

Senate from North Carolina. Nor did I ever expect to have the good fortune to win. But on election night 1972, at 9:17 p.m., Walter Cronkite came on the television and said, "Down in North Carolina, a fellow named Jesse Helms has got himself elected to the Senate."

So, I went off by myself and prayed for guidance. Then, after spending some time with my family, I remembered that comment by Senator Russell. I determined that I would do the best I could to learn something about rules of the Senate.

It developed as soon as I was sworn into the Senate in January 1973 that I had the great fortune to have a teacher like Senator Jim Allen of Alabama. Once a week, I would go to Senator ALLEN's office, and he would conduct an impromptu classroom in Senate procedure. Then, as often as I could, I would come to this Chamber and preside over the Senate.

So as a freshman Senator, I had a wonderful opportunity to preside over the Senate. That enabled me, working with that great man Dr. Floyd Riddick, Chief Parliamentarian of the Senate, to learn the rules backwards and forwards. True to Senator Russell's words, those rules came in handy during some spirited battles around here. And as the years went by, I won some and lost some, but I always had the comfort of knowing I had done what I thought was right in the best way I knew how.

I recall the time that I mentioned the late Senator Dick Russell in debate one afternoon. Later that evening, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield thanked me for my reference to Senator Russell. Senator Mansfield mentioned that former Senators who departed by reason of death or expiration of their tenures here were often quickly forgotten.

Senator Mansfield was right about this. As will be true in my case, most Senators who have completed their service will be forgotten, just as surely as others have faded into history.

As I approach the end of my five terms in the Senate, I realize that being remembered isn't important. What is important is standing up for what you believe to be right, hoping that you have done everything you can to preserve the moral and spiritual principles that made America great in the first place.

My father, rest his soul, was a good man who taught me many things. In my office, there is an inscription of something he told me many years ago. "Son," he said, "The Lord doesn't expect you to win. He just expects you to try."

With the remarkable Dot Helms at my side, we have done our best to live up to my father's admonition. And while we are certainly not perfect, and we certainly haven't always had all the answers, we have the comfort of feeling that we have done the best we can. Nobody can claim to have had a better life, or to be more blessed and honored by the people of North Carolina than Dot Helms and me.

Every so often, a reporter will ask me what I consider to be my legacy after 30 years in the Senate. Now "legacy" is a fancy word for the son of a small town police and fire chief, so I never know how to answer such a question.

But there is one thing I should mention that has given me particular satisfaction during my Senate career. When I was first elected, it was, as I have mentioned, a genuine surprise. I never expected to win. And one of the things I promised myself on that November night was that I would never, ever, fail to see a young person, or a group of young people, who wanted to see me.

Now the young lady who keeps track of such things in my office recently told me that I have had the chance to visit with more than 100,000 young people during my nearly 30 years in the Senate. I have been the beneficiary of the time I have spent with these young folks.

It is in them that I have seen the promise of what I regard as the "Miracle of America." They are bright, curious, thoroughly decent young folks who are committed to preserving the ideals of America as a country devoted to freedom and opportunity.

As Dot Helms and I prepare to go home—this time for good—we are grateful to young people who have visited us. Dot and I are convinced that America's future is in fine hands.

They are not my legacy; they are America's legacy, and I thank the Lord for them every day.

I thank the Chair, I thank my colleagues, and I thank the people of North Carolina for allowing me the honor of serving in the U.S. Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—S.J. RES. 46

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Madam President, along with Senators WARNER, BAYH, and McCain, I have a joint resolution at the desk and I ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the joint resolution by title.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 46) authorizing the use of U.S. Armed Forces against Iraq.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Madam President, I ask for its second reading and object to my own request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection has been heard.

The joint resolution will receive a second reading on the next legislative day.

USE OF U.S. ARMED FORCES AGAINST IRAQ

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Madam President, along with my dear friends and colleagues, Senators WARNER, BAYH, and

McCain, I am proud to introduce this bipartisan resolution which would authorize the President of the United States to use the Armed Forces of the United States as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in order to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq, and to enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.

There is no more fateful or difficult decision that we as Senators are ever called upon to make than a decision as to whether and when and how to authorize the President as Commander in Chief to put the men and women of the U.S. military into battle.

Each Member of the Senate must make this decision at this hour according to their personal conscience and their sense of what is best for the security of the people of the United States of America.

For my part, and that of my colleagues, I have made that decision. For more than a decade now, Saddam Hussein has threatened the peace and security of his region and the wider world. We went to war in 1991 to roll back his aggression—an invasion of Kuwait—because we determined across party lines that Saddam Hussein had ambitions that were hostile to America's security and the peace of the world to become the dominant power in the Arab world which, if ever realized, would be bad for the Arab world, bad for the peace and security of the broader region, and very bad for the people of the United States. We won that war in Kuwait—Operation Desert Storm—but Saddam Hussein has continued for the decade since then, notwithstanding documents that Iraq signed to conclude the gulf war, to thwart the rule of law internationally, to deceive and deny all that he had promised to do at the end of the gulf war, and all that the United Nations called on him to do in the years since then. He has continued, without question, to develop weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them on distant targets. He has continued to earn a dubious place on that small list of countries that the State Department considers state sponsors of terrorism.

Even today, Iraq has provided shelter for significant figures within al-Qaida who struck us on September 11, as they have fled from American military forces in Afghanistan.

President Bush has said that the hour of truth has arrived. We can no longer tolerate the intransigence and danger posed by Saddam Hussein. He has gone to the U.N. and sought support from the international community.

This resolution is our attempt to express our support of the President as Commander in Chief in seeking international backing for action against Saddam Hussein. It is also a way to strengthen the President's hand as Commander in Chief. If Saddam Hussein does not comply, or if the United Nations is not willing to take action to

enforce its orders, in my opinion, this is the last chance for Saddam Hussein but also the best chance for the international community to come together to prove that resolutions of the United Nations mean more and have more weight than the paper on which they are written.

It is also the hour for Members of Congress to draw together across party lines to support the national security of the United States. A debate will follow in the days ahead. It is an important debate that should not be rushed. It should be reflective. Ultimately, I am confident the resolution that Senators WARNER, BAYH, MCCAIN, and I are introducing will enjoy the broad, bipartisan support that our national security demands at this time.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia is recognized.

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I commend our distinguished colleagues, Senator LIEBERMAN and Senator BAYH, for joining my good friend, Senator MCCAIN, and myself as we introduce this resolution on behalf of the leadership in the Senate. Certainly, those leaders will join us on this.

I remember in 1991, Senator Dole, Senator MCCAIN, and I led the effort on this side of the aisle, and my good friend and colleague of these many years joined us. There was a historic debate. We will now embark this great body of deliberation on a similar debate on this extremely important resolution.

I commend our President for the leadership he has shown. This issue would not be in the forefront worldwide, the forefront in the U.N., and now in the forefront of the U.S. Congress had not this very bold and courageous President undertaken the difficult task of pointing out the perilous times in which we live with regard to terrorism and, most particularly, the threats posed not by the people of Iraq, but by Saddam Hussein and his regime.

Madam President, I wish to commend Leader LOTT. We met with him this morning. We have been meeting with him through the day. Senator MCCAIN and I and others have been a part of his working group to achieve the maximum bipartisan support obtainable on this resolution. I am confident that will be achieved. I am very confident, given the leadership of our two distinguished colleagues joining us here today, because it is important there be a solid phalanx of the House of Representatives, which will have an identical resolution, and the Senate joining together behind our President and speaking with one voice, as our President and the Secretary of State, working through the United Nations, achieving, hopefully, a resolution which will comport with the President's historic address to the United Nations, and also a resolution that will reflect the United Nations is going to stand up as an organization and live up to its charter and take on the responsibility

of bringing this question of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq to a conclusion so this world can be more peaceful.

I thank my colleagues, most particularly the four of us who are here today.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Madam President, morning business is supposed to conclude at 12:30 p.m. I know there has been some adjustment on the time because of tributes to Senator HELMS. Since we are not going to be able to vote on the bill that would be called up, for reasons I do not understand—we are not going to be able to vote on cloture until tomorrow—I ask unanimous consent morning business be extended until 1:45 p.m. today, with Senators allowed to speak therein for a period of up to 10 minutes each.

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

Mr. REID. Madam President, there are a number of people in the Chamber wishing to speak. We have been able to offer tributes to Senator HELMS, and people are also talking about substantive issues, such as the Senator from Connecticut, the Senator from Virginia, now the Senator from Indiana, and the Senator from Arizona, who wishes to speak. If we need more time, I am sure we can do that.

The majority leader is contemplating a vote today at 2 o'clock on a nomination. We have not worked it out with the minority. We are trying to do that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

USE OF ARMED FORCES AGAINST IRAQ

Mr. BAYH. I thank the Chair. Madam President, I am pleased to join with my colleagues today on a bipartisan basis to authorize the President of the United States to use appropriate force to defend the national security interests of our country.

I join in this effort with a sense of regret that events have come to this. No one can contemplate the use of military force with much satisfaction, but I also approach this debate with the firm conviction that the time has come to unite, to take those steps that are necessary to protect our country, including the use of force, because all other avenues have been exhausted and seem unlikely to lead to the result of protecting the American people.

Iraq presents a very significant potential threat to our country. Saddam Hussein possesses chemical, biological, and some day will possess, if events are allowed to run their course, nuclear weapons. If there is one thing we can say with absolute certainty, it is he is developing these weapons for no benign purpose. He does not need them to re-

tain his power within Iraq, but in all likelihood will use these terrible weapons to project that power, to intimidate other states in the region, and potentially one day for use against us as well.

If there is even a 10 or 15-percent chance of smallpox or anthrax or a crude nuclear device could one day be placed in the hands of suicidal terrorists for use against the United States of America, this is a risk we cannot afford to run. We have attempted diplomacy without effect. We have attempted economic sanctions to no effect.

Regrettably, my colleagues and I have concluded the President needs the authorization to use force to protect our country from this sort of eventuality. Of course, we will continue to negotiate with the United Nations. Of course, we will gather our allies. But the time has come to unite, to do what it takes to defend our country.

I am pleased to join with my colleagues, Senators WARNER, MCCAIN, and LIEBERMAN, in giving the President the authority he needs to do exactly that.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Madam President, I rise today to join my three colleagues, Senator WARNER, the distinguished ranking member and former chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator BAYH, and Senator LIEBERMAN. I am always honored to have my name associated with these three outstanding public servants.

This resolution, we should make very clear, is the text of the resolution agreed to this morning by the President of the United States and congressional leaders. This is the exact text of a resolution that was agreed to in hopes the debate will take place on two exact resolutions in both Houses of the Congress. I believe with open, spirited debate and discussion, we will come to a consensus which is broad based, and following a debate which I think will be illuminating and educational to the American people, as well as our colleagues.

America is at war with terrorists who murdered our people one year ago. We now contemplate carrying the battle to a new front—Iraq—where a tyrant who has the capabilities and the intentions to do us harm is plotting, biding his time until his capabilities give him the means to carry out his ambitions, perhaps through cooperation with terrorists—when confronting him will be much harder and impose a terrible cost.

Saddam Hussein is in patent violation of the terms of the Gulf war ceasefire and 16 United Nations Security Council resolutions. He possesses weaponized chemical and biological weapons and is aggressively developing nuclear weapons. He holds the perverse distinction of having used weapons of mass destruction against both his own