base, also near Tacoma, have and will continue to be crucial in providing transportation support.

We also recognize the important sacrifices being made by the National Guard and reserve units in our State that have been activated, leaving jobs and livelihoods behind to serve the call to duty.

And let us not forget the parents, wives, husbands, friends and children of the men and women of our armed forces, whose support—in the face of fear and anxiety—is admirable and inspirational.

We are enormously proud of our fellow Washingtonians that are serving the Nation. Along with men and women from all 50 States serving in the military, these brave and courageous Americans have volunteered to put their lives on the line to defend the security of our country and the stability of our world.

Our prayers are with them, and we look forward to their speedy success and return home.

I have tremendous confidence in the men and women of our armed services to bring this conflict to a successful conclusion.

Yet, this support for the effort is accompanied by a deep sense of anxiety and concern.

Nobody wants war.

The death, destruction and misery of war are things that we should never ignore and we cannot forget. When our troops are called to defend our Nation and international peace, we do so with a heavy heart but strong confidence that we will prevail.

In reaching our objective of disarmament, we must not forget the plight of the Iraqi people.

Iraqi civilians have been victims of a brutal, harsh and inhumane dictator that has not only stripped away political liberty and free expression, but has combined the tactics of torture, deprivation and murder to maintain his terrible regime.

We must soberly recognize that the Iraqi people will be innocent victims of this conflict, and we must remain dedicated to doing everything in our power to ensure their safety and, ultimately, liberation.

Importantly, this dedication must extend beyond military success. We, in this Chamber, must recognize that the prospect of creating a stable, post-Saddam Iraq will be a huge, expensive and politically volatile endeavor.

This will not be easy, especially given the historic rivalries among Iraq's Kurdish, Shiite and Sunni population.

However, whatever the costs and whatever the commitment, we owe it to ourselves and the world to ensure that the liberation of Iraq our troops are fighting for is not wasted away by a failed post-war strategy.

Our troops are answering the call of duty.

As our hearts go out to their families and loved ones, we are a Nation that is profoundly grateful for their courage, dedication and sense of mission.

We know that our troops will meet the challenge that they have been given.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I rise in support of S. Res. 95, which commends our Armed Forces.

The war with Iraq is underway. I regret that diplomatic efforts to disarm Saddam Hussein have failed. I regret that diplomatic efforts to build a broader coalition of nations willing to join us in military action have also fallen short.

But the task force before us now is to pledge our unqualified support for our courageous young men and women on the battlefield; to do whatever is needed to ensure they have every advantage now that the fighting has commenced.

I was in the Army during World War II and served in Europe. As a veteran, I know how important it is for our Air Force personnel; and our soldiers and sailors to know that we feel close to them and they are constantly in our thoughts.

Winston Churchill said: "We shall not escape our dangers by recoiling from them." So we send our young men and women in uniform—each one a volunteer—to Iraq and to other distant places such as Afghanistan.

They fight to protect us, and they fight to free other people they don't know from cruelty and savage oppression.

Our troops are the best trained and best equipped in history. We have no doubt that they will prevail in their mission to oust Iraq's brutal dictator, eliminate Iraq's dangerous arsenal, and make the world a safer place.

War may be necessary, and war may be right. But it is never good. So we hope that this campaign to rid the world of Saddam Hussein and his murderous cohorts will be quick and decisive. We hope that there will be little collateral damage and as few casualties as possible, both among our troops and



among innocent Iraqi noncombatants. We hope that our brave young men and women in uniform will return home to their families safely, and as soon as possible.

Once we win the war in Iraq, we will have to secure the peace. That will be the best way we can honor our troops.

Even as we engage in the fighting today, we have to start planning for what comes tomorrow. That will require a steadfastness of purpose equal to what our troops are displaying as we speak. The task will not be easy. All people, all nations have the same tendency: we judge ourselves by our intentions; we judge others by their actions. We know that our intentions are noble; many others, however—including some of our long-standing allies—only see our actions and they condemn them. It is imperative that once the shooting stops, we do whatever is necessary to build a free, open, and democratic Iraq at peace with itself, its neighbors, and the world.

So, no matter the length of the battle, no matter how demanding the war, we face some years of concerted effort after the guns have fallen silent. We have to be prepared to lead the world in peace with the same vigor and purpose as our troops are currently demonstrating. I'm certain America is up to the task and we will prove to the world that our intentions are honorable.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, last night, President Bush ordered America's military to disarm Saddam Hussein, eliminate his weapons of mass destruction, and liberate the oppressed people of Iraq. The American people stand united behind the Commander-in-Chief and the men and women who defend our Nation.

For 12 years, the United States and a broad coalition of nations exhausted diplomatic means to contain and undermine Saddam Hussein's dangerous and tyrannical regime in order to end the threat posed by his pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. For 12 years, patient diplomacy yielded only persistent Iraqi intransigence and disobedience of international law. For 12 years, Saddam Hussein flagrantly violated United Nations Security Council Resolutions, making a mockery of that body by feverishly continuing his pursuit of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

We have made every effort to avoid war, but diplomacy has finally run its course. Those who suggest that the United States is to balance for the failure of diplomatic efforts to disarm Hussein could not be further from the truth. The responsibility for this war rests squarely on the shoulders of Saddam Hussein, a ruthless tyrant whose disregard for the edicts of the United Nations is matched only by his disregard for the lives and interests of his own people.

It is clear that Saddam Hussein does not understand the language of diplomacy, but only the language of mili-

tary force. What the United Nations failed to accomplish with 12 years of toothless diplomacy, the United States and a broad coalition of allied nations must now accomplish with just application of military force. On Monday, President Bush noted succinctly: "The United Nations Security Council has not lived up to its responsibilities, so we will rise to ours."

Truly, we must not let the world's most dangerous dictators acquire the world's most dangerous weapons. Unless tyrants like Hussein are disarmed, deterred, or destroyed, the use of weapons of mass murder against the United States and our allies is not a question of if, but of when. As President Bush said to the Nation last night, "We will meet that threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of firefighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities."

From Afghanistan and Albania to the United Kingdom and Uzbekistan, governments throughout the world have publicly committed to providing substantive support, military and otherwise, to our efforts to disarm Hussein by force. Many other nations have quietly offered material support for our efforts to liberate the oppressed people of Iraq. Indeed, this multilateral coalition is larger than that formed in support of Operation Desert Storm during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The members of this broad coalition, many of which have suffered under oppressive authorization rule in the past, understand the danger of living at the mercy of tyrannical regimes that threaten peace and stability with weapons of mass murder.

Like all Americans, I hope and pray for the safety of our troops who fight so that we may remain free. I am proud to represent tens of thousands of Kentuckians who will participate in military operations overseas, as well as the thousands of Kentuckians in the National Guard and Reserves who have been activated to play critical roles in defending our homeland. My thoughts and prayers are with them and their families. These Kentuckians, led by the 101st Airborne, Air Assault, division based at Fort Campbell, KY, will defend our freedom and security with honor and dignity.

Just as our ongoing operations in the war against terrorism will require patience and perseverance, so too will this effort to liberate the Iraqi people. But we are resolved as a nation to carry out our mission in support of peace, stability, and freedom. We are certain that our cause is just, and necessary. As our military fights to protect America, to disarm Hussein, and to provide security in an unstable region, the liberation of the people of Iraq draws near. Unique in its place in the world, the United States does not fight wars of empire and expansionism. Rather, we fight for the protection of our liberty, and for the liberty of oth-

ers. And just as in France in 1944, or Afghanistan in 2001, long-oppressed civilians—who have suffered under the brutal reign of Saddam Hussein—will soon experience the benevolence of the American people and their own inalienable right to live in freedom.

I am grateful for President Bush's steady leadership as Commander-in-Chief, and I have no doubt that our military men and women are the finest in the world and will defend our Nation with skill, precision, courage, and honor. May God bless America. And may He bless our soldiers in harm's way.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, as our Nation is engaged in confrontation with Saddam Hussein and his Iraqi-regime, I join with my colleagues in offering my gratitude and support for our troops, both here and overseas.

None of us desire the use of force. Yet, as history has repeatedly taught us, the failure to confront a menacing tyranny today can lead to far greater devastation tomorrow. Had British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain stood fast against Nazi Germany's 1938 demand to dismember Czechoslovakia in exchange for "peace in our time," the lives of 50 million people could have been saved.

I salute the brave men and women of the U.S. Armed Forces who are willing to place their lives on the line to protect our freedoms. My thoughts and prayers are with the friends and families who remain behind, praying their loved ones not be harmed.

The dangers facing our troops are many. Will the Iraqi army quickly surrender? Will chemical and biological weapons be used? How long will this military campaign take? In addition, our service members must contend with the scorching heat of the desert; the blinding conditions of sand storms; and the logistical nightmares of crossing the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers.

We can feel better knowing our troops are prepared for all contingencies and have been trained to meet whatever challenges Saddam and his regime may throw their way.

Our troops hail from all fifty States; our territories and insular possessions. Every Member of Congress is impacted.

During the first Gulf War in 1991, one Alaskan was killed: Sergeant David Douthit, a 24-year-old from Soldotna. Alaskans are currently participating in Northern and Southern Watch, enforcing the no-fly zones in Iraq. They are in Afghanistan for Operation Enduring Freedom. They are in South Korea participating in the annual Foal Eagle military exercises.

Unit 210 of the Kulis Air National Guard in Alaska has been activated and is awaiting deployment to the Middle East as part of an elite rescue squad. This is a group of everyday Americans—bankers, economists, and teachers—who are serving their Nation at a time of war. May no harm come to them.

There is no question that Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator. He has

killed thousands of his own people. He has used chemical weapons against the Kurdish population. He imprisons and tortures political opponents and subjects Iraqi citizens to beatings, starvation, mutilation and rape.

As the President put it when declaring the 4-hour deadline, the day of liberation for the Iraqi people is near.

American troops are in Iraq to secure our Nation from the threat posed by Saddam Hussein. He repeatedly failed to disarm and chose to ignore his obligations to the international community. The time has come for him to leave.

An enormous burden is now placed on the shoulders of our Armed Forces. Together, with allies from over 40 member nations who are supporting this effort, we seek to eliminate the weapons and facilities that Saddam should have destroyed 12 years ago. Now, we will finally ensure that the United States and our allies do not face the threat of chemical, biological or nuclear attack from those who would seek to harm us.

Like so many who came before them, these brave men and women are placing their lives on the line to secure our freedom and protect our ideals and liberties. They have my undying thanks and support.

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I rise in support of S. Res. 95. As the United States and her allies begin the campaign to defend the world against the tyrannical rule of Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein, we must all rally behind our Commander in Chief and Old Glory.

The military action underway in Iraq is both just and lawful. We must rise and stand for humanity and help liberate the Iraqi people. After months of deception and noncompliance from the Iraqi regime about their weapons of mass destruction, the United States and over 30 allies decided to take military action to enforce United Nations resolution 1441 and disarm Saddam. Along with an overwhelming bipartisan majority of my colleagues in the Senate, I voted in favor of authorizing this use of force last fall.

The brave men and women of our Armed Forces come from all across our great Nation, but I wish to specifically recognize the vital role that Kentucky is playing in this noble effort to disarm Saddam. I am confident that the 101st Airborne Screaming Eagles, 5th Special Forces Group, and 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment will continue to make Fort Campbell, KY, and our great Nation proud.

Thousands of our soldiers now in the Middle East completed vital and comprehensive training at Fort Knox. Fort Knox is the Home of Mounted Warfare where tank training is performed and perfected. These soldiers who trained at Fort Knox in mostly Abrams tanks are now on the front lines against the Iraqi Republican Guard. I guarantee our tank soldiers will prevail.

Also, our men and women at the Bluegrass Army Depot in Richmond, KY, continue to make sure that our

troops have the munitions they need to defeat the enemy. Thousands of enlisted and reserve troops from Kentucky have answered their Nation's call to duty. From the Bluegrass Army Depot, they load munitions onto trains which end up in guns and the weapons systems of our ground forces and air power. They are helping freedom ring throughout the world.

It is also important to thank our civilian workforce on our military bases and those who indirectly support the military and war effort. They play a key role in ensuring our installations are maintained and our soldiers are housed and fed and given the support they need to secure our freedoms. Their work and contribution must not be overlooked.

This resolution reinforces that now is the time for America to be united and show our unconditional support for our troops and their mission. Freedom and democracy do not come easy and our soldiers are willing to sacrifice even their own lives to ensure that future generations will have the opportunity to embrace such concepts as liberty and human rights and lead the world to more peaceful and secure days.

We all hope and pray our troops come back safely and quickly after successfully disarming Saddam's brutal regime and liberating the Iraqi people. The cause of our military and allies is noble and just. Our thoughts and prayers are also with the family and loved ones of our soldiers. God bless them all.

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, yesterday our mission to disarm the Iraqi regime began. It is my hope that our actions will deliver the people of Iraq from a brutal dictator and help bring peace and stability to a volatile region.

Our commanders in the field have developed an operations plan that will maximize the power of our forces, and I have no doubts about their capabilities to successfully achieve their military objectives.

I commend the President for promptly addressing the Nation last night. It is important that he continues to keep Congress and the public informed of our military actions and the status of our mission. And I agree with his assessment that we should not view this war in terms of timetables. To speculate at this point would be counterproductive. Rather, we should view this conflict in terms of meeting our strategic and tactical goals.

As a Senator and member of the Armed Services Committee, I stand ready to work with my colleagues and the President to provide any and all support possible to ensure the success of our military forces conducting these operations.

Our Nation is a nation of diverse views, ideologies, and opinions. We might not all agree on how or why we arrived at this point; nonetheless, we must come together as a country and support those service men and women who are currently risking life and limb.

As we stand here today, over 300,000 United States military personnel, in-

cluding a number of Arkansans, are forward deployed in Iraq, Kuwait, Afghanistan, Turkey, and the waters and skies all around the world and at bases around the country. They put themselves in harm's way not for personal aggrandizement or advancement, but for immense love of country, liberty, and family. If they can hear me today, I say be assured, for the American people are behind you.

When appearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee a few weeks ago, GEN John Keane, Vice Chief of Staff for the U.S. Army, testified to the courage of our military personnel. He said when asked what their greatest challenge was, his division commanders replied "keeping our soldiers from being too brave." We owe these men and women overseas and at home not only our gratitude, but also our very existence as the only country on Earth committed to promoting and spreading the ideals of democracy. Our military has kept us safe for over 200 years. We cannot thank them enough.

Just as we should thank our military overseas and at home, we should thank our first responders that protect our hometowns. Firefighters, police, and health care personnel risk their lives and sacrifice precious time with their families every day to keep us safe from those who would try to do us harm. Their commitment and contributions to national security and homeland security should not be forgotten.

Mr. President, I urge all Americans to pray for our troops, their families, and our President as we defend our Nation and the world from those that seek to do us harm.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, last October, I voted against the resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq and believe it was right that, in recent months, the country debated the wisdom of using military action against Iraq at this time. But the commencement of military action unites us as we focus on our ongoing support for our troops. I am confident in their abilities and I hope for their safe and quick return to their families. Even more so now that this action has begun, my thoughts, and the thoughts of all Americans, are with our service men and women, and with their families.

I am pleased that the Senate is taking this opportunity to formally go on record in support of our brave men and women in uniform with this resolution.

The dedicated men and women of our military spend time away from their homes and families in different parts of the country and the world, and, too often, are placed into harm's way in order to protect the American people and our way of life. We owe them a huge debt of gratitude for their selfless service.

The war in Iraq and the fight against terrorism are turning upside down the lives of tens of thousands of Active Duty, National Guard, and Reserve personnel and their families. These men and women seek to do their duty to our

country and honor commitments to their families, and, in the case of the National Guard and Reserves, to their employers. As of March 19, more than 212,000 National Guard and Reserve personnel were on Active Duty.

Some Wisconsinites are facing the latest in a series of multiple activations and deployments for family members. Others are seeing their loved ones off on their first deployment. All of these families share in the worry and concern about what awaits their relatives and hope, as we do, for their swift and safe return.

We owe it to our military personnel and their families to do everything that we can to support them in this difficult time. I will continue to work to ensure that our troops and their families have the resources that they need, both to combat our adversaries and to provide for their families, during this tumultuous time and when they return home.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I rise today to express my strong and unconditional support for our troops currently engaged in disarming Iraq. As the war continues to progress, I have every confidence in their capabilities, their courage, and their patriotism. I am pleased to support the resolution before us, and believe it will send a message to all the world that the Congress is united in support of our young men and women in the Gulf.

On many occasions in recent months, this institution has debated the threat posed by Saddam Hussein and Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Individual Senators have made honest arguments expressing widely differing points of view on this issue. Now that our troops are engaged against the forces of Saddam Hussein, however, we must speak with one voice.

It is my hope and expectation that this war will be short, and that our victory will be decisive. Our military is the best-equipped and best-trained force that the world has ever seen. As Maine's representative on the Senate Armed Services Committee, it has been my privilege to work side-by-side with military leaders to ensure that this is the case. If there is any message we could send to members of the Iraqi military, it would be to express the futility of resistance. The President has been clear, that we come not as conquerors, but as liberators. Our military superiority is overwhelming, and our forces will not stop until Iraq is disarmed.

Of course, there is very little certainty in combat. In the fog of war, there are innumerable factors that might affect the course of battle. Our leadership has worked to anticipate and prepare for whatever eventualities might develop. I suspect in the coming days we will be receiving conflicting reports, confusing media accounts, and distorted descriptions of the battlefield. However, one thing should be unmistakable . . . our troops will receive whatever support they need to bring

this conflict to a rapid and successful end.

We also need to send a message to other forces in this world that seek to do us harm. They might believe that, because so many of our forces are engaged in the Middle East, we have left ourselves vulnerable. The administration has moved the Homeland Security Advisory to Orange, indicating that we are at high risk of terrorist attack. Gordon England, the Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security, has assured me that our Nation is taking almost unprecedented steps to protect our critical infrastructure, to identify potential terrorist threats, and to secure potential targets. Certainly, we do have some difficult days ahead.

However, we are working to deter, detect, and, if necessary, respond decisively to any terrorist attack.

I also want to say a word to the families of those men and women currently in harm's way in the Middle East. They truly carry a heavy burden, and I want to express my personal and heartfelt appreciation for the sacrifices that they make. No war comes without cost. While our military leaders will do everything they can to minimize the danger our troops will face, there is still much risk and danger. To the wives, husbands, children, and parents of troops, I thank you for your bravery and your strength. You and your loved ones deserve our admiration, our respect, and our appreciation.

When I came to the Senate over 6 years ago, I could not have imagined this moment. We lived in a different world then. In the coming months, we will debate how we came to this conflict, and how we need to proceed. Historians will study this period in our history every closely. There will be time to place this war in its proper context. Today, however, as our troops stand in harm's way, I only want to show my unwavering support for our troops, thank them for their service, and express my hope for their safe return.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, first, may I inquire of the Presiding Officer the amount of time in control of the Senator from Virginia and the amount of time in control of the Senator from Michigan?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia has 9 minutes 13 seconds. The Senator from Michigan has 18 minutes 1 second.

Mr. WARNER. Senator LEVIN and I have now sought to advise our leadership on the ever-growing number of Senators anxious to speak. They, I presume, will consider how we will add more time to this debate now or during another period. I wish to put Senators on notice that we have the Senator from Texas, Mrs. HUTCHISON, awaiting recognition, followed by the Senator from Colorado, Mr. ALLARD, and then the Senator from Arizona, Mr. MCCAIN.

I am going to do the very best I can to get the time to accommodate these

Senators, and I see other Senators present on my side.

Mrs. BOXER. Will the Senator yield for a question?

I thank my friend for working to accommodate as many Senators who would like to speak. I do not think it is necessary for us to make long speeches—3, 4, 5 minutes—but I do believe it is very important and we have a responsibility to do so. To the extent the Senator from Virginia and the Senator from Michigan can work together to add some time, it would be most appreciated.

Mr. LEVIN. Will the Senator from Virginia—has the Senator been yielded to already?

Mr. WARNER. The Senator from Texas is to be recognized next.

Mr. LEVIN. Will the Senator from Texas yield for an inquiry?

Mr. WARNER. I have to ask it be on your time.

Mr. LEVIN. On my time. I have the following Senators on our side who are here and indicated they wish to speak: Senator DORGAN, Senator DAYTON, Senator REED who is in the cloakroom, Senator BOXER, Senator BAUCUS, Senator BYRD. So there is no way we are going to be able to complete even the people who are here, much less additional people who wish to speak and who come to the floor, and still have a vote on this resolution immediately after the three votes that are currently scheduled.

So I join my good friend from Virginia in asking the leadership as to how they wish us to address this problem at this time.

I have 19 minutes left before 4 o'clock—how many minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventeen minutes.

Mr. LEVIN. Seventeen minutes. If I talk longer, it will be 16 minutes. I have 17 minutes before the first vote begins, but there is no time set on the resolution itself we are debating; am I correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LEVIN. If the leadership can give us guidance in how they want to handle this.

Mr. WARNER. I join in that request. I also have Senator COLEMAN, Senator HATCH, the Senator from Alaska, the Senator from North Carolina, and the number is growing.

Mr. BYRD. Will the distinguished Senator yield for a question?

Mr. WARNER. Yes.

Mr. BYRD. Would it be possible to move the 4 o'clock vote, say, to 4:30 in order to get these speeches ahead of the vote? It could be included in the series of votes.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I say to our distinguished colleague from West Virginia, both Senator LEVIN and I have put that to our respective leadership.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, this resolution we are talking about today is for those brave men and women who are in harms way as we speak, close to midnight their time, far across the oceans. America's thoughts and prayers are with each and every one of them—Active Duty, Reserve, Guard, Americans, and our loyal allies.

September 11, 2001, was a brutal wake-up call for our Nation, one that our President refuses to ignore. By disarming and liberating Iraq, these troops are working to prevent a 9/11 with a weapon of mass destruction. Today we are entering a new phase in the campaign to root out terrorism wherever it is bred.

How did we get to this point? In 1993, terrorists bombed the World Trade Center, killing 6 people, wounding more than 1,000.

In 1996, terrorists bombed the U.S. military living quarters at Khobar Towers, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 brave Americans and wounding scores more.

In 1998, followers of Osama bin Laden attacked U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing and wounding hundreds.

In 2000, bin Laden followers attacked the *USS Cole* in a harbor in Yemen, killing 17 sailors and wounding 39 more.

But sadly, it took 4 hijacked airplanes being turned into weapons of mass destruction and the loss of nearly 3,000 lives for us to respond, and this time the terrorists and those who harbor them will know the United States of America is resolved to preserve our freedom.

Our President will not waiver. Congress will not waiver in our support of our President and our troops.

There are those in this world who hate America and what it stands for. They despise our love for freedom, our passion for democracy, and our tolerance of other religions and beliefs. Their hatred led them to recklessly kill thousands of innocent civilians in our country and abroad.

September 11 brought a sea change in our national security strategy. We now know that deterrence alone is not enough. Our new strategy in this new kind of war articulates a policy of preemption. It is when we fail to act or fail to lead that our enemies strike.

The President has said we will not give Saddam Hussein the opportunity to attack. The Iraqi dictator seeks to make weapons of mass destruction, and those weapons would find their way into the hands of terrorists. So coalition forces from our allied nations are on the ground with us in Iraq, and we commend them for their bravery and their unwavering loyalty to our Nation and their pursuit of freedom.

For 12 long years, Saddam Hussein has treated the world with lies and contempt. Diplomacy, sanctions, and 17 U.N. resolutions failed to do the job. His brutal campaign for decades against his neighbors, his own people, and the world is coming to an end as

we speak because brave men and women are doing the job for us.

The men and women on the front lines in Iraq, the anxious families waiting back home, and the thousands of National Guard and Reserve forces who have been called to duty must count on the American public to stand by their side until the very end. We will not fail them.

In Congress, we must ensure our Armed Forces have every resource necessary for a swift and successful campaign. We will not fail to provide. It is our duty, as the beacon of freedom for the world, to ensure that Saddam Hussein's brutal reign comes to an end. This is our tribute to those in the past who fought for the liberty we enjoy, and it is our commitment to pass the torch of freedom to future generations. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I anticipate that we will soon have a unanimous consent request about timing, but until that is finished might I suggest that the Senator from Michigan recognize another of his speakers.

Mr. DASCHLE. If I could just interject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Perhaps I can at least describe what we are anticipating as the unanimous consent request. I think we are about ready to propound it. There have been a number of Senators who have indicated to the two managers that they wish to address the resolution. We are prepared to accommodate all of those requests. We would then ask for unanimous consent that the votes that are currently scheduled for 4 be moved back to 5 to accommodate the additional time allocated for discussion of the resolution. At that point, we would then vote on the amendments, in addition to the resolution.

Following those votes, we would still allow Senators to speak, either to the resolution in support of the troops or to the resolution relating to the budget in both amendment as well as in general comment, so that throughout the evening Senators could still be accommodated to speak to the resolutions, either one.

I hope that we could entertain a unanimous consent request that all those speeches which are made on the resolution in support of the troops appear in the RECORD prior to the vote so that the RECORD will read appropriately. That would be our intent, and I would hope that all Senators would be prepared to accommodate that request.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I have before me a proposed unanimous consent request. I will now make that request.

I ask unanimous consent that the vote on the adoption of this resolution occur at the hour of 5 today; provided further that debate between 4 and 5 be

equally divided as provided earlier. Further, I ask that the previously scheduled stacked votes occur beginning immediately following the vote on the adoption of this resolution, S. Con. Res. 26, with no amendments in order to the resolution or preamble.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the votes Senators be recognized for purposes of making additional statements; that the time throughout the evening be equally divided and that their speeches appear in the RECORD prior to the vote cast on the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. WARNER. Reserving the right to object, I will recommend that the distinguished Democratic leader's unanimous consent be accepted, but I would like to speak with my leader before agreeing to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I wish to announce that on my side, the following Senators have indicated the desire to speak. I will be in the Chamber to accommodate them as best I can within the 30 minutes that I have remaining: Senators ALLARD, MCCAIN, COLEMAN, HATCH, STEVENS, DOLE, DOMENICI.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I will read the list of Senators on this side so that everyone will know who will be speaking before the vote on the resolution under the unanimous consent that was just adopted, and then who would come afterwards with their statements on the resolution being put in the RECORD before that: Senator DORGAN would be recognized for 5 minutes, Senator DAYTON for 5 minutes, Senator JACK REED for 5 minutes, Senator BOXER for 6 minutes, Senator BAUCUS for 7 minutes, Senator BYRD for 15 minutes. If my math is correct, all of those could be accommodated prior to the vote at 5.

I notice the Parliamentarian has been adding up those numbers, and I am wondering if my math is correct.

After the vote, if my math is correct, Senator LANDRIEU and Senator BIDEN would then be recognized on this side, and any other Democrats who wish to speak can come after the resolution, after those two Senators.

Is the Senator correct that all of those I named up to Senator BYRD could be accommodated with the times indicated prior to the vote at 5?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator allocated 43 minutes, which appears to fit within the timeframe now allowed.

Who yields time?

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from North Dakota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, America makes no more difficult decision than that which asks its sons and daughters to go to war, and those who are in harm's way as we speak need to know that our country is united in support of them. Our thoughts and prayers go to those soldiers who have answered the call for our country. Our thoughts and prayers go to their families.

In my State, we have two Air Force bases, international guard. We have the highest rate of deployment. Almost 30 percent of all Guard and Reserves are now deployed in North Dakota under a callup. I am enormously proud of what they are contributing to this country and to its national defense. They and their families need to understand our united support for them.

To the people of Iraq, we need to say that we have no quarrel with the people of Iraq, and we pray also for the safety of those innocent noncombatants inside the country of Iraq.

I wish with all my heart that the people of free nations, working through the United Nations, would have been able to find a diplomatic solution to require the disarmament of Saddam Hussein, but that was not possible. So our Nation now will take action to disarm this dictator.

In the sometimes lonely and dark hours when America is challenged, I think of the words of Thomas Wolfe in his great novel. He talked about the peculiar quality of the American soul. He said Americans have an indestructible belief, a quenchless hope, a boundless optimism, that something good is sure to happen.

Let us hope and pray through this conflict something good will happen. As we do, let us express our profound gratitude for those who nurture, protect, and risk their lives for freedom. It will be and should be left to another day to talk about what should have been done a decade or two ago, what could have been done long ago to avoid this intersection of war and strife.

The question is, How do we, in the free world, prevent the emergence of more dictators, tyrants, and terrorists who threaten America's liberty? That is a long and difficult discussion for other days.

For today, all of us from every philosophy in every corner of our country say to those in harm's way and who serve our country: We are proud of you; America is united in support of what you are doing.

I yield the floor and I retain the remainder of my time.

Mr. WARNER. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, last night at 10:15 p.m. eastern standard time, President Bush announced to the Nation that the war to rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction had begun. It was a solemn moment that reminded us that diplomacy was no longer an option.

I recall the President's comments that you cannot have peace when you

have to deal with a leader who is not peaceful.

It also meant the men and women of our Armed Forces were now going to be committed to battle. The resolution before the Senate commands and supports the efforts and leadership of the President as Commander in Chief in the conflict against Iraq. The resolution recognizes the contribution of our defense forces and expresses support for the thousands of soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and coast guardsmen who have been mobilized, deployed, and are now fighting to defend the security of our Nation. I strongly support the resolution and believe it deserves the Senate's unanimous support.

Today our Nation demands much of our military. Our forces continue to fight in Afghanistan, assist forces in Yemen, Djibouti, and Georgia, and defend our homeland. Now they have taken on a new mission, the liberation of Iraq.

Despite many hardships, our military members have extended forward and embraced our country's call to arms. Over the last month, 5,000 soldiers from Fort Carson, CO, have been sent to confront Iraqi oppression and terrorism. The soldiers have embraced their duty and are now serving their country with pride and determination. We cannot forget the valuable contribution of reservists and National Guardsmen. Many of these service men and women have left their careers and their families to answer our Nation's call to arms. Over 3,000 Coloradans in the Reserves and National Guard have extended forward and they have responded with determination. They are committed to defending our Nation and deserve our support. We ought to recognize their employers who have recognized at the workplace that they are dedicated to protecting freedom in America and are making sacrifices while their workforce serves this country overseas.

We should not forget the families of our men and women in uniform. They have watched as their loved ones were sent overseas to defend our country. They made sacrifices and deserve our support as they fight and make sacrifices for freedom.

Today our men and women in uniform are in harm's way. They are fighting for the safety and security of all Americans. I believe it is imperative we express our support for their efforts. I ask for God's blessing for America.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 5 minutes to Senator DAYTON.

Mr. DAYTON. Winston Churchill once advised:

In War: Resolution. In Defeat: Defiance. In Victory: Magnanimity. In Peace: Good Will.

I add to that, before war, honest debate.

That fundamental right of the first amendment to debate, to agree and disagree is the difference between our democracy and Saddam Hussein's dictatorship. The measure of our free country is not how well our country toler-

ates agreement but, rather, how well they accept disagreement.

Now, however, the time for this debate is passed. Our country is at war and our Armed Forces are fighting life-and-death battles against Iraqi troops. The President has made that momentous decision, and I will support him, his military command, and the brave American troops who are carrying out his orders.

In war: Resolution. Let us in the Senate resolve to provide whatever is needed to win the war as quickly and decisively as possible and then replenish our military arsenals so we quickly regain our great strength to protect and defend our country again.

In victory: Magnanimity. There is no question that our Armed Forces will win this war for our country, for the Iraqi people and for, I pray, the ultimate benefit of the world. I pray the courageous Americans who will win that victory, many of them young men and women less than half our age, may return safely home.

Let us who are at home now begin the practice of magnanimity, magnanimity toward the people of Iraq who did not take up arms against us, magnanimity toward their past suffering and future needs.

Occupation is not magnanimous; the Marshall Plan was magnanimous. We have the obligation and the opportunity to be magnanimous and generous toward the people of Iraq and Afghanistan. In doing so, we can showcase our way of life, our economic and technical know-how, and our humanity. We should match each year the increase in our military spending with that same increase in an international recovery fund. Both are key to our national security.

In peace: Good will. Our leaders must become again the lead practitioners and worldwide promoters of good will. They can allow themselves no more derisive and destructive reactions to whoever does not see our way, not to the leaders and people of other nations, not to the leaders and representatives of the international organizations, not to our fellow American citizens.

We must resume our leadership of the world on the path toward international security, prosperity, peace, and good will. That is our greatest challenge. That must be our ultimate victory.

I reserve the remainder of my time and yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I yield 3½ minutes to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. President, this is a profound moment in all our lives. Words are inadequate, so I will be brief. It is an honor to speak right after my friend and colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota, and to join with him in support of our men and women on the front lines, in support of the President's decision to commence military action to disarm Iraq.

In this Chamber it is often said the foreign policy debate ends at the water's edge. This resolution makes clear

that debate on the use of force in Iraq ends with the firing of the first weapon. I support our troops and military families to the utmost, praying for their safety, and working with them to achieve the mission our Commander in Chief has given them.

This situation represents a balance of risks. War is always costly in human terms on all sides. But the threats of terrorism, mass destruction, are also real. The dangerous nature of the world we now live in was brought home to us by the events of September 11. That reality requires us to act decisively when we are threatened, rather than simply to wait and hope for the best. I agree with the President that it is better to send soldiers into battle than to send police, ambulance drivers, and firefighters to the site of future terrorist attacks.

My firm belief is that our Nation is blessed with responsible, principled leadership. Our military is as courageous as it is capable. Our goals in this conflict are both clear and just. Now we are committed and we must carry on our duty to the end.

It has been said that courage is fear that has said its prayers. May we all offer our support and praise to our troops, military leaders, and our President until the dangerous days are over. Our hearts and prayers are with all the women and men in harm's way in the Middle East today, and with their families.

I ran across this quotation from Thomas Paine from his pamphlet *Common Sense*, written in 1776:

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price on its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as Freedom should not be highly rated.

No one wanted this to come to war. But it is here. I am proud to join with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in support of our men and women, in support of our Commander in Chief, in support of our families. Our prayers are with all of them.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to Senator REED.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, once again, America has placed its fate and its future in the hands of young American fighting men and fighting women. Both our future and our faith could not be in stronger, more decent, and more qualified hands. We are here today, united in our support for these extraordinary soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and Coastguardsmen, all of them superbly trained, faithful to their uniforms, and

also faithful to those who served before them—an unbroken legacy of courage and commitment to this Nation.

I take a moment to recognize particularly those many individuals from my State of Rhode Island. First, the thousands who are serving on active duty in units in all of our services, and then, also, our National Guard and Reserve forces, because in this conflict the National Guard and Reserve are playing a critical role. Rhode Island has 648 Guard men and women and Reserve members who are stationed throughout the globe.

Many members of the National Guard 143rd Airlift Wing Security Forces and Communications have been deployed to Southwest Asia. They have been joined by the Air National Guard's 281st Combat Communications Group, the Air National Guard's 282nd Combat Communications Squadron and the Air National Guard's 102nd Information Warfare Squadron. The Guard 143rd Airlift Wing Aerial Port Squadron is in Turkey and members of the Rhode Island Air National Guard headquarters are in Kyrgyzstan and Turkey.

Rhode Islanders are also protecting the homefront while war is waged in the Middle East. The Army National Guard's 1207th Transportation Company is at Fort Dix, New Jersey. The Army National Guard's 118th Military Police Battalion, 119th Military Police Company, and 115th Military Police Company are at Fort Drum, New York. And the Marine Reserves, General Support Motor Transport Company and the Army National Guard's 1st Battalion, 103rd Field Artillery Brigade are providing security in Rhode Island.

All of these men and women have been called to the colors, have responded, and will serve magnificently.

The battle has begun. The battle will be pursued vigorously to a complete victory. I have every confidence in that. Part of my confidence stems from the privilege of having served with the leaders of our Army who, today, are commanding the forces that are sent against Iraq. Both as classmates and contemporaries at West Point, I had the privilege of knowing GEN Chuck Swannack who commands the 82nd; Dave Petraeus, the 101st Commander; and also General Hagenbeck, who commanded the 10th so well in Afghanistan.

I know because these men are superb professionals, because they are committed to getting the job done and making sure their soldiers come home. We will be successful.

Today, we are united in our support and our admiration for the forces who serve this country so well.

I yield the remainder of my time.

Mr. WARNER. I yield 4½ minutes to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, the war to disarm Saddam Hussein and liberate the Iraqi people has begun. Many Americans feel we have waited a long time for this just war to come; many feel we haven't waited long enough.

But the Iraqi people have waited for far too long, suffered for far too long and the world has for too long failed to come to grips with the consequences of Saddam Hussein's acquisition of an arsenal of terror. The wait is over; the liberation of the Iraqi people is underway; and the world is witnessing the end of one of the most horrible regimes in modern history, and with it the end of the threat Iraq has for too long posed to its people, its neighbors, and the world.

There has been no rush to war. That the United States exhausted diplomacy is evident in both the 12-year history of our dealings with Iraq since the first Gulf War and the 6 month effort at the Security Council to build consensus on the need to disarm Iraq. There will be plenty of time to discuss the American diplomatic campaign that preceded the war once military action is over. There is no cause to do so today. We stand united in our support for our armed forces and confident in the swift victory that we pray will be theirs.

One of America's finest traditions is our ability to draw together in support of our men and women in uniform when they are actively engaged in the defense of our freedom. American forces in the Iraq theater fight not for narrow interests or for reasons of national pride. American soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines are engaged in combat today so that our people do not live in a world in which tyrants armed with weapons of horror hold free nations hostage, and in doing so threaten freedom itself.

Our armed forces fight to disarm and destroy a regime that has proven not only that it will continue to stockpile weapons of mass destruction, but that it will use them. Our military fights to uphold the demands of the United Nations Security Council for Iraq's disarmament, even though some in that body shirk their own obligations to hold Iraq to account for its defiance. Our men and women fight so that the Iraqi people no longer live in terror but have cause to believe, as Americans believe, that liberty's blessings are not the prerogative of a lucky few, but the inalienable right of all mankind.

The liberty we cherish, and in which we want all people to share, has a price. Young Americans are paying it tonight in Iraq—not out of any grand design for empire, not for oil, not out of dislike for the Iraqi people, but for love—love of America, love for her founding principles, love for her way of life, and love for the greatness that history has judged to be hers not because of riches or power, but because of her abiding commitment to the cause of human freedom.

America is great not because of what she has done for herself, but because of what she has done for others. In another age, we helped liberate Europe from Hitler's tyranny, and ended Japanese imperialism in Asia. In extraordinary acts of generosity, we helped rebuild Europe and Japan and transform

former enemies into the closest of allies. I believe the liberation of Iraq will be judged by history to be of similar nobility.

Many of us remember parents and grandparents who served in the Second World War as our "greatest generation." Another generation of heroes is being forged from the ruins of the attacks of September 11th. Just as Pearl Harbor opened the eyes of America to the grave peril beyond her shores, so have the terrorists who attacked us roused in America the conviction that we will never again suffer such infamy.

Nearly a century ago, President Woodrow Wilson issued a rousing call to make the world safe for democracy. Americans, and the world, did not rise to the challenge, and the bloodiest century in the history of humanity ensued. The President has ordered American forces into action in Iraq to help make America, and the world, safe from another such century, when tyrants are empowered by technology to inflict the sort of devastation from which free nations might not recover—a capability that puts freedom itself in peril. America, the greatest of free nations, will not take that risk.

I wish American forces in Iraq every hope for rapid victory. They fight for love of freedom—a love which is invincible. The world is better for their courage and dedication. Victory will be ours—and all honor will be theirs. God bless them and may humanity honor their sacrifice.

Mr. WARNER. We go to the other side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FITZGERALD). Who yields time?

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I yield 6 minutes to the Senator from California.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, may I address the Senate with regard to the remaining speakers on my side of the aisle to alert them? We have next the Senator from Alaska, Mr. STEVENS, followed by the Senator from Utah, Mr. HATCH, the Senator from New Mexico, Mr. DOMENICI, the Senator from Arizona, Mr. KYL, the Senator from North Carolina, Mrs. DOLE, and the Senator from Texas, Mr. CORNYN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, as military action begins in Iraq, I send my strong support, as a Senator, as a mother, as a grandmother, to our sons and daughters who are carrying out the mission asked of them.

Military personnel from my State of California are a lead contributor in this effort. They include marines from Camp Pendleton and Twentynine Palms, carrier groups from San Diego, and Air Force personnel from Travis Air Force Base.

There are many more soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines from throughout California serving us today, including 6,100 Guard and reservists who have recently been activated. Thousands of California families are impacted.

From my seat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I have followed the issue of Iraq very closely. And for the past several months, my view was that we should build a worldwide coalition to disarm Iraq, a worldwide coalition that would truly be partners in name, in action, and in cost-sharing. That is why I was so proud to support Senator LEVIN's resolution to authorize force with the backing of the United Nations. While this amendment was defeated in the Senate, I believe it called attention to the importance of working with a large coalition of allies.

As one who has recently voted twice to give a President—a Republican President and a Democratic President—the right to use force, I believe war should always be the last resort. I voted to give President Bush the authority to go to war against al-Qaida, and for President Clinton to use military force against Slobodan Milosevic.

In this case, in Iraq, I supported intrusive inspections backed by a united coalition as the best way to achieve Iraqi disarmament. While the U.N. inspectors asked to continue their work, that was not to be. So that debate is behind us. I do want to say, the need to work with our allies in postwar Iraq is very important because we want to lift—we want to lift—the physical burden off the shoulders of our men and women and share that burden. And we want to, of course, try to share the cost burden as well.

Like all Americans, I hope and I pray that hostilities end soon and that casualties are minimal. And like all Americans, I very much hope that democracy in Iraq will take root. Last night, I saw an interview with a young man who is a soldier in the Army, and he was as eloquent on this same point as any statement I had ever heard, eloquent in his simplicity, in expressing his hope for this mission.

Congress is supporting our troops from the minute they went in. I believe one way we can demonstrate that is to ensure that the lives of both parents of dual-military families with small children are not unnecessarily put at risk. I raised this issue with the Secretary of Defense in February, and I am awaiting a response from him. Senator BEN NELSON is also working on this issue as well as other quality-of-life issues for our military. We must be mindful of the impact on a child when both parents are put in harm's way. I believe we can make sure they are not both placed in harm's way. I will work to make sure of that.

I also intend to work to provide additional funding for four important programs.

First, we need to increase funding for impact aid programs to help school districts with military families. Our children of military families need attention now. They must have attention now. And we are not fulfilling our responsibility to our military families if those children do not get help.

Gandhi once said: If there is to be peace in the world, it must begin with

the children. So we must never, ever forget the children. We have heard from many military families struggling to pay for daycare and other expenses who have one family member deployed from home. We have heard from them that they are having a very hard time.

Next, I think we need to help with homeland defense. Clearly, everyone has told us—from the CIA to the FBI to Secretary Ridge—that the probability has now greatly increased that we will be facing more problems here at home. That is why I am supporting the Schumer amendment, when we get back to the budget, to reimburse our States for this burden.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Governor of California, pointing out these incredible expenses the States are having because of firefighters and police and emergency workers working overtime.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNOR GRAY DAVIS,  
March 20, 2003.

Hon. BARBARA BOXER,  
U.S. Senate, Hart Office Building,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR BOXER: I understand that the United States Senate may take up an amendment tomorrow to the Fiscal Year 2004 Budget Resolution to substantially increase funding for state and local first responders. As you are aware, an increase in funding is critical to our efforts to protect Californians and I appreciate your support for these efforts.

As Governor, my first job is to provide for the safety of all Californians. Thanks to our first responders, Californians are safer than at any time since September 10, 2001. For 18 months, California has been hard at work preparing for all emergency contingencies.

As you know, since September 11th, the state has spent hundreds of millions of additional dollars to prepare for and prevent a terrorist attack. Even in the best of times, this is a burden that would require a strong federal partnership; in the face of the fiscal problems that states across the nation now face, that partnership is critical to state and local first responder preparedness.

Governors across the nation are extremely disappointed that the dollars for first responder activities we expected this year are not forthcoming. With passage of this homeland security amendment to the Budget Resolution, Congress can ensure that funding for equipment and training for those in the front lines of this battle is robust in the next fiscal year.

Governors, Democrats and Republicans alike, have worked hard to protect and safeguard their residents against terrorist attacks—but we need a strong federal partnership to fully realize this goal.

Thank you for all your work toward ensuring the safety of all Americans.

Sincerely,

GRAY DAVIS.

Mrs. BOXER. And last, Mr. President, I hope we will be able to work on the development of a missile defense system for our airplanes, our commercial airplanes, which are facing the danger of shoulder-fired missiles.

Many people throughout California have asked me, what can they do to



support our troops? The Department of Defense has provided some excellent ideas that can be accessed on the official DOD Web site, DefenseLINK. I think it would be good for those who want to do something now to get on that Web site. We have a link on our Web site as well. The ideas are there on how to send a virtual thank-you card to our troops, how to provide them with telephone calling cards. These are things that will make their lives much better.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has used 6 minutes.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I ask for 15 seconds, if I might.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I yield the Senator 15 additional seconds.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, let's do everything we can for our troops and everything we can to protect our homeland. And let us all pray for our men and women in uniform, and for their families, and for wisdom for all those who send them forward into battle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I yield 2 to 3 minutes to our distinguished colleague from Alaska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I will be brief.

I am proud to stand here with this former marine, my great friend from Virginia, Senator WARNER, as I recall the phrase, "From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli."

I believe the President has the authority. We all pledged, ourselves, when we were sworn into Federal office, to defend this country against enemies foreign and domestic.

He has taken action—firm action—to protect us against enemies. The freedom of Iraq, the freedom of the people of Iraq, is the goal of this effort we are undertaking. But it is being done by free men and women—young women, young men of this generation. They have talked about our generation being the Greatest Generation. These young men and women are all volunteers. They have gone out there in harm's way to protect us and to carry out their pledge to the people of the United States. I support them for that.

I only add one comment. I keep hearing people talk about overtime, and getting money to pay people here who are working so long and working overtime in cities and various functions. Those men and women over there are not getting paid overtime.

I think it is time we started thinking about some voluntarism in the United States right here at home, volunteers to help this country get through this period. When our men and women are over there, they are volunteers, they are not getting any extra pay for what they are doing.

I think we should recognize the concept that every one of us should volunteer more of our time to help our country in this period.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I yield 7 minutes to Senator BAUCUS.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a minute for purposes of recognition of the Senator from Mississippi, who wishes to put a statement in the Record?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN. I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that back in my State of Mississippi, our legislature is in session, and our State senate has adopted Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 605, under the leadership of our Lieutenant Governor, as presiding officer of that body, Amy Tuck. And the president pro tempore is Travis Little.

The operative clauses are:

That we do hereby declare our complete support for and our great pride in the Armed Forces of the United States, particularly the men and women from the State of Mississippi, both in the Middle East and elsewhere, who are participating in and supporting military operations. . . .

And it goes on to say:

That we do hereby express our support of President George W. Bush and the President's cabinet for their courage and decision to remove Saddam Hussein from power.

There are whereas clauses in another part of that resolution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire concurrent resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 605

Whereas, events in Iraq have reached the final days of decision, and at the direction of the President of the United States, the Armed Forces of the United States are poised to launch military operations with our allies against Saddam Hussein and his forces in Iraq; and

Whereas, among the forces participating in this mobilization under Operation Enduring Freedom are many members of the regular United States Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, Coast Guard, Reserves and National Guard who are residents or natives of the State of Mississippi who are being deployed, including 182 female and 2,056 male soldiers in the Mississippi Army and Air National Guard already deployed, with a total number of 3,662 dependents recorded for those deployed; and

Whereas, the dictatorship of Iraq has continued to develop weapons of mass destruction in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441; the dictator, Saddam Hussein, has demonstrated a willingness to use weapons of mass destruction against neighboring nations and the citizens of Iraq. Saddam Hussein threatens the Middle East and the global economy with the threat to use weapons of mass destruction; and

Whereas, the United States of America has the sovereign authority to use force in assuring its own national security. Recognizing the threat to our country, the United States Congress voted overwhelmingly last year to support the use of force against Iraq, and that duty falls to President George W. Bush

as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces; and

Whereas, Mississippians understand the costs of conflict because we have paid them in the past, and we again accept that responsibility. The men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States will be the guardians of civilization as we know it. War has no certainty except the certainty of sacrifice, yet the only way to reduce the harm and duration of war is to apply the full force and might of our military; and

Whereas, it is our earnest prayer that the job be done well and swiftly and that the return home to family and friends be safe and soon: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the State of Mississippi, (the House of Representatives concurring therein),* That we do hereby declare our complete support for and our great pride in the Armed Forces of the United States, particularly the men and women from the State of Mississippi, both in the Middle East and elsewhere, who are participating in and supporting military operations against Saddam Hussein and his forces in Iraq, and we pray for the quick and successful conclusion of their important mission and for their safe and sound return home; be it further

*Resolved,* That we do hereby express our support of President George W. Bush and the President's cabinet for their courage and decision to remove Saddam Hussein from power; and be it further

*Resolved,* That this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Homeland Security, Major General James H. Lipscomb III-Mississippi National Guard, the Commanding General-American Military Forces-Operation Enduring Freedom and to members of Mississippi's congressional delegation, and be made available to the Capitol Press Corps.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Mississippi and the Senator from Montana.

I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Alaska, Mr. STEVENS, be added as a cosponsor of the pending resolution.

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

The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BAUCUS. This is a solemn day for our Nation. I rise today to add my voice to the chorus of support and prayers that are being sent from this Chamber to our brave and heroic troops in the deserts of Iraq. The men and women who are serving the country on the front lines are sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, and mothers and fathers. Their heroic military service is helping bring an end to a brutal regime and reducing terrorist threats by stopping those who provide assistance to terrorist operations. I know they will be successful in their mission.

While many differences of opinion were expressed about the way this war came to be, the time for debate has ended. We now remain steadfast in support of our troops. And we must look to tomorrow and the massive rebuilding that will be needed following military actions. It is important that we continue to work with our allies to build a stronger coalition of support. We will need our friends in the coming days and weeks.

And we must also focus on providing our troops with all the assistance and

resources they need. With that in mind, I would like to take a moment to urge support of the "Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act of 2003." The House passed this important bill today. And it passed smoothly out of the Finance Committee weeks ago. It very much ties in with the remarks of the Senator from Alaska, that our valiant men and women overseas don't get overtime pay. And the very least we can do is voluntary work and other ways to help our troops this bill fits into that suggestion.

In this time of war, I can think of nothing more appropriate than passing a bill that is dedicated to providing assistance to those who serve in our armed forces. In addition, our bill encourages more women and men across the country to join our armed forces.

There are many, many brave men and women from my state of Montana who are playing a pivotal role in Iraq. Following the events of September 11, members of the 120th Fighter Wing of the Montana Air National Guard were called to secure the skies of the no-fly zone over Iraq. Their bravery will once again be seen in the current operation.

I want to help members of 120th Fighter Wing, and every other member of our armed forces. We can do this by passing the Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act.

Let me describe some of the key provisions.

Under our current tax code, if a member of the armed forces dies while on active duty, the federal government pays the surviving spouse a small death benefit of \$6,000. The entire amount should be excluded from taxable income. However, because of a glitch in the law, only half is excluded. Our legislation corrects this by excluding the entire \$6,000 payment.

Just last week, one of our soldiers from Montana, Private First Class Stryder Stoutenburg, was tragically killed during a Blackhawk helicopter crash. A native of Missoula, Private First Class Stoutenburg was only 18 years old. His mother will receive the death benefit payment, but will be taxed on half of it. She has already lost so much. It is unfair to also take away part of the small compensation she is receiving.

Another provision of this bill would ensure that military members who are frequently required to move from town to town and country to country, are not punished with capital gains taxes when they sell their homes. Under current law, an individual must live in their house for 2 of 5 years in order to qualify for capital gains taxes exclusion. This isn't feasible for many in the armed forces and our bill would eliminate the 2-year requirement.

A third provision seeks to take a financial burden off of our men and women who serve in the National Guard and the Reserves. Many reservists must travel away from home for weekend drills and wind up spending a substantial amount of money for overnight travel and lodging.

In fact, for many of our younger, more junior reservists, the expenses exceed their take home pay for the weekend. Our bill would allow them to deduct these expenses from their taxes, even if the expenses do not exceed the 2 percent floor.

In addition to providing financial assistance, this bill will not add to the deficit since it's completely offset in two ways. First, we improve the collection of unpaid taxes from people who have renounced their American citizenship in order to avoid future U.S. taxes. Second, we extend certain IRS user fees. These are modest, sensible changes. In fact, in the case of expatriates, the offset seems especially timely.

There is no better time than today to pass legislation that will allow our military personnel to fight for our country, not have to fight the tax code. I know that the thoughts of every single Member of Congress go out to the troops who are risking their lives. We pray for their fast and safe return home. I'm hopeful for quick passage of this bill that will provide needed tax relief for our troops.

I thank Members who contributed to the development of the bill: Senators LEVIN and WARNER of the Armed Services Committee, Senator LANDRIEU, Senator JOHNSON, Senator HARKIN. And especially I thank Chairman GRASSLEY of the Finance Committee who I have enjoyed working with and who, once again, in this case has helped us to develop an important piece of bipartisan tax legislation.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending resolution be considered as a Senate resolution.

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

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I recognize the distinguished Senator from New Mexico for a period of 3 minutes.

Mr. LEVIN. If the Senator from New Mexico would yield for a request, I ask unanimous consent that after the Senator from New Mexico has completed, Senator BYRD then be recognized for 15 minutes.

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

The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. I ask the Senator from Montana if he would place the Senator from New Mexico's name on the various military and veterans bills.

Mr. BAUCUS. I make that request.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, today is a day, as I see it, to be thankful, to have hope, and to pray. I stand before the Senate thankful for our freedom and for the thousands of American young men and women, husbands and wives, sons and daughters, who are volunteers in the U.S. military, especially for those who are serving in combat in Iraq. I thank each of them for their service and for volunteering to protect us and to protect freedom in faraway lands.

I think it is also important to thank their parents, their grandparents, and their spouses for their sacrifice as they wait for their loved ones who are overseas giving of themselves to save the world from a tyrant in possession of weapons of mass destruction. These brave men and women are there to protect us and protect the neighbors of Iraq from the scourge of a tyrant who has violated international rules and failed to disarm. Our men and women, joined by others from around the world, will see to it that he is disarmed. In doing that, they will be doing a very important duty, and they will be giving us the most important gift we can have, to be contributors to freedom in that part of the world and in our own country for the future.

Last night, airplanes from Holloman Air Force Base, NM, were the planes that did the initial strikes on Baghdad. They were far away from their home in Holloman Air Force Base, NM. They are the F-117 stealth fighters. They have been joined in that theater of war by men and women from our two other military bases, the air bases at Cannon and Kirtland. They are also joined by units of the New Mexico National Guard and Reserve.

On behalf of all of those military personnel, their relatives and friends, as one of their Senators from New Mexico, I thank them. I congratulate them for their willingness to fight for freedom and for the generosity of being volunteers to keep America safe and free.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has used his 10 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. I yield the floor.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, Senator BYRD graciously agreed to yield 2 of his 15 minutes to the Senator from South Dakota. It will be very clear to the body as to why that was such an important and gracious act on the part of Senator BYRD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I thank Senator LEVIN and my colleague, Senator BYRD.

Mr. President, I rise today to express my strong support for the men and women serving in our Armed Forces in the war on Iraq. I join with my colleagues in the Senate and with the American people in conveying our gratitude to each of them for their willingness to courageously serve our Nation.

Now that the war has begun, it is time for all Americans to come together to support our military. While we had hoped a diplomatic solution could be found so that we could avoid the use of force, it now appears that military action is imminent. I will do all that I can to assure that our troops have the resources they need to complete their mission quickly, efficiently, and with as little loss of life as possible.

Be they active duty or members of the National Guard or Reserves, our Armed Forces are the best equipped,

best trained fighting force in the history of the world. Despite our prepartedness, this may not be a quick and easy war. The Iraqi Army, if it chooses to fight, remains a formidable force. But let there be no doubt that our military will achieve its mission. We will disarm Saddam Hussein. We will end his brutal dictatorship, and we will liberate the Iraqi people.

We should not forget that we are fighting this war not only to ensure that Saddam Hussein never again is able to use weapons of mass destruction, but also to give the 22 million Iraqi people the chance to build a democracy and to live in freedom. Our goals are noble, and the actions of our military are just.

Finally, to the families whose sons and daughters, fathers and mothers have been deployed to the Middle East, I want to say that you and your loved ones are in our prayers. As a father with a son serving as a sergeant in the 101st Airborne, now in the Iraqi theater, I understand the mix of pride and fear that family members are feeling at this time. I wear my blue star with pride. They should find comfort in the fact that they are not alone; our entire Nation is with them during these difficult moments.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for the opportunity to address the Senate on this timely and important matter and to offer my thanks, prayers, and gratitude to our Armed Forces.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I can think of no one in this body who is more appropriate to bring this debate to a close, or near to a close, than Senator JOHNSON of South Dakota whose son is serving with such honor and distinction and who brings such pride to his family. I thank the Senator for sharing with us the emotions I know he feels at this very moment as a father.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, may I also join my colleague and express how grateful we are he came to the floor with a great sense of emotion and humility and, the final sentence with which he concluded, his pride in his son. I commend the Senator.

I should note that the son of a member of the senior staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee, COL Chuck Alsup, who is with me in the Chamber, leaves today as a military man to join the forces in the gulf.

We will have the Senator from North Carolina address us for 2½ minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mrs. DOLE. I thank the Chair. To date, nearly 40,000 men and women from North Carolina's military bases have been deployed for duty in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

Last month, as a new member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, I visited three of our military installations in North Carolina. I have always had the greatest respect and admiration for the brave men and women who

dedicate their lives to defending our freedoms. It was particularly important to me to visit our armed forces personnel at this critical moment in our history and to tell them how much I appreciate what they do for us, for our country, each and every day.

At Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, at Cherry Point Marine Corps Air Station, and at Fort Bragg, I was moved by the dedication, the commitment, the patriotism of the members of our armed forces and their families. They make me proud and thankful to be an American.

In a recent interview, my husband, Bob, was asked about his service in World War II—about being part of “the Greatest Generation.” He responded that it is the men and women of our military today who are the greatest generation. I agree with him completely. We have the best equipped, most capable, most courageous military force in the world.

I remember my first day, 12 years ago, as president of the American Red Cross, walking into my new office to find a letter from Colin Powell, then-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. One of the oldest Red Cross assistance programs, the Armed Forces Emergency Services, was in jeopardy due to a lack of donor interest. I promised Colin Powell right then and there that we would do whatever it took to preserve that program for our men and women in uniform—and we did.

Many people do not realize that wherever our military goes, the Red Cross goes with them to provide support and services, delivering 4,000 emergency messages a day to our military men and women. On that first day on my job, during the Persian Gulf war, our thoughts and prayers were with the Red Cross and our armed forces.

Shortly after the war ended, I traveled to the Persian Gulf to thank the Red Crossers for their work and to deliver humanitarian aid to Kuwait. Even now, I can clearly recall the horror of Saddam Hussein's occupation of that country—oil fields burning, a hospital where scores of children had died because doctors and nurses fled the country to escape the horrors of Saddam Hussein and his forces. I put a call out, right then and there, for doctors and nurses to come to Kuwait through Red Cross sponsorship—and about 50 American medical personnel responded immediately.

Saddam Hussein is a dangerous man who continues to pose a threat to the region's stability, to his own people, and to the American people through his sponsorship of terror. Right now, he's passing weapons of mass destruction to Iraqi troops—weapons he claimed not to have. He would gladly pass these weapons to terrorists to use against America.

President Bush exhausted every option before resorting to military force.

It is time to free the people of Iraq from Saddam Hussein's terror, to remove his weapons of mass destruction, to help Iraq establish democracy.

I have the highest confidence in our Armed Forces, and I know they will complete the mission they are called to accomplish. As we go forward, my thoughts and prayers will constantly be with our Commander in Chief, with these men and women and their families, with the Iraqi people, and with all those on the front lines of this war.

May God bless them all, and may God bless this great land of the free and home of the brave—America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. WARNER. I grant the Senator from Utah 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I am pleased to stand here and support our young men and women in the Middle East and the efforts they are making to defend our Nation and, of course, defend against terrorism and to end the intolerant behavior and leadership of Saddam Hussein.

Last night we began a war that will end Saddam Hussein's threat to his own people, to the Middle East, and to this country. It was a time we chose, and a historic moment for the United States, the Middle East, and the world.

Today, as we vote in support of S. Res. 95, our prayers go with our brave soldiers, marines, airmen, and sailors. I am proud to say that this includes over 3,000 of my fellow Utahns.

Every attempt was made to find a diplomatic way to disarm Iraq, to make Iraq comply with commitments it began to violate shortly after the first gulf war in 1991. And so, in many ways, the war with Iraq never ended in 1991. A condition of ending the conflict was full and transparent disarmament, and Saddam Hussein has never—never—complied with that condition. Iraq never complied, over a decade of insistence by the international community, over a decade of frustrated inspections regimes, over a decade of resolutions by the United Nations, all of which have been ignored by Iraq. All of them. Throughout this time, the United States has worked with the United Nations. We supported all 17 resolutions. We supported not just what was written, but was intended. We supported not just the words, but the actions they demanded. We wanted resolutions with resolve.

As I said, I believe this administration made every attempt to find a solution without resorting to force. Every attempt, that is, except a commitment to perpetuating the dangerous belief that force would never be an option. Another nation, France, declared that it would veto any resolution requiring the use of force now. That nation did so, arguing it rejected the “logic of war.” I have read the history of Saddam Hussein and his dictatorship in Iraq. I have concluded that Saddam Hussein has never—never—changed his behavior unless confronted with the threat of force. For France to reject the “logic of war” in trying to compel

Saddam Hussein's disarmament, it was willfully ignoring this fundamental fact of Saddam Hussein. France is ignoring history; it is ignoring logic.

President Bush said on Monday night that "we are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater." I support the President, and I support this rationale.

In Saddam Hussein's Iraq, there remain unaccounted vast amounts of chemical and biological weapons. This is a fact documented, not by some hawks in or out of the U.S. Government but by the international community. In Saddam Hussein, there is a long and established history of association with, and support for, terrorists. All those within reach of a television or newspaper saw, within the past weeks, Palestinian terrorist groups doling out Saddam's largesse. Saddam has trained terrorists, funded suicide operations, and allowed members of al-Qaida to live in his tightly controlled Iraq.

Some opponents of the President's policy have suggested that he failed to make the case that Saddam Hussein caused the attacks on September 11. These critics are disingenuous: The administration has never made this claim. It has asserted, and I believe them, that elements of al-Qaida have been in Iraq since September 11. As we learn more, I also believe that the history of al-Qaida will reveal a long association with Saddam Hussein's Iraq, going back years, and being developed in Iraq, Sudan and Pakistan.

I have said this before. Association is not causation, I know. But when it comes to regimes hiding weapons of mass destruction and harboring terrorist organizations dedicated to our doom, I say this: Association is reason enough for alarm, reason enough for action. The President said it clearly last on Monday night:

Responding to such enemies only after they have struck first is not self-defense, it is suicide.

I commend his administration for searching for every possible solution short of war. That this was not possible does not mean they did not work earnestly and assiduously to avoid conflict. The effort does not guarantee the result. It does not guarantee support of the U.N. Security Council.

On that Security Council, China would rather see a nuclear Korean peninsula than a passive U.S. presence in South Korea. I have seen how Russia would rather see genocide in the Balkans—and Chechnya—than NATO success there. France would rather reject the "logic of war" in responding to a dictator who has never been motivated by anything other than the threat of force. These countries have their own self-interest, whether we like it or not. They stand down when outlaw regimes stand defiant with their illicit weapons of mass murder.

I thank God for the patience, wisdom and courage of this administration. I believe I join all my colleagues as we

offer our thoughts and prayers for the members of the American military, their families, our allies, and the people of Iraq, who will soon be free of a despicable, murderous regime that has kept the world fearful for far too long. And last night, I prayed to God that our mission in Iraq is blessed with providence and His protection. To our brave military I say: Godspeed and safe home.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, following the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, the Senator from Virginia will recognize Senator KYL for 2 minutes and then in rotation the Senator from Georgia, Mr. CHAMBLISS, for 2 minutes. That results in all the time under my control being expired.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I yield 13 minutes to the Senator from West Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the very distinguished Senator from Michigan, Mr. LEVIN, for his courtesy, his characteristic accommodative spirit. I also thank the distinguished Senator from Virginia for his characteristic courtesy always. I thank those who have written this resolution.

Months of uncertainty over the fate of Iraq ended with the first U.S. air strikes on Baghdad. Today, regardless of where any of us stand on the decision to go to war, we are all Americans, and our thoughts and prayers go out to the men and women of the U.S. military who have been called to battle in a foreign land.

Few doubt the outcome of this war. The fate of Iraq is sealed. The United States, with its awesome military might, is virtually certain to prevail decisively. But the fate of the individual soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, and Coast Guardsmen who will carry the battle to Iraq is far less certain. We pray that every man and woman engaged in the war will return home safely and soon.

Our troops will face intense dangers as the mission to unseat Saddam Hussein proceeds. When our airplanes penetrate the sky above Iraq to deliver computer-guided bombs to their targets, and our ground troops begin their armored charge through the deserts of Iraq, our men and women in uniform surely know that one unlucky shot could send their families into mourning for a fallen patriot.

There are unknown perils as well. We do not know if Iraqi civilians will unite to repel a foreign enemy from their homes. We do not know if Iraq's military will lure us into bloody, house-to-house fighting. We do not know if Saddam Hussein will use chemical or biological weapons against our forces. I pray that the sons and daughters of the United States will never face these grave risks to their safety.

More than 225,000 U.S. troops are now involved. True to its traditions of serv-

ice to our country, West Virginia continues to have the highest per capita rates of participation in our armed forces. Thousands of West Virginians are now carrying out missions to defeat Saddam Hussein, protect our homeland, and root out terrorists in Afghanistan.

Thirty-three different units of the National Guard and military reserves based in the Mountain State are now activated. The 459th Engineer Company, based in Bridgeport, must now be readying to bridge the ancient Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The 1092nd Engineer Battalion, based in Parkersburg, has been called to duty and might soon join in that effort. The 130th and 167th Airlift Wings are using their cargo aircraft to move men and materiel to where they are needed. West Virginians attached to the 363rd, 157th, and 304th Military Police Companies, out of Grafton, Martinsburg, and Bluefield, stand ready to maintain law and order in places far distant from their homes and families. These are but a few of the multitude of tasks now being carried out by West Virginia mountaineers in service to our country.

The men and women of these military units, like the rest of our troops, did not join the armed forces to fight Saddam Hussein. They did not ask to be sent to the harsh climes of the Arabian desert. Our troops volunteered to serve our country and uphold our Constitution. They are to be commended for their dedication to our country.

I stand foursquare behind our soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines. I urge every American to pray for our troops, and pray that they will return safely from those faraway sands, to the loving arms of their families. I will do everything in my power as a member of the Appropriations Committee, and as a member of the Armed Services Committee to provide our troops with the funds that are needed to ensure their safety.

I do not agree with every word of this resolution. I have strong reservations that the new doctrine of preemption does not meet the test of international law. I have strong reservations about the assertion that the Congress has "fully authorized" this war against Iraq. I do not believe that Congress can cede its constitutional power to declare war to the President of the United States.

I have questions about our long-term strategy for the reconstruction of Iraq, the plans to democratize the Middle East, and the application of the preemptive doctrine that has led the United States to war in 2003.

But I have no question about the ability of our military to deliver a crushing blow to whatever army might stand in their way in Iraq. I have no question that our armed forces will carry out their mission with honor and resolve. I have no question that our Nation has the obligation to finish the job and destroy whatever chemical, biological, and radiological weapons that Saddam Hussein possess.

Last night, in his address to the Nation, the President said that "our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done." I support these words by the President, for they speak to the millions of Americans who now wonder when their loved ones might return home. This is the ultimate measure of support that our Government can give to our military servicemen and women.

We do not know how long this war might last, or how long our troops might occupy Iraq after our victory. We should not rule out the possibility that Saddam Hussein could flee at any time during the course of the battle, precluding further carnage. In the coming days, the television news is sure to show pictures of smart bombs dropping on targets, and perhaps grainy, nighttime images of our troops moving to take their objectives. These sanitized images do not reflect the true cost of war. They cannot hope to convey the perils that our military will encounter as the war continues. But I hope the words spoken on the floor of the Senate today will convey the deep and abiding support of every Member of this body for the men and women of the United States military serving in the Persian Gulf.

I close by referring to those words by Longfellow in "The Building of the Ship":

Thou, too, sail, on, O Ship of State!  
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!  
Humanity with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!  
We know what Master laid thy keel,  
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,  
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,  
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
In what forge and what a heat  
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!  
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,  
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;  
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,  
And not a rent made by the gale!  
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,  
In spite of false lights on the shore,  
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!  
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,  
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,  
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,  
Are all with thee,—are all with thee!

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, last night leading elements of our coalition forces began to rid the land and the people of Iraq of the oppression of Saddam Hussein and eliminate the threat he poses to the rest of the world.

Throughout our history, our Nation has experienced moments that have defined our spirit, our cause.

We really do hold "these truths to be self evident. \* \* \* That all men are created equal," that all "men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." This applies to the innocent Iraqis who have been brutalized by a cruel and morally bankrupt regime

as much as it applies to the citizens of our Nation who deserve to be free of Saddam Hussein's threats.

In the past, Americans have crossed oceans to free subjugated peoples and protect ourselves. On more than one occasion in the past century, our friends on the European continent have required our intercession and our sacrifice to extricate them from the foul pit of regional war, and genocide perpetrated by the evil men of those times.

Our experience of war on our own soil also brought with it defining moments. On July 2, 1863, in a field outside of a little town in Pennsylvania called Gettysburg, a young Colonel named Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain addressed a group of his men, men of the 20th Maine, who were about to play a pivotal role in the success of the Union forces in that horrible battle. For his part in this battle, he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Though no exact record of his words exist, the following has been attributed to him, and I believe it reflects our motive, our mission, and the attitude of our men and women who are now in harm's way. He said to the assembled group: "We all volunteered to fight for the Union \* \* \* ours is a different kind of army. \* \* \* If you look back through history, you will see men fighting for pay, women, some other kind of loot \* \* \* they fight for land or power \* \* \* because a king leads them or because they like killing. We are here for something new—this has not happened much in the history of the world—We are an army out to set other men free."

To those who do not agree with us right now, to those who believe that the threat posed by Saddam Hussein is not worth the effort or the cost required to remove him, I offer the words of one of the great philosophers of liberty. The Englishman John Stuart Mill wrote: "War is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things. The decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks that nothing is worth war is much worse. The person who has nothing for which he is willing to fight, nothing which is more important than his own personal safety, is a miserable creature and has no chance of being free unless made and kept so by the exertions of better men than himself."

Mr. President, I call upon everyone to pray for our troops; to pray for their safety, to pray that the battle will be quick, and that their families will see them home again soon. I call upon the country to pray, too, for the innocent civilians of Iraq and the citizens of nearby nations whom Saddam seeks to harm; that all of them as much as we may be protected from his evil designs.

Mr. LEVIN. How much time remains? The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 4½ minutes.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I rise in support to the resolution before the Senate.

The President has now started an operation that we had all hoped to avoid. Now that battle has begun, we must win the war and win the peace.

There has been considerable disagreement leading up to this moment—in this chamber, in this country, and throughout the world. Many people have very strong feelings about the military operation in Iraq, and they have expressed those feelings.

The debate has been vigorous. But now that American forces are in combat, our soldiers should not doubt our support for them.

We stand firmly behind the men and women of our military. They have volunteered to serve their country. We are proud of their service, and we admire their courage. During this difficult time, our thoughts and prayers are with them and the families who await their return.

My State of Washington is home to thousands of soldiers, sailors and airmen. I have had the privilege of meeting many of them—at Fort Lewis, Fairchild Air Force Base, McChord Air Force base, Whidbey Naval Air Station, Everett Naval Station, Bremerton Naval Station, the Bangor Sub base, and our Coast Guard stations.

Some of Washington State's finest are now serving in the Middle East, and may be seeing combat. I have no doubt they will distinguish themselves in carrying out their missions.

Many of these soldiers have family back in Washington State. Throughout my state and across the nation, families are anxious, knowing that their loved ones are in military action.

We take comfort in knowing that America's soldiers are the best-trained, best-equipped, and most capable fighting force the world has ever known. They will carry out this dangerous mission, and they will prevail. We are proud of their dedication and courage, and we all pray for their safe and swift return.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Georgia, and I understand the Senator desires to speak and will yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. President, I thank Senator LEVIN for his leadership on this resolution and on this issue.

Last night, the Liberty Bell of freedom and democracy began to ring again. Last night, the United States of America headed down a path of freeing the people of Iraq from the cruel dictator, Saddam Hussein. I don't know how long President Bush or Prime Minister Blair will be in office, but this has to be the most difficult decision that they have made or will ever make. But I commend them for their courage and their leadership. No one wants to see war. But there are times in our country, in the history of our country, when military conflict is necessary to ensure that America and Americans are safe and secure.

I am very proud of all the Active Duty, Reserve and Guard personnel from my State who have been deployed from 8 of the 13 military installations in Georgia. We wish them Godspeed, a successful and quick victory, and wish that they come home safely, sound and soon.

I am privileged to yield the remainder of my time to the only member of the Reserve serving in the Senate, my good friend from South Carolina, LINDSEY GRAHAM.

Mr. GRAHAM of South Carolina. I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. President, there is a better day coming. It is a cloudy day right now. We are worried about our families and our troops, but there is a bright day coming. Our American servicemen will give freedom to Iraq, make us more secure. They are a blend of who we are: Rich, poor, black, white, Jew, Gentile, all mixed up into the American military. The strength of our military is they are an optimistic bunch. They are fighting for causes greater than their self-interest. That is why we will win.

Mr. LEVIN. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 2 minutes 44 seconds.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 1 minute to Senator LANDRIEU and 1 minute to Senator STABENOW.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, less than 24 hours ago, President Bush, our Commander in Chief, issued orders to begin military actions to disarm Saddam Hussein and his totalitarian regime. War is never our first choice, but it is sometimes a necessary last choice. As a mature democracy, we prefer to settle disputes peacefully and use diplomacy whenever possible. But sometimes, disputes cannot be settled peacefully. Force must be used to defend against threats to our freedom and liberate an oppressed people. That is what we are doing in Iraq. I want to express my support for our men and women in uniform and this course of action.

I wish to offer my wholehearted and unwavering support for those serving in our Armed Forces. The men and women serving our country in the military symbolize the best America has to offer. They are dedicated to the defense of our Constitution and willing to make the ultimate sacrifice, if necessary, to protect the Constitution for every American. More importantly, they volunteer to do so. They are well-trained and ready to defend our way of life and improve the lives of Iraqis. Along with the people of Louisiana, I will be praying for our troops and their families. I wish our men and women safety in their missions and a quick return home.

Barksdale—B-52s and A-10s from the 2d Bomb Wing and 917th Air Wing are making great contributions in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guam. I am so proud of Barksdale's leadership, pilots, flight crews, and their families.

Fort Polk is the premiere light armored training center in the world.

Our Army will succeed in Iraq because it trained for victory at Fort Polk. Currently, 4,000 men and women of the 2d Armored Cavalry are working to liberate Iraq, and I could not be more proud. Their families should also be proud.

Louisiana has 14,000 Air and Army National Guardsmen; 2,400 are currently deployed, and many are in Iraq and Afghanistan. Many Guardsmen have been activated three times since September 11. In the last 18 months, they have seen little of their families, but they have done much for their country. These proud warriors have served above and beyond the call of duty.

Belle Chasse is the premiere Joint Reserve Base for the Marine Reserve, Navy Reserve, Air Force Reserve, and Air National Guard. Belle Chasse has contributed A-10s, Cobras, F-15s, and F-18s; pilots and crews to the war on terrorism. These men and women, too, have been called up a number of times. They have served valiantly and with distinction.

In closing, I want to thank our allies who have joined us to defend our shores, bring liberty to the people of Iraq, and root out terrorism. British Prime Minister Tony Blair risked his political career to do what is right for world security. I want to tell him that the American people appreciate his courage. Australia is committing forces, and we are grateful. Additionally, Eastern European countries like Romania, Bulgaria, and Poland have been staunch supporters of disarming Saddam Hussein. They have done so because not long ago they lived under dictators. They have recently experienced the sweet breaths of freedom, and they want the Iraqi people to experience the same. God bless our troops.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I thank my esteemed colleague and leader, Senator CARL LEVIN.

With the first shots fired last night, I rise today to talk about the need to support our troops now fighting in the gulf, as well as those on duty around the world.

From that freezing winter in Valley Forge to the baking heat and swirling dust storms of the gulf today, our men and women in uniform have shown over and over the hardships they are ready to endure in service to their country.

They are all in our thoughts and prayers. And we pray this ends quickly and with little loss of life.

I have met with many of these men and women and their commanders and have been impressed with their professionalism, training, and sense of duty and sacrifice.

From my home State of Michigan, the men and women of the 127th Air National Guard Wing in Selfridge, the 110th Fighter Wing in Battle Creek and the Combat Readiness Training Center in Alpena have been mobilized and de-

ployed to bases around the world, including Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, South West Asia, and Turkey.

Army National Guard and Reserve unites from Owosso, Taylor, Grand Ledge, Grayling, Sault Ste. Marie, Midland, Pontiac, Three Rivers, Augusta, Selfridge, and Ypsilanti have all been mobilized and are awaiting their deployment orders.

Many of these men and women leave families and well-paying jobs behind, creating hardships for themselves and their family just so they can serve their Nation.

As the sole remaining superpower, we are asking a tremendous amount of our Armed Forces today. When we look around the globe, the numbers are staggering.

Right now about 225,000 troops are deployed in the Mideast—with more on the way.

But, again, as the sole remaining superpower we still have responsibilities around the globe.

We still have 38,000 Active Duty troops in Korea, nearly 40,000 in Japan, more than 100,000 permanently stationed in Europe, and about 50,000 sailors and soldiers afloat on ships in foreign waters.

In fact, according to the Department of Defense, the U.S. military is operating in more places around the globe than at any time in its history, including World War II, with a military presence in about 140 nations.

These men and women in uniform need to know their Nation will do everything in its power to give them the support they need to do their jobs—and also that gratitude for their sacrifice they will have our support when they come home as well.

General George C. Marshall, who oversaw the movement of forces in Europe and the Pacific in World War II, knew that the morale of the troops is crucial if the Armed Forces are to be effective. He once said:

It is not enough to fight. It is the spirit which we bring to the fight that decides the issue. It is morale that wins victories.

I agree.

And I believe one of the things we must do in this Congress to ensure high morale among our 2.3 million men and women in uniform, including Active, Reserve and Guard units, is to show them we are treating the 25 million veterans who came before them, including about 875,000 from Michigan, with the respect a grateful nation owes them.

One thing I would like to see is a change of policy so that our 600,000 disabled men and women who wore their country's uniform could collect both full pensions and disability benefits.

I also want to make sure our veterans have access to the best possible health care by fully funding the Veterans Affairs health care system.

If you cared enough to wear the uniform, you should be guaranteed high-quality, uniform care.

We also need to eliminate bottle-necks at the Veterans Administration for veterans who need prescription drugs.

Finally, we need to pass legislation creating tax fairness for military personnel.

We need to send to the President S. 351 that would address long-overdue tax reforms for National Guard and Reserve personnel.

We need to remember that in the world after 9-11, our first responders are now also a crucial part of our national security, and they need our full support as well.

They were then, and remain now, on the front lines of hometown defense in this new war against terrorism.

For the past several months I have been traveling throughout Michigan meeting with the public safety officials who have been given the mission of trying to prevent an attack—or be first on the scene to save lives if one occurs.

In nine meetings from Michigan's Upper Peninsula to Detroit, I heard the same message over and over:

Help us get the training, personnel and equipment we need to protect the people we need to protect, and help us meet our obligations in the face of these new threats to our communities.

Mr. President, I hope we will do just that as soon as possible.

This Sunday I will participate in a special ceremony that puts this all in perspective for me. This Sunday I meet with an American hero of World War II to present him a long overdue and richly deserved Bronze Star.

His name is Sergeant Herbert Munford and his story is inspiring.

Sergeant Munford had already earned a Silver Star at the Battle of the Bulge. Of the 385 men in his company when the battle began, only 18 were standing at the end—the rest killed, captured, or wounded.

Months later, SGT Munford's platoon was scouting along the Rhine, looking for a place to cross in advance of General George S. Patton's 3rd Army.

A German machine gun nest opened up on the platoon. SGT Munford made a run for some tall grass, hoping to hide himself while he circled around behind the machine gun.

He was shot in the hip as he was making his run out in the open. But he still managed to make it into the tall grass, circle behind the machine gun nest and take it out.

And what does SGT Munford say today about his heroic act. Well, he jokes about it. He called being shot in the hip his "million dollar wound."

Why? Well, in his own words SGT Munford says:

I can't swim. I didn't know how I was going to get across the Rhine in the first place. I was sent back to be treated for my wound and when I got back about two days later, Patton had taken the Rhine and built a bridge so I could just walk across.

What modesty! And keep in mind, that German bullet is still lodged in his hip today.

And his story doesn't end there. SGT Munford went on to win an Oak Leaf Cluster for his Bronze Star for bravery under fire in Korea.

I tell this story, because I think SGT Munford's story, like the stories of so many of our veterans, shows the great patriotic tradition of our Nation—a tradition that is on display today in the gulf and around the world.

And when I meet with SGT Munford on Sunday—and he's standing there with his family and fellow veterans—I want to be able to look each and every one of them in the eye and tell them in this time of conflict this Nation is doing all it can to support our present military personnel serving in the gulf and other duty stations around the globe. And that we stand behind our veterans of past wars as well.

I want them to know that we are committed to the proposition that those who answered the call to duty will never need to call out for help due to indifference.

I want them to know that those who sacrifice for their country will return to a country ready to sacrifice for them as well.

And I want them to know that those who wear the uniform of this Nation with honor, will themselves be honored long after that uniform has been put away and the guns gone silent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, is there any time remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eleven seconds.

Mr. LEVIN. The men and women we have now placed in harm's way are carrying the prayers of every single Member of this body and every single man, woman, and child in this Nation. They are carrying on in the greatest traditions of the American military. We thank them.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, this has been a historic debate, fully participated in by many Senators. I am privileged to be a part of that debate. I again salute the distinguished majority leader and the Democratic leader for drawing up this resolution. The Senate has spoken.

As we conclude this historic debate, which conclusively states the support of the Senate behind our President, our men and women in uniform and their families, I believe it is appropriate to include as part of this record the speech given to the British Parliament on March 18, 2003 requesting authority to use British forces alongside American forces in the liberation of the people of Iraq, by the Prime Minister, the Honorable Tony Blair, whom I and others view as Churchill II. My colleagues will recall that Prime Minister Blair was specifically mentioned in the text

of this resolution I read earlier. This was a purposeful reflection of our great esteem for this courageous leader who has stood so firm arm-in-arm with America. His request to use force was not a popular motion, but he prevailed. The following is the text of his speech and I commend it to my colleagues. I ask unanimous consent to print the speech in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### TONY BLAIR'S SPEECH

I beg to move the motion standing on the order paper in my name and those of my right honourable friends.

At the outset I say: it is right that this house debate this issue and pass judgment. That is the democracy that is our right but that others struggle for in vain.

And again I say: I do not disrespect the views of those in opposition to mine.

This is a tough choice. But it is also a stark one: to stand British troops down and turn back; or to hold firm to the course we have set.

I believe we must hold firm.

The question most often posed is not why does it matter? But why does it matter so much? Here we are, the government with its most serious test, its majority at risk, the first cabinet resignation over an issue of policy. The main parties divided.

People who agree on everything else, disagree on this and likewise, those who never agree on anything, finding common cause. The country and parliament reflect each other, a debate that, as time has gone on has become less bitter but not less grave.

So: why does it matter so much? Because the outcome of this issue will now determine more than the fate of the Iraqi regime and more than the future of the Iraqi people, for so long brutalized by Saddam. It will determine the way Britain and the world confront the central security threat of the 21st century; the development of the UN; the relationship between Europe and the U.S. the relations within the EU and the way the U.S. engages with the rest of the world. It will determine the pattern of international politics for the next generation.

But first, Iraq and its WMD.

In April 1991, after the Gulf war, Iraq was given 15 days to provide a full and final declaration of all its WMD.

Saddam had used the weapons against Iran, against his own people, causing thousands of deaths. He had had plans to use them against allied forces. It became clear after the Gulf war that the WMD ambitions of Iraq were far more extensive than hitherto thought. This issue was identified by the UN as one for urgent remedy. UNSCOM, the weapons inspection team, was set up. They were expected to complete their task following declaration at the end of April 1991.

The declaration when it came was false—a blanket denial of the programme, other than in a very tentative form. So the 12-year game began.

The inspectors probed. Finally in March 1992, Iraq admitted it had previously undeclared WMD but said it had destroyed them. It gave another full and final declaration. Again the inspectors probed but found little.

In October 1994, Iraq stopped cooperating with UNSCOM altogether. Military action was threatened. Inspections resumed. In March 1995, in an effort to rid Iraq of the inspectors, a further full and final declaration of WMD was made. By July 1995, Iraq was forced to admit that too was false. In August they provided yet another full and final declaration.



Then, a week later, Saddam's son-in-law, Hussein Kamal, defected to Jordan. He disclosed a far more extensive BW (biological weapons) programme and for the first time said Iraq had weaponised the programme; something Saddam had always strenuously denied. All this had been happening whilst the inspectors were in Iraq. Kamal also revealed Iraq's crash programme to produce a nuclear weapon in 1990.

Iraq was forced then to release documents which showed just how extensive those programmes were. In November 1995, Jordan intercepted prohibited components for missiles that could be used for WMD.

In June 1996, a further full and final declaration was made. That too turned out to be false. In June 1997, inspectors were barred from specific sites.

In September 1997, another full and final declaration was made. Also false. Meanwhile the inspectors discovered VX nerve agent production equipment, something always denied by the Iraqis.

In October 1997, the U.S. and the U.K. threatened military action if Iraq refused to comply with the inspectors. But obstruction continued.

Finally, under threat of action, in February 1998, Kofi Annan went to Baghdad and negotiated a memorandum with Saddam to allow inspections to continue. They did. For a few months.

In August, cooperation was suspended. In December the inspectors left. Their final report is a withering indictment of Saddam's lies, deception and obstruction, with large quantities of WMD remained unaccounted for.

The U.S. and the U.K. then, in December 1998, undertook Desert Fox, a targeted bombing campaign to degrade as much of the Iraqi WMD facilities as we could.

In 1999, a new inspections team, UNMOVIC, was set up. But Saddam refused to allow them to enter Iraq.

So there they stayed, in limbo, until after resolution 1441 when last November they were allowed to return.

What is the claim of Saddam today? Why exactly the same claim as before: that he has no WMD.

Indeed we are asked to believe that after seven years of obstruction and non-compliance finally resulting in the inspectors leaving in 1998, seven years in which he hid his programme, built it up even whilst inspection teams were in Iraq, that after they left he then voluntarily decided to do what he had consistently refused to do under coercion.

When the inspectors left in 1998, they left unaccounted for: 10,000 litres of anthrax; a far reaching VX nerve agent programme; up to 6,500 chemical munitions; at least 80 of mustard gas, possibly more than ten times that amount; unquantifiable amounts of sarin, botulinum toxin and a host of other biological poisons; an entire Scud missile programme.

We are now seriously asked to accept that in the last few years, contrary to all history, contrary to all intelligence, he decided unilaterally to destroy the weapons. Such a claim is palpably absurd.

1441 is a very clear resolution. It lays down a final opportunity for Saddam to disarm. It rehearses the fact that he has been, for years in material breach of 17 separate UN resolutions. It says that this time compliance must be full, unconditional and immediate. The first step is a full and final declaration of all WMD to be given on 8 December.

I want to go through all the events since then—the house is familiar with them—but this much is accepted by all members of the UNSC: the 8 December declaration is false. That in itself is a material breach. Iraq has

made some concessions to cooperation but no-one disputes it is not fully cooperating. Iraq continues to deny it has any WMD, though no serious intelligence service anywhere in the world believes them.

On 7 March, the inspectors published a remarkable document. It is 173 pages long, detailing all the unanswered questions about Iraq's WMD. It lists 29 different areas where they have been unable to obtain information. For example, on VX it says: "Documentation available to UNMOVIC suggests that Iraq at least had had far reaching plans to weaponise VX . . ."

"Mustard constituted an important part (about 70%) of Iraq's CW arsenal . . . 550 mustard filled shells and up to 450 mustard filled aerial bombs unaccounted for . . . additional uncertainty with respect of 6526 aerial bombs, corresponding to approximately 1000 tonnes of agent, predominantly mustard.

"Based on unaccounted for growth media, Iraq's potential production of anthrax could have been in the range of about 15,000 to 25,000 litres . . . Based on all the available evidence, the strong presumption is that about 10,000 litres of anthrax was not destroyed and may still exist."

On this basis, had we meant what we said in resolution 1441, the security council should have convened and condemned Iraq as in material breach.

What is perfectly clear is that Saddam is playing the same old games in the same old way. Yes there are concessions. But fundamental change of heart or mind.

But the inspectors indicated there was at least some cooperation; and the world rightly hesitated over war. We therefore approached a second resolution in this way.

We laid down an ultimatum calling upon Saddam to come into line with resolution 1441 or be in material breach. Not an unreasonable proposition, given the history.

But still countries hesitated: how do we know how to judge full cooperation?

We then worked on a further compromise. We consulted the inspectors and drew up five tests based on the document they published on 7 March. Tests like interviews with 30 scientists outside of Iraq; production of the anthrax or documentation showing its destruction.

The inspectors added another test: that Saddam should publicly call on Iraqis to cooperate with them. So we constructed this framework: that Saddam should be given a specified time to fulfill all six tests to show full cooperation; that if he did so the inspectors could then set out a forward work programme and that if he failed to do so, action would follow. So clear benchmarks; plus a clear ultimatum. I defy anyone to describe that as an unreasonable position.

Last Monday, we were getting somewhere with it. We very nearly had majority agreement and I thank the Chilean President particularly for the constructive way he approached the issue.

There were debates about the length of the ultimatum. But the basic construct was gathering support.

Then, on Monday night, France said it would veto a second resolution whatever the circumstances. Then France denounced the six tests. Later that day, Iraq rejected them. Still, we continued to negotiate.

Last Friday, France said they could not accept any ultimatum. On Monday, we made final efforts to secure agreement. But they remain utterly opposed to anything which lays down an ultimatum authorizing action in the event of non-compliance by Saddam.

Just consider the position we are asked to adopt. Those on the security council opposed to us say they want Saddam to disarm but will not countenance any new resolution

that authorizes force in the event of non-compliance.

That is their position. No to any ultimatum; no to any resolution that stipulates that failure to comply will lead to military action.

So we must demand he disarm but relinquish any concept of a threat if he doesn't. From December 1998 to December 2002, no UN inspector was allowed to inspect anything in Iraq. For four years, not a thing.

What changed his mind? The threat of force. From December to January and then from January through to February, concessions were made.

What changed his mind? The threat of force. And what makes him now issue invitations to the inspectors, discover documents he said he never had, produce evidence of weapons supposed to be non-existent, destroy missiles he said he would keep? The imminence of force.

The only persuasive power to which he responds is 250,00 allied troops on his doorstep.

And yet when the fact is so obvious that it is staring us in the face, we are told that any resolution that authorizes force will be vetoed. Not just opposed. Vetoed. Blocked.

The way ahead was so clear. It was for the UN to pass a second resolution setting out benchmarks for compliance; with an ultimatum that if they were ignored, action would follow.

The tragedy is that had such a resolution been issued, he might just have complied. Because the only route to peace with someone like Saddam Hussein is diplomacy backed by force.

Yet the moment we proposed the benchmarks, canvassed support for an ultimatum, there was an immediate recourse to the language of the veto.

And now the world has to learn the lesson all over again that weakness in the face of a threat from a tyrant, is the surest way not to peace but war.

Looking back over 12 years, we have been victims of our own desire to placate the implacable, to persuade towards reason the utterly unreasonable, to hope that there was some genuine intent to do good in a regime whose mind is in fact evil. Now the very length of time counts against us. You've waited 12 years. Why not wait a little longer?

And indeed we have.

1441 gave a final opportunity. The first test was the 8th of December. He failed it. But still we waited. Until January 27, the first inspection report that showed the absence of full cooperation. Another breach. And still we waited.

Until February 14 and then February 28 with concessions, according to the old familiar routine, tossed to us to whet our appetite for hope and further waiting. But still none, not the inspectors nor any member of the security council, not any half-way rational observer, believes Saddam is cooperating fully or unconditionally or immediately.

Our fault has not been impatience.

The truth is our patience should have been exhausted weeks and months and years ago. Even now, when if the world united and gave him an ultimatum: comply or face forcible disarmament, he might just do it, the world hesitates and in that hesitation he senses the weakness and therefore continues to defy.

What would any tyrannical regime possessing WMD think viewing the history of the world's diplomatic dance with Saddam? That our capacity to pass firm resolutions is only matched by our feebleness in implementing them.

That is why this indulgence has to stop. Because it is dangerous. It is dangerous if such regimes disbelieve us.

Dangerous if they think they can use our weakness, our hesitation, even the natural urges of our democracy towards peace, against us.

Dangerous because one day they will mistake our innate revulsion against war for permanent incapacity; when in fact, pushed to the limit, we will act. But then when we act, after years of pretence, the action will have to be harder, bigger, more total in its impact. Iraq in not the only regime with WMD. But back away now from this confrontation and future conflicts will be infinitely worse and more devastating.

But, of course, in a sense, any fair observer does not really dispute that Iraq is in breach and that 1441 implies action in such circumstances. The real problem is that, underneath, people dispute that Iraq is a threat; dispute the link between terrorism and WMD; dispute the whole basis of our assertion that the two together constitute a fundamental assault on our way of life.

There are glib and sometimes foolish comparisons with the 1930s. No one here is an appeaser. But the only relevant point of analogy is that with history, we know what happened. We can look back and say: there's the time; that was the moment; for example, when Czechoslovakia was swallowed up by the Nazis—that's when we should have acted.

But it wasn't clear at the time. In fact at the time, many people thought such a fear fanciful. Worse, put forward in bad faith by warmongers. Listen to this editorial—from a paper I'm pleased to say with a different position today—but written in late 1938 after Munich when by now, you would have thought the world was tumultuous in its desire to act.

"Be glad in your hearts. Give thanks to your God. People of Britain, your children are safe. Your husbands and your sons will not march to war. Peace is a victory for all mankind. And now let us go back to our own affairs. We have had enough of those menaces, conjured up from the continent to confuse us."

Naturally should Hitler appear again in the same form, we would know what to do. But the point is that history doesn't declare the future to us so plainly. Each time is different and the present must be judged without the benefit of hindsight.

So let me explain the nature of this threat as I see it.

The threat today is not that of the 1930s. It's not big powers going to war with each other. The ravages which fundamentalist political ideology inflicted on the 20th century are memories. The Cold War is over. Europe is at peace, if not always diplomatically.

But the world is ever more interdependent. Stock markets and economies rise and fall together. Confidence is the key to prosperity. Insecurity spreads like contagion. So people crave stability and order.

The threat is chaos. And there are two beggetters of chaos. Tyrannical regimes with WMD and extreme terrorist groups who profess a perverted and false view of Islam.

Let me tell the house what I know. I know that there are some countries or groups within countries that are proliferating and trading in WMD, especially nuclear weapons technology.

I know there are companies, individuals, some former scientists on nuclear weapons programmes, selling their equipment or expertise.

I know there are several countries—mostly dictatorships with highly repressive regimes—desperately trying to acquire chemical weapons, biological weapons or, in particular, nuclear weapons capability. Some of these countries are now a short time away from having a serviceable nuclear weapon. This activity is not diminishing. It is increasing.

We all know that there are terrorist cells now operating in most major countries. Just as in the last two years, around 20 different nations have suffered serious terrorist outrages. Thousands have died in them.

The purpose of terrorism lies not just in the violent act itself. It is in producing terror. It sets out to inflame, to divide, to produce consequences which they then use to justify further terror.

Round the world it now poisons the changes of political progress: in the Middle East; in Kashmir; in Chechnya; in Africa.

The removal of the Taliban in Afghanistan dealt it a blow. But is has not gone away.

And these two threats have different motives and different origins but they share one basic common view: they detest the freedom, democracy and tolerance that are the hallmarks of our way of life.

At the moment, I accept that association between them is loose. But it is hardening.

And the possibility of the two coming together—of terrorist groups in possession of WMD, even of a so-called dirty radiological bomb is now, in my judgment, a real and present danger.

And let us recall: what was shocking about September 11 was not just the slaughter of the innocent; but the knowledge that had the terrorists been able to, there would have been not 3,000 innocent dead, but 30,000 or 300,000 and the more the suffering, the greater the terrorists' rejoicing.

Three kilograms of VX from a rocket launcher would contaminate a quarter of a square kilometer of a city.

Millions of lethal doses are contained in one liter of Anthrax. 10,000 liters are unaccounted for. 11 September has changed the psychology of America. It should have changed the psychology of the world. Of course Iraq is not the only part of this threat. But it is the test of whether we treat the threat seriously.

Faced with it, the world should unite. The UN should be the focus, both of diplomacy and of action. That is what 1441 said. That was the deal. And I say to you to break it now, to will the ends but not the means that would do more damage in the long term to the UN than any other course.

To fall back into the lassitude of the last 12 years, to talk, to discuss, to debate but never act; to declare our will but not enforce it; to combine strong language with weak intentions, a worse outcome than never speaking at all.

And then, when the threat returns from Iraq or elsewhere, who will believe us? What price our credibility with the next tyrant? No wonder Japan and South Korea, next to North Korea, has issued such strong statements of support.

I have come to the conclusion after much reluctance that the greater danger to the UN is inaction: that to pass resolution 1441 and then refuse to enforce it would do the most deadly damage to the UN's future strength, confirming it as an instrument of diplomacy but not of action, forcing nations down the very unilateralist path we wish to avoid.

But there will be, in any event, no sound future for the UN, no guarantee against the repetition of these events, unless we recognise the urgent need for a political agenda we can unite upon.

What we have witnessed is indeed the consequence of Europe and the United States dividing from each other. Not all of Europe—Spain, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Portugal—have all strongly supported us. And not a majority of Europe if we include, as we should, Europe's new members who will accede next year, all 10 of whom have been in our support.

But the paralysis of the UN has been born out of the division there is. And at the heart

of it has been the concept of a world in which there are rival poles of power. The U.S. and its allies in one corner. France, Germany, Russia and its allies in the other. I do not believe that all of these nations intend such an outcome. But that is what now faces us.

I believe such a vision to be misguided and profoundly dangerous. I know why it arises. There is resentment of U.S. predominance.

There is fear of U.S. unilateralism. People ask: do the U.S. listen to us and our preoccupations? And there is perhaps a lack of full understanding of U.S. preoccupations after 11th September. I know all of this. But the way to deal with it is not rivalry but partnership. Partners are not servants but neither are they rivals. I tell you what Europe should have said last September to the U.S. With one voice it should have said: we understand your strategic anxiety over terrorism and WMD and we will help you meet it.

We will mean what we say in any UN resolution we pass and will back it with action if Saddam fails to disarm voluntarily; but in return we ask two things of you: that the U.S. should choose the UN path and you should recognise the fundamental overriding importance of re-starting the MEPP (Middle East Peace Process), which we will hold you to.

I do not believe there is any other issue with the same power to re-unite the world community than progress on the issues of Israel and Palestine. Of course there is cynicism about recent announcements. But the U.S. is now committed, and, I believe genuinely, to the roadmap for peace, designed in consultation with the UN. It will now be presented to the parties as Abu Mazen is confirmed in office, hopefully today.

All of us are now signed up to its vision: a state of Israel, recognised and accepted by all the world, and a viable Palestinian state. And that should be part of a larger global agenda. On poverty and sustainable development. On democracy and human rights. On the good governance of nations.

That is why what happens after any conflict in Iraq is of such critical significance.

Here again there is a chance to unify around the UN. Let me make it clear.

There should be a new UN resolution following any conflict providing not just for humanitarian help but also for the administration and governance of Iraq. That must now be done under proper UN authorisation.

It should protect totally the territorial integrity of Iraq. And let the oil revenues—which people falsely claim we want to seize—be put in a trust fund for the Iraqi people administered through the UN.

And let the future government of Iraq be given the chance to begin the process of uniting the nation's disparate groups, on a democratic basis, respecting human rights, as indeed the fledgling democracy in Northern Iraq—protected from Saddam for 12 years by British and American pilots in the no-fly zone—has done so remarkably.

And the moment that a new government is in place—willing to disarm Iraq of WMD—for which its people have no need or purpose—then let sanctions be lifted in their entirety.

I have never put our justification for action as regime change. We have to act within the terms set out in resolution 1441. That is our legal base.

But it is the reason, I say frankly, why if we do act we should do so with a clear conscience and strong heart.

I accept fully that those opposed to this course of action share my detestation of Saddam. Who could not? Iraq is a wealthy country that in 1978, the year before Saddam seized power, was richer than Portugal or Malaysia.

Today it is impoverished, 60 percent of its population dependent on food aid.

Thousands of children die needlessly every year from lack of food and medicine.

Four million people out of a population of just over 20 million are in exile.

The brutality of the repression—the death and torture camps, the barbaric prisons for political opponents, the routine beatings for anyone or their families suspected of disloyalty well documented.

Just last week, someone slandering Saddam was tied to a lamp post in a street in Baghdad, his tongue cut out, mutilized and left to bleed to death, as a warning to others.

I recall a few weeks ago talking to an Iraqi exile and saying to her that I understood how grim it must be under the lash of Saddam.

"But you don't," she replied. "You cannot. You do not know what it is like to live in perpetual fear."

And she is right. We take our freedom for granted. But imagine not to be able to speak or discuss or debate or even question the society you live in. To see friends and family taken away and never daring to complain. To suffer the humility of failing courage in face of pitiless terror. That is how the Iraqi people live. Leave Saddam in place and that is how they will continue to live.

We must face the consequences of the actions we advocate. For me, that means all the dangers of war. But for others, opposed to this course, it means—let us be clear—that the Iraqi people, whose only true hope of liberation lies in the removal of Saddam, for them, the darkness will close back over them again; and he will be free to take his revenge upon those he must know wish him gone.

And if this house now demands that at this moment, faced with this threat from this regime, that British troops are pulled back, that we turn away at the point of reckoning, and that is what it means—what then?

What will Saddam feel? Strengthened beyond measure. What will the other states who tyrannise their people, the terrorists who threaten our existence, what will they take from that? That the will confronting them is decaying and feeble.

Who will celebrate and who will weep?

And if our plea is for America to work with others, to be good as well as powerful allies, will our retreat make them multilateralist? Or will it not rather be the biggest impulse to unilateralism there could ever be. And what of the UN and the future of Iraq and the Middle East peace plan, devoid of our influence, stripped of our insistence?

This house wanted this decision. Well it has it. Those are the choices. And in this dilemma, no choice is perfect, no cause ideal.

But on this decision hangs the fate of many things.

Of whether we summon the strength to recognise this global challenge of the 21st century and meet it.

Of the Iraqi people, groaning under years of dictatorship.

Of our armed forces—brave men and women of whom we can feel proud, whose morale is high and whose purpose is clear.

Of the institutions and alliances that will shape our world for years to come."

I can think of many things, of whether we summon the strength to recognise the global challenge of the 21st century and beat it, of the Iraqi people groaning under years of dictatorship, of our armed forces—brave men and women whom we can feel proud, whose morale is high and whose purpose is clear—of the institutions and alliances that shape our world for years to come.

To retreat now, I believe, would put at hazard all that we hold dearest, in turn the UN back into a talking shop, stifle the first steps of progress in the Middle East; leave the Iraqi people to the mercy of events on

which we would have relinquished all power to influence for the better.

Tell our allies that at the very moment of action, at the very moment when they need our determination that Britain faltered. I will not be a party to such a course. This is not the time to falter. This is the time for this house, not just this government or indeed this prime minister, but for this house to give a lead, to show that we will stand up for what we know to be right, to show that we will confront the tyrannies and dictatorships and terrorists who put our way of life at risk, to show at the moment of decision that we have the courage to do the right thing.

I beg to move the motion.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, resolutions, such as the one before us, are not possible without a dedicated, bipartisan effort. Our staffs have worked hard and well together over the past few days to help members craft this resolution. I want to especially recognize and thank Steve Biegun of the Majority Leader's Office, Dennis McDonough of the Democratic Leader's Office, and Judy Ansley, Rick DeBobs and Chuck Alsop of the Armed Services Committee staff, for their efforts in helping draft this important resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Has all time expired?

Mr. LEVIN. May I make a unanimous consent request.

I ask unanimous consent Senator LANDRIEU be added as a cosponsor, and every Member of the Senate who chooses to, who wants their name added, be allowed to do so, and even though it comes after the vote, that it appear that it occurred before the vote.

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

Mr. WARNER. I specifically ask the Senator from New Mexico be added as a cosponsor.

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

The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. I will close on leader time.

Mr. President, I welcome the strong bipartisan support and the bipartisan spirit in which this debate has been conducted today, the bipartisan support over the last several hours of remarks. American soldiers, American sailors, and airmen are fighting to end the regime of one of the world's worst tyrants.

Our men and women in uniform are in harm's way. They are engaged in battle as we speak. Let us pray for their safety and their success.

I am confident of their victory, and I am confident that it will occur at the earliest possible moment. In passing this resolution, the Senate says to the men and women who wear our Nation's uniform and to their families: We are grateful for your sacrifice.

As they act to free the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein's oppressive regime, let there be no mistake—they are defending our own liberty as well.

Again I ask in this vote we send a clear message to those brave Ameri-

cans who are risking their lives for us on the battlefield. Our prayers are with you. Godspeed toward victory.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent due to a family medical matter.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) would vote "aye".

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 99, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 61 Leg.]

YEAS—99

Akaka	Dodd	Lieberman
Alexander	Dole	Lincoln
Allard	Domenici	Lott
Allen	Dorgan	Lugar
Baucus	Durbin	McCain
Bayh	Edwards	McConnell
Bennett	Ensign	Mikulski
Biden	Enzi	Murkowski
Bingaman	Feingold	Murray
Bond	Feinstein	Nelson (FL)
Boxer	Fitzgerald	Nelson (NE)
Breaux	Frist	Nickles
Brownback	Graham (FL)	Pryor
Bunning	Graham (SC)	Reed
Burns	Grassley	Reid
Byrd	Gregg	Roberts
Campbell	Hagel	Rockefeller
Cantwell	Harkin	Santorum
Carper	Hatch	Sarbanes
Chafee	Hollings	Schumer
Chambliss	Hutchison	Sessions
Clinton	Inhofe	Shelby
Cochran	Inouye	Smith
Coleman	Jeffords	Snowe
Collins	Johnson	Specter
Conrad	Kennedy	Stabenow
Cornyn	Kerry	Stevens
Corzine	Kohl	Sununu
Craig	Kyl	Talent
Crapo	Landrieu	Thomas
Daschle	Lautenberg	Voinovich
Dayton	Leahy	Warner
DeWine	Levin	Wyden

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The resolution (S. Res. 95) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. RES. 95

Whereas Saddam Hussein has failed to comply with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 678, 686, 587, 688, 707, 715, 949, 1051, 1060, 1115, 1134, 1137, 1154, 1194, 1205, 1284, and 1441;

Whereas the military action now underway against Iraq is lawful and fully authorized by the Congress in Sec. 3(a) of Public Law 107-243, which passed the Senate on October 10, 2002, by a vote of 77-23, and which passed the House of Representatives on that same date by a vote of 296-133;

Whereas more than 225,000 men and women of the United States Armed Forces are now involved in conflict against Iraq;

Whereas over 200,000 members of the Reserves and National Guard have been called to active duty for the conflict against Iraq and other purposes; and

Whereas the Senate and the American people have the greatest pride in the men and women of the United States Armed Forces,

and the civilian personnel supporting them, and strongly support them in their efforts: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) commends and supports the efforts and leadership of the President, as Commander in Chief, in the conflict against Iraq;

(2) commends, and expresses the gratitude of the Nation to all members of the United States Armed Forces (whether on active duty, in the National Guard, or in the Reserves) and the civilian employees who support their efforts, as well as the men and women of civilian national security agencies who are participating in the military oper-

ations in the Persian Gulf region, for their professional excellence, dedicated patriotism and exemplary bravery;

(3) commends and expresses the gratitude of the Nation to the family members of soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines and civilians serving in operations against Iraq who have borne the burden of sacrifice and separation from their loved ones;

(4) expresses its deep condolences to the families of brave Americans who have lost their lives in this noble undertaking, over many years, against Iraq;

(5) joins all Americans in remembering those who lost their lives during Operation

Desert Shield and Operation Desert Storm in 1991, those still missing from that conflict, including Captain Scott Speicher, USN, and the thousands of Americans who have lost their lives in terrorist attacks over the years, and in the Global War on Terrorism; and

(6) expresses sincere gratitude to British Prime Minister Tony Blair and his government for their courageous and steadfast support, as well as gratitude to other allied nations for their military support, logistical support, and other assistance in the campaign against Saddam Hussein's regime.

### NOTICE

***Incomplete record of Senate proceedings. Except for concluding business which follows, today's Senate proceedings will be continued in the next issue of the Record.***

ORDERS FOR FRIDAY, MARCH 21,  
2003

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 9:30 a.m. on Friday, March 21. I further ask that following the prayer and the pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate resume consideration of S. Con. Res. 23, the concurrent budget resolution; provided that the time until 9:45 a.m. be for debate only on the resolution; further, the time be equally divided between the chairman of the

Budget Committee and the ranking member.

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

### PROGRAM

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, tomorrow the Senate will resume consideration of the budget resolution. At 9:45 tomorrow morning, the Senate will begin a series of votes on the remaining amendments on the budget resolution. There will be a number of amendments to be included in this stacked series of votes, and Members are encouraged to remain in the Chamber during this

very busy session. With the cooperation of all Senators, we will be able to move to a vote on final passage at a reasonable time tomorrow.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M.  
TOMORROW

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 11:30 p.m., adjourned until Friday, March 21, 2003, at 9:30 a.m.