

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.

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#### 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.

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#### 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