

property and casualty lines, but some do not. Senator JEFFORDS and I strongly support language in the conference report to allow those captives in property and casualty the option of participating in the program while not requiring other captives to start offering terrorism risk insurance.

The state of Vermont is the premier U.S. domicile for captive insurance companies. Vermont's captive owners represent a wide range of industries including multinational corporations, associations, banks, municipalities, transportation and airline companies, power producers, public housing authorities, higher education institutions, telecommunications suppliers, shipping companies, insurance companies and manufacturers, among others. Since 1981, Vermont has averaged approximately 25 captives licensed annually, and those numbers are on the rise. Vermont closed 2001 with 38 new captives, 37 pure and I sponsored, for a total of 527 at year-end. The first half of 2002 saw 26 new captives licensed in Vermont setting a record pace, according to the Vermont Department of Banking, Insurance and Health Care Administration.

At a time when the American people are looking for Congress to take measured actions to protect them from acts of terror and jump-start our economy, this conference report is a shining example of bipartisan progress. I applaud Senator DASCHLE, SENATOR DODD, Senator SARBANES, Senator SCHUMER and the other Senate and House conferees on their good work on this bipartisan conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I have consulted with the chairman and the ranking member of the Appropriations Committee. As I think our colleagues know, the next order of business is a debate and then a vote on the continuing resolution. I am told they will need no more than 40 minutes. So Senators should be prepared to vote on final passage on the continuing resolution at about 9:10 to 9:15 p.m. Please return to the Chamber if you are not going to stay. That will be the final vote of the evening. We will vote at approximately 9:10 to 9:15 p.m., following this vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, cloture having been invoked, the question is on agreeing to the conference report to accompany H.R. 3210.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. HUTCHINSON), and the Senator from Alaska (Mr. MURKOWSKI) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 86, nays 11, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 252 Leg.]

YEAS—86

Akaka	Dayton	Lincoln
Allard	DeWine	Lott
Allen	Dodd	Lugar
Barkley	Domenici	McCain
Baucus	Dorgan	Mikulski
Bayh	Durbin	Miller
Bennett	Edwards	Murray
Biden	Ensign	Nelson (FL)
Bingaman	Feingold	Nelson (NE)
Bond	Feinstein	Reed
Boxer	Fitzgerald	Reid
Breaux	Frist	Roberts
Brownback	Graham	Rockefeller
Bunning	Gregg	Santorum
Burns	Hagel	Sarbanes
Byrd	Harkin	Schumer
Campbell	Hatch	Smith (NH)
Cantwell	Hollings	Smith (OR)
Carnahan	Inhofe	Snowe
Carper	Inouye	Specter
Chafee	Jeffords	Stabenow
Cleland	Johnson	Stevens
Clinton	Kennedy	Thompson
Cochran	Kerry	Thurmond
Collins	Kohl	Torricelli
Conrad	Landrieu	Voinovich
Corzine	Leahy	Warner
Crapo	Levin	Wyden
Daschle	Lieberman	

NAYS—11

Craig	Hutchison	Sessions
Enzi	Kyl	Shelby
Gramm	McConnell	Thomas
Grassley	Nickles	

NOT VOTING—3

Helms	Hutchinson	Murkowski
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The conference report was agreed to. Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Georgia, Mr. CLELAND, be recognized for up to 10 minutes.

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

#### SERVICE IN THE SENATE

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, I rise today to reflect on a 6 year term in the Senate which has been simultaneously the most challenging, yet most rewarding, experience of my life. I have had the chance to realize a lifelong dream by following in the footsteps of one of my personal heroes, Senator Richard Russell of Georgia. I have been able to represent the state I love in an institution I revere. And I have been able to add my voice to the others that have risen before me in this chamber, from William Fulbright to Harry Truman to John Kennedy to Everett Dirksen to so many other outstanding men and women of history.

In my Senate office, I have surrounded myself with small reminders of the men I most admire. I sit at Richard Russell's desk. On my walls, I have photographs of just two people. President Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Theirs were no ordinary times, and we can safely say now, neither are ours. After the Pentagon was attacked on September 11th, I looked at FDR's picture and finally understood the gravity of his day of infamy, because this genera-

tion now had one of its own. I have used Churchill's and Roosevelt's examples of strength and courage to make it through every day in this town. Some days have been better than others, but every one has been a gift because this has been the life of my dreams.

When I came to the Senate, I came to do the best job I could for the people of Georgia and the people of the United States, particularly our men and women in uniform. I am proud of what we've accomplished since then. Today, over 60% of our service members are married, and their benefits have finally begun to reflect that fact in order to retain those talented professionals. We knew that the decision to stay in the military is made at the dinner table, not the conference table, so we've increased pay for service members by nearly 20% since I came to the Senate. We've modernized the G.I. bill so that service members can transfer their benefits to start a college fund for their children. We set a schedule to eliminate out of pocket housing expenses and we even added a measure to help families take their pets with them when serving in Hawaii. Keeping the family dog may not be the highest priority for some lawmakers, but it's the whole world to a child moving around the globe as their mother or father serves our country. The family matters to the military member, so the family has mattered to me in my time here.

Beyond these individual personnel matters, I became deeply concerned about the shrinking numbers of our U.S. military, and this year was able to raise the ceiling of our force strength. In our new war on what Sam Nunn calls "catastrophic terrorism," we must continue to go on the strategic offensive. Our military may be winning the battle, but we will lose the war if we continue to ignore the fact that our forces are critically over-deployed and being asked to do too much with too little. We are out of balance. Our commitments are far outpacing our troop levels, and the situation is only getting worse.

Since the end of Operation Desert Storm in 1991, the armed forces have downsized by more than half a million personnel, but our commitments have increased by nearly 300%, including new deployments to Afghanistan, Yemen, the Philippines, Georgia, and Pakistan. Today, a Desert Storm-size deployment to Iraq would require 86% of the Army's deployable end strength, including all stateside deployable personnel, all overseas-deployed personnel, and most forward-stationed personnel.

To make the war on terrorism possible, we have activated more than 80,000 guard and reserve troops and instituted stop-loss for certain specialties. This is no way to fight a war when our strategic national interests are at stake. The President has rightly told the country to be prepared for a long commitment. But the Pentagon has not requested an increase in end

strength for services other than the Marines. Our military is on a collision course with reality of families they don't see, training they aren't receiving and divisions borrowing from each other to meet the bare minimum in staffing. We can prevent a loss tomorrow, but we have to act today by increasing our numbers, and I hope that we will.

Just as we must go on the strategic offensive overseas, we have to be on the strategic defensive here at home. The Senate has just passed the bill to create a new Department of Homeland Security, which was long overdue. For my own part, I am pleased to see passage of several measures I have worked on that I believe will significantly improve our sense of security here at home. The homeland security bill itself contains provisions to coordinate law enforcement and public health emergencies and to move the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center into the new department. The Port Security bill will help the ports of Brunswick and Savannah cut off options for terrorists who want to attack the U.S. on our own shores. The Bus Security bill will ensure that bus passengers are finally accorded some of the same security measures that the flying public receives.

I look ahead now, and see our nation facing perilous challenges. Iraq and Saddam Hussein are back on our radar screen. We are right to insist on disarmament, and I leave the Senate confident that my vote to give the President the authority to use force to that end was the right one. I also believe my vote to go after Osama bin Laden was the right one, but we have miles to go before we sleep on that front.

As all of these issues continue, I hope that the Senate and the country will continue to vigorously debate the proper course for our nation's foreign policy. A policy unchallenged is a policy unproven. Why would we wait to prove our theories to ourselves and our allies until our troops are in the field proving our policies for us?

When he was in Vietnam, Colin Powell swore to his men, as I swore to mine, that when we were the generals instead of the captains, when we were the senators instead of the sergeants, we would not send our boys into a fight willy-nilly. And we haven't. And we shouldn't. In retrospect it seems to me that the real failure of Congress in Vietnam was not so much passage of the open-ended Gulf of Tonkin resolution, but its subsequent failure to exercise its Constitutional responsibilities after the resolution passed.

Likewise, Congress' vote on the Iraq resolution provided a tangible, militarily achievable objective, but it did not discharge the Congress of all future responsibility with respect to our policy on Iraq. After the 1990-91 Gulf War, Powell put forth six questions which he believed must be addressed before future military interventions:

Is the political objective important, clearly defined, and well understood?

Have all non-violent means been tried and failed?

Will military force achieve the objective?

What will be the cost?

Have the gains and risks been thoroughly analyzed?

After the intervention, how will the situation likely evolve and what will the consequences be?

The first three questions have been addressed thus far, but when we turn to the final three of General Powell's questions, we see the need for some serious and sustained attention not only by the Administration, but by the Congress as well. What will be the cost, not only the cost of the immediate military operation, but also the costs of what could be a very long-term occupation and nation-building phase? What about the cost for our economy? The mere threat of war has sent oil prices upward and caused shudders on Wall Street. What will a full blown war do? Have the gains and risks been thoroughly analyzed? And after the intervention, how will the situation likely evolve and what will the consequences be?

Powell has said that the purpose of the American military is to prevent war. But if war cannot be prevented, we should go in, win and win quickly. I am grateful to have Colin Powell's voice in this debate today. And I am hopeful we will have his and others like his in the debates of tomorrow. I hope the members of the 108th Congress will ask these questions and these are the ones I will be asking from whatever vantage point I move to after January 2.

In his farewell speech to Congress, General Douglas MacArthur said that old soldiers never die, they just fade away. This old soldier is not going to fade away, but I will take my battles to another front. The people of Georgia have given me a chance to live the life of my dreams here in the Senate, but now I may have the chance to live a life that exceeds my dreams, and I am grateful for that.

As much as Richard Russell achieved for Georgia and for America, he said his greatest regret in his life was that he never married. I am happy to say that this old soldier has learned a thing or two from Russell, and I will be married to my fiancée, Miss Nancy Ross, after I retire. There is life after the Senate, and it will be a wonderful life. FDR said that the purpose of politics is to generate hope, but for me, the purpose of life is to generate hope. I will continue to try to live up to FDR's example every day.

Before I leave, I want to thank several people. Senator ROBERT BYRD, for teaching me so much about this institution. Senators REID and DASCHLE for your constant help and support, as well as Senator ZELL MILLER. Senators JOHN MCCAIN, JOHN KERRY and CHUCK HAGEL, who reminded me that nothing is stronger than brotherhood, and some things are more important than politics. I thank my staff for letting me lean on them, and I thank the entire

Senate family, from our Chaplain Lloyd Ogilvie to the reporters who cover the Senate, from the wonderful elevator operators to the staff in the Senate dining room and the barber shop and everyone in between—you've been my friends and my family and I will always remember your kindness. Finally, to my colleagues and the people of Georgia, a song from one of my favorite old westerns comes to mind. Happy trails to you, 'til we meet again. God bless you.

(Applause, Senators rising.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. REED). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, the two managers of this bill, the President pro tempore of the Senate and the soon to be President pro tempore of the Senate, are both here managing this bill. It is my understanding they are not going to take a long period of time. As soon as they finish, it is my understanding we would have final passage.

The majority leader has come upon the floor. Senator BYRD said he is ready to begin the debate.

#### MAKING FURTHER CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 2003

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the joint resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 124) making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 2003, and for other purposes.

The Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I shall be brief and my colleague, Mr. STEVENS—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will come to order. Please remove conversations from the floor.

The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

I do not intend to speak more than 15 minutes, if that much. And my colleague has indicated he will speak about the same amount of time. So I would say to Senators we ought to be voting within 30 minutes.

Last July, almost 4 months ago, the Senate Appropriations Committee completed action on all 13 of our appropriations bills, each on a bipartisan unanimous vote. These bills restored essential funding for programs that the administration proposed to cut.

We provided \$1.1 billion more than the President requested for veterans medical care.