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Senate

The Senate met at 10:01 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. By unanimous consent, the Senate will now convene notwithstanding the provisions of Senate Resolution No. 6 adopted January 3 in this year of our Lord, 2001.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, source of strength and hope in the darkest hours of our Nation's history, we praise You for the consistency and constancy of Your presence with us to help us confront and battle the forces of evil manifested in infamous, illusive, cowardly acts of terrorism. We turn to You with hearts filled with dismay, anger, and grief over the terrorist attacks on the World Trade buildings in New York City and the Pentagon here in Washington. We pray for the thousands of victims who lost their lives as a result of these violent acts against our Nation. We intercede for their loved ones; comfort them and give them courage. In particular, we pray for the loved ones of the fire fighters and police who died seeking to help others. Quiet our turbulent hearts. Remind us of how You have been with us in trouble and tragedies of the past and have given us victory over tyranny. Bless the women and men of this Senate today as they join with President Bush in decisive action. Guide them as they seek justice against the perpetrators of yesterday's evil destruction and seek to devise a long-range solution to the insidious problem of terrorism. Thank You in advance for the courageous leadership You will provide through this Senate. You are our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DASCHLE. I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of proceedings be approved to date; that the morning hour be deemed expired; that the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day; further, that the Senate recess from 12:30 to 2 p.m. for the weekly party conferences.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the requests are granted.

THANKING THE CHAPLAIN

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I thank the Chaplain for his prayer. I know he speaks for us all.

THANKING THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I also thank the distinguished Republican leader for the cooperation and leadership that he showed yesterday as we made decisions throughout the day with regard to the schedule.

SCHEDULE

Mr. DASCHLE. For the interest of all Senators, there will be a debate on the resolution which I am about to propose on behalf of both leaders. I might say this is also a resolution verbatim that will be offered in the House of Representatives; the same resolution will be offered simultaneously in both the House and the Senate this morning. We will break for party conferences at 12:30. We will not break, but there will be a classified briefing at 2 o'clock this afternoon for all Senators. We will continue to have an opportunity for Senators to be heard on the resolution throughout the day. And at a time upon which we will agree later, there

will be a vote on the resolution sometime this afternoon. It is my hope and expectation that there will also be a prayer service tonight. The time will be announced at a later time today subject to further discussions with the Speaker and, of course, the Republican leader.

I would also ask, Mr. President, to accommodate schedules of certain Senators, that after the resolution is proposed and the four leaders have been recognized for their statements, the Senators from New York and the Senators from Virginia be given first recognition, and following the statements made by those Senators, that Senators be recognized on an alternatinh basis throughout the day.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Hearing no objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republican leader is recognized.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I just want to say also—and I will have more to say about the resolution in a moment—how much I appreciate the work yesterday that was totally nonpartisan, totally cooperative from the leadership on the Democratic side of the aisle and on this side of the aisle and with the House of Representatives. That was the right thing to do. It was done. Senator DASCHLE was there. He made decisions that were appropriate after consultation—and some of them were tough—that even sometimes had to be modified later because events kept changing. I express my appreciation to him for that.

Also, this resolution today is bipartisan and bicameral; the same resolution will be considered in the House of Representatives. It is a good resolution. I believe it is strong. It is important that the American people and the

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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world know that is the way we are proceeding. I thank Senator DASCHLE for his cooperation.

TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I send a resolution to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will state the resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows.

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 22) expressing the sense of the Senate and the House of Representatives regarding the terrorist attacks launched against the United States on September 11, 2001:

Whereas on September 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked and destroyed four civilian aircraft, crashing two of them into the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, and a third into the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C.;

Whereas thousands of innocent Americans were killed and injured as a result of these attacks, including the passengers and crew of the four aircraft, workers in the World Trade Center and in the Pentagon, rescue workers, and bystanders;

Whereas these attacks destroyed both towers of the World Trade Center, as well as adjacent buildings, and seriously damaged the Pentagon; and

Whereas these attacks were by far the deadliest terrorist attacks ever launched against the United States, and, by targeting symbols of American strength and success, clearly were intended to intimidate our Nation and weaken its resolve: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress—

(1) condemns in the strongest possible terms the terrorists who planned and carried out the September 11, 2001, attacks against the United States, as well as their sponsors;

(2) extends its deepest condolences to the victims of these heinous and cowardly attacks, as well as to their families, friends, and loved ones;

(3) is certain that the people of the United States will stand united as our Nation begins the process of recovering and rebuilding in the aftermath of these tragic acts;

(4) commends the heroic actions of the rescue workers, volunteers, and State and local officials who responded to these tragic events with courage, determination, and skill;

(5) declares that these premeditated attacks struck not only at the people of America, but also at the symbols and structures of our economic and military strength, and that the United States is entitled to respond under international law;

(6) thanks those foreign leaders and individuals who have expressed solidarity with the United States in the aftermath of the attacks, and asks them to continue to stand with the United States in the war against international terrorism;

(7) commits to support increased resources in the war to eradicate terrorism;

(8) supports the determination of the President, in close consultation with Congress, to bring to justice and punish the perpetrators of these attacks as well as their sponsors; and

(9) declares that September 12, 2001, shall be a National Day of Unity and Mourning, and that when Congress adjourns today, it stands adjourned out of respect to the victims of the terrorist attacks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution? Hearing no objection, the resolution is before the Senate.

The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, it is with pain, sorrow, anger, and resolve that I stand before this Senate, a symbol for 212 years of the strength of our democracy, and say that America will emerge from this tragedy, as we have emerged from all adversity, united and strong.

The America in which we awoke today is far different from the one in which we awoke yesterday. This morning, as our rescue workers and medical personnel continue their heroic work, we begin to truly understand the enormity of what happened.

My heart aches for the people of New York, our men and women serving at the Pentagon, the passengers and crew of the four hijacked aircraft, and for their families and friends. These attacks were an assault on our people and on our freedom. They aimed at the heart of the American community and the symbols and structures of our economic and military strength.

As an American, as an elected representative, I am outraged. As a husband and a father, I am pained beyond words. Last night we sent the message to the world that, even in the face of such cowardly and heinous acts, the doors of democracy will not close. This joint resolution we laid down today condemns yesterday's attacks, expresses our sympathy for the victims, and our support for the President as our Commander in Chief.

The world should know that the Members of both parties in both Houses stand united. The full resources of our Government will be brought to bear in aiding the search and rescue and in hunting down those responsible and those who may have aided or harbored them.

Nothing—nothing—can replace the losses that have been suffered. I know there is only the smallest measure of inspiration that can be taken from this devastation. But there is a passage in the Bible from Isaiah that I think speaks to all of us at times such as this:

The bricks have fallen down, but we will rebuild with dressed stone; the fig trees have been felled, but we will replace them with cedars.

That is what we will do. We will rebuild and we will recover. The people of America will stand strong together because the people of America have always stood together. And those of us privileged to serve this great Nation will stand with you.

God bless the people of America.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, any expression of sympathy for the suffering today is too weak. Every expression of horror at this outrage is too mild. But we must confront these acts and find a way to come together and make sure

that this kind of heinous, vicious action will not happen again in America. This premediated action against innocent men and women and children and their families, at the symbols of our country—our economic strength, our military strength, and most importantly, our freedoms—is unimaginable.

There's no way to understand it, to explain it, to defend it. Americans just don't think that way. That makes it hard for us to comprehend this very difficult moment and to do what's necessary to deal with terrorism and stop it in the future.

Our prayers are going out to the victims and their families, to those who are suffering in so many ways in New York, in Virginia, and in Pennsylvania—in all of America. We have such a debt of appreciation to pay to those who have struggled mightily with these catastrophic events at the Pentagon and at the World Trade Center and in our cities and states—the volunteers, those who gave their lives trying to deal with this terrible moment. To our allies and to those around the world who see this not just as a strike at America, but at freedom and democracy all over the world, and to those who already have extended hands of cooperation, understanding, and support, we appreciate it on behalf of the American people.

Now, Mr. President, it's so important that we show that even these terrible acts cannot stop America from going forward. We must get on with important work. But it is important also to make it clear that this is not business as usual. We're going ahead with our responsibilities. But we are going to act now, tomorrow, and in the weeks and months ahead to deal with those people who have taken these actions and with those who have supported them.

We will take whatever action is necessary in the Congress, working with the administration, working with the American team to stop this kind of terrorism. Whatever we call it, we must put ourselves in a war footing. We must make up our minds we're going to fight this scourge of the world. We will. We have come together.

There are moments in history when in the past the people of this country have set aside conflicts and prejudices and passions and have come together. We'll do it now. We've already done it. But we must continue to do so, regardless of region, religion, party, philosophy, or anything else.

There's much to do. We've got to find out how this happened. Congress has a right and a responsibility to learn what has happened here. We must find out who did it. And we must be prepared to take actions and fight terrorist attacks in the future.

This is not a time for timidity. This is not a time for pontification. Yes, we need to be sure of our actions. We need to be committed and determined. We need to be bold.

Here in the Congress I hope we will think about how we most effectively

can fulfill our responsibilities to do everything we can to fight terrorism, to provide the funds necessary in this fight and to provide the aid so necessary for those who have been damaged and have lost so much.

Just in a few hours we will take up the Commerce-State-Justice appropriations bill. In that bill is funding for counterterrorism. Is it enough? Can we do more? What should we do? I call on the Senate, as I know it will, to rise to this occasion, to be bold. Let's act together. The American people expect no less.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nevada, Mr. REID.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, Senator DASCHLE, the majority leader, has asked that I announce that Senator BIDEN, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, will manage the discussion on this resolution today.

I join my colleagues in saying that my thoughts and prayers are with those individuals and families who were victimized by the cowardly terrorist acts perpetrated against the United States yesterday.

We in Congress stand united in our resolve to ensure that President Bush has every necessary resource as he leads our great Nation forward in the coming days and weeks and months.

I am very confident that every Member of the Senate views this as an American issue. No party affiliation, no partisanship, no attempt to gain political advantage—nothing—will erode our solidarity or undermine our united resolve as we respond to protect our country and our people.

I personally express my appreciation to our Capitol Police men and women who yesterday acted so brilliantly, so heroically, in being called to arms, literally, at a moment's notice. I am very proud of the Capitol Police. We all should be. Every day they put their lives on the line for us.

My heart goes out to the police officers and firemen in New York who lost their lives attempting to help other people.

I hope we will all join with Senators DURBIN and BENNETT to make sure that every penny necessary to build the Visitors Center is provided this year. We need more than a plaque on a wall for Officer Chestnut and Detective Gibson. In their honor, we need to build a Visitors Center, because Officer Chestnut and Detective Gibson gave their lives protecting us, our staffs, and the millions of people who visit the Capitol complex every year. Building the Capitol Visitors Center is critical to ensuring the safety of all those who come to the U.S. Capitol.

We will do everything in our power to support President Bush in his efforts to ensure that those who have done such evil and perpetrated these despicable acts do not go unpunished.

But let me be clear about what we know. America is the greatest democracy and force for freedom the world

has ever known. All of America will stand together to make sure that we rebuild and that we fight back, and that Americans continue to enjoy the freedoms and liberty that are the hallmark of this great country of ours.

Perhaps of even greater importance, we must guarantee that no such act of terrorism ever revisits our Nation's shores. Future generations of Americans must never again feel the profound pain and grief that we feel today from Nevada to New York and back.

As we mourn the loss of our fellow Americans, we must focus on the task ahead. Yesterday's barbaric attacks against the United States were not just acts of terror; they were acts of war perpetrated by the uncivilized.

And in the war against those who would use terror to attack innocent civilians, our democratic values and our freedom, the United States—as the leader of the free world and its only remaining superpower—should be prepared to use every diplomatic, economic, and military means at our disposal to defend ourselves and to defeat these forces of evil.

Of course, we should deploy our best diplomatic efforts to engage our friends and allies around the world in this war against international terrorism. Of course we should do that.

I personally appreciate, as I think our Nation should, and does, the support immediately expressed yesterday by President Putin and the Russian people.

As our allies around the world look to us for leadership and protection, we must call upon all nations to provide their friendship and support in this critical time of need. However, while diplomacy will play a central role in this war against terrorism, we must deploy the full economic and military might of the United States against those who threaten our citizens, our national security interests, our democracy, and our freedom.

As I supported President George Herbert Walker Bush 10 years ago in his decision to use the overwhelming military force of the United States in the Persian Gulf war, I stand with President George W. Bush in his commitment to use every means at our disposal to exterminate the perpetrators of yesterday's acts of terror and war. Those who kill innocent Americans must be held accountable. And make no mistake about it, they will be. Moreover, I stand firmly with the President on this crucial point: Those who aid and harbor perpetrators of terror must also be held accountable. Make no mistake about that, they will be.

While I can assure the American people that we will hunt down those barbarians who committed yesterday's acts of terrorism, we must also act to prevent these types of attacks from occurring in the future. International terrorism is perhaps the greatest modern threat to our national security interests. We must be prepared to act accordingly.

General Holland, the U.S. Air Force Commander in Chief of the Special Operations Command at MacDill Air Force Base in Florida, directs our counterterrorism efforts on behalf of the U.S. military. He has no civilian counterpart. We need to establish one.

The successful fight against terrorism is one that will require the highest level of diplomatic skill in gathering intelligence, as well as the most effective use for economic and military strength. However, when diplomacy fails, as regrettably it does on occasion, we must be prepared to employ alternatives. Terrorists, especially those who have the capability to plan and execute the kinds of attacks we witnessed graphically yesterday, require a significant level of financing and protection. We should be prepared to use alternatives such as economic sanctions to deter and prevent nations, organizations, and individuals from aiding and abetting those who engage in terrorism.

When diplomacy and economic sanctions fail, as they do on occasion, our resolve to fight terrorism must not waiver. We must use military force in the war against terrorism—and not just in response to terrorism but also to prevent future attacks.

Our friends, but more importantly our enemies, will judge us either by our strength and resolve to fight international terrorism or by any perceived weakness and complacency.

I assure the American people as well as our friends and allies throughout the world, we as a nation are ready for this challenge. I make it clear to enemies, to anyone who would consider bringing harm upon Americans, our democratic values, and our freedom, that we are strong, we are resolved, and we will prevail.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I am advised that the assistant Republican leader would prefer to speak later in the day. I ask unanimous consent all remarks be limited to no longer than 10 minutes in order to accommodate as many Senators as possible. I earlier asked if we could alternate between the two caucuses. I also request of the Republican leader that we alternate now among the four Senators from the two States that are most affected by the horrendous tragedy yesterday, beginning, of course, with Senator SCHUMER and Senator WARNER.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I seek the recognition of the Chair to note that if I have to leave the floor, Senator GREGG will manage the time on our side.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order, the senior Senator from New York, Mr. SCHUMER, is recognized.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I very much appreciate, first, the hundreds of expressions of the Members of this body and the heartfelt expressions of

grief to New Yorkers during our time of grief and our sadness. We need to move forward.

When something this cataclysmic occurs, one's mind works at many, many different levels. It is very difficult to come to grips with such an intense and terrible tragedy, but we must; we have to. We seek as guidance the generations before us who had their tragedies, they who rose to the occasion. We must, as well.

There are many different levels of this tragedy. I will discuss four: the individual level, the level as a New Yorker, the level as an American, and the level of the world.

As an individual, our first thought goes to all who grieve. Last night in my city and State, there were thousands of dinner tables with a missing person. There were thousands of families waiting for that phone call, dialing their phones endlessly to try to find a loved one. I know a little bit of the angst they went through. I was in the gym when this occurred, getting ready to address the Supreme Court. I saw the picture of the first damage to the World Trade Center. At first, I said what most said: This must have been an accident, a little propeller plane that accidentally ran into the World Trade Center.

But the fire looked too large. Then we saw the second plane crash. Immediately, it hit me: My daughter attends high school within the shadow of the World Trade Center. Most of the pictures of the conflagration show her high school in the background. I reached my wife and for 2 hours we were in virtual panic, trying to locate her to see how she was. Then, praise God, she called and we were relieved. Those 2 hours of pure misery are now being experienced tenfold, a hundredfold, a thousandfold by all of the families in New York and in Washington and in Boston and in California who have lost loved ones to this dastardly and disgusting act.

So we first think as individuals how this has affected the lives of all of us. Everyone in New York right now knows somebody who is missing. I know someone on the 104th floor who worked for the good firm of Cantor Fitzgerald. We can't find hardly anybody from that firm. He called his parents, told them he loved them, and they haven't heard from him since.

On television yesterday was the search of a mother and two daughters for their father and husband who worked in the World Trade Center restaurant. I have two daughters about the same age. We saw those little girls. There was almost nothing you could say. I have subsequently been told they found their father. Let us hope and pray that the others find their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, friends. Let us hope and pray that this tragedy, which is already the largest tragedy we have experienced since World War II, is as minimal as possible. But our hearts go out to all of those who are suffering

now. We are with them from one end of this country to the other.

Our city is a beautiful city. We have been bringing in people from all over the world for 300 years. In one generation we change them into Americans, and they sally forth around the country, adding vim and vigor and new ideas. That function of New York will never die. We are an international city and we love being an international city. We New Yorkers feel the loss of life as a whole, as a city.

Out my window in Brooklyn, the dominant scene, after the Statue of Liberty looking over the harbor, are the two towers. Not seeing them anymore, I feel violated. I feel that some horrible person has come in and taken something away from all of us as a city. But we will survive and we will prevail. We are New Yorkers. The diligent firefighters and police officers, many of whom have now passed, run "to" tragedy, not away from it; their job is to save.

It was told to me by many people that the lines to give blood went around block after block. People were waiting at 9 o'clock, at midnight, at 3 in the morning, standing in line because they knew blood was needed. This morning I am happy to tell my colleagues that the crisis, at least in terms of blood donation, is over. We do have enough blood.

I was told of the story of the merchant whose store was on the path from the World Trade Center North. He owned a shoe store. He stood outside and gave the fleeing women sneakers, just handing out sneakers, tennis shoes. He knew they couldn't run in their high heels. That is a New Yorker; and there are millions of us.

We are going to need your help. It has already been offered. I was gratified when the President called me yesterday afternoon and said this Nation will do anything it takes to help New York recover. I was gratified when just about every Member came over to me and to HILLARY and offered us the help that we will need. We need help immediately.

The FEMA Director, I believe, will be flying with us to New York early this afternoon to try to give help in terms of survival, in terms of the immediate rescue. We will need lots of help after that. We have suffered a huge, huge loss. Our financial industries have to recover, the lifeblood of the Nation and the world. I appreciate the offers. We will be counting on everyone here and in the other body and the White House.

As an American, make no mistake about it, we did wake up in a new world in America. It is a new era. Since World War II, we had the cold war. We had a brief respite, for 5, 7, 10 years. But we are now in a new era. There are forces against us, and they are in many corners of the world. They hate us for our freedom. They are against the very progress that we have made. They want to turn the clock all the way back to the Middle Ages. In the past, there

have always been backward forces. But technology has given this group the power to affect our lives in ways we never before imagined.

Yes, this was a 21st century Pearl Harbor but a little different because they aimed at civilians, as they know our military is too strong. They are ultimately cowards and bullies. It is not a nation that does this, but it affects us. I say three things in that regard.

First, we are a resilient nation. We don't take anything on our knees. We will not take this. I assure the enemies of America, the enemies of freedom, the enemies of progress, of that.

Second, we must keep our freedoms as we do this. To constrict ourselves would give them the victory. And we must keep them.

Third, I say this to all Americans: let us not respond in a way that is unseemly of America. There are millions of Muslims and Arab Americans in America. They have different views than I do on the Middle East, staunchly different views. But they were not for this. Let us go after those who advocate terrorism and destruction but not after a whole people or nationality or religion. We have to avoid that. That is the American thing to do.

Finally, thinking as a world citizen, we are in a new world, interconnected but often nasty. Technology that has given us so much in the last 20 years has given this small group, these small groups, the ability to cause huge, huge damage. As with Pearl Harbor, we are affected directly. Unlike Pearl Harbor, there is no name or ZIP Code or address.

But the one common thread is this: If we stay as resolute as we did after Pearl Harbor, we will win this war. We can and we will, if we keep our resoluteness. As somebody involved in antiterrorism, I have seen us go through paroxysms after each incident—3 months, 6 months of attention and then business as usual. We cannot go back to business as usual. We will not win this war against those who seek to destroy our very way of life in a day or in a month or even a year. It is going to take several. If we are resolute, we will succeed.

They have their weaknesses and their pressure points. I was glad the President said we will not only go after the terrorists but those who harbor terrorists. This could not have been done without some help from countries. There are countries that aid terrorists. We know who they are. They are on the terrorist list. They should not remain immune from what happened. In fact, they are the weak pressure point of the groups that seek to hurt us and destroy us.

Some of these awful people who did this yesterday knew how to fly 757s. There was no 757 in the mountains of Afghanistan. How did they get access to learn to do this? These are the kinds of questions we have to ask in the next weeks and months ahead, if we do find, as all fingers seem to point, that is from where it came.

We have to do one other thing. We have to have our European allies know that this finger is not just pointed at us but at them. This idea that for temporary economic advantage they can continue to have strong economic relations with countries that help and abet and harbor terrorists must go out the window.

I was proud to speak to the President yesterday. I assured him something, and I think I speak for all of us: partisanship. Divisions are out the window. He will be our leader. He will come up with a plan. We will have advice and offer suggestions. But once that plan is arrived at, we will unite.

This is a long struggle. It is not an easy struggle. But because of our freedom, because of our American way of life, we will prevail.

In conclusion, this event will never leave us the same, not as individuals, not as New Yorkers, not as Americans, not as residents of the planet earth. But we can learn from it as we grieve. We can meet the challenge and rise to the next level of civilization. I am confident we will.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order previously entered, the senior Senator from Virginia, Mr. WARNER, is recognized for not to exceed 10 minutes.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues and commend our leadership. I want to pick up on the note of our distinguished colleague from New York. We will never be the same as a nation. That is true. We will be a better nation. We will be a stronger nation, as we step up to meet this challenge. Yesterday our great Nation, our people, suffered in a single day its greatest tragedy of a single day. Immediately thereafter, this Nation, arm in arm, embarked on what I think history will reflect is its finest hour—hours yesterday, today, and tomorrow, into the future.

Our Nation from coast to coast locked arms, irrespective of our backgrounds, our cultures, our faiths, our beliefs—indeed, our differences. We locked arms, united as a nation behind our President, behind our Government, putting full faith in our Government to lead us in this crisis.

I pray that our President, our Congress, the Governors of the States, right on down to the city councils, the police, the firemen who are working today, seize this opportunity and make our Nation even stronger and greater.

Our challenge here in our legislature, working with the President and others, will be to devise, yes, a strengthened security system in every walk of life for America, regrettably, every walk of life, with emphasis this morning on airports. But those of us who have worked in the area of terrorism know that airports, yes, are vulnerable, but there are many other areas in which we are vulnerable.

I am proud that the Senate Armed Services Committee, working with the other committees of this body, 3 years

ago, when I was privileged to be chairman, instituted a special subcommittee solely dealing with those threats that are emerging against the United States of America. We have done a lot of work in this Congress. We have done our best to legislate and put our funds behind us. But now let us seize this opportunity to indeed make this Nation stronger.

Each of us will forever remember yesterday, where we were, what we did. Those of us who convened here yesterday morning then went to our staffs. I commend the leadership of the Congress, indeed, the police and others who had an orderly evacuation. I then called the Secretary of Defense, Don Rumsfeld and asked what could I do as the ranking member of the committee to show my full support for the men and women of the Armed Forces and the uniformed as well as the civilians. He said: JOHN, come over.

I called my colleague, the chairman, Senator LEVIN. We joined and went over and stayed the better part of 3 hours which I will never forget. The Secretary had us in the room, the chairman and I, the Joint Chiefs, the other staff. We watched the operations. The President called in. I watched the Secretary and the President. The Secretary handed me the phone and said: The President wishes to speak to you.

America will be proud of the manner in which our command and control of our military and indeed the executive branch functioned to address this crisis. That chapter will be written.

I said to my friend, the Secretary: I want very much, as a Senator from Virginia, to go and look at that area of the building that was struck.

He said: Of course. I will escort you. And that he did for Senator LEVIN and I.

We went around that building, in which I spent over 5 years of the happiest days of my life in the Navy's secretariat. We speculated as far back as the late 1960s and 1970s how that building could be attacked. Yes, we thought of this scenario. But that is history.

There I saw that building and how that aircraft, Mr. President, was skillfully guided and piloted such as to penetrate that building through three or four of the rings. And as we are here today, the casualties we know not in number, but what we do know and what I saw, as I sat there but a few feet from the building, all around me were voluntary firemen, men and women, professional firemen and rescue men and women. Therein rests the greatness of our Nation as to how they responded and what they were doing, unselfishly, risking their own lives. We saw some coming out filled with smoke and debris but doing what they could to help those trapped, dead or otherwise, in that building.

Our colleagues from New York have most dramatically and compassionately described what has occurred in their State. We grieve with our citi-

zens today who are suffering these losses, the dead, the injured, and their families. But America remains unbowed.

America is stronger. America is united. And we the leadership have our greatest challenge in this hour.

Again, as we pursue the legislative challenge to balance the magnificence of our Constitution, which has held us united—it remains the oldest continuously performing Republic in the world today—and balance the need of additional security against human rights, civil rights, and the rule of law, we will do it. Never before has our Congress been faced with a greater challenge to preserve one of the greatest parts of this Nation, and yet address the future.

Just a personal note, I remember World War II. I was a youngster in the early parts of it. My generation, at age 17, we all volunteered, in the fall of 1944, 1945. I became a sailor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will proceed.

Mr. WARNER. I remember that period very well, how all Americans united. My generation of 17 and 18, we were prepared to do our part in the war. But I called my children yesterday and I said much has been said about the greatest generation, those who were privileged to serve in World War II, those who were here on the home front. This Nation pulled together, met our adversaries and emerged stronger.

I said, we may be remembered as the greatest generation, but my children and your children will become the greater generation because they will seize, with our leadership, the same challenge, the younger generation in America, and go beyond what we achieved in World War II. We will relentlessly pursue the enemy wherever they are, and we will carefully, under the rule of law, seek justice. We will prevail and become a stronger nation.

I thank this body for the privilege of addressing it and the Nation today.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I make a unanimous consent request before the Senator from New York speaks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess between 12:30 p.m. and 1:45 p.m. today; that no amendments or motions be in order with respect to the pending resolution; that at 1:45 p.m. today, the joint resolution be read a third time, and the Senate vote without any intervening action or debate on passage of the joint resolution; that upon the completion of that vote, the Senate stand in recess until 3 p.m.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the several requests?

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from California reserves the right to object.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senator, will we have opportunities to continue the line of speakers who were lined up before the vote on the resolution?

Mr. REID. I say to my friend from California that the leader, the two leaders have said that anyone who wants to speak on this resolution throughout the day should be able to do so. There are some schedules that have to be met, especially by the Senators from New York. They need to return to their State. We need to get the vote out of the way. There will be added opportunity to speak.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the several requests?

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Further reserving the right to object, if I understand, then, the vote will be at 1:45, the Senate will go into recess until 3, and then the floor will be open to continue; is that correct?

Mr. REID. The Senator is right.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. I thank the Chair. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the several requests?

Mr. WARNER. Reserving the right to object, could I ask the leadership, are we not, as a body, all 100 cosponsors? Has that parliamentary step been taken? If not, I ask unanimous consent that all Members of this body be cosponsors of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Under the previous order, the Senator from New York, the junior Senator, Mrs. CLINTON, is recognized for not to exceed 10 minutes.

Mrs. CLINTON. Thank you, Mr. President. I thank my colleagues for their outpouring of support, their concerns, and their many offers of additional aid that has come to the rescue of our people as a result of this devastating tragedy.

Yesterday dawned a beautiful day in New York. My daughter told me it was one of those days where the sky was totally clear, there was a breeze, people were starting to line up at the polling places to vote because it was primary day, an election day, a continuation of the commitment to democracy and self-government that has set us apart from every society that has ever existed because of the longevity of our democracy and the will of our people to constantly renew themselves.

New Yorkers went from standing in line to vote to standing in line to donate blood in just a few hours. I do not think any of us will ever get out of our minds the images we saw on television of the plane going into the first tower, the plane going into the second tower, and the plane going into the Pentagon, but there were tens of thousands of our fellow Americans, people who live in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, people literally from every part of our country and, indeed, the

world for whom this was not an event they watched in horror on television but lived through and in too many instances did not survive.

We are beginning to find out what that was like. CHUCK and I have a lot of friends who worked in those towers, who worked in the center, and worked nearby. We are hearing the stories of husbands and wives grabbing cell phones and calling home to say: I love you; goodbye.

We know, and I assure every person in this body, in the House, and many, many of our fellow citizens, when we finally know the names of those killed and injured, they will know someone.

This was an attack on New York, but it was really an attack on America. I have been very gratified, as I know that CHUCK has and all of our colleagues in the House, by the strong support we have received from the President. I am very grateful. We have expressed our appreciation.

CHUCK and I will be going to New York this afternoon with FEMA, and we could not ask for more than we have received in the immediate aftermath of this horrific attack.

We are by no means anywhere near the end of what it will take to continue the search and rescue efforts. We are finding people even as we speak. Yet we know there is a very grim task ahead to do everything we can to find every person, to account for every single person who went to work. That is all they did. They went to work on a beautiful September day in New York.

We will also stand united behind our President as he and his advisers plan the necessary actions to demonstrate America's resolve and commitment, not only to seek out an exact punishment on the perpetrators but to make very clear that not only those who harbor terrorists but those who in any way give any aid or comfort whatsoever will now face the wrath of our country.

I hope that message has gotten through to everywhere it needs to be heard: You are either with America in our time of need or you are not.

We also stand united behind our resolve, as this resolution so clearly states, to recover and rebuild in the aftermath of these tragic acts. New York was not an accidental choice for these mad men, these terrorists, these instruments of evil.

They deliberately chose to strike at a city which is a global city. It is the city of the 21st century. It epitomizes who we are as Americans. So this in a very real sense was an attack on America, on our values, on our power, on who we are as a people. I know, because I know America, that America will stand behind New York, that America will offer whatever resources, aid, comfort, or support that New Yorkers and New York require because the greatest rebuke we can offer to those who attack our way of life is to demonstrate clearly we are not cowed in any way whatsoever.

I hope that within a short period of time, I say to Senator WARNER, we see

scaffolding on the side of the Pentagon. After we finish the search and rescue and recovery work that is being carried out heroically there, I hope we all see a clear signal that we are rebuilding, that our defenses are more resolute than ever.

I hope similarly that lower Manhattan has the same kind of image to project because the reality will be that we are rebuilding and reconstructing and making clear that just as our military might is unchallenged and uncowed, so are our economic, our social, our political values epitomized by New York.

I have expressed my strong support for the President, not only as the Senator from New York but as someone who for 8 years had some sense of the burdens and responsibilities that fall on the shoulders of the human being we make our President. It is an awesome and at oftentimes awful responsibility for any person. I know we are up to it, I know we are ready for it, and I know that everyone in this body represents every American in making clear that we are united and stronger than ever.

It is with a heavy heart—really a sense of heartbreak—that I rise today in support of this resolution, but it is also with a great sense of pride, first in the people of New York who responded as New Yorkers always do when times get tough. There was not a sense of panic. There was order, and there was an immediate outpouring of help. Those men and women whom we sent in to rescue our fellow Americans—there is no way adequately to express our gratitude to our firefighters, our police officers, our emergency personnel, our doctors and nurses and medical personnel. They responded at the height of a tragic, unexpected attack with the kind of grit and courage we expect from New Yorkers.

To all of those who are missing a loved one, there are no words any of us can express except to tell you in the clearest possible terms: We will in a united American response support you, offer assistance to you, stand with you, and pursue those who reached deep into your families and homes yesterday and took someone you loved away from you.

There will be a lot of work ahead of us in this body and in the House, and we will pursue that. I am grateful for the support we have received. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON of Florida). The Senator from Delaware, the manager of the resolution.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY THE
PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA,
JOHN HOWARD

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, there has been a request, with which I agree, that we recess for up to 3 minutes. We were to hear from the distinguished Prime Minister of Australia, one of our

strongest allies, a man who himself is in deep sympathy and mourning for this Nation, in a joint meeting. He is in the Chamber.

RECESS

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate recess for 3 minutes so that the Prime Minister of Australia may be greeted.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 11:10 a.m., recessed and reassembled at 11:13 a.m. when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. NELSON of Florida).

TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Virginia is recognized for up to 10 minutes.

The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, my fellow Members of the Senate, this is a very sad day as we witness all of the implications and tragedies and lives lost from yesterday's dastardly terrorist attacks on the United States.

Yesterday's attacks were attacks not just on the United States and our particular Commonwealth of Virginia or State of New York, it is an attack on freedom-loving people and everything we stand for as a unique and great nation.

On Monday afternoon, Senator BOXER and I were ready to introduce a resolution condemning the suicide bombings in the Middle East. We would have introduced that resolution on Monday, but wanted to include another clause recognizing the attacks in Israel on Sunday. We now see with great shock and horror, that the United States is obviously not impervious to these suicide bombings and such attacks.

What we need to do now is coalesce, coalesce as a people with our shared beliefs, coalesce to comfort those who have lost loved ones and then also determine where we need to go to move forward to try to prevent such acts from occurring in the future. Our goal and focus right now must be on the rescue, hoping there are those who are still alive. Secondly, we need to find as many details and information as to how our security was breached so as to hopefully prevent it in the future. And thirdly of course, hold those who are responsible accountable and bring them to justice.

We are hearing stories just in the first day of great heroes. Heroes in New York. People who knew that the building was going to collapse, but nevertheless stayed there trying to usher people out. On C-SPAN this morning, one of those who was just a volunteer helper knew what was going on, where those who were emergency and federal FBI agents were as well, knowing that the building was going to collapse, staying there knowing those were the last minutes of their life trying to save people.

The same was happening in Virginia where we have lost many lives, untold numbers, as of yet, at the Pentagon as well as the passengers on flight 77 flying from Dulles, VA, that was hijacked and crashed into the Pentagon.

There are great stories of bravery, with people going above and beyond what is expected, and that should give us comfort as a nation. This tragedy has affected many lives, and we still don't know how many lives. It will probably take a week if not weeks to determine how many lives have been lost. Even in the small neighborhood where we live, where my daughter goes to middle school, children were crying because their parents work at the Pentagon. Others work at Fort Belvoir and there was worry that Fort Belvoir was being hit. There's only maybe a couple of dozen houses in our development, but a youngster—who came by our house to get to know my children, his father was on Flight 77.

So, as the days go forward, we are all going to be learning these stories of innocent people whose lives have been lost and the families that will forever be scarred with the loss of that loved one. Our thoughts and prayers must be with those families. Whether they're in New York or people who are from Connecticut or New Jersey, people from Virginia, here in the D.C. area, I'm sure there are folks from Maryland and the District, clearly people from Massachusetts were on the hijacked flight from Boston. Clearly a lot of people from California, since the destination of all of those flights was to be California.

This is truly a day that will live in infamy. History will record these as the most violent, insane, cowardly acts that have ever been perpetrated on our homeland in the United States of America. We need to be united, coalesced as Americans, but also with our allies in our resolve, our resolve to pursue these cowardly conspirators who perpetrated these murderous acts.

In our response to justice, we need to be sure, we need to be swift, and we need to be severe. In my view, we have allowed terrorism to go on too long, thinking that we could be immune from it. But nevertheless, we need to recognize that we're going to have to wage warfare.

These people have struck against the symbol of American strength and power. They are not, though, going to be able to weaken the will of the people of the United States. We will stay united, defending our interests and our principles. We will also stick together, not just as Virginians and New Yorkers, but as Americans aiding and helping the families who have lost loved ones in whatever they can do.

The senior Senator from Virginia, JOHN WARNER, and I will work together to make sure that for those Federal employees that the Government is doing all they can as well as for the civilian employees. And it is not just as Virginians. I know that the Presiding

Officer, sitting there from Florida, cares just as much as anybody else does.

And so we are all going to stick together in that regard. We do need to learn from this, though. And as we learn, we must make sure that as we learn the facts, we do not allow these attacks to succeed in tempting us in any way to diminish what makes us a great nation. And what makes us a great nation is that this is a country that understands that people have God-given rights and liberties. And we cannot—in our efforts to bring justice—diminish those liberties.

Clearly, this is not a simple, normal criminal case. This is an act of war, and those rules apply. But at home and domestically, we need to make sure that we are not tempted to abrogate any civil rights such as habeas corpus or protections against unreasonable searches and seizures, or the freedom of expression and peaceable assembly, freedom of religion. And just because somebody may come from an ethnic background, that means nothing. They are American citizens. And so let's make sure that in our anger and in our efforts to bring justice, we remember our basic foundational civil liberties and do not abrogate them.

We are a nation of laws, of good-hearted people, of loving people. And so I would say in closing, Mr. President, let's make sure we pray for and comfort those who have lost loved ones.

Let's get the facts, move swiftly and properly. But most importantly, as Americans, let's stay strong. Let's stay resolved, and let's keep moving forward. Because, indeed, all the world is watching, not just the Senate; they are watching the United States and Americans. What will their response be? Let's keep moving forward. We are the beacon for freedom-loving people in the world, sticking together we will persevere. We will bring justice. And we will come out safer and stronger in the end.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware, the manager of the resolution.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I yield myself up to 10 minutes to speak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I cannot think of any other legislative body in the world where we would hear the speech we just heard by the junior Senator from Virginia, where his heart is aching, many in his constituency have died. Part of the building in his State is still burning.

In the ultimate American way, he called at the end of his speech for not abrogating the basic cherished liberties that this Nation has. I doubt whether one would hear that in any other assembly in the world after such an attack, and I compliment him for it.

My heart and my sympathy go out to our colleagues from New York and Virginia in particular, but all those who

have had their fellow citizens and their constituents victimized by this act. This is a time to mourn but not to despair, a time for resolve but not remorse, a time for sober investigation and not recrimination, and a time to unite, not to debate.

Some have said yesterday and today that all has changed, all has changed for America. I know what they mean by that, and I respect their view, but I pray that is not true. I pray that is not true. I pray my junior colleague from Virginia is correct when he says the one thing we cannot allow to change is the values upon which this country is built, for if that were to occur, then they would be able to declare victory, genuine victory.

I predict one thing has changed, though. I respectfully suggest the way of life of present and future terrorists has changed forever. The future of organized terrorist cells is about to welcome the 21st Century in a way they never anticipated, for in this dastardly act they may have done what no other group of people could possibly have done, and that is to unite the civilized world, unite our allies in Europe who share our values, unite our Russian friends, our Chinese friends, unite the world, because that image of that plane smashing into the second tower has reverberated around the world and every leader in every country can picture the same thing happening in their nation.

I recently visited China with three of my colleagues. They have buildings in China as tall or taller than the World Trade Center. I can picture the President of China sitting there envisioning the same thing happening. So I do not think all of a sudden there has been a conversion of democratic zeal on the part of those who are not often thought of as our allies to resolve with us to fight worldwide terrorism, but it is a reflection of the reality that the world has changed in a way that we all are vulnerable.

A further reality is that no one could have undertaken this very well planned, and regrettably well executed, terrorist act without an extensive network, without a place in which to plan it that was within earshot and eyesight of some country, without some people who, by their inaction at a minimum and their complicity, allowed this to occur. There will be very few places to hide, I predict, from this moment on, for these are not the acts of a single man or a single woman. They are and they were and they will, if they try again, have to be well planned, well funded, and widely supported by dozens upon dozens of individuals and individual leaders.

In speaking to the President, the Secretary of State, and other leaders in the administration, they are impressed by what they believe to be the heartfelt, sincere, and resolute offers of support to deal with terrorism that not only come from expected quarters such as England, France, Germany, Italy, and our European allies but from unexpected quarters.

The word should go out to those who pretend they wish to be our friends that they are going to have to make some very difficult choices. Pakistan in particular is going to have to make a very difficult choice, very soon, for we are counting. We are counting and we are looking. Words will not be sufficient. Actions will be demanded.

All of us say we will never let this happen again. Well, the act of a single individual strapping explosives to their body is probably something no one can ever guarantee will not happen, but dealing with well organized, well-funded, well-coordinated, massive actions is something that can be done only in a multilateral way, only internationally.

No matter what we do, if we fail to lead the world in a multilateral unity of absolute resolve, I say to you, sadly, that this could happen again. But I am convinced it will not.

Today, as it has for 212 years, the U.S. Congress has convened. Two miles down Pennsylvania Avenue, President Bush sits in the Oval Office leading the executive branch and the country in a wide-ranging investigation to find those who committed these barbarous acts. Around this city and around New York, dedicated public servants are back at their desks in Federal office buildings doing the people's business. New York—the city that never sleeps—has worked around the clock in search of survivors, and they will find some. Around the Nation, citizens of every age, every race, and every religion grieve for their fellow citizens. But they stand united. They stand united in support of our Nation, which has endured over two centuries against all enemies, foreign and domestic. They stand united in readiness to answer the call for their fellow neighbors. As Senator CLINTON and Senator SCHUMER pointed out, they lined the blocks in New York City to give blood. I would be dumbfounded if you did not see black faces, Asian faces, Hispanic, every race, and every religion standing in that line. They stand united in support of the President of the United States, as do all of us here in the Senate.

Much will be said today and in the days ahead about the appropriate responses to these heinous acts. But for now let me just say this. This is not a struggle over ideology. This is not a struggle over religion. This is a struggle between civilization and barbarity.

Let there be no doubt that the United States and civilized nations of the world will unite and win this struggle. Our enemies will not, and can not, defeat us. This country will go on, deeply wounded by the loss of so many but strengthened by our resolve and our commitment to sustain this great democracy.

I see in this cataclysmic tragedy the beginning of the end of organized and legitimized terrorist activities.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire, the Republican manager of the resolution, is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. SANTORUM.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Delaware. I want to say to the Senator from Delaware, those are very eloquent and appropriate and I think appropriately forceful remarks. I am in agreement with every word he said. I think you are going to see today the U.S. Senate in agreement. Everyone is standing up in support of each other and in support of the President and the people. We are here for them. We are meeting today. We are meeting for them. I think it is an important sign that this beacon of freedom is open and that the U.S. Senate, the greatest deliberative body in the world, is meeting, talking, and I hope acting today, tomorrow, and for the weeks and months to come this year.

My wife, Karen, and I, and our whole family, watched television yesterday, just in amazement, in grief, in sorrow, and in tears. We went to church and prayed. We didn't know what else to do but go to church and pray that somehow and in some way people would survive this horrible tragedy.

It has been a very difficult time for a lot of us. It has been a horrible time for the people of New York and the people in northern Virginia.

We are committed, as you heard the President say today, to do everything we can here in Washington, DC, to help those who are struggling and to support those who are doing heroic things in Pennsylvania trying to recover what is left of the plane that crashed in Pennsylvania. And of course in New York as well, there are incredible stories of heroism, and at the Pentagon in northern Virginia. Our sympathies and our support go out to all of those men and women and their families.

I think it is important for us to know, as the Senator from Delaware said, that things should not change here in America. I could not agree with him more. Things must not change with respect to our freedom and our democracy. But there are certain things that must change. I think the Senator from Delaware hit the nail on the head when he said that our actions towards terrorists must change.

What happened yesterday was not merely a hijacking of a domestic airline flight. What happened yesterday was an enemy missile loaded with explosives—11,000 gallons of jet fuel—that exploded into targets here in the United States of America. It was an act of war. It was an enemy missile that was directed at our country. We must respond accordingly to this act of war—to those who perpetrated it. We are at war with terrorists and with those nations that harbor them, that finance them, and that in any way encourage and support them. I think it is important that we say so here in the

United States Senate, at some point, that this is war with the forces of evil that attacked this country.

This is not—and I can't stress this more strongly—a time merely to bring people to justice. It is a time to wage war and win a war against those who committed this act, and against those who harbor those who committed this act, and against those who support and encourage those who committed this act.

In the U.S. Senate, there are things we can do, sensible things we can do, to support our President and to support the American people.

First, as I mentioned before, we can support the American people right now with the resources they need to try to find survivors and repair the damage that was caused in this country.

Second, we need to bring up the Defense authorization bill and the Defense appropriations bill right now. We need to make sure we have the necessary tools in place to be able to defend our country. We need to look at the intelligence and counterintelligence operations of this country and determine soon whether we should enhance that capability, which is obviously insufficient. We here in the United States Senate must do something about it. We must do something about it now. It is important for us to come together at a time of national crisis and emergency, when our country is threatened, to pass the necessary bills for our Government to fight the war in which it will be engaged during the coming weeks, months—and maybe longer.

We need to make sure we have the diplomatic representation to represent us, as the Senator from Delaware said, and I agree with him 100 percent, we need to form an international coalition. We need a U.N. Ambassador. We do not have an Ambassador to the United Nations. I cannot think of a more important time since the U.N. was created that we need an Ambassador to the United Nations. And we don't have one. That nomination is sitting in the Foreign Relations Committee. I hope we can get that nomination to the floor as quickly as possible so we can begin the very important work the Senator from Delaware has laid out in building a coalition necessary to fight this terrible scourge that has attacked this country.

Finally, we need to do something about our energy needs. Members have told me about places in America where they were charging \$3 to \$5 a gallon for gasoline yesterday. Yes. Energy will be a very important issue for this country, and very soon. We need to consider this bill. Particularly if we are engaged in fighting terrorism around the world, we need to have more domestic security. We need domestic energy security.

These are the kinds of things I hope we in the Senate can join together to pass measures that are important and to prepare ourselves for the war ahead.

This is a time for us to begin to put the building blocks in place so we can engage in a war against those who attacked this country. I am hopeful, in fact I am confident, that we can do so in a bipartisan way, in a way that will lend great honor and credibility to this great institution.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I thank the chairman.

I want to begin by thanking my colleague from Delaware for not only his managing this resolution but also for his eloquent remarks a few moments ago.

I also commend the distinguished majority leader, Senator DASCHLE, and the distinguished minority leader, Senator LOTT, and their respective leadership teams for the dignity and manner in which they conducted business in this body yesterday. I also commend the President of the United States for his very eloquent remarks last evening to the Nation.

I commend Don Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense for his efforts yesterday and for staying on the job while the Pentagon was burning. I know there were probably those on his staff and elsewhere who urged him to leave. I presume they made a good case for it. But I admire the fact that Don Rumsfeld stayed on the job yesterday to be with the men and women who were there—the injured, those who lost their lives, not to mention those who are fighting the blaze and trying to bring that incredible scene under control.

This is a very sad time. It has been said by others here this morning, and it will be said repeatedly this afternoon. There are no words I can utter in these next few moments that will serve to lessen the sense of loss that all of us feel as Americans. There is a sense of poignancy to all of this, obviously, if you are from New York. If you had a loved one who worked at the Pentagon, there is a special dimension. And, if you had a loved one on one of the four aircraft yesterday that left Newark, Boston, or Dulles there is a special hurt today. Truly, there is a human dimension to this that we don't have the ability to understand yet.

It is a God-given blessing during moments such as this that human beings are incapable of fully understanding and appreciating the depth of loss immediately. It will take days—or longer.

Oftentimes what we see with families when a person very close to them is lost, is that in the immediate hours and days after that loss, they function because they have to in order to manage affairs. But the true impact of loss is sometimes not felt for days and weeks afterwards. I think our country is in that state this very day.

So, I want to take a few minutes to talk about that human dimension.

There will be plenty of time for us to debate bills on the floor of the Senate and to discuss the priorities we ought to have and who should be held responsible. But the human dimension of all of this is something I haven't been able to get my hands around in these last 24 hours. I just can't imagine what it must be like to be one of the victims of these terrorist acts, or to know that there is a loved one trapped somewhere in those buildings in lower Manhattan, or to be the family of a service man or woman who knows that just a few blocks from here their husband, wife, father, sibling, child, or neighbor is lying in the rubble of the Pentagon, or to be the family of one of the passengers on the planes hijacked yesterday. I can't begin to imagine.

I want to start by telling those families that every one of us here in Congress wishes there were some way we could express our sense of grief for you. In the days and weeks to come we will try to do that in ways that are meaningful.

I would also like to mention the firemen and policemen. We were told last evening that we don't know what the numbers of emergency personnel lost are. There may be several hundreds who lost their lives as they raced into those 110-storey buildings while trying to bring relief to others only to lose their lives in the collapse of those buildings.

Again, for those of you who watched the tragedy last year in Wooster, MA, or other places where firemen and emergency services people have given their lives, I suppose in one sense it is not a surprise that the dedication we saw yesterday is seen so frequently around the country, but particularly because of the magnitude of the events yesterday, we are struck by it. And as Senator BIDEN, Senator SCHUMER, Senator CLINTON, and Senator WARNER mentioned in their very fine remarks this morning, the people who donated blood and who are offering services deserve our respect and admiration. So I express my gratitude to all of them.

We have to respond to yesterday's events, and we will. I have no doubt of this. However, building the kind of international cooperation necessary to do so is awfully difficult. Indeed, if there is a slight glimmer of a silver lining to this tragedy, it may be in the responses our President received yesterday from almost every civilized head of state around the globe—responses of support. Maybe in all of this tragedy and rubble, the possibility that the kind of response the world has been seeking for so many years may emerge like a phoenix from these ashes, and we will be able to forge the kinds of relationships that allow us to stamp out this cancer that has been with us for far too many years in Beirut, in the Marine barracks in Saudi Arabia, and other places. I saw the list of victims of past terrorist attacks the other day. It

is many pages long—not of the magnitude we saw yesterday, but nonetheless, cumulatively hundreds and thousands of people lost their lives at the hands of fanatics who believe the loss of innocent life is a justifiable means to achieve their extreme ends.

So maybe—just maybe—if there is any solace we can offer to the families of the people who have lost their lives, out of this we will begin to deal effectively with the scourge of terrorism. I hope that is the case. I hope the President will work on that, and I know we here in Congress will. It will be important that in the context of being in a rush to respond to this—and there is a passion we all feel that makes one want to strike out and grab somebody and make them pay for what they did that we temper our anger. I hope we have enough sense now to know that when we strike, it needs to be right because the coalition that we need to build to respond to this requires that we act smartly, intelligently, and correctly. If we don't, we run the risk of fracturing the very kind of coalition that will be necessary.

These terrorists had a remarkable success yesterday. They utilized American planes and American fuel to use as their bombs. That they went into three major airports, 15 or 20 people, I am told, in teams of 3 or 5, and commandeered 4 aircraft and attacked 2 major sites, economically and militarily, and apparently had a target of a third, politically, is a stunning, stunning set of circumstances. We need to get some answers. Today may not be the day to get them, but I know my colleagues and millions of Americans have questions on their minds. People will have to answer how this could occur in the country.

Yet, I come back to the notion of the human element of all of this, and the human element also requires that I speak to those who are Muslims in our country. There has been a lot of chatter over the last 24 hours of who is responsible here—Islamic fundamentalists, Islamic extremists? I don't know if that is right or wrong. I am not privy to that information. But I urge those who want to provide answers to this question to be careful. You only had to listen to the words of DAN INOUE to understand why we should not vilify all members of an ethnic group for the sins of a few individuals. You only need to walk a block away from here to a monument commemorating the imprisonment of thousands of people of Japanese descent 60 years ago. We have wonderful citizens here who are Muslims and practice the Islamic faith. I fear that sometimes in our momentary passions we can indict some wonderful Americans, wonderful people, innocent children in this country who were raised in a very proud and serious religion. So we need to be cautious about the rhetoric we use and the fingers we point before we have the facts before us.

Lastly, I say this. I see my friend and colleague from Texas on the floor. On

Monday afternoon about 4 o'clock I got a call from a former colleague of ours, Bob Kerrey. He called me from a delivery room in New York to tell me that an hour and a half earlier he became the proud father of a young man named Henry. My colleague from Texas and her wonderful husband have taken on a magnificent responsibility—recently adopting the great love of their lives, Bailey Hutchison. I am going to leave here momentarily and go with my wife to Arlington to see her doctor. We are expecting a new arrival. I can't tell you how proud I am of that blessed event.

I want to end on this note and say to young Henry and to Bailey and to my yet unborn child that we are going to build a world for you that is deserving of the kind of place you ought to have. Previous generations did it for us. Certainly, those of our colleagues who served in World War II, Vietnam, Korea, made it possible for us to live in a land of peace and democracy. Our responsibility is no less to future generations. The words "an act of war" have been used. I agree with that. We need to respond to this and to build the kind of society to sustain our democratic values, which we have embraced for more than 200 years, through trials and tribulations. To Henry, Bailey, and to this yet unborn child of mine, we commit to you that you will live in a peaceful world. That is our common goal. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I yield up to 10 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized up to 10 minutes.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I cannot think of a more appropriate way to end a speech than the ending that was just given by the Senator from Connecticut—talking about my daughter, talking about his future daughter or son, talking about our former colleague Bob Kerrey's new son.

Every time we reflect upon World War I or World War II or the Korean War or Vietnam or Desert Storm, I am reminded that it is our responsibility to keep the zeal for freedom alive, which was paid for by the blood of so many. I certainly will be committed, along with Senator DODD and everyone in the Senate, to making sure that my daughter, Bailey, has the opportunity to live in the same wonderful country that I have been able to grow up in and love.

In the coming days and weeks, we are going to be talking about specifics on how we deal with this tragedy. In fact, there are some things coming out now to show that we are acting decisively. I was very proud of the President in giving the order immediately to shut down air traffic in New York, and then throughout America, within minutes of the second terrorist act on the World Trade Center it was then clear that it was terrorism. We shut down every air-

port and grounded every plane in America. I believe that was exactly the right thing to do and it was only the first response.

Today, the FAA issued an order banning all knives from air crafts brought on by passengers or in carry-on luggage. It used to be you could take a knife on an airplane that was shorter than 4 inches, like the kind many people carry on keyrings. That will no longer be allowed. I am glad the FAA took that immediate action because we know from early reports that those were the weapons used by these terrorists. The FAA has also ended curbside baggage checks. Everything they are doing is right for our country right now.

Later this week I am going to introduce legislation to reinstitute the random sky marshal program. Reinstitution of this program will have U.S. law enforcement personnel randomly assigned to flights to help ensure our safety. These are some of the many things we will address.

I was talking to Senator WARNER and Senator ALLEN this morning about legislation that would allow the vesting for retirement purposes of military personnel who have died in the line of duty such as the many victims at the Pentagon yesterday.

I think their surviving spouse should receive survivors retirement benefits commensurate with the number of years they have served, which is not presently the law. Senator WARNER is going to push that bill through the Armed Services Committee because of his great leadership position and because his constituents are so affected.

Many people are in dire straits right now, not knowing what their future is because of the number of people we lost yesterday serving our country in the Pentagon. We are going to see some measures coming forward in the next few days and weeks and months to try to address the many issues that are now occurring because of yesterday's tragedy.

Today, however, is more of a solemn moment. It is a moment of horror, a moment of grief, a moment of tragedy, and a moment for reflection. It is a moment which really can't be described, but we all understand because we feel.

It was once said that "democracy is based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people." We saw that yesterday—for evil and for good.

Yesterday's attack stunned our Nation, shocked a people, and destroyed lives and buildings. The blasts and collapse were felt across our Nation, both physically and emotionally. But they did not destroy our spirit, they did not destroy our faith, and they will never destroy our belief in freedom.

Yesterday was filled with images of horror and unspeakable evil, but also of the American spirit, as individuals and a nation rose to the occasion, met the crisis head on, came together to rescue fellow citizens, and also to show

a united front to those who are trying to intimidate us.

Ronald Reagan once said, "No crisis is beyond the capacity of our people to solve; no challenge too great." We are proving that to be true. Already we are being touched and inspired by the actions of ordinary people rising to the extraordinary circumstances and proving that they are heroes.

To those who did this and to those who support them: No, we will never give up. We will never back down. And we will never let anyone destroy our spirit. Freedom is too great—protecting freedom transcends all other of our duties.

That is why we, the Congress, present to you to the Nation and to the world a united front. A front united by grief, horror, and a firm resolve to do our job to provide for the common defense. It is our constitutional obligation, but it is also our personal determination.

As we, the Members of Congress, stood on the Capitol steps last night, my colleagues and I were of one mind and one heart. We will remain so.

Just one person started singing "God Bless America," and every Member of Congress just joined in spontaneously.

We are one with those who are struggling desperately to survive, with those fighting courageously to rescue others, with those waiting hopefully for news of loved ones—and with those committed to punish those responsible.

This is not just an official resolve; it is also personal, and every one of us is going to have a personal story.

Yesterday I spent hours on the telephone calling hospitals. Each one of my staff members had a different hospital to call every 30 minutes, looking for the husband of one of my staffers whose office was located in the Pentagon at the exact impact point of the crash. He finally was able to get through to her, and he was OK. He was one of the lucky ones.

But there were those who were not so lucky, such as my friend, whom I loved dearly, Barbara Olson; that courageous young woman who had so much spunk, who called her husband Ted from the airplane that hit the Pentagon with a cell phone, and gave us our first indication of what was happening and how this was unfolding.

Hope is the strength of an individual; it is the strength of a nation. Though nothing in our history compares to this horrifying event, nothing in our character will let us lose hope or let us be consumed by fear.

We are the very beacon of freedom for the entire world—and we will not let cowards extinguish that light. Through the darkness, through the debris, through the clouds of dust, that light still shines, and from it, freedom and hope will continue to reign across the world.

I thank the Chair and yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. LINCOLN). The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I yield to Senator DORGAN, who is next on our list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized for up to 10 minutes.

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, I listened to my colleague from Texas and I share her sentiments. There are unique moments in history, that are too often born of tragedy, when Americans stand together with a relentless determination to combat the forces of evil, and to reaffirm that our freedom is secure. This, regrettably, is one of those moments.

Cowards struck innocent men, women, and children yesterday, but really all of America was their target. It was clearly an act of war, committed by madmen, directed against our country.

Our hearts are broken, but our spirit is not. And the world should know that we will not give in to terrorists.

Last evening, when I drove home from the Capitol at about 11 in the evening, clouds of black and gray smoke billowed from the Pentagon where one of those acts of terrorism occurred. This morning, when I come back to the Capitol at about 7 a.m., smoke still rose from the ashes of the Pentagon.

Only F-16s and F-15s flew over our country's capital and in the airspace above New York City.

All of America is affected by this deed in a very dramatic way—from young folks to old folks.

Last evening, when I arrived home at about 11 o'clock, my 14-year-old son heard the door close, got out of bed, and came up to me and said: Dad, what happened? Who did this?

I told my son—and all of us in Congress will tell America—that we will search for, find, and punish those responsible for these acts of terrorism. That is our pledge.

We must now wage war on terrorism. And we must ask all the other countries in the world who believe in freedom as we do to join us in this effort to eradicate terrorism.

Terrorist camps cannot be allowed to continue to train terrorists. Countries that harbor terrorist camps must, as the President said, pay a price for harboring them. We must rededicate ourselves to those tasks.

Yesterday, I thought about the carnage that has occurred in our country, and the thousands of people who have undoubtedly lost their lives because of these acts of terrorism. It reminded me again of why our country has such an enormous burden of responsibility to lead the world, and especially why we need to lead the world in combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, in cutting the number of nuclear weapons, and in stopping the spread of nuclear weapons.

Yesterday it was a commercial airliner full of jet fuel. In the future it could be a vial of deadly biological agents that can kill a million people. Or it could be a suitcase nuclear device in the trunk of a rusty car parked on a dock in one of America's largest cities.

If ever we must understand our world leadership responsibility to stop the spread of nuclear and biological weapons, it is now.

Over a century ago, after the carnage of the Battle of Gettysburg, Abraham Lincoln said:

... we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Today, in this time and in this place, we should let those words from nearly 140 years ago again inspire our nation's steely resolve that those who died yesterday did not die in vain.

America's response to the deadly crime that took them from us will be dedicated to destroying the ability of terrorists to wage this kind of war, and giving those who live a new birth of freedom from the fear and the impact of terrorist acts.

Today the U.S. Congress says to those in New York, in Virginia at the Pentagon, in Pennsylvania, and all around America—those who lost their lives, those who loved them, their relatives, their friends—You are not alone. Our country grieves with you. And our country reaches out to you. You are not alone.

Finally, Madam President, Shakespeare wrote:

Grief hath changed me since you saw me last.

We are all changed. Yesterday changed all of us. Our world has changed since yesterday. We all carry the heavy burden of grief, and we all carry the responsibility today to ensure that our response is swift, severe, and just. And we all carry the opportunity today to hold high the torch of freedom, and to say to the world: Yes, America's heart is broken, but America's spirit will not bend.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, I yield to Senator SPECTER and will reclaim my 10 minutes after him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I thank my distinguished colleague from North Carolina for yielding.

Madam President, today's resolution speaks in the strongest terms condemning yesterday's cowardly act of terrorism. Tomorrow, we must do more to bring the perpetrators to justice and take steps to see to it that such terrorism never occurs again.

While there have been many public comments pointing to the so called signature of Osama (aka "Usama") bin Laden as to yesterday's terrorist attacks, we cannot, consistent with our values, make any judgments until we know more. But what we do know is that Osama bin Laden has been at war with the United States since 1989. We know that in indictments returned by the United States District Court for

the Southern District of New York, going back to 1998 when Osama bin Laden and his coconspirators in al Qaeda were indicted for killing 18 U.S. soldiers and wounding 73 others in Mogadishu in 1993. So Osama bin Laden has been at war with the United States for a long time.

We know further that Osama bin Laden was indicted again by the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York in 1998 for the attacks on U.S. Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, where at least 213 people were killed, and in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where 11 people were killed.

Prior to 1986, the United States did not have jurisdiction to try terrorists in U.S. courts for acts committed overseas. But following the murders of many people, including U.S. citizens in the Rome and Vienna airports in December of 1985, I introduced legislation which became the Terrorist Prosecution Act of 1986, an act providing for the death penalty for anyone who assaulted, maimed, or murdered a U.S. citizen anywhere in the world, which provided the legal nexus for trying these defendants in a U.S. court.

Now, as a result of that legislation, these indictments have been brought against Osama bin Laden and his terrorist group known as al Qaeda.

For a fuller understanding of the way bin Laden has waged war against the United States, I ask unanimous consent that the pertinent excerpts of these very lengthy indictments be printed in the RECORD.

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

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, there have been many declarations that what occurred yesterday with the trade towers and the Pentagon were acts of war. And there is no doubt about that. Similarly, what bin Laden did in Mogadishu in 1993 and in the Embassies in 1998 were acts of war. At this time, while the Congress should never act precipitously, I do suggest that consideration be given to a declaration of war against the political entity which harbors and has given aid and assistance to bin Laden's terrorist organization and bin Laden and his coconspirators, based on the indictments which already have been handed down, to which I have referred.

I do not propose to decide this issue today, but I do think it is important that research and factual analysis should begin.

More needs to be done than the resolution of today, which is very important, on condemnation of the terrorism of yesterday and the expressions of sympathy to the victims and their families, those who were on the planes, the passengers and the crew, and those in the Pentagon and the trade towers. But where we do know, without prejudging yesterday's events, that bin Laden's terrorist organization has been indicted for acts of terrorism, murdering U.S. soldiers, blowing up our Embassies, it is time to act.

Bin Laden is at war with the United States. It is time that we reciprocate.

There is a legal issue as to the status of the Taliban in Afghanistan, which we do not recognize as the government. The Taliban, however, control some 90 percent of the territory. For purposes of a declaration of war and for taking action, there is, in my legal judgment, a sufficient nation-state entity so that we can act and we should not be prohibited from acting because there is no so-called true nation-state there at the present time.

While on a vastly different scale, when I was district attorney of Philadelphia and we had outstanding indictments, a warrant of arrest would be issued. We hunted down indictees. We brought them to court, we tried them, we convicted them, and we punished them.

The United States of America has the authority, from the indictments which have been handed down and the statement of our extraterritorial jurisdiction in the Terrorist Prosecution Act of 1986, to take the steps which are necessary to bring bin Laden and his coconspirators to justice. We have the capacity, we have the capability, the military strength, to do what is necessary.

When demands have been made on the Taliban for the surrender of bin Laden and the Taliban or Afghanistan—or whatever entity we choose to denominate it as being—declines on the grounds that bin Laden is a guest, and yesterday there was a news conference where someone from the Taliban appeared on international television trying to defend the Taliban's position, it is time we act. Where we have faced the extraordinary wounds from yesterday, and they may or may not be a continuation of bin Laden's past attacks—time will tell—but in accordance with our values on the presumption of innocence and not rushing to judgment, we will await further developments as we find out what the facts are and who the perpetrators were yesterday, even though they do bear the so-called signature of bin Laden. But for the acts in 1993 in Mogadishu, for the attacks in 1998 on our Embassies in Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya, there is no doubt that we have the authority to act.

That is why I think with these outstanding indictments, which have pinpointed the evidence as to Osama bin Laden, that consideration should be given to responding to acts of war against the United States with the appropriate counterattack, to see to it that we take into custody bin Laden, bring him to the United States for trial, for conviction, and the potential of execution in accordance with the death penalty which is provided by U.S. law.

I again thank my colleague from North Carolina. I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

[United States District Court, Southern District of New York, 98 Cr.]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA v. USAMA BIN LADEN, a/k/a/ "Usamah bin-Muhammad bin-Laden," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Laden," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Abu Abdullah," a/k/a "Qa Qa," DEFENDANT
COUNT ONE: CONSPIRACY TO ATTACK DEFENSE UTILITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

The Grand Jury charges:

Background: Al Qaeda

1. At all relevant times from in or about 1989 until the date of the filing of this Indictment, an international terrorist group existed which was dedicated to opposing non-Islamic governments with force and violence. This organization grew out of the "mekhtab al khidemat" (the "Services Office") organization which had maintained (and continues to maintain) offices in various parts of the world, including Afghanistan, Pakistan (particularly in Peshawar) and the United States, particularly at the Alkifah Refugee Center in Brooklyn. From in or about 1989 until the present, the group called itself "Al Qaeda" ("the Base"). From 1989 until in or about 1991, the group was headquartered in Afghanistan and Peshawar, Pakistan. In or about 1992, the leadership of Al Qaeda, including its "emir" (or prince) USAMA BIN LADEN, the defendant, an its military command relocated to the

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of Al Qaeda that the United States forces stationed in the Horn of Africa, including Somalia, should be attacked;

k. Beginning in or about early spring 1993, Al Qaeda members began to provide training and assistance to Somali tribes opposed to the United Nations' intervention in Somalia;

l. On October 3 and 4, 1993, members of Al Qaeda participated with Somali tribesmen in an attack on United States military personnel serving in Somalia as part of Operation Restore Hope, which attack killed a total of 18 United States soldiers and wounded 73 others in Mogadishu;

m. On two occasions in the period from in or about 1992 until in or about 1995, Co-conspirator helped transport weapons and explosives from Khartoum to Port Sudan for transshipment to the Saudi Arabian peninsula;

n. At various times from at least as early as 1993, USAMA BIN LADEN and others known and unknown, made efforts to obtain the components of nuclear weapons;

o. At various times from at least as early as 1993, USAMA BIN LADEN and others known and unknown, made efforts to produce chemical weapons;

p. On or about August 23, 1996, USAMA BIN LADEN signed and issued a Declaration of Jihad entitled "Message from Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Laden to His Muslim Brothers in the Whole World and Especially in the Arabian Peninsula: Declaration of Jihad Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Mosques; Expel the Heretics from the Arabian Peninsula" (hereafter the "Declaration of Jihad") from the Hindu Kush mountains in Afghanistan. The Declaration of Jihad included statements that efforts should be pooled to kill Americans and encouraged other persons to join the jihad against the American "enemy";

q. In or about late August 1996, USAMA BIN LADEN read aloud the Declaration of Jihad and made an audiotape recording of such reading for worldwide distribution; and

r. In February 1998, USAMA BIN LADEN issued a joint declaration in the name of Gamaa't, Al Jihad, the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh and the "Jamaat ul Ulema e Pakistan" under the banner of the "International Islamic Front for Jihad on the Jews

and Crusaders," which stated that Muslims should kill Americans—including civilians—anywhere in the world where they can be found.

(Title 18, United States Code, Section 2155(b).)

MARY JO WHITE,
United States Attorney.

[United States District Court, Southern District of New York, S(2) 98 Cr. 1023 (LBS)]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA v. USAMA BIN LADEN, a/k/a "Usamah bin-Muhammad bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Abu Abdullah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; MUHAMMAD ATEF, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; WADIH EL HAGE, a/k/a "Abdus Sabbur," a/k/a "Abd al Sabbur," a/k/a "Norman," a/k/a "Wa'da Norman"; FAZUL ABDULLAH MOHAMMED, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; MOHAMED SADEEK ODEH, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and MOHAMED RASHED DAUD AL-OWHALI, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel-Latif," DEFENDANTS

INTRODUCTION

The Grand Jury charges:

Background: Al Qaeda

1. At all relevant times from in or about 1989 until the date of the filing of this Indictment, an international

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with representatives of the government of Iran, and its associated terrorist group Hezbollah, for the purpose of working together against their perceived common enemies in the West, particularly the United States.

COUNT ONE: THE CONSPIRACY TO KILL UNITED STATES NATIONALS

8. From at least 1991 until the date of the filing of this Indictment, in the Southern District of New York, in Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, the Philippines and elsewhere out of the jurisdiction of any particular state or district, Usama bin Laden, a/k/a "Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Abu Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Wadih el Hage, a/k/a "Abdus Sabbur," a/k/a "Abd al Sabbur," a/k/a "Norman," a/k/a "Wa'da Norman"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel-Latif," defendants at least one of whom was first brought to and arrested in the Southern District of New York, together with other members and associates of al Qaeda and others known and unknown to the Grand Jury, unlawfully, willfully and knowingly combined, conspired, confederated and agreed to kill nationals of the United States in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2332(a).

9. The objectives of the conspiracy included: (i) killing United States nationals employed by the United States military who were serving in Somalia and on the Saudi

Arabian peninsula; (ii) killing United States nationals employed at the United States Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; and (iii) engaging in conduct to conceal the activities and means and methods of the co-conspirators by, among other things, establishing front companies, providing false identify and travel documents, engaging in coded correspondence and providing false information to the authorities in various countries.

Overt Acts

10. In furtherance of the said conspiracy, and to effect the illegal objects thereof, the following overt acts, among others, were committed:

The Provision of Guesthouses and Training Camps

a. At various times from at least as early as 1989, Usama bin Laden, the defendant, and others known and unknown, provided training camps and guesthouses in various areas, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Sudan, Somalia and Kenya for the use of al Qaeda and its affiliated groups;

The Recruitment of American Citizens

b. At various times from at least as early as . . .

* * * * *

COUNTS TWO THROUGH TWO HUNDRED TWENTY SEVEN: THE AFRICA BOMBINGS

COUNT TWO: BOMBING OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN NAIROBI, KENYA, RESULTING IN MORE THAN 200 DEATHS

The Grand Jury further charges:

11. The allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.

12. On or about August 7, 1998, in Nairobi, Kenya, and outside the jurisdiction of any particular state or district, Usama bin Laden, a/k/a "Usamah bin-Muhammad bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Abu Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel-Latif," defendants, at least one of whom was first brought to and arrested in the Southern District of New York, and others known and unknown, unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did maliciously damage and destroy, and attempted to damage and destroy, by means of fire and an explosive, buildings, vehicles and other personal and real property in whole and in part owned and possessed by, and leased to, the United States, to wit, the defendants, together with other members of al Qaeda, an international terrorist organization, detonated an explosive device that damaged and destroyed the United States Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, and as a result of such conduct directly and proximately caused the deaths of at least 213 persons, including Kenyan and American citizens.

(Title 18, United States Code, Sections 844(f)(1), (f)(3), and 2.)

COUNT THREE: BOMBING OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, RESULTING IN AT LEAST 11 DEATHS

The Grand Jury further charges:

13. The allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.

14. On or about August 7, 1998, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and outside the jurisdiction

of any particular state or district, Usama bin Laden, a/k/a "Usamah bin-Muhammad bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Abu Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel-Latif," defendants, at least one of whom was first brought to and arrested in the Southern District of New York, and others known and unknown, unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did maliciously damage and destroy, and attempted to damage and destroy, by means of fire and an explosive, buildings, vehicles and other personal and real property in whole and in part owned and possessed by, and leased to, the United States, to wit, the defendants, together with other members of al Qaeda, an international terrorist organization, detonated an explosive device that damaged and destroyed the United States Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and as a result of such conduct directly and proximately caused the deaths of at least 11 persons, including Tanzanian citizens.

(Title 18, United States Code, Sections 844(f)(1), (f)(3) and 2.)

COUNTS FOUR THROUGH TWO HUNDRED SIXTEEN: MURDERS IN NAIROBI, KENYA

The Grand Jury further charges:

15. The allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.

16. On or about August 7, 1998, in Nairobi, Kenya, and outside the jurisdiction of any particular state or district, Usama bin Laden, a/k/a "Usamah bin-Muhammad bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Abu Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rasheed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel-Latif," defendants, at least one of whom was first brought to and arrested in the Southern District of New York, and others known and unknown, unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did kill the persons listed below during the course of an attack on a federal facility involving the use of a dangerous weapon, to wit, the defendants detonated an explosive device that damaged and destroyed the United States Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, and as a result of such conduct directly and proximately caused the deaths of:

Table with 2 columns: Count and Victim. Lists names of victims corresponding to counts 4 through 18.

Count	Victim
19	Sheikh Fahat
20	Eva Nyanjau Gacheru
21	Jane Wangui Gacheru
22	Alice Nduta Gachin
23	Raphael Johnson Gathumbi
24	Agnes Wanjiru Gitau
25	Lawrence Ambrose Gitau
26	Joel Kamau Githumbi
27	Benard Mugambi Gitonga
28	Susan Wairimu Gitu
29	Rosemary Njeri Gituma
30	Hassan Hukay Guracha
31	Burhan Aden Hanshi
32	Molly H. Hardy
33	Kenneth Ray Hobson
34	Anthony Kihato Irungu
35	George Irungu
36	Wangari Ittota
37	Dorine Alusoch Jow
38	John Karoki Kahuthu
39	Geoffrey Kaleo
40	Francis Kihara Kamuti
41	Lawrence Gitau Kamuti
42	Margaret Wanjiku Kangi
43	Charles Mugo Karanja
44	Lucy Nyawira Kariigi
45	Moses Kariuki
46	Christine Wairumu Karumba
47	Prabhi Kavaler
48	Francis Kibe
49	Jackline Nyawira Kibera
50	Felistus Njeri Kimani
51	Rael Mburu Kimani
52	Stephen Maina Kimani
53	Simon Kinuthia
54	Joe Kiongo
55	Arlene Bradley Kirk
56	Francis Kabathi Kiu
57	Dominic Kivuva
58	David Ndula Koimburi
59	Julian Kwali
60	Peter Mbevi Kyelo
61	Moses Muli Kyule
62	Emmanuel Machambele
63	Denis R. Madegwa
64	Ann Mumbi Maina
65	Frank Maina
66	Lidiah Ninda Maingi
67	Cecelia Mamboleo
68	Mary Louise Martin
69	James Otieno Masea
70	Anne Nyambura Mathege
71	Pity Mwhiki Mathege
72	Simon Peter Ngumo Matu
73	June Mary Maweu
74	Lydia Mukuri Mayaka
75	Doreen Mbayaki
76	Francis Mbugo
77	Francis Ndungu Mbugua
78	Rachael Kabendi Mboya
79	Lucy Waruthi Mbumya
80	Stephen Waweru Mburu
81	James Mathege Migwi
82	Elizabeth Onyango Mito
83	Ahmed Warko Mohammed
84	Luciano Mugambi
85	Justus Njeru Mugendi
86	Gilbert Mugo
87	Peter Irungu Mugo
88	Josphat Mutua Muia
89	Edward Mukaya
90	Loise Njeri Mukoma
91	Samuel Vondo Mulalia
92	Francis Mukenyi Muleki
93	Thomas Mundayi
94	Benson Wathigu Muniri
95	Caroline Mumbi Muraguri
96	Tirus Muraguri
97	Catherine Mureithi
98	Frida Wambui Muriitu
99	Alice Waruguru Muriuki
100	Mary Wanjiku Muriuki
101	Robert Migwi Muriuki
102	Ruth Mwakai Musyoka
103	Wilson Kipkorir Mutai
104	Florence Mwendu Muthama
105	Emmanuel Njaga Muthuria
106	Daniel Maundu Mutinda
107	Josphine Nzilani Mutinda
108	Catherine Ndumi Mutua
109	Caroline Karambo Mutuiiri
110	Gloria Ngatha Mutuiiri
111	Geoffrey Muniyiri Mutunga
112	Patrick Kariuki Muturi
113	Gabriel Mwandime
114	Harrison Njuguna Mwangi
115	Naftali Mwangi
116	Roseline Wanjiku Mwangi
117	Samuel Githua Mwangi
118	Moses Aston Mwani
119	Ann Mwaniki
120	Isack Muga Mwaria
121	Pamela Mboya Mwenge
122	Edwin Mungai Mwya
123	Abdalla Musyoki Mwiliu
124	Nkruma Tony Myizala
125	Moses Namayi
126	Mary Nyaga Ndirango
127	Caroline Ndolo
128	Martin K. Nduati
129	Julius Ndulu
130	Edwin Paul Ndumbi
131	Ephrahim Kingori Ndungu
132	Peter Njoroge Ndungu

Count	Victim
133	Joyce Njeri Ng'ang'a
134	John Mwangi Ngaragari
135	Peter Macharia Ngugi
136	Abel Mugambi Njau
137	Simon Mwangi Njima
138	Catherine Wambara Njoka
139	Agatha Njoki
140	Jacinta Njoki
141	Francis Ndungu Njoroge
142	Grace Nyambura Njoroge
143	William Waitaha Njoroge
144	Godfrey Muchori Njuguna
145	Patrick Njuguna
146	Beatrice Nyambura
147	Michael Odor Nyandeba
148	Elizabeth Nyarotso
149	Vincent Kamau Nyoike
150	Janet Ndoome Nzioka
151	Kimeu Nzioka
152	Magdaline Mbithe Nzioka
153	Joseph Ngove Nzwilli
154	Margret Atieno Obonyo
155	Joshua Aneah Obonyo
156	Fredrick Ebra Ochieng
157	Michael Ochieng
158	Francis Olewe Ochilo
159	Lawrence Olum Ochoka
160	Ann Michelle O'Connor
161	Duncan Odhiambo
162	Emma Odhiambo
163	John Odhiambo Oduor
164	Maurice Okach Oholla
165	Simon Otieno Olang
166	Sherry Lynn Olds
167	Kitalian Olotono
168	Hanson Nyabera Omae
169	Hindu Omari
170	Edwin Omori
171	Enock Omweno
172	Lucy Onono
173	Eric Obur Onyango
174	John Ouko Onyango
175	Caroline Opati
176	Silvia Oriendo
177	Godfrey Okoro Orono
178	Elizabeth Achieng Orwa
179	Evans Osongo
180	Dominic Alango Otieno
181	Elias Otieno
182	Julius Otieno
183	Mathew Walunya Otieno
184	Rogers Otoro
185	Elijah Ngito Owino
186	Josiah Odera Owor
187	Rachael Pussy
188	Margret Lilello Rading
189	Ruth Mukami Rungu
190	Joseph Ondari Salamba
191	Timothy Odhiambo Sande
192	Uttamial Thomas Shah
193	Hassan Jarso Soka
194	Shadrack Nyaga Thito
195	Samuel Mbugua Thuo
196	Phaema Vrontamias
197	Gloria Wangechi Wachira
198	Shadrack Mwangi Maganyi
199	James Mwangi Wainaina
200	Teresa Kiongo Wairimu
201	Sabena Walter
202	Adams Wamai
203	Rachel Wambui
204	John Gitau Wamutwe
205	David Soita Wanabacha
206	John Amos Wangai
207	Sharon Wangechi
208	Gladys Wangui
209	Margaret Wangui
210	Mercy Wanjiku
211	John Mwangi Wanyoike
212	Margaret Wasike
213	Margret Njeri Waweru
214	Fredrick Maloba Yafes
215	Ann Mumo Zakayo
216	Unidentified male

(Title 18, United States Code, Sections 930(c) and 2.)

COUNTS TWO HUNDRED SEVENTEEN THROUGH TWO HUNDRED TWENTY SEVEN: MURDERS IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

17. The allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.

18. On or about August 7, 1998, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and outside the jurisdiction of any particular state or district, Usama bin Laden, a/k/a "Usamah bin-Muhammad bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Abu Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaeda," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu

Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh Bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel-Latif," defendants, at least one of whom was first brought to and arrested in the Southern District of New York, and others known and unknown, unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did kill the persons listed below during the course of an attack on a federal facility involving the use of a dangerous weapon, to wit, the defendants detonated an explosive device that damaged and destroyed the United States Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and as a result of such conduct directly and proximately caused the deaths of:

Count	Victim
217	Abdulhaman Abdulah
218	Elisha Paulo Elia
219	Hassan Syad Harane
220	Ramadhani H. Mahundi
221	Mtendeje Rajabu Mbeug
222	Abdallah Mohamed
223	Abas William Mwila
224	Almosaria Yussuf Mzee
225	Shamte Yusup Ndale
226	Bakari Yusup Nyumbo
227	Dotto Seleman

(Title 18, United States Code, Sections 930(c) and 2.)

* * * * *

... stated to a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he had never heard that "Abu Ubaidah al Bانشiri," a military commander for Usama Bin Laden, had died when in truth and fact WADI EL HAGE knew that "Abu Ubaidah al Bانشiri" had died in Kenya in 1996.

(Title 18, United States Code, Section 1001.)

COUNT 238: FALSE STATEMENTS

38. On or about August 20, 1998, in Dallas, Texas, and Arlington, Texas, the defendant Wadih el Hage, a/k/a "Abdus Sabbur," a/k/a "Abd al Sabbur," a/k/a "Norman," a/k/a "Wa'da Norman," in a matter within the jurisdiction of the executive branch of the government, to wit, a criminal investigation based in the Southern District of New York, unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly, did make materially false statements and representations, to wit, the defendant falsely stated to a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he did not know Mohamed Sadeek Odeh and did not recognize his photograph when in truth and fact el Hage knew Mohamed Sadeek Odeh.

(Title 18, United States Code, Section 1001.)

MARY JO WHITE,
United States Attorney.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. I yield to the Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I applaud the Senators from Delaware and North Carolina for leading the debate on this resolution and, of course, our leaders, Senator DASCHLE and Senator LOTT, for bringing this resolution before the Senate.

Most Senators will speak on the floor about yesterday's tragedy. It perhaps is impossible for the men and women of this body to say all the things that can be said and should be said. The 100 of us, though, are given the duty and the honor to speak for over 260 million Americans. I know in my case my wife Marcelle and I, like all Vermonters, pray for the victims of these heinous

acts. We also pray for their loved ones who remain behind.

The heart of every American aches for those who died or have been injured. Think how the families and friends feel. I know that in my own State, the head of the Roman Catholic diocese, Bishop Angell, has been leading his congregation in prayer while his heart aches knowing that his brother and his sister-in-law died on one of the hijacked planes. Can you imagine the grief?

All day yesterday, last night and this morning, I have heard from my fellow Vermonters by phone and by Internet. I hear from my friends and members of my staff of the losses they have suffered of family and friends. I think of my own children, each one of whom were trying to call Washington yesterday when all the phones were jammed, to find out where their mother and I were. You can replicate that for hundreds of thousands of people around the country.

We have tried to answer those calls. We have tried to get the answers for them and so often the answers are terrible ones.

I listened to the news a little after 5 this morning. I heard the name of a friend of mine who went into the World Trade building to help with the rescue and the building came down—and he died with hundreds of New York firefighters, police and FMS personnel.

I have said for so many years that in a democracy like ours, terrorism should not be our Achilles heel. It is clear that now more than ever we have to concentrate on the terrorist threat.

I applaud the Democratic and the Republican leaders of the House and Senate for bringing us back into session today.

As our Capitol was evacuated yesterday, as I stood out here on the plaza and saw people coming out of our buildings, I said: Lord, let us get back in there as soon as possible for if we let terrorism shut down our democracy, then terrorism wins. We had to say to the American people that we were here today, including our loyal and brave staff.

I was proud to be in my seat representing Vermont when we opened the Senate and this building today. We know that quite possibly this building was the target of the plane that crashed, but we know that this building must be opened because the people's business is done here. No country, and no terrorist, no matter how evil, no matter how twisted, no matter how diabolic can close the symbols of U.S. democracy or what we do. Just as the brave men and women of our Armed Forces will not stop because of this dastardly attack on the Pentagon. And, just as the people in New York City who make up the fiber of ingenuity, innovation, economics, and learning in our country. The rest of the country will pick up the torch.

Franklin Roosevelt called December 7, 1941, the day Pearl Harbor was at-

tacked, "a date which will live in infamy." Almost 60 years later, Americans face such another day and challenge to our democracy. Just as the people of this country became united in World War II, we must unite against the cowardice of evil and terrorism. As our leaders said this morning: We stand here not as Republicans or Democrats, we stand together.

We will be supportive of our President, our institutions and of each other because a challenge to our freedom is going to be answered by the strength of our democracy. Trial by fire can refine us or it can coarsen us. If we hold to our ideals, then it strengthens us. Our people, our values, our institutions are strong. President Roosevelt spoke of the arsenal of democracy. That arsenal—our ideals, our values, our freedom, our community, our humanity—sustains us and propels us forward. As much as our military weaponry these ideals are the arsenal of democracy.

Let nobody outside our shores have any question about this: Americans are united. All the free world, all civilized nations, all caring people will join together at this difficult time. It has meant so much to hear the calls from around the world.

Our values, our resolve, our commitment, our sense of community will serve us well. I am confident that, as a nation, we will seek and serve justice. Our Nation, my neighbors and friends in Vermont demand no less, but we must not let the terrorists win. If we abandon our democracy to battle them, they win. If we forget our role as the world's leader to defeat them, they win. And we will win. We will maintain our democracy, and with justice, we will use our strength.

We will not lose our commitment to the rule of law, no matter how much the provocation, because that rule of law has protected us throughout the centuries. It has created our democracy. It has made us what we are in history. We are a just and good nation. We will remain a just and good nation, but we are a nation capable of a terrible fury, and our enemies must know that. Madam President, our enemies will know that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, I yield myself 10 minutes, and I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to deliver my remarks seated at my desk.

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

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, I have counted the number of today's U.S. Senators who were around on December 7, 1941. There are not many of us. Many present members of the Senate were not born. The Honorable STROM THURMOND was indeed around, and bless his heart, I am so pleased the able senior Senator from South Carolina is still here and active.

I remember that Sunday on December 7, 1941, when we came out of church

and heard the news about the bombing of Pearl Harbor. As one of the staff editors of the afternoon 6-day-a-week newspaper in Raleigh, NC, we prevailed upon the then publisher of The Raleigh Times to publish an "extra"—and it was the last "extra" newspaper published in the State of North Carolina, to my knowledge. I recall that we sold approximately 12,000, which pleased the management of the newspaper.

After the paper was put to bed, I walked up the street to the Raleigh post office and into the Navy recruiting station to volunteer. I did pretty well, but was turned down because of my hearing in my left ear. I recall my disappointment. But over in the corner was a regular Navy chief petty officer. Mr. President, I have never met a chief petty officer of the regular Navy who didn't talk out of one side of his mouth.

He said: "Hey, boy, come over here." I went.

He said: "You want to get in this man's Navy?"

I said: "Yes, sir."

He said: "I have some friends in BUPERS." I did not know what BUPERS was, but I later found it was Bureau of Naval Personnel in Washington. I thought he was pulling my leg, but it turned out that he was not, because about 2 months later, I received a waiver; I was sworn into the Navy and went to San Diego for 2 or 3 months' boot camp.

Which is beside the point, except to say that the recruiting station that Sunday afternoon, December 7, 1941, was filled with young men, all wanting to defend their country. A lot of them did not know where Pearl Harbor was or what Pearl Harbor was, but they came anyhow because they realized that their country had been attacked unfairly.

Mr. President, that is the reason we won the war; that was a time when the accepted and effective policy of the United States of America was to seek out and find and, when necessary, destroy the leaders of forces resorting to violent harm to the American people.

That policy was in effect, as I say, on December 7, but in the years following, some in political circles decided to substitute only a vague warning to those making threats by crashing airliners loaded with innocent Americans.

Mr. President, I was encouraged to hear the President of the United States last evening and again this morning say, in effect, we are going to get them; they are not going to get by with it. That was the attitude in 1941 when Franklin Roosevelt—and I am the only one present in this Chamber at the moment who heard FDR say "this is a day that will live in infamy."

Well, Mr. President, yesterday was another day that must live in infamy. Not since the war of 1812 has the city of Washington been attacked by a hostile adversary. The attack on Pearl Harbor, of course, matched yesterday's cowardly actions in both surprise and

swiftness that occurred yesterday. The losses are perhaps more enormous yesterday; in number in terms of innocent lives, than those astronomical numbers in 1941 at Pearl Harbor.

The policy I have just mentioned—of going after adversaries of the United States of America—was in effect on December 7, but somewhere along the line it began to dissipate after World War II. The mind-set in some political circles gradually was substituted for a two-fisted warning to the mean, cruel terrorists who made their threats yesterday by crashing airliners loaded with innocent Americans into public buildings in New York City and Washington.

That was the kind of terrorists who created that disaster yesterday; I hope I will live to see the day when it will once again be the unmistakable policy of the United States of America to search for and find that kind of sneaky slimy terrorist who created this morning's headlines by crashing those airplanes and creating destruction and disaster and bloodshed and loss of lives.

Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON mentioned the young lady who called her husband from one of the planes on her cell phone. All of us had seen her many times on television and enjoyed her talent—and she will be missed. But I hope Americans will again be two-fisted, standing together.

President Bush laid down the bill of particulars, and I believe he is going to say let us get back in the game and punish these cruel terrorists.

I intend to do my best as a United States Senator to encourage and supplement such a revival of a policy that once protected the lives and property of innocent American people. FDR was right, December 7, 1941, was a day of infamy, and yesterday, September 11, 2001, was also a day of infamy.

We must stand together and vote together and never be deterred in our efforts to put an end to this sort of thing, wherever it happens around this world.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I say to my colleague from North Carolina, we have on our side 10 minutes now, but one of our colleagues has to go to California and one up to New Jersey because of so many folks involved in the Trade Tower. If they can split their 10 minutes, will it be all right to have them go in succession? I spoke with the Senator from Mississippi about this.

Mr. HELMS. That is fine.

Mr. BIDEN. I understand the Senator from Mississippi has a statement he wishes to make first.

Mr. COCHRAN. Madam President, I thank the Senator for yielding to me. The resolution before the Senate should be considered by those who have planned and perpetrated the heinous attacks in New York City and Washington as more than a warning. It is a promise that will be kept.

We pledge today our whole hearted support for President Bush and his commitment to hunt down those responsible for these atrocities and to punish them in a way that is commensurate with their horrible acts.

At the same time we are committing ourselves to provide the resources our government and our President may need as Commander in Chief to wage a war to eradicate terrorism. I am pleased the Senate is united in this resolve to help ensure that we will do all we are able to do to ensure these tragedies are never repeated.

I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. BIDEN. I thank the Senator from Mississippi.

Madam President, I yield 5 minutes, or slightly more if he needs it, to the Senator from New Jersey. I thank him for accommodating the Senator from California as well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CORZINE. Madam President, I thank you for this opportunity to speak. I am awestruck by the passion I feel among all of the Senators in this Chamber.

Today, America's people in the civilized world join hands and hearts to share our grief and our love and to steel our will. First for victims, we share our grief. We share our love with the ones who are the heroes of rescue, and we truly steel our will against the evil actors of terrorism.

In my home State of New Jersey, there are unknown numbers of families heartbroken with the horror of yesterday's tragedy. The personal friendships and relationships affected in my own life are acutely painful. As do all of my colleagues, from the bottom of my heart I extend my deepest condolences to the families and friends of the victims and to the courageous men and women whose life's work has been to protect us, to rescue us in time of need.

In this moment of grief, we must and we will stand together as families, as communities, as one Nation.

Yesterday, America came under attack in a manner none of us thought imaginable. Our freedoms and liberties were challenged by cowardly, faceless fanatics who thought nothing of killing innocent people, women and children, hard-working men and women who dedicated their lives to believing in the American promise, the American dream, the values that we all cherish in a society.

In response to those attacks and this challenge, we need to be united in purpose to move swiftly, surely, thoughtfully, to uncompromising justice. I know we all recoil with horror as we think of those who died in the destruction of the World Trade Center. It was a true symbol of America's financial and economic strength, just as certainly as the Pentagon represents our military strength.

I worked for many years in that neighborhood I saw buried under the rubble yesterday. In fact, I commuted

through that building for over 20 years, and I fear for the many whose paths I crossed there because of potentially unspeakable horrors.

Equally shocking, it is just as difficult to imagine hijacked airliners being taken from Newark International Airport, where I have traveled literally thousands of times. But these shocks and circumstances which are not only personal to me but to everyone cannot allow us as a nation to weaken our resolve.

I boil with anger at what has occurred and share with my country men and women the belief that we will leave no stone unturned tracking down those responsible for these acts. I, too, join in a chorus that says we must hold all accountable, including those who harbor these criminals and give them aid and comfort. They have no clean hands.

Our Nation was born of strife and the horrors of war, but we built a country with the brick and mortar of freedom and democracy. That is what we have to defend. We have defended over the centuries the fundamental liberties that make us so strong and, as spoken about so eloquently, including the rule of law. We have become the world's lone superpower, the world's beacon of freedom because of those bricks and mortar that built the American dream.

It is our responsibility at this moment in time to stand strong on those principles. It motivates us and moves us to be ever vigilant, protecting our security and freedoms. We fought too hard and, frankly, we care too much. Millions of men and women have sacrificed their lives over time to secure those freedoms. Yesterday, others joined in that sacrifice. We honor them, but we must not be deterred. Our resolve must be strengthened.

I want to make sure we do everything we can to bring those who are responsible to justice, but we must be just as strong to make sure we rebuild and move forward in a sure and certain way.

I know one aspect of that in the financial world, and I am clear in my own mind that we will not hesitate, that we will not step back and we will marshal every resource to make sure things will move forward, and they will.

As we move forward from this tragedy, we must capture and hold those responsible, but the positive is where our hearts must be. But we will never forget.

Yesterday, Lady Liberty stood in our harbor, the New York/New Jersey Harbor, and watched unspeakable horrors unfold, but today she stands tall. And so shall we, Madam President. I thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I thank my dear friend, my eloquent friend, my chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, for this opportunity and for his eloquence, indeed,

his vigilance on this topic. I am proud to be on his committee and to head his Subcommittee on Terrorism.

Today, I rise with pain in my heart and great emotion to offer my prayers and my condolences for the people in this country who have been directly hit by an act of war, people of my State of my birth, New York, looking at that skyline, the people who work at the Pentagon every day, who have chosen to work to protect our Nation, and the people of California who were on those planes that were hijacked and, of course, to every other individual who was directly affected, and all of us will have our stories.

I first thank the people of California for their outpouring of love and support for the people of this country. There were vigils, there were prayer services in every denomination yesterday. There was an outpouring of people giving blood.

People did not know what to do. The L.A. County Search and Rescue Team somehow got a plane at 4 a.m. They boarded on that plane and they are on the ground in Manhattan. Indeed, we are one country east coast to west, north to south. I have never seen such unity.

One of our colleagues said we remember where we were when tragedy hit this country. In my lifetime, I remember too many things—not as many things as perhaps Senators who are older, but I certainly remember where I was when I saw John Kennedy go down and Martin Luther King go down, the *Challenger* disaster, and yesterday the image of our planes, commercial American planes, four of them, going down crashing into buildings, being used as lethal weapons against our people—an image that has shaken us but has not shaken our resolve.

Once I was on a plane that was in some type of mechanical trouble. We had to make an unscheduled landing. For an hour we really didn't know if we were going to make it. In that time, passengers were consoling each other and getting out their fears, attendants were reading the crash landing manuals. I reached for the phone. I called my family. I left a message. I thought: Did I tell them before how much they mean to me? All I could think of yesterday was about the people on those planes, every one of whom had a family. Basically, as I understand it, they knew they were going to go down, and in many cases, as I understand, were being told if they wanted to call their families, they were crashing. The utter terror, the utter callousness of this, the inhumanity of this, is unbearable, what our people went through on those planes and then those innocent people working in the Pentagon and the World Trade Center.

I am going to make a very strong statement. When we look back into history and what happened in Bosnia, people suffered genocide because of their nationality, and to the Holocaust, people suffered annihilation be-

cause of their nationality. People were killed yesterday because they were Americans. People were killed not because they were bad people—they were good people—they were killed because they were Americans.

It is time for us to say we will fight and stand up for them and their memories. We will take a stand against inhumanity that occurred on our own soil. We are resolved to honor those who died. We are resolved to make our Nation as safe as it can be from those acts. We are resolved to hold those who planned these attacks and who harbor these people absolutely 100-percent accountable. They must pay because this is the test of a civilized nation. We lead the civilized nations of the world. We will not back down.

I stand proudly with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and with our President. We will be resolved to do everything—and do it well and do it right—to bring justice in the world.

Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, we have a long list. I ask unanimous consent that the next person on the list be Senator KERRY to speak for 5 minutes and that we extend the recess for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Madam President, I was interested in the order.

Mr. BIDEN. The order after that is HOLLINGS, FEINSTEIN, DURBIN, KENNEDY, LIEBERMAN, WYDEN, and WELLSTONE.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Thank you, Madam President.

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

The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for up to 5 minutes.

Mr. KERRY. I thank the Chair. I thank my colleague.

Madam President, never in the time I have been here—and perhaps in the modern history of the Senate—has any of us come to the floor with such a weight as today, with our hearts literally heavy and aching with the pain of what we have witnessed and what we know so many families are experiencing today, and also with a sense of outrage at the loss of every innocent citizen and every single person who went to work expecting a normal day, every police officer who put themselves into harm's way, every fireman who tried to save a life and lost their own, and at the astonishing number of their loss with the experience of a breach in their special brotherhood and sisterhood that can never be healed, the loss of emergency personnel. These losses are felt by all of us in a very special, personal, and searing way.

It is also fair to say that all of us have a deep feeling of outrage and resentment for the killing of our innocent citizens, for the attack against our country, for the fear and panic we saw in the faces and voices of our people; children crying; parents, wives,

brothers, sons, and daughters waiting for word.

Yesterday I was on the phone to the husband and daughter of a woman—a friend—lost in the second flight to penetrate the World Trade Center. The pain and depth of loss in their voices was excruciating. And the helplessness to do anything but to share that pain and offer comfort brought an even deeper sense of anger and resolve for the acts that occurred.

But it is also critical that all of us remember, as we talk about responses, and war against terrorism, that our rhetoric be matched by our actions. If indeed there is a war against terrorism, I remind my colleagues that in a war the first shots are never the last, the first strike is never the worst.

What happened yesterday was terrible and horrendous, but we must prepare ourselves and steel ourselves for the possibility of worse until we achieve our goal. And to do that we have to be more prepared than we are today, and we have to take the fight wherever we need to, and in ways that we are, frankly, not yet prepared.

I will say, from personal experience, when you are in a war, you do not throw money at the enemy; it's bullets or other actions that are real. We cannot guarantee that some fanatic is not going to find a way to upset civilized order. But we can guarantee that anyone facilitating or associated with such an act will pay the highest price.

There are few organizations that could achieve what happened yesterday. We know who they are. We know who supports them. We should demand that those people cooperate with us in turning them over to us.

Finally, it is important for the world to see that we will go back immediately to the business of a great democracy. We must—all of us—be back at the work of our Nation. We must show that our effort to build a better country goes on, the mission of educating our children for full citizenship goes on, the job of making our country stronger goes on.

I believe one of the first things we should commit to as a country, with Federal help, that underscores our Nation's purpose, is to rebuild the towers of the World Trade Center and to show the world that we are not afraid; we are defiant.

To those who might say, "why create another target?" The answer is simple: If we are indeed at war with terrorism, there is no shortage of targets in the United States. There is a White House, and a Capitol, and countless other tall buildings. This is not a question of targets; it is a question of strength and of our national resolve to stand up and show our strength. That is the best monument we could build to those who died yesterday.

In Massachusetts, Madam President, we particularly grieve and feel the full measure of what happened yesterday. Two of those flights came out of our airport. Many of those people on those

flights—the vast majority of them—came from our State.

So to all of those who currently await word or those who know because of the nature of the flights, we extend our deepest condolences and we grieve together as citizens of Massachusetts and of this great country.

I thank the Chair.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until the hour of 1:45.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:54 p.m., recessed until 1:44 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Ms. STABENOW).

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the recess originally scheduled to end at 3 o'clock be extended to the hour of 3:30 today.

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. REID. Madam President, the order now before the Senate is that when the vote is completed, we will go into recess until 3:30 today.

Prior to the recess before the noon luncheon, there were two Democrats who had spoken, so now the Republicans have the opportunity to speak twice. Two Republicans would like to do that prior to the recess beginning.

If there is no objection, I ask unanimous consent that two Republicans be allowed to speak for up to 10 minutes each prior to the recess beginning.

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—Continued

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I ask that all Senators take their desks and that we vote from our desks on this resolution. I appreciate the cooperation from both sides.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the joint resolution pass? The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 100, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 277 Leg.]

YEAS—100

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

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 22) was passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. For the information of all Senators, this will be the only vote cast today. We will stand in recess until 3:30 this afternoon to accommodate the briefing that begins—now at 2:30, not 2 o'clock, in room 407.

Tomorrow is my hope to renew the deliberations and hopefully complete our work on the Commerce-Justice-State appropriations bill. That will be tomorrow.

After 3:30 this afternoon, we invite Senators to come back to the floor to express themselves if they have not yet had the opportunity to do so.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. THOMPSON. Madam President, was it the intention to recess immediately or will there be an opportunity to make a short statement with regard

to yesterday's matters? May I ask the leader?

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, if I may respond, under the previous unanimous consent request, two of our Republican colleagues had sought recognition and we had locked in time for those two speakers prior to the time we recess. That will still be the order.

Mr. THOMPSON. I thank the leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. THOMPSON. Madam President, we meet here today to express our outrage even though words cannot express the sorrow and anger that fills our hearts. But we must express these feelings—on behalf of the family and friends of thousands of innocent victims, many whose identities we do not yet know—and on behalf of our entire nation.

Our young people must wonder why the United States who they are taught is the beacon of hope and liberty for the world—why we of all countries—should be the world's main target of such savagery.

I suggest it is because those teachings to our young people are true. It is because our history and the principles on which our country was founded go against the trend of thousands of years of human history. Thousands of years of "might makes right," of rulers and dictatorships of all shapes and forms, of religious intolerance and subjugation. We have shown the world that it doesn't have to be that way. And today's tyrants and would-be tyrants cannot afford to let that example stand.

But stand it will. If this giant, America, has been sleeping as some say, it has been awakened once again and will not rest until an example is made of those who would murder our innocent citizens and tear at the very fabric of our national existence. Part of a great nation's responsibility for keeping peace in the world is the threat it must pose to those who would upset that peace. Therefore, we must act as a deterrent to outrageous activity when our interests are involved.

And America's response in this matter should set a lasting example of what happens to those who unleash bloody attacks especially on our own soil.

The time for carefully measured pinprick responses to terrorists activities has passed.

But we in this body and in the House do not have the luxury of simply expressing our outrage demanding retribution. We, along with the President, set policy and we must quickly reconcile ourselves to some of things that we must do.

Since our victory in the cold war, we have become somewhat complacent in the notion that the most significant danger to our nation has passed. We see it in our military budget and we hear it in our rhetoric. We see it in our debates over which threat to our country is most probable even though yesterday's events should remind us once

again how faulty such predictions can be. We attempt to decide with precision what the chances are of a missile attack by a rogue nation or by terrorists versus a suitcase bomb versus a biological attack versus a cyber attack. Surely, we must now realize that as the world's number one target, we must protect our citizens from all of these possibilities. While protection can never be complete, who is going to decide which window of vulnerability we are going to allow to remain open. The old Soviet threat has been replaced by new ones that are in many ways more dangerous and more insidious. We have been warned about this repeatedly—by the Hart-Rudman Commission, the Gilmore Commission, by the Bremer Commission, and by experts in numerous committee hearings. Surely, now we will listen. Surely now we will resist the temptation to continue to squeeze out more “peace dividends” from the cold war which place our defense requirements in a secondary position to our domestic wish list.

And surely, we will reanalyze the wisdom of America contributing to the proliferation of militarily useful technology simply because we want the sales. It is my belief that this is what we did as late as last week with the passage of the Export Administration Act.

If we place short term considerations, our desire for profit, or our desire to maintain record high surpluses above our national security, we will become much more vulnerable to the potential of experiencing other days like yesterday.

Historians tell us of another democracy which, after major military success, cut its military budget, turned inward, and failed to react to provocation in hopes of maintaining peace—a nation of leaders who followed the popular demand for more butter and fewer guns and who felt that if worse came to worse technology could bail them out and that treaties with dictators would substitute for defenses. That country was England after World War I and those policies contributed to causing the biggest war in the history of the world. We must not make a similar mistake.

We cannot alter the past. But we can affect the future. I sincerely urge that we keep these things in mind as we consider our appropriations bills and especially as we consider what monies are necessary to keep this country safe. It is not only the right and necessary thing to do. It is the real tribute we can pay to our citizens who have so recently paid such a dear price simply for being Americans.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Madam President, as some of my colleagues here today and so many Americans across our country, I rise to express great sorrow, and send our prayers to those who lost loved ones and who have been injured. Unfortunately, in my own community right

next door, the copilot of the American Airlines Flight 11, Tom McGuinness, came from Portsmouth and leaves behind a 14-year-old son and a 16-year-old daughter. One of the fire chiefs who went into the building to save lives, Jack Fanning, testified before our committee on the issue of terrorism just a few weeks ago. This touches all of us in extraordinarily personal ways, and it touches our Nation dramatically.

We wish to also congratulate and express great appreciation to those people who are risking their lives to rescue the injured and the harmed—firefighters, policemen, the citizenry who are stepping forward during this time of crisis.

There has been significant harm to our Nation. But we are a resilient people and a resilient country, and we shall not allow these doers of evil, these perpetrators of such huge criminal activity to fundamentally harm our society.

The fact that we meet today and the fact that our Nation goes forward is a reflection of our strength and our commitment to maintaining the openness and freedom that comes with the greatest democracy in the world.

We stand here united and resolute that we shall not allow this democracy to be undermined by such horrific and criminal acts.

We as a Congress have recognized for a fair amount of time that terrorism is the threat which we as a nation see as most imminent. Clearly, since the end of the cold war that has been true. We have attempted to address that threat. Obviously, in this instance we were not successful. But I think it is important that we review where we are and what we need to do as we move forward because this is not the end, regrettably, of the issue. This is simply a sign of what our times are going to bring. We need to prepare, and we need to plan the battle lines.

The issue of terrorism and the confrontation of it basically divides itself into three categories. The first is maintaining adequate intelligence capability. The second is apprehension of people who would commit terrorist acts. And the third is dealing with the events should they occur, as they regrettably have in New York and here in Washington.

In hearing after hearing, we have heard regrettably that we were not ready but that we were moving in the right direction. Unfortunately, it was predicted that there would be a major terrorist event in this Nation. In fact, at three different hearings that I know of when I was chairman of the appropriations subcommittee that has jurisdiction over the Justice and State Departments, it was clearly stated by our intelligence community that they anticipated a significant terrorist act sometime in the future. No one was specific as to when. We now know when. It has occurred.

How do we prepare so it does not occur again or so we can mitigate the damage?

First, our commitment to intelligence must be dramatically increased. During the 1980s and into the 1990s, we allowed our intelligence community to basically atrophy in the area of human intelligence—people on the ground.

We have electronic intelligence of immense capability. It needs to be improved, especially in the area of encryption. But specifically, we need more people involved in intelligence efforts. We have to, as a nation, recognize that this is, for all intents and purposes, a war, and that it is going to take soldiers, and that some of those soldiers are going to have to participate in counterintelligence activities that are covert and personal, something from which we have shied away as a society. We are going to need to commit significant resources to this.

In the area of apprehension, we need to get more coordination between our Nation and those other nations that should be helping us so that when individuals whom we know are threatening us or some other democratic government are on the move, when those individuals are planning, we have the capacity to apprehend them. This means significantly increasing the efforts of the FBI in reaching across international boundaries, something our committee has tried to do, something to which former Director Freeh made a major commitment: the expansion basically of the overseas activities of our premier and key law enforcement agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Most importantly, we need to get coordination within our own house, not only in the area of apprehension but, even more importantly, in the area of response. We have watched what has happened in New York. We congratulate the city of New York, the State of New York, and the Federal people who are on the ground. An extraordinary effort and a heroic and courageous effort has been undertaken.

The fact is that within our own Federal agencies we have considerable overlap, inconsistency, and lack of command and control.

Our committee has suggested, on innumerable occasions, that we centralize control over counter terrorism activity and, specifically, response activity and consequence management, both in FEMA and in the Attorney General's office. We have to have budgetary line-item operational personnel control. There are 46 agencies in this Government today that have some level of responsibility to counter terrorism. The overlapping confusion of purpose is dramatic.

As the hearings showed—which I chaired, along with Senator STEVENS and Senator WARNER and Senator SHELBY from the Intelligence Committee; the first tripartite hearing of that nature, where we had every major

agency come before us to discuss their role—we saw that unquestionably there is confusion.

This has to be sorted out. One way to sort it out we will have a chance to vote on tomorrow in the Commerce-State-Justice bill when we approve a Deputy Attorney General whose sole purpose will be the coordination of counterterrorism activity across agency lines. That must be done.

We were not fortunate, of course, but the fact that this occurred in New York, a city that is extraordinarily well prepared, I am sure, saved many lives. The next event we do not know where it will occur, and we need to be ready.

The last issue we must address is, who do we respond against? It is very obvious that we are dealing with people who are fundamentally evil. We have, as a nation, confronted such people in the past, but they have been sponsored by a nation, whether it was Adolf Hitler or the forces of Japan during World War II. But today there is an amorphousness to the threat which is hard to identify. The people who have committed this act are, for most purposes, religious fanatics, it would appear. They are driven by a cause for which they are willing to give their life and take innocent lives in order to make their point. That is a threat that is extraordinarily difficult to overcome.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent for an additional minute.

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

Mr. GREGG. But we must be careful, as a nation, as we hunt these people down—and we have to do that—and as we seek retribution against anyone who will have supported them, that we not cast our net so wide that we catch nations which do not threaten us and people who are not our enemies.

We must be careful to use the rule of law so that we do not abandon what has made us great in order to confront this type of evil. We are a nation which is built on openness and law, and it would be a mistake if we abandon it as we attempt to pursue these individuals.

No rock must be left unturned to find them; it is clear they live under rocks. But in that process, let us not paint with a brush that causes us to create enemies that do not exist today. Let us also not act in a way that creates martyrs of those people who would also act in this way.

This is a time that will test America. America has been tested before and we have met it. We shall certainly be resilient in the face of this test.

I appreciate the courtesy of the Chair and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. AKAKA). The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we be allowed to proceed—the two of us—for 2 minutes each.

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

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, through our rage at the terrorist attacks on our people and our free institutions shines

a focused determination to recover our loved ones and friends who are still lost, and to assist their loved ones to cope with the devastating void into which they have been plunged.

Our fury at those who attack innocence is matched by our united determination to protect our citizens from more terror and by our resolve to track down, to root out, and to relentlessly pursue terrorists and those who would shelter or harbor them.

Last night, at the Pentagon, I joined Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, Senator WARNER, and General Shelton in sharing that determination with the American people. That resolve is reflected by the fact that the Pentagon is functioning and the men and women who work there are assisting the heroic recovery efforts, although a few feet away loved ones and friends are still missing or presumed to have been killed, and while the smoke of the savagery is still permeating the Pentagon.

The President, last night, spoke for all Americans and all civilized people everywhere about his commitment to recover, to deter, and then to root out and destroy the terrorists.

Debate is an inherent part of democracy. And while our democratic institutions are stronger than any terrorist effort to shake them, in one regard we operate differently in times of national emergency. We set aside our differences to join forces together, with decent people everywhere, to seek out and defeat a common enemy of the civilized world.

Our unity is unshakable, and, God willing, we will persevere and prevail.

I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 3:30 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 2:29 p.m., recessed until 3:29 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. REID).

TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Oklahoma, the assistant Republican leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I thank my colleague. Yesterday was a tragic day in U.S. history. It is a tragic day for people who love freedom, who cherish freedom. Some may claim it was a victory for terrorism. I don't think so.

This act of terrorism has brought our country together in a way that we haven't been able to do among ourselves. Yesterday I was with Democrats and Republicans who said: We are going to be united against this type of senseless violence. We are going to stand together and say it will not stand. It will not be successful.

I compliment President Bush and his Cabinet, not only for his speech last

night but also for the Cabinet he has assembled. He has assembled a Cabinet of unequalled reputation, quality, who have proven themselves to meet the challenge in the past, whether we are talking about Vice President DICK CHENEY, Secretary of State Colin Powell or Secretary of Defense Don Rumsfeld.

In witnessing the events yesterday, it took me back to the tragedy we suffered 6 years ago in Oklahoma City where 168 people lost their lives to another act of terrorism. The most deadly act of terrorism in U.S. history happened in Oklahoma City that year on April 19. Until we saw it replaced by an even more horrendous act, an act that certainly was designed by people who wanted to do the maximum amount of deadly operations they could against the United States.

They will not be successful in any way, shape, or form. The United States, under the leadership of President Bush and his administration and a united Congress, Democrats and Republicans, will stand up and say that type of violence will not stand. It will be punished.

Our condolences go to the families, to the victims of this terror. It comes home to all of us in different ways. The thousands of people who were injured or lost their lives in the World Trade Center, the many people in the Pentagon, the hundreds of people who were on the airplanes, those were husbands, mothers, fathers, wives, children, grandparents. They disrupted thousands of lives. Those were friends.

I happen to have a friend who was on one of the planes: Barbara Olson. She worked for me for 2 or 3 years in the Senate as my general counsel. Many people in the Senate got to know Barbara Olson. I got to know her very well. I got to admire her, to respect her. She was an outstanding staff member and friend, a frequent visitor on the television shows. I think many Americans, when they saw her face on CNN yesterday, realized this has an impact. This brings the real tragedy home.

My prayers and condolences go to her husband and also my very dear friend, Ted Olson, who happens to be Solicitor General of the United States. What a tragic loss, the loss of life for Barbara Olson and the countless others, thousands of people whose lives were destroyed or families who were broken as a result of this terrorist activity.

We must act together. I am confident that we will. I am confident that Congress will act and give the administration the tools necessary, both legal and financial, to rebuild, to assist in fixing the damage. Through FEMA and the capable leadership of Joe Allbaugh, I think we will do that. I know that was important in my State of Oklahoma. I am sure we will do that both with the Pentagon and the World Trade Center.

It is also important that we stand together and confront terrorism. It is important that we combat terrorism. In

some cases in the past our rhetoric has maybe exceeded our success. I don't believe we were successful in bringing the perpetrators of the bombings in Kenya and Tanzania to justice. I don't believe we were successful in bringing the perpetrators of the Khobar Towers bombing to justice. I don't believe we have been successful as of yet in bringing the perpetrators of the bombing of the USS *Cole* to justice and bringing those people and/or possibly even countries to justice and who may have helped finance and orchestrate and maybe even organize these terrorist activities.

It is important that we do so, not just in rhetoric but in deed, not just today and not just in the next week but, frankly, on a continual battle. We must, when we say this type of terrorism won't go unpunished, we must mean what we say. I feel confident with this President we will show the resolve. Our country will show the resolve. Freedom-loving people all across the world will show the resolve that this will not go unpunished.

Yesterday was a very sad and tragic day in our U.S. history, a very tragic day, one that I believe our country will pull together and say: This type of terrorism will not prevail. We have so many good people in the United States, so many people who are coming together to assist the victims, so many people who are coming together worldwide to assist to make sure this type of tragedy will not go unpunished and also to alleviate the pain and suffering of the innocent victims in this terrible tragedy. My heart, my sympathy, my prayers go out to the victims. Our resolve has never been stronger to stand together to fight this type of terrorism.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. LANDRIEU). The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. REID. There is an order in effect now that each Senator will have 10 minutes to speak. The way the day has been going, we have approximately 85 Senators still wishing to speak. If we use the 10 minutes each, we simply cannot finish and allow each Senator to speak. I have conferred with the minority and they are in agreement that each Senator should have 5 minutes, and we alternate back and forth. I propose a unanimous consent request that Senators be allowed to speak for up to 5 minutes each rather than 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield? I want to express on behalf of the majority leader and minority leader appreciation for the cooperation. Everyone wants an opportunity to speak. But for this unanimous consent agreement, that would not be possible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Madam President, as a Senator from Minnesota, I rise to

thank the religious community, the faith community in my State—Christians, Jews, and Muslims—for coming together and for their prayers for all of the men, women, and children who were murdered in our country. That is the very best of Minnesota. That is the very best of our country.

Let me also thank and pray for all of the loved ones of our firefighters and law enforcement community who have lost their lives in trying to protect people and save people's lives.

I believe people in our country will come together and that one message for these terrorists who have committed this murder on a mass scale is that they will not change our values. They will not change our way of life. They will not change who we are as Americans. We will never give way to the politics of hatred. We are a diverse people of many different colors and religions and backgrounds. We will continue to respect and support one another.

President Bush is certainly right when he says we will leave no stone unturned in getting to the bottom of who committed this act of murder. As a Senator, I certainly believe we must hold them accountable.

Most importantly, we have to do everything within our power, regardless of political party, to take the steps and to do what is necessary to make sure people in our country are safe and secure.

Madam President, one more time, I want to finish up in the few minutes I have by saying that murder is never legitimate, and this was a mass murder of men, women, and children. I think the thing that I will never be able to get out of my mind is that so many innocent people, so many innocent Americans could be murdered in a single day in our country. To me, in my adult life, yesterday was the worst day for our country, and there are going to be many more difficult days because we don't even have a sense of the loss of life.

I am absolutely convinced this will bring out the best in us. I am absolutely convinced that Americans will be their own best selves. I am absolutely convinced that these terrorists will see Americans coming together and I hope the whole international community that represents civilization will come together so these kinds of acts of murder can never be committed again.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona is recognized.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I have no words to describe or condemn adequately the enormity of yesterday's attacks on the United States or the depravity of those who are responsible for them. All we can really offer now are our prayers and support for the victims and their families, and the assurance to our fellow citizens that America will recover from these atrocities, resume the life of a great nation, strong, reso-

lute and free, and destroy those who seek to destroy us.

We are greater than our enemies. We are greater because the very virtues our enemies revile and seek to destroy make us so. Our enemies, those who unleashed these attacks, and those who support them, are not our enemies alone. They are the enemies of freedom and independence and justice and peace, and they wage war on the United States because we are and will remain the principal guarantors of freedom for ourselves and for all nations who claim their right to that condition. All people who possess or aspire to freedom were attacked yesterday, and when we answer we do so in their name as well as ours. And answer we will.

These were not just crimes, they were acts of war, and have aroused in this great nation a controlled fury and unity of purpose not just to punish but vanquish—vanquish our enemies. Americans know now that we are at war, and will make the sacrifices and show the resolve necessary to prevail. I say to our enemies, we are coming. God may show you mercy. We will not.

We must break the back of this international network of terror in all its guises, and deprive its architects, executioners and sponsors of a safe harbor anywhere in this world. We will commit all necessary resources to its accomplishment. Our responses must be diplomatic, economic and military.

Let us go to our allies, all of our allies, to ensure them of our resolve and to enlist them in this war against our shared values and security. The Atlantic Charter claims an attack on one member of NATO is an attack on all NATO members. We will expect our allies in NATO, Asia and elsewhere to respond to this attack on us as we would respond to an attack on their territory.

We should make an immediate statement of our resolve that we no longer intend to tolerate sanction given to our enemies by any nation. We should demand that Afghanistan immediately extradite to the United States Osama bin Laden. We will know in due course if he is the architect of yesterday's attacks, but we already possess sufficient evidence to have indicted him for orchestrating the attacks on our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. He has claimed responsibility for the 1992 attempted bombing of 100 U.S. servicemen in Yemen who were there to assist U.N. famine relief operations in Somalia. He proudly announced his material and personnel support for the Somali forces that fought and killed American servicemen in Mogadishu. The mastermind of the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center was a known associate of bin Laden. He is a declared enemy of the United States and our allies. And it is long past time that we and our allies brought an end to the war he began.

Should the Taliban refuse our demand, then they must know that they

will be treated as allies of our enemy, and thus, are themselves our enemies, and will suffer much for their allegiance.

This campaign will be long and difficult, and will not end with the capture or destruction of Osama bin Laden alone. The American people must, and I am sure, will understand that we will wage this war to its complete resolution however long and difficult the road ahead. But they should not be expected to wait one day longer than necessary for our enemies to be vanquished, for the full measure of justice to be done, for freedom and righteousness to prevail.

We will prevail. We will prevail because the foundations of our greatness cannot be vanquished. Our respect for Man's God-given rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness assures us of victory even as it has made us a target for the unjust enemies of freedom who have mistaken hate and depravity for power. The losses we have suffered are grave, and will never be forgotten. But we should take pride and unyielding resolve from the knowledge that we were attacked because we are good.

May God bless us in this trial, comfort us, strengthen our resolve, and make our justice as terrible and certain as His.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Arizona has expired.

The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, yesterday was a day that will live in all of our memories. America was struck by an unprecedented and unprovoked act of violence, so vicious and calculated that the entire world has reacted in horror and revulsion. In that hour when so many were taken from us, America did not bend or buckle. We stood strong.

That strength is best exemplified by the police, firefighters, and emergency services personnel who courageously raced to the scene. When everyone was running away from the danger, they were running toward it. Here in Washington, as the U.S. Capitol was being evacuated, our Capitol Police were standing guard.

All of these public servants deserve our thanks. And their families, especially the families of the police and firefighters in New York who are currently missing, should know that our prayers are with them in this difficult time.

We pray for those lost and for their families. In Iowa, Doug and Betty Haviland, our former neighbors in Ames, IA, are going through a difficult time right now. Their son, Tim, worked on the 96th floor of the World Trade Center, and Tim is currently missing. I want Doug and Betty to know that my thoughts and prayers are with them today. I am hoping for the best.

The sister of my long-time friend Kasey Kincaid, an attorney in Des Moines, Karen Kincaid, an attorney

here in Washington, born in Waverly, a graduate of Drake Law, was on the ill-fated flight that crashed into the Pentagon yesterday.

When the smoke clears, we will comfort all the families in their time of need. We want them to know that although their loved ones may be gone, they are not alone. All of America stands with them. We are Americans and we take care of our own. The tallest buildings may crumble, but no one will bring down our spirit.

We have survived tough times before; we will do so again. Let me be clear. These cowardly acts against our great Nation will not stand. I stand with President Bush in calling on every resource of our Government to track down the cowards who committed these acts and to bring them to swift and certain justice. We will seek out not only the terrorists but their backers and financiers as well. Americans will do what we have always done. We will come together, get down to work, and we will demand justice.

Mr. President, when we do strike back, we must be very careful. We must ensure that when we train our sights on the enemy, we do not harm innocent people in the crossfire. I want to quote the words of Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, the Archbishop of Washington, who spoke at a mass yesterday. He made a point that we should all take to heart:

Let us pray for those who have lost their lives or who have been seriously injured in this calamity. But we must resist the temptation to strike out in vengeance and revenge and, in a special way, not to label any ethnic group or community for this action, which certainly is just the work of a few madmen. We must seek the guilty and not strike out against the innocent or we become like them who are without moral guide or direction.

I could not agree more strongly. We must not use these events of yesterday to paint with a broad brush all Muslims, those of the Islamic faith or of Arabic descent. It has happened before; it should not happen again.

Those who perpetrated these murders yesterday are not associated with Muslims or with the Islamic faith. If they claim they are on some kind of mission for Islam, that is just a lie. They are using the cloak of religion to justify the murder of innocent people. Again, we have seen this before.

We must also make sure we do not fall prey to the theory that in order to defeat this enemy, we must become more like them. I am old enough to remember the McCarthy era, when there were those who said in order to defeat communism, we had to become a police state. There were reasonable voices that said: No, we do not have to; we can defeat communism and still maintain our freedoms. That, Mr. President, is what we must do.

We as Americans respect civil rights and human rights and diversity. We are of diverse backgrounds and faiths. Muslims are part of the fabric of America, part of our strength. Let us be sure we

go after the real enemy, and let us not paint with a broad stroke those who are of the Islamic faith who are Americans, who are Muslims, who are part of our great society.

I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARPER). The time of the Senator from Iowa has expired.

The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask that the distinguished Senator from Wyoming be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. THOMAS. I thank the Chair. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from North Carolina.

We all have very strong feelings at this time, and most of all those feelings have been expressed, eloquently I might say, and now we have time for the real challenge.

Yesterday was a very sad day. The sadness, of course, continues for those who were injured and the families of those who were lost.

Acts of war have been committed against our Nation. Forces of evil have struck at the center of our Government, our families, and our communities.

There are no words that can possibly explain the devastation or convey sufficient sympathy for the men and women who lost their lives, nor even do words exist to describe our collective anger.

It is a somber day, but our sadness will lead to resolve.

Powerful symbols of our democracy have been destroyed, but the root of our strength—our personal commitment to our country and our families—is even stronger.

Our focus now must be on the victims, of course, and those who still face the challenge of life and rescue. America will take care of its own.

Let me assure people today that the functions of Government will continue. As you can see, Congress is meeting and most Federal agencies in Washington are open and doing their jobs. There is no amount of terror that can be committed that will throw us off our course to protect and serve democracy today.

The next great test for the Government and for every American will be the challenge to move forward—and that is a necessary part—to comfort those who have lost everything in their lives and rebuild the physical structures that have been lost. Our democracy will continue to exist uninhibited and un intimidated.

Next we must strive to devise updated security and intelligence measures to serve us better in the future so this will not happen again.

Next, and at the appropriate time with the intelligence information that is required, the United States will exact a supreme measure of justice against the criminals who have perpetrated terror on this country, and

they are not long for this world. Those terrorists should understand well we are coming for them and nothing will deter us from seeing that they are eliminated, as well as other terrorists around the world, even though they may not be specifically involved with this terrorism.

We all offer our condolences and prayers to the families of the missing. I offer my hopes for those who are working these tragedies today and rescue efforts. God bless them. God bless America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming yields back his time.

The Senator from Washington.

Mr. WYDEN. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, on Tuesday morning this Nation witnessed an attempt to pitch into darkness the light of American liberty. It was nothing less than an offensive against the freedom our Nation represents. It was nothing less than pure evil that cast a shadow over our country darker than the smoke from any explosion.

Yesterday, fanatics challenged our Nation to war, striking at civilians and service members alike. Today the Senate is making it clear that we will not bow to this brutality. We believe passionately in our country in due process, in the rule of law. But the effort to find justice cannot be allowed to degenerate into the all-too-frequent endless debate. America must act decisively.

Families across this country are in their darkest hour right now. At the moment, not all of the victims' names are known out of the thousands believed lost in the tragedy. In the coming days, they are going to become familiar to us, and their lives and legacies will be shared with the world. But we already know them. These victims are husbands and wives, daughters and sons, brother and sisters to every American.

We honor the memory of those whom we have lost, but we also make it clear today that we will not allow this Nation to be sapped by terror. America is not going to be drained by devilish acts of rage.

The light of hope is burning across this country. The voice of a New York firefighter who says he will not stop searching until the last stone is turned is a voice of hope.

The courage of the Federal employees who returned to work today across the country is a courage ground in hope.

Hope shines in the people willing to wait for hours to help, as we saw yesterday when they donated blood. It shines in the hearts of those who are praying today in churches and synagogues and mosques across the country.

Here is my bottom line, Mr. President: The light that shines in America is going to be relentless when it is turned on those who have declared themselves our enemies. The dark

forces that perpetrated these acts ought to make sure today that they are in their hiding places because we are going to come after them. The blinding beam of our determination and the long arm of the United States of America is going to expose them and extract justice.

Our entire Congress stands united behind the President of the United States and against our enemies and against those who would shelter them. Our whole Nation stands together with a very clear intention: To endure.

Our enemies should know the entire free and democratic world stands unmoved in its dedication to liberty for all. We speak with one voice, and we will move in concert to protect principles that we hold dear.

The flame of democracy is going to be fanned even brighter. We will not just carry the torch, but we are going to make sure that standard is held higher than ever before.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon yields back his time.

The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask that the distinguished Senator from New Mexico, Mr. DOMENICI, be recognized.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, first, it is a pleasure to speak to the Senators who are present and listening.

An era has come to an end. As many commentators have noted, most say it was an era of innocence. I agree. Americans now know firsthand the kind of mindless terrorism and brutal disregard of all concepts of morality that afflict our world. What will be our measure of response as a nation?

Our people in the world will watch, listen, and wait, for, as Franklin Roosevelt said, "We defend and we build a way of life not for America alone but for mankind."

We will, of course, support the President in every respect, provide any and all resources, including emergency funding for New York City, for Washington, DC, for Arlington, VA, sparing no expense to save our neighbors who need our help in this time of great distress.

Whatever it takes—and I repeat, whatever it takes—to pursue those who planned, funded, aided, harbored, and carried out yesterday's destruction, we will go to the fullest extent possible. All the resources of this great nation must be brought to bear to demonstrate our unity and our power. We know something else now. We understand that the threshold of possible terrorism has gone up.

We know more, but the terrorists know more, too. We must commit to an all-out effort, not just to a war against terrorism but to new weapons in this war. We must do everything possible to prevent the possibility of calamities above this threshold. The Federal Gov-

ernment must pursue every avenue. Our defense programs—our national laboratories, universities, and other research institutions—must take the next technological steps to win the war that terrorists declared yesterday on our people.

Congress can do two or three things, less obvious perhaps, but more important in the long run. We can set aside petty bickering. We can unify in concrete terms by attending to the Nation's business. The American people can judge barbarians who committed this act of war yesterday, but they will judge us in Congress, too.

We in this time of grave challenge must rise above the political bickering that has affected us for too long. We must quickly unify on the issues that have divided us, whether it is defense spending or energy policy. By doing so, we can show by our actions that truly yesterday was the end of an era.

I am not naive. I understand politics. But now is the time to lay them aside and, as the American people, unite behind our President. Let us in Congress rise to this historic challenge by joining hands and hearts and doing the Nation's business now.

A final word of advice, too, for those who committed these atrocities. How little you know of our Nation, for you are so cowardly you have no way of understanding us. No act these criminals could have contemplated will unify this Nation more, nor galvanize our will more firmly than yesterday's destruction. They have done what many feared perhaps could no longer be done. They have hardened this Nation's resolve, prompted our patriotism, and unleashed our power. They have committed an act of war. They have awakened a sleeping giant, and they will inherit the whirlwind.

My heart goes out to all of those suffering today. I know that New Mexicans have suffered losses but, we understand, nothing like New York. I know other Americans have suffered losses. I share in their grief, and I hold them up in my prayers and in the prayers of our family.

Let us understand if we have been awakened, as I believe we have, by unifying and eliminating the bickering, we can move our Nation ahead and we can begin to solve and get rid of terrorism here and everywhere.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, let me begin by thanking the distinguished Senator from New Mexico for that eloquent comment, thank him for his extraordinary leadership on this particular subject, and for the years he has served as a leader to our Nation.

Let me begin by thanking the many people in Louisiana, first our spiritual leaders, our military leaders, our elected officials at every level, our emergency personnel, every citizen who through prayer or action is engaged in helping this Nation at this time. We all appreciate their efforts.

In the darkest hours, America has always risen to her promise. We find ourselves again in the very darkest of times. For only the second time in American history, our borders have been penetrated and Americans attacked.

The greatest generation of Americans responded to the first attack, Pearl Harbor, with an unwavering commitment to defend the ideals of democracy around the globe.

Our generation will be remembered for how we respond to this attack against our Nation, our liberty, and our freedom. I have no doubt our Nation will rise to the challenge and find light in our darkest hour.

Through the endeavors of our people and the providence of God, our Nation prevailed in the struggle with the Soviet Union. It was a struggle lasting over 40 years, spread over every continent, costing this Nation the treasure of its youth and resources beyond imagination.

After yesterday, the American people must understand that today we begin to undertake a task no less daunting. President Kennedy's inaugural address is remembered for its impact in rallying the resolve of our Nation at that time. I can think of no better place to turn to today. His eloquence is as relevant this morning as it was 40 years ago: Now the trumpet summons us again. Not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are, but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out, rejoicing in hope, patient in our tribulation, a struggle against the common enemies of man—tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Yesterday we heard the pages of history turn in explosions which brought down skyscrapers. The sound heard around the world was deafening, perhaps a fitting beginning to what we may come to know as the silent war; a silent war where cowardice of our enemies is their greatest asset. Yet no deception, no amount of subterfuge, no resort to villainy will protect our enemies from the righteous anger of the American people called to war.

It is important for our people to know we are all being called into this struggle. In a silent war, we are all targets and, therefore, we are all combatants. Sacrifices to the unparalleled freedom that we enjoy, costly expenditures, and the employment of our military men and women may all be required before this war is over.

Yesterday's terror may have broken the hearts of American families, but it will not break the American family. Yesterday's terror may have destroyed lives but it will not destroy this Nation's destiny. Yesterday's terror may have shattered buildings, but it will not shatter the American spirit.

This morning, not that long ago, over the crater that used to be part of the Pentagon, the Sun broke and hit an American flag flying over the rubble. It is in that spirit America will prevail.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON of Nebraska). The Senator from Maine is recognized.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, as did all of my colleagues and all Americans, I woke up this morning with a broken heart but not a broken spirit.

The unimaginable and horrific attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon was an attack on all Americans and against every freedom-loving nation of the world.

Today, our prayers and our deepest sympathies are with the families of those innocent victims who lost their lives, as well as those who were injured in these monstrous tragedies. We can scarcely comprehend the images that have flashed before our eyes over the past 24 hours, but we know that so many of our fellow Americans are grieving for lives cut short and possibilities ended. And so today we grieve as one nation, under God, indivisible.

Our hearts are heavy but our resolve is strong. This outrageous attack has reverberated through every level of our society. But let there be no mistake, and let the word go forth from the Halls of Congress and from the White House and from every house across our indomitable Nation that we will find who is responsible, we will hold them accountable, and we will persevere.

The soul of this country and the ideals upon which it was built cannot be torn asunder neither by war, nor by assassination, nor by the blunt and bloody instruments of faceless cowards. The forces of darkness have challenged our country's determination before. As we rose to the challenge then, so will we rise at this most solemn of times.

Clearly, the attacks on our Nation were coordinated, and they were calculated. Yet clouded by their own twisted fanaticism—whatever brand of fanaticism that may prove to be—the perpetrators of this crime against humanity and the American people failed to understand that ours is a nation in which the principle of individual freedom is exceeded only by our commitment to protect our freedom.

The American spirit is stronger than stone and water, tougher than steel and glass, and more enduring than any pain or suffering that can be inflicted on our national conscience. It cannot be collapsed by fire and terror.

To the contrary, today we stand united behind our President and the entire leadership of the Congress. Today, solidarity eclipsed politics and partisanship. And this will remain so for every minute of every hour of every day that it takes to right this injustice.

We must remain always vigilant but never fearful. We must relentlessly seek justice, and we must do all that is within our power as a free nation to prevent such catastrophic terrorist attacks both at home and abroad.

There are events in our lives that will be forever etched on the landscape of our consciousness. We all know

where we were and what we were doing at the precise time they happened. As we remember the assassination of President Kennedy and, for many of my colleagues, Pearl Harbor, our children will remember this day.

We are angry as a nation, and we have every right to be angry. But now it is time to focus our energies on responsible actions and swift responses when the masterminds are found. Now is also the time to heal and to tend to our neighbors and families and friends.

In typical American fashion, heroes rushed to the aid of those in peril, even as the sounds of blasts still echoed across Manhattan and our Nation's Capital.

For the unthinkable numbers of people in New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, military personnel at the Pentagon, passengers on planes from across America, policemen, firefighters, and emergency personnel who gave their lives, their memory will live on with the memory of this tragedy. To the families, our Nation shares in your unspeakable loss.

America will never be the same, just as we were forever changed by two World Wars and numerous other conflicts throughout the world. Now terrorism has come to American soil on a scale most dared not imagine. We are changed, but we are far from broken. Ours is a nation born of adversity, forged by perseverance, and defined by our ability to unite against those who would tear us down. We must never forget that some of America's finest hours have followed our darkest days.

To whomever is responsible for this tragedy, hear this loud and clear because America speaks with one voice: You will be found. You will be held accountable, and this injustice will not stand.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues. Very frankly, my heart is filled with a great deal of mixed emotions. On the one hand, I want this country to smash back. On the other, I want us to be sure that we are on firm ground, that we know what we are doing, and that we are successful in our mission.

Yesterday was one of the darkest days I can remember. Many have speculated that the loss of life may well only be exceeded by the battle, 1-day battle at Antietam during the civil war. It will certainly be more than the loss at Pearl Harbor.

One of the things that I have recognized, and what should be abundantly clear, I think to all of us, is that there are those out there without a heart who are willing to carry out this kind of attack, and to do it with malevolence and cunning that defies conscience and humanity. That is really what we are up against.

I really consider what happened in New York and at the Pentagon to be a

declaration of war against the United States. I believe we must respond accordingly in a well-considered military way.

I join the President, the congressional leadership, and particularly Secretary of State Colin Powell, whose remarks this morning share that same determination.

Let there be no mistake. This attack was deliberately planned. It was planned to have the largest possible impact and to maximize the loss of innocent human life.

The terrorists deliberately selected the largest planes with the greatest fuel loads to create the biggest explosion, to kill the most people, and to do it at a time of day when that would happen.

They deliberately selected important symbols—one, the military headquarters of the United States, and the other a major center of American economic entrepreneurship.

What is now emerging is genuine acts of heroism aboard our planes. Heroism aboard UAL Flight 93, which left Dulles International Airport, may well have prevented Flight 93 from striking the White House or the United States Capitol.

Californians were aboard that plane. One Californian, Thomas Burnett of San Ramon, phoned his wife. He told her the flight was doomed but that he and two other passengers were determined to do something about it. "I love you honey" were Burnett's last words to his wife. He said, "I know we are all going to die, but there are three of us who are going to do something about it." He worked for a company called Thoratec. He leaves three children. You might say he and others made the ultimate sacrifice.

Yesterday firmly establishes in my mind that the major threat and No. 1 national security problem facing the United States is the asymmetrical attack, the unconventional and unpredictable horrific act of terrorism.

I don't believe America can be a paper tiger in response. I think the United States should spare no effort to uncover, to ferret out, and to destroy those who commit acts of terrorism, those who provide the training camps, who shelter, who finance, and who support terrorists. Whether that enemy is a state or an organization, those who harbor them, who arm them, who train them, and permit them must, in my view, be destroyed.

It is interesting to note that 3 weeks ago the British press carried articles which said that the bin Laden operation was prepared to launch—and this a quote—"an unprecedented attack against the United States." We know that the organization is wanted as well for two prior major terrorist attacks against the United States.

It seems to me that there is a good indication we will shortly find who is responsible for this act of war against our country. And then we must strike back against them hard.

It is also critical that America lead an international effort that makes clear to all nations that countenance terrorism, that harbor terrorists, that aid and abet their actions, that that country is an enemy of the United States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have a couple additional minutes.

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

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. President.

All civilized nations, whether it is NATO, our European allies, Russia, China, the moderate Arab States, or anyone else—I received a call this morning from the Chinese Embassy saying the President of China had called our President yesterday to indicate China's solidarity with the United States and to offer any help. Indeed, that is a giant step forward. It is a beginning. I believe we must create a critical divide between civilized nations that will not sanction terrorism and spell out those that do and do something about it.

Presently, the United States spends about \$12 billion, spread among a number of Departments dealing with terrorism. The proposed budget will shortly be before the Senate. If we are to engage against this threat, I think we must also organize and coordinate our Government's effort. I speak now as chairman of the Technology and Terrorism Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee and also as a member of the Intelligence Committee. We must see that these dollars are wisely spent, not frittered among more than 40 Departments. I do not believe those dollars are well spent at the present time.

We must also understand that homeland defense should be our highest priority: coherent and carefully balanced, with trained personnel in every State, and an intelligence network that provides a coordination between all branches of Government and each of our States.

America has at its disposal a wide array of tools, but these tools must be directed carefully, with a coherent policy. This is not now the situation. I believe we must remedy it promptly.

We Americans are a resilient, a determined, and a patriotic nation. We will not lose the spirit that makes us the greatest democracy on Earth by going after terrorists full scale. We have always been ready to respond in defense of freedom. And now that challenge is before us in a manner, shape and form that offers unprecedented challenges. We must respond.

Let me also speak a few moments as a Californian. The four planes that were hijacked were all going to California; three to Los Angeles, one to San Francisco.

Two hundred sixty-six people died on the planes. It is certain that many of them have families in California. To them, I extend my heartfelt sorrow. But I also extend a commitment that I

will do everything in my power as one Senator to see that these deaths were not in vain.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask that the able Senator from Arkansas be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. President, on this day of mourning and on behalf of all Arkansans, I offer my deepest and most sincere condolences to the families of the victims of the cowardly attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

I especially want to mention the Arkansas flight attendant, Sara Lowe, and offer my sympathy and condolences to her parents Mike and Bobbie, and to her sister Allison. There may well be other Arkansans who were aboard, but Sara served, and served well, on Flight No. 11.

While New York bears the brunt of the pain today, I am reminded, as I think of Sara Lowe from Batesville, AR, that there are hundreds of towns and hamlets and villages all across the Nation that share in the grief and the suffering today. Our Nation is grief stricken but our Nation is strong. Our Nation is united, and our Nation is resolved to bring those responsible to justice.

I honor today the courage and compassion of the rescuers in New York City and at the Pentagon. Your Nation is grateful and your Nation is indebted.

We all woke up yesterday and prepared to go about our normal business in a world that looked the same as it did the day before. Today everything is different. The New York skyline is changed, and so is the geopolitical landscape of the world.

We stand at the violent birth of a new era in international relations and national security. The strategic pause that we enjoyed after the cold war ended is over. I pray that we have used this interlude properly; and I fear that we may not have.

But this needs to be clear: Any nation that harbors, shelters, or abets these terrorist thugs will be regarded as full participants in these acts of war and will be held equally accountable.

We will devote as many resources as necessary to find and punish the perpetrators of these acts. We must make a national commitment to breaking the back of international terrorism.

On the Armed Services Committee, I am fortunate to have served as a member of the Emerging Threats Subcommittee under the leadership of Senator ROBERTS from Kansas.

As frightening and as horrific as the toll and the results of the incidents yesterday are, I fear that a biological or a chemical attack upon this country would make the tens of thousands of victims yesterday pale in comparison to the millions that might be the victims of such an attack. But the American people should be assured that we will utilize every resource at the disposal of our great country to protect them.

We Americans will stand together, united, determined, and ultimately victorious.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, I was sickened by the actions that were taken against our country yesterday. I felt very much like I was back in the Vietnam war in the Tet Offensive of 1968 of which I was lucky to survive. When I looked out my window and saw the smoke coming from the Pentagon, I literally felt, for the first time, that I was under attack in my own country. That is a terrible feeling. I think many Americans shared that feeling.

My staff is still trying to recover. They still have traces of tears in their eyes and on their faces from the suffering that we have seen on television by our fellow Americans.

For the first time, I guess certainly in a long, long time, American blood has been shed on American soil by a foreign enemy. That gives us all pause to get the most out of this historic moment. That is what I am trying to do in my own mind as I rise to pay tribute to those wonderful rescue workers who have come to the aid of our fellow Americans in New York and in this great city of Washington, DC.

But I think of the families as well who have suffered forever the loss of a loved one. Many children will go without fathers tonight. Many families will go without loved ones. And that grieves me greatly. But what are we to do? What are we to make of this?

As a member of the Armed Services Committee for the last 5 years, I have been growing impatient, and in many ways frustratingly concerned, about the growth of terrorism and its impact on this country. In fact, Senator WARNER, a couple years ago, created the Emerging Threats Subcommittee, which the distinguished Senator from Kansas, Mr. ROBERTS, chaired for a couple years. And now Senator MARY LANDRIEU from Louisiana chairs that subcommittee.

Without speaking for them, I can say that over the last couple years we have had increasing evidence in testimony before our committee that the real threat, the emerging threat to America was going to come through some terrorist act, maybe biological, maybe chemical, maybe no more than just an explosive in a backpack, some terrorist act below the radar screen, someone or something that had no return address. This has indeed happened. What are we to make of it?

As a member of the Armed Services Committee, I feel this challenge very personally, to make something of this worthwhile for our Nation and for our country, to come to terms with what we ought to do about it.

In the wake of Pearl Harbor, I know there was a board of inquiry set up to find out what happened. Admiral Kimmel there in Hawaii got blamed for the attack, probably wrongfully so. Those

of us on the Armed Services Committee, those of us in this great body, do have some responsibility, maybe through the regular committee structure, to find out what happened, find out what the recommendations from our best professionals are, and then go about the business of making sure this never happens to our country again.

My heart is sickened at the loss of life. I would be even more sickened by the loss of this incredible opportunity, this spur for action, this spur for greater knowledge about where we are in our intelligence community. Do we not have the resources? Do we not have the human intelligence? Do we not have the people? Have we not been mindful of the real threats to this country as evidence upon evidence, testimony upon testimony continues to grow, as we hear increasing evidence in background briefings from our intelligence community that these are the kinds of threats we can expect not only now but in the future?

Are we underfunding some aspect of our homeland defense? Are we over-matched and undercoordinated in our ability to respond? Are we forever to live from crisis to crisis under threat of terrorist attack? I don't think that is the way Americans are supposed to live or were born to live.

My mind recalls the great words of F.D.R. that launched the greatest generation on its great crusade, World War II, the four freedoms, Roosevelt's famous speech. What are the four freedoms that Americans have an inherent right to enjoy? First, freedom of expression, the ability to talk in this great Chamber and express our opinion and the ability of any American to express the same; second, freedom of religion, which unquestionably is part of our national Bill of Rights; third, freedom from want; all of us feel this country is, as Lincoln said, the last best hope of Earth; finally, as F.D.R. put it in 1941, freedom from fear.

Many Americans are fearful today. They are fearful for the future of their homeland, their communities, their families. We do not deserve to live in fear.

I dedicate myself, as a Member of this body, as an American, as someone who has seen combat and who has lived in fear, to make sure that I rededicate myself to the task remaining before us: That we will work out, with the President of the United States and this administration, every aspect of a plan to rid ourselves of international terrorism and to work with other nations, other civilized nations, other nations committed to democracy and opportunity that believe in the four freedoms as we do, to work out with them, in coordination with them, an assault on terrorism.

Yesterday was a declaration of war by terrorists on this country. This resolution we pass today in a unanimous fashion is, in my opinion, a resolution of guts and courage that this body sends forth, that we declare war on international terrorism.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I yield to the able Senator from Kansas, Mr. ROBERTS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in expressing support for this resolution, a resolution of the Senate of the United States expressing our very prayerful condolences to those who lost their lives as a result of this heinous crime, not only against themselves but against America and, just as important, against democracy and freedom.

First, let me say this Congress stands behind our President and his determination to punish those who harbor terrorists as well as the terrorists themselves.

Second, our fight against terrorism will necessitate more cooperation than we have ever seen or experienced from our allies and other governments. I am a little encouraged. They know we are not alone. Several Arab state leaders, long American allies, have expressed support. I understand that similar expressions have come from Russia. This will take an unprecedented diplomatic and foreign policy undertaking.

As we determine how best to address this ongoing threat, it will not be necessary to start anew or to reinvent the antiterrorism wheel. I have had the privilege, as some have said, of serving for 3 years as the chairman of the newly created Subcommittee on Emerging Threats. That is a subcommittee created by our distinguished former chairman, JOHN WARNER. The committee is now ably chaired by Senator MARY LANDRIEU.

Our subcommittee is now compiling the testimony of the many witnesses we have had over the past 3 years and the recommendations we have made which we will make available to the administration, to the Pentagon, to the American public, and, yes, to the 46 Federal agencies that have claimed jurisdiction of one kind or another with regard to homeland security.

In this respect, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a letter that five Senators representing the Senate Armed Services, Intelligence, and Appropriations Committees and two subcommittees, including the Emerging Threats Subcommittee, sent to Vice President CHENEY as of last July.

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

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, DC, July 13, 2001.

Hon. RICHARD B. CHENEY,
Vice President of the United States,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: The hearings conducted by the Senate on May 8, 9 and 10, 2001 demonstrated that some Federal agencies do not have a firm grasp of their roles and responsibilities for preventing, preparing for, and responding to acts of domestic terrorism. This lack of clarity is due to the absence of a true, comprehensive national

strategy. Currently, our national policy is embodied in two Presidential Decision Directives, the Attorney General's Five Year Plan, and two Federal response plans, one maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and one maintained by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). This "patchwork quilt" approach is not a substitute for a national strategy, the purpose of which would be to coordinate our Federal agencies into an effective force.

The attached report contains seven recommendations that emerged during the course of the hearings. They merit your strong consideration as you move toward bringing all of the Federal entities involved in combating terrorism under a single umbrella of clear leadership and a consolidated national strategy. The recommendations identify and propose actions to address weaknesses in our overall national system to combat domestic terrorism.

We hope these recommendations will be useful to you as you chart a new course for this nation's domestic terrorism policy. With respect to the review itself, we strongly recommend that you solicit input from and incorporate the worthwhile suggestions of members of the first responder community, including fire, law enforcement, medical, and emergency management personnel. In addition, just as you have requested the assistance and support of the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, we urge you to also draw upon the experience and expertise of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice. This will ensure that you have all the necessary information and resources at your disposal, and that your review is balanced and thorough. We in the Senate stand ready to assist you in this historic and critical enterprise.

Sincerely,

TED STEVENS,
Committee on Appropriations.
JOHN WARNER,
Committee on Armed Services.
RICHARD SHELBY,
Select Committee on Intelligence.
PAT ROBERTS,
Subcommittee on Emerging Threats & Capabilities, Committee on Armed Services.
JUDD GREGG,
Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary, Committee on Appropriations.

REPORT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

FINDINGS PURSUANT TO THE SENATE HEARINGS ON U.S. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAPABILITIES TO COMBAT DOMESTIC TERRORISM

I. Leadership.—During the course of the hearings, several agencies announced the creation of a new position that would coordinate those agencies' terrorism-related activities. HHS is appointing a Special Assistant, DOD is designating an Assistant Secretary of Defense, and FEMA has appointed a Deputy Director. To improve coordination and centralize the policy-making structure within the Department of Justice, we recommend establishing in law a Deputy Attorney General for Combating Domestic Terrorism (DAG-CT). The position would have as its principal duty the development and coordination of the department's overall policy for combating domestic terrorism. The DAG-CT would report directly to the Attorney General. The DAG-CT and the Deputy Director of FEMA, as Co-Coordinators, should

share responsibility for coordinating the Federal structure for combating domestic terrorism, including all of the relevant agencies, and for coordinating the national strategy.

II. The National Strategy.—The Congress, the President, and the National Security Advisor must be able to look to the Co-Coordinators to coordinate a single national strategy to safeguard this country from domestic terrorism. The national strategy should establish the policies, objectives, and priorities of the Federal government for preventing, preparing for, and responding to domestic terrorist attacks. The strategy should include specific objectives to be achieved. Also, it should include a recommendation concerning the role each Federal department and agency and State and local government entity should perform in combating domestic terrorism, as well as a recommendation concerning Federal training, equipment, exercise, and grant programs. The strategy should rest on four pillars: prevention/intelligence, preparedness, crisis management, and consequence management.

The sharing of information, especially by intelligence agencies and law enforcement organizations, will be critical to preventing acts of domestic terrorism. The Department of State also has an important role to play in preventing terrorism through its diplomatic and non-proliferation activities. The Co-Coordinators should work in close cooperation with the Department of State to ensure that we have a unified strategy for combating both domestic and international terrorism. Our level of preparedness will depend on our commitment to training, equipment programs, and regularly scheduled exercises which allow us to hone our skills. Our ability to respond to a domestic terrorist attack will require the close coordination of all entities with responsibility for combating domestic terrorism. Pre-established guidelines outlining agencies' missions and order of operations during a range of plausible threat scenarios must be developed and distributed.

The Co-Coordinators should be responsible for coordinating agencies' and departments' programs and policies so that they complement the national strategy. It will be the responsibility of the Federal departments and agencies to keep the Co-Coordinators apprised of any changes in their organization, management, or budgets as they pertain to combating domestic terrorism. All agencies and departments involved in combating domestic terrorism should participate in an annual review process coordinated by the Co-Coordinators, who should undertake this review on behalf of the President. In conducting this review, the Co-Coordinators should consult with the appropriate entities, including Congress and the State and Local Advisory Group. The Co-Coordinators should make specific recommendations regarding agencies' policies, programs, and objectives for combating domestic terrorism as well as monitor their progress in implementing the national strategy.

III. Justice Reorganization.—One office within the Department of Justice should oversee the work of the entire Department on domestic terrorism issues. This office must work on a daily basis with FEMA as well as with the FBI's Counterterrorism Division. The DAG-CT, along with the Deputy FEMA Director, should be nominated and confirmed by the Senate. The DAG-CT would not be in any other chain of command within the Department of Justice and would not be considered as a successor to the Attorney General. As with the Deputy FEMA Director, this position is recommended solely to address domestic terrorism, and in no way should compete with the present Deputy Attorney General position.

The National Domestic Preparedness Office (NDPO), currently under the FBI, should be transferred to the DAG-CT. The original mission of the NDPO was to serve as a point of contact for State and local governments. Because of its strong ties to the emergency management community, FEMA should assume the role of "one stop shop" for State and local responders seeking information about Federal assistance and training programs.

IV. Budget Reviews.—There is currently no mechanism for coordinating Federal spending for combating domestic terrorism and domestic preparedness programs. There is no process through which the President may determine what is lacking and what is redundant in our national strategy to combat domestic terrorism. A five year budget plan to implement the national strategy should be coordinated by the Co-Coordinators in consultation with the program managers from the relevant departments and agencies. The Co-Coordinators should work closely with the departments and agencies as they prepare their annual budget submissions.

V. Chain of Command.—The Senate hearings demonstrated that there is still a need for a coherent chain of command at the Federal level during the response phase of a terrorist incident. During a recent exercise, agents from the FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) argued for an hour over who was "in charge" at the scene, while actors playing the part of the wounded and dying got hypothermia. This confusion is the result of a poorly understood and communicated chain of command.

The Federal Response Plan (FRP) and Concept of Operations Plan (CONPLAN) identify which agencies must respond at what point in time and what function each agency must perform or lead. These plans have not been effectively communicated to responders at all levels, from local to Federal. Furthermore, these plans were designed for a number of different disaster scenarios. This "one size fits all" approach coupled with the lack of detailed understanding of the plan at all levels, is responsible for the confusion encountered by responders at the scene.

We recommend that the Co-Coordinators develop "challenge specific" plans based on the FRP and CONPLAN to suit each particular type of terrorist incident: nuclear, chemical, biological, radiological, cyber, agricultural, and conventional. The plans should focus on application of the unified command structure across territorial, jurisdictional, and intergovernmental lines. The resulting matrix of response plans should also reflect the possibility of a simultaneous attack involving two different types of weapons, particularly a cyber attack.

The purpose of creating a separate response plan for each type of attack is to minimize delays in decision-making and expedite action-taking. A plan that is tailored to the specific response requirements of a chemical, biological, nuclear, radiological, or conventional attack will provide a chain of command that is automatic. We further recommend that FEMA expand its efforts to provide FRP and "challenge-specific plan" training and education to Federal, State and local response personnel. To this end, FEMA should support and cooperate with existing DOJ training and planning efforts to ensure the broadest dissemination and to avoid duplication.

VI. Risk and Threat Assessments.—Federal programs to combat domestic terrorism are being initiated and expanded without the benefit of a sound threat and risk assessment process. Although it is not possible to reduce risk for all potential targets of terrorism, a rigorous and continuous assessment of risk can help ensure that training, equipment,

and other safeguards are justified. Such programs must be implemented based on the threat, the level of uncertainty surrounding that threat, the vulnerability to attack, and the criticality of assets.

Because the threat terrorists pose is dynamic and countermeasures may become outdated, risk assessments must be continually updated. A multi-disciplinary team of experts selected by the Co-Coordinator should generate these assessments as well as a plan for ensuring their currency. Regularly scheduled exercises will provide an opportunity to demonstrate and validate the national strategy. This process is crucial to ensuring that initiatives are based on reality and are proportional to the threat.

VII. Research and Development.—The research, development, testing, and evaluation (RDT&E) of technologies to combat domestic terrorism is currently under-exploited, yet holds enormous potential to prevent—mainly through detection—domestic terrorist incidents. The United States will never be able to prevent all domestic terrorist incidents, but we have an obligation to do more. If we fail to prevent, then we must be ready to respond. Our expertise must be more aggressively focused on technologies for detecting and analyzing chemical, biological, explosives, nuclear, and radiological materials.

We recommend that the Co-Coordinator coordinate with all the institutes in this country currently involved in RDT&E of combating terrorism-related technologies. Among these entities should be the first responders, the training centers, the National Laboratories, the National Institute of Justice, the National Institute of Standards and Technology, the National Institutes of Health, the National Academy of Sciences, private universities, and private industry. Terrorist cells are increasingly adaptive with respect to technology, and we must be able to anticipate future capabilities. The Co-Coordinator should therefore be tasked with coordinating a technological blueprint for the remainder of the decade. This plan should be based on sound needs and threat assessments and should be set specific goals to be accomplished within a defined time frame.

Mr. ROBERTS. This letter followed 3 days of hearings in which bipartisan Members of Congress asked detailed questions of some 46 Federal agencies. Senators STEVENS, WARNER, SHELBY, GREGG, and ROBERTS offered this letter as a blueprint from which to eliminate the current patchwork quilt approach and renew attempts to forge a national strategy to combat terrorism and safeguard our national security.

Let me warn that this act of terrorism may well be just the beginning. We must understand our enemy. In this regard, I quote from a retired Army officer and author, Ralph Peters, who warned several years ago:

These warriors are made up of the true believers, those who will die for a cause, whether religion, a nationalist vision, or a conviction of ethnic superiority, and a desire to avenge wrongs suffered whether real or imagined. Even when they are our enemies, they are heroes to their own people—another thing we do not understand—witness the young Palestinians waving flags upon learning of the terrorist attack against the United States.

They do not deal rationally with our standards and we falter when we rely on them to do so. Repeatedly, we have failed to see the appeal of the upright man, perceived as such by his own people, who hates us and

who is willing to propagate endless slaughter to drive us away and to use weapons of mass destruction when required.

This pool certainly includes the Osama bin Ladens of the world.

Again, we should not underestimate the nature and character of our enemies. And they are our enemies. Let me recommend to all of my colleagues the book by Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order.” His book should be required reading for all of my colleagues and those within the national media and all interested in preserving democracy, freedom, and Western values.

He quotes Arthur Schlesinger Jr. as stating Europe and America are the unique source of individual liberty, political democracy, and the rule of law, not to mention human rights and also cultural freedom. It is precisely these unique concepts that are now under attack and why we must have an international response.

The principal responsibility of Western leaders, especially now, is not to attempt to reshape other civilizations in the image of the West, which is beyond our power, but to preserve, to protect, to renew the unique qualities of Western civilization where they have been nurtured, appreciated, and taken root. That responsibility overwhelmingly falls to the United States of America.

That statement has foreign and national security policy ramifications that deserve a great deal more comment on this floor at a later time.

I will add one other thing. Every witness before the Emerging Threats Subcommittee, when we asked about the threat against the United States, said: It is not a matter of if but when.

When is now. The tragedy is now. It will not stand. It will not stand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mr. CANTWELL. Mr. President, yesterday's vicious terrorist attack left an uncounted number of Americans dead and injured, and countless others grieving for friends and loved ones they have lost. We offer our hearts and prayers to those people, who have suffered a pain so deep it is beyond understanding. We support them in their pain and grief, we also share it.

Every American was wounded in yesterday's attack, because it was an attack on our freedom and fundamental values as a people. Some have called this attack an act of madness, but it was not. It was an act of war—an organized, coordinated, premeditated murder of thousands of Americans, designed and carried out for political advantage. We will not allow it to go unpunished.

We will stand behind our President as he brings our law enforcement, military, and intelligence forces together to find these murderers and their allies. And as he takes the steps necessary to demonstrate clearly to all the world that terrorism against our nation will not be tolerated.

Here at home we must continue to work together to bind up the wounds of this nation and heal the widespread injuries and anxieties that these acts have caused. We are profoundly grateful for the efforts and sacrifices made by the relief workers, police, and firefighters—and we deeply grieve for those heroes who lost their lives yesterday in New York trying to save others.

This isn't the first time terrorists have tried to attack the United States—and it won't be the last. An orchestrated terrorist attack was stopped in Washington State when terrorists bringing explosives into the United States from Canada were intercepted. They intended to plant bombs at a New Years Eve celebration in downtown Seattle and to kill as many people as they could. Fortunately, that plot was uncovered and stopped. This time, we weren't so lucky.

Attacking this country is not enough to defeat it. It never has been. This is something our enemies have discovered again and again. America's history is the story of a Nation, of a people, who have repeatedly overcome what have seemed like insurmountable challenges.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, America began as a nation by overcoming tyranny. We will continue by overcoming terrorism, and we will do it without sacrificing who we are as Americans. We will do it by supporting those who have been injured and giving sympathy and support to families who have lost loved ones. We will do it by refocusing our efforts on more security efforts, and we will do it by upholding the principles that we all believe in of “liberty and justice for all.”

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho is recognized.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, as our Nation mourns, my prayers—our prayers—are directed to the victims and the families of the victims who died yesterday at the hands of world terrorism.

As many have noted today, America finds itself at war. The question still must be answered: Against whom? And what exactly will be our response? But the fact itself cannot be doubted. At this time, most observers suppose that yesterday's terrorist attacks were perpetrated by a well-known terrorist group. My remarks will be based on that reasonable supposition. It is further supposed that these attacks could not have been mounted without state complicity. There are strong suspicions as to which state has primary culpability. Once that determination is made with reasonable certainty, the U.S. response must include a strategic assessment toward that regime, or possibly regimes, as well as tightening domestic security and reassessing our attitude toward terrorism as war.

In the comments about yesterday's events, it is good to note that most are

talking about being at war rather than our usual tendency to look at these acts as exclusively criminal acts. For example, in past U.S. policy toward foreign-instigated terrorist attacks, such as the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, the U.S. Embassy attacks in Kenya and Tanzania, Khobar Towers, or the U.S.S. Cole, they have been based on the "criminal model." This is the notion that our main task is to gather evidence, identify and apprehend perpetrators, and build a case sufficient to convict them beyond a reasonable doubt in the court.

This criminal model obscures the strategic implications, which should be our main concern. The criminal model should be replaced with a warfare model adapted to 21st century conditions in which war no longer means a confrontation along a defined front between armies fielded by industrial states. Instead, under conditions in which the distinction between state and private violence is not relevant, war means determining within a moral certainty the responsible actors—state or nonstate—and delivering a devastating punitive and exemplary reprisal. Consideration should be given to a congressional declaration of war against such state and nonstate actors.

Based on past experience, it is inevitable that part of the response will involve a further tightening of security procedures right here in this country. These measures, which almost never are removed once they are put in place, have little utility, except to tighten Federal control over Americans, and it really should be minimized. That is not to say we ought not look at them, consider them, and where they are best used, estimate their value—but not overestimate the outcome. More importantly, they are a measure of our failure of strategic vision.

Instead, we should concentrate on identifying the hijackers who flew the airplanes to their targets, and determining how they entered the United States. This is what we ought to be about. Misguided efforts to relax bars to aliens on whom security agencies have derogatory information should be shelved. Border controls should be tightened.

While targeted reprisal is a necessity, it should be accompanied by a comprehensive reexamination of U.S. post-cold war strategy. Currently, that strategy is largely based on cold war inertia, consisting primarily of maintaining, extending, and perpetuating our status as "the world's sole-surviving superpower"—in effect, exercising global hegemony, and preventing the emergence of any potential rival, such as China or Russia.

This policy, with its focus on global dominance rather than domestic defense, where it should be, makes the United States more vulnerable to terrorist attack, not less. We have to look at global policy, but clearly we must focus now more than ever on domestic defense.

This policy must be replaced by one that places a priority on the defense of our sovereignty, our people, and our territory. With regard to yesterday's attacks, our global strategy should be reexamined to include undermining the harboring regimes or regimes by diplomatic and possibly military means; adopting a more positive policy toward nearby countries opposed to such regimes; and pressuring countries with which the United States has friendly relations, but that may be supporting the harboring regimes, to cease that support.

These efforts will require a thorough assessment of American policy. No part of it can be left out. We do not stand in a situation of isolation today. Our neighbors will gather around us. Let us examine ourselves into the 21st century. Let us use our ability in that context to shape a new foreign policy and resolve that what happened yesterday in this country shall never happen again.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, the calendar and history rarely perfectly coincide. It was remarked that the 20th century really began in August of 1914 with the commencement of European hostilities. It may, on reflection, prove to be true that the 21st century did not begin when that famous ball fell in Times Square; it began on September 11, 2001.

The world has now been introduced to a new and difficult struggle against terrorism, asymmetrical war, held along the fissure lines of culture, prosperity, and commitment to law.

I regret that the front lines of this new struggle have formed through the communities I represent in northern New Jersey and our neighbors in New York City. Last night, children waited at home for parents who never arrived. Spouses held dinner for husbands and wives who never came home. The battlefield of this new war was Manhattan and Jersey City and Fort Lee and Queens. We are all soldiers.

There is a temptation to accept that this new chapter in the war on terrorism in a new century is merely a continuum of the same. Perhaps the scale and the intensity is only different from Lebanon or Saudi Arabia or, indeed, the World Trade Center itself 8 years ago.

By definition, it is fundamentally different. The very scale of this attack and the premeditation of those involved suggest that the organizations or the nations that planned this attack intended to strike at the Government of the United States itself.

I offer these observations not because I differ from the President of the United States but because I offer my support and because I believe that, as a Congress and as Americans, we must all stand together in this moment when we are all tested. But I do offer a difference in my observation. The arbi-

ter of this act of terrorism will never be a jury. It is history. It is not those who were agents in the commission of this crime that we seek but the organizations that are responsible.

At the outset, it must be made clear this is not a law enforcement matter. It does not matter who rented the cars or even who flew the airplanes. They are agents of others. I will find no satisfaction in their indictment, whether they are alive or deceased. It is those who wrote the plan, harbored the conspirators, gave them sanctuary within their borders.

It is not enough that we are pursuing a legal case against those who are responsible for this crime. It has become axiomatic to suggest an act of war has been committed against the United States. Those are our words. But our deeds are suggesting that we believe we were simply victims of a hijacking, that a murder was committed, a crime of large proportions but ordinary in concept.

We are missing the point. If those who committed this crime wore uniforms or had a flag or a capital, the response of the United States would be clear: This operation would be run from the military, not the Justice Department. It would be the Air Force, not the FBI, conducting operations.

I support the President of the United States, but I do believe, with all respect, we are not properly conceiving the magnitude of the moment. A fissure of history was reached yesterday, and in all of our sorrow and our grief, we are not yet seizing the moment.

It is my belief the President of the United States should come to this Congress and ask for a declaration that since September 11, 2001, the U.S. Government is engaged in general hostilities against a series of terrorist organizations; that in these hostilities, we will not respect the sovereignty of those nations that give safe harbor to those who committed acts against our country and our people.

I recognize that it is not possible with precision to identify every organization that was complicitous or involved. I also do not believe that it is necessary. Many of these terrorist organizations previously committed acts against the United States. Others are known to have planned such operations. Many have the intention of committing such acts. Together they represent a network that is a worthy and legitimate target of our hostilities.

Second, I cannot return to the people of New Jersey who have lost hundreds or, tragically, even thousands of citizens without explaining the role of the U.S. Government in their defense. The scale of what occurred in the last 48 hours may have been unpredictable, but the source and the means and the targets were not.

The American people have trusted this Government through our intelligence communities to defend our Nation and its people and our varied interests. This has not occurred. It is my

belief that the President of the United States should form a board of general inquiry to review the actions of the U.S. intelligence community and the failures which led to this massive loss of life and compromise of national security.

It can never be enough to explain that the unforeseeable happened to the unprotectable because neither is the case.

Only two decades into the 20th century, Winston Churchill remarked: What an extraordinary disappointment the 20th century has been.

Here in our first year of a new century, on behalf of all those at home who suffer, who have dealt with unconscionable acts, let me simply say what a disappointment the 21st century has already been.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, today our entire Nation confronts an evil inflicted upon it by those who resent our values and our way of life. All of us address the Nation as Americans, not partisans. That is as it should be when we are hit by a tragedy of this magnitude.

I first want to join my colleagues in assuring our fellow Americans our Government is carrying on the business of the people. Our Nation has not bowed and will never bow to violence and terror.

Second, I join in expressing our love and concern for the victims of these evil deeds. We will never forget them.

Third, if our words are to have effect, we have to change the way we deal with terrorism. Things have changed. No nation can ever be completely safe from threats to its security, but sadly today our Nation is forced to recognize what many of us have long known: that America is vulnerable to attack. But there are steps we can take to make it safer.

As members of the Intelligence Committee, and as chairman and ranking member of the Senate Judiciary's Subcommittee on Terrorism, respectively, Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN and I have held a series of hearings on recommendations about how to deal with terrorist threats. Some have to do with the overall organization of our Federal Government to deal with these threats and the aftermath of such attacks. Others bring Federal law into conformity with law enforcement and the intelligence community needs to pursue evidence and information necessary both to thwart terrorist attacks or to prosecute the perpetrators.

Former FBI Director Louis Freeh testified before our Terrorism Subcommittee for several years that he needed certain legal authorities to investigate these kinds of crimes, including things such as trap and trace authority which would give the FBI greater ability to trace computer crimes to their source; additionally,

recommendations to put countries on the terrorist lists that are not currently there but that ought to be; to make a better effort to limit fundraising of terrorist organizations right here in the United States; to examine the so-called Deutch requirements pertaining to criteria for recruiting agents—this cripples our efforts to infiltrate certain terrorist organizations—to enhance information sharing and cooperation between law enforcement and intelligence agencies such as the FBI and the CIA; to examine the safety of our airlines and our airports. Clearly, measures must be taken to increase security here.

Two years ago, the major airlines at Boston's Logan Airport and the Port Authority were found to have committed 136 security violations. In the majority of incidents, screeners hired by the airlines to staff checkpoints in terminals routinely failed to detect test items such as pipe bombs and guns. These glaring security failures must be the subject of prompt congressional scrutiny. We must reevaluate our intelligence-gathering activities worldwide and devote appropriate resources.

The Nation had no warning of this attack, though it was clearly long planned and very well coordinated. I join my colleagues in calling for prompt hearings to examine this failure of our intelligence network.

We must now assess how we ascertain what information is credible about attacks from abroad and how we might have missed what was clearly an elaborate plot to undermine and demoralize the United States. In the process, we should recognize the information which would justify the action is very difficult to come by in cases such as this.

A very important point is that our Nation must decide how it is going to deal with terrorists and the nations that harbor them after attacks of this kind. President Bush, in his statement yesterday, emphasized this point.

Terrorists are frequently protected internally by certain nations or they are very much on the move and difficult to find. But after we have identified who is responsible, if the perpetrators cannot be brought to justice in the United States, then, as other speakers have noted, we must be prepared to take other appropriate action.

The legal authority to do that could be in a new form of declaration of war, a war on the terrorists who engaged in this evil activity, as well as those who harbor and support them. In the end, the greatest way for us, as leaders, to confirm our commitment to the victims of this evil is to dedicate ourselves to a real and forceful battle against this terrorism. Action not words, that is the challenge before us. As Prime Minister Winston Churchill said in 1940, "Let us brace ourselves to our duties."

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, we awoke yesterday to a much different

world than the world we are required to accept today. On the most basic and fundamental level, we have lost the lives of heroes and victims, and we know that behind the devastating numbers we have all been seeing are real people, with real families, with real lives, with real accomplishments, and real hopes. We also know sadly for all of us that we can never, ever reclaim those lives.

We can honor them and remember them, and in their names we can devote ourselves to take every action to assure that no other Americans have to make this supreme sacrifice.

My Scripture teaches us to weep with them that weep and be of the same mind one toward another.

I speak now to the families of those who have been taken. We in this Chamber cannot erase yesterday, although we wish with everything inside us that we could. In the difficult days and years to come, we will keep their lives and their names and their sacrifices in our hearts, and we will translate our grief and our anger into a determination to prevent this tragedy from ever being repeated.

I know this is little solace for their extraordinary loss, but it is an important commitment that I truly believe every one of them would wish us to make. We will not forget, and we will act.

For 225 years now, America has been more than a nation—state, more than a set of borders, more than a piece of land. America is an idea, and that idea is freedom: Freedom of thought, freedom of movement, freedom to shape our lives and our society the way we choose.

Yesterday morning, it was not just America that came under attack. It was the hopes and aspirations of freedom-loving people all over this world.

There is a reason America does not bow to terrorism. There is a reason we live by the rule of law and not the rule of the jungle. There is a reason we return to our homes and offices and reclaim our skies and our pride. There is a reason we will marshal our resources, all our resolve and the awesome strength of our military to catch these death mongers, to punish them, to make them pay for what they have done to us and our people because we surrender our freedom to no one.

I commend President Bush for his leadership in this extraordinarily difficult time. I urge all my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to stand with him.

From time to time, from issue to issue, the votes in this Chamber are divided, but when it comes to defeating terrorism and hate, the Senate will not be divided.

Some have wondered, in the aftermath of this tragedy, whether our country will ever be the same. We need to make our airports safer, and we will. We need to make our flights more secure and their flight patterns more inviolate, and we will. We need to do

more to root out terrorism in the countries where it is tolerated, funded, and harbored, and the world can rest assured that we will.

The strength of our Nation is measured not in airport scanners or in flight controls; it is measured in the grit and the will of our people when it is needed the most. By that standard, America is the strongest, toughest, most resilient Nation on the face of the Earth.

Scripture also tells us "whoever shall be great among you, let him be your minister; and whoever shall be chief among you, let him be your servant."

Mr. President, we glimpsed that greatness yesterday in the rescue efforts in New York City and at the Pentagon—policemen, firemen, military personnel, and so many brave volunteers putting themselves and their lives in harm's way to help others. Too many of them paid the ultimate price for their acts of courage.

My Senate office was flooded yesterday with calls from concerned people in North Carolina, people who wanted to give blood, to donate clothes and blankets, to open their hearts in this time of solidarity. I am especially proud that a group of Marines from Camp LeJeune in Jacksonville, NC, is preparing to leave for New York now to assist in any way they can.

Today, we can't help but think how fragile is the safety and security we have been taking for granted. But throughout our history, we have weathered war and pestilence; we have met every kind of disaster, both natural and manmade; we have mastered every challenge and conquered every foe.

The spirit of America is strong. The power of freedom will overcome. And by reaffirming that freedom through strength, justice, and compassion, we will honor the memory of those who have departed and give renewed purpose to those of us who must now carry on.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON). The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLARD. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Five minutes.

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, President Bush last night did what many of us do in times of trouble: He prayed. When we prayed last night, we did so not only for those who were injured or killed yesterday, but for what our nation and people are still to face.

After the horror of yesterday, there are still other horrors to come. One of those horrors will be the casualty figures. The disaster is so large we don't even yet know how large it is. Some time, in the next few weeks, we are going to hear a number, the number of the dead and permanently missing. It will probably be in the thousands.

I would like to take a moment to mention Capt. Jason M. Dahl, the pilot of United Airlines Flight 93. This 43-year-old Ken-Caryl Ranch, CO, father

spent most of his workdays training others to fly Boeing 757's and 767's. That way, according to newspaper reports, he got to spend more time with his wife and teenage son, Matthew. But trainers must fly every so often, and Dahl apparently scheduled himself on Flight 93. He died yesterday morning when the plane slammed down into a Pennsylvania field. This is one name, one short background, and there will be thousands more.

But America is strong. No terrorist can undermine our country. There is no casualty figure that could come from this that will make us lose our fundamental purpose as a nation and a people. Anyone who doubts this only needs to look at the flags popping up on streets, the lines outside blood donation centers, the supplies being gathered for the survivors. America has long exported compassion by responding to African droughts and Central American hurricanes and European earthquakes. Now we have to deal with a massive tragedy in our own land, and I am sure we will do so strongly.

I was in a meeting yesterday dealing with Middle East security when my Chief of Staff came in and told us that the building was being evacuated. It occurs to me that aspects of life in the Middle East—terrorist attacks, public fear and public mourning, heavy domestic security, checkpoints, rigid airline safeguards—could quite possibly be incorporated into the American way of life as well. Things that we have seen before only on TV broadcasts from foreign lands could be brought home to us, right here in America.

I trust the Nation will understand that these new measures might change our lives, but not our way of life. Increased security might, for instance, add to travel time, but not effect our ability to travel. Just as we learned to live with safety wrapping on store bought items and metal detectors in public buildings, we are going to have to learn with new airport and border security.

Our Nation once also learned, through necessity, to deal with the potential of nuclear war. Some of the old Cold War defenses we incorporated into our lives were even able to assist us in this new war we face. The North American Areospace Defense center—NORAD—in Colorado Springs was monitoring the hijacked airplanes yesterday.

We in the Government are going to have to answer "What next?" The Senate has already approved supporting increased resources in the war to eradicate terrorism, and supporting the president in punishing the perpetrators of the attacks.

The phrase "war on terrorism" has been used lightly before. This is a war. And this war cannot be fought by, as I have heard it mentioned, by just using cruise missiles to blow up tents in a desert.

I thank again the thousands of personnel who have responded, in New

York, Pennsylvania and Washington, to the crisis. Especially those whose response only meant that they themselves became victims of this hostile tragedy.

This morning New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani said "we are better than they are." A simple statement, but it accurately reflects a truth. America is better than evil terrorists, America is better than sneak attacks on innocent civilians, America is better than fanatics, and America will prevail in this crisis.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, today we know our duty as Americans. We will bury our dead, we will comfort our wounded, we will honor our heroes, and we will protect and defend our Nation. We will stand as one against the treachery visited on America on Tuesday, September 11, in the year 2001.

We invite our friends and allies among the civilized nations to not only share our grief but also to share our determination to end the scourge of terrorism. The enemies of America, the enemies of freedom, unleashed their fury yesterday in New York and at the Pentagon in an effort to destroy our resolve. Our enemies have failed.

Today our hearts are heavy for all of the innocent lives lost and scarred by these barbaric terrorists. But our resolve has not been shaken. We stand as one, committed to freedom. We stand as one, committed to tolerance. We stand as one against those who kill the innocent in the name of righteousness. We stand as one against those who in the name of God perpetrated godless acts.

In the days ahead, we will undoubtedly learn of unparalleled, selfless courage by so many, the firefighters and police, who awakened yesterday as they did every day of their professional lives, pinned their badges and shields over their hearts, and risked their lives for people whose names they never knew, of the hundreds of firefighters who streamed into that inferno at the World Trade Center while every human instinct told them to flee the overwhelming danger. We will never know the details of their many courageous acts nor about the battles waged on the airliners hijacked by the terrorists. But we owe the deepest debt of gratitude to all of those Americans who demonstrated remarkable heroism at America's time of testing.

I say to the families of those fallen heroes and to all of those who suffered a loss from this violence: This Nation will stand by you as you rebuild your community and your life.

I say to our friends in Israel: This attack on America was an attack on our alliance and our common values.

The terrorists set out to bring America to its knees. Instead, they have brought America to its feet, stronger than ever in our alliance with Israel and more understanding of the price terrorism exacts from the heart and soul of people.

A word of caution to all of us: As we identify the sources of terrorism, it is possible we will look to an Arab person, or a group of Arab people, or those of the Muslim faith. We should never allow those facts, if they turn out to be true, to cloud our judgment when it comes to our fellow Arab Americans and those who believe and practice the Muslim faith. Many of them share with us the pain and sorrow of yesterday's tragedy.

Let me bring this tragedy very close to home. During the course of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln came to Washington as the new President. The States began to divide into the Confederacy and the Union. When he arrived, this Capitol dome which you see outside was under construction. Many people went to the President and said: Mr. President, we can't afford to wage a war and build this Capitol dome. He said: Yes, we can, because that Capitol dome represents the unity of this country and what we will be after this war. During the Civil War, he continued the construction of that great dome we see today. And Lincoln was right.

We should take lesson from that. As we talk about security in America, we should understand that one of the prime targets is the building I speak from—this Nation's Capitol, which attracts millions of visitors every single year. We owe those visitors, their families, and the thousands of people who work here the security and peace of mind of knowing that we have done everything we can to protect them in this age of terrorism. That means building a national visitors center, one which provides the security they deserve. This beautiful 19th century building should have 21st century security. I am happy to say that Senator BENNETT of Utah as well as leaders on both sides of the aisle believe this is the moment when we should make that commitment to the national visitors center.

The last item to which I will make reference is a small one, but it is especially irritating. Yesterday in my home State of Illinois, after this tragedy was reported in New York, many gas stations across our State raised the price of gasoline dramatically to as high as \$5 a gallon. Profiteering in a time of national crisis is the lowest form of citizenship. It is little better than looting during a national tragedy. I have called on the residents of Illinois to report to me those stations that did it. They should be ashamed. And we will report their findings and their stories to the investigation of the unfair gasoline prices we have seen in the Midwest.

Let me close by saying this: America will be tested now. We will be tested because of this tragedy yesterday. Some people said if we can just identify that one person who is the leader of this terrorist group and somehow capture or take him away, we will end the terrorism. That is so naive. Cutting off the head of one serpent doesn't clear a viper's nest. This is a network

of terrorism throughout the world that really threatens every civilized nation, and we have to understand the complexity of the challenge we face.

In closing, I am reminded of the comments of Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on October 8, 1940:

Death and sorrow will be the companions of our journey; hardship our garment; constancy and valor our only shield. We must be united, we must be undaunted, we must be inflexible.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, perhaps because I represent the State that has the youngest age population in the country, I approach this subject from a different point of view.

Many have said that this terrible, cowardly attack against our country by terrorists is similar to the experience we had at Pearl Harbor. I think perhaps Senator INOUE and Senator AKAKA might have had similar experiences. But those of us who were alive and part of the younger generation then did not have the experiences that our young people had yesterday as they watched and were just mesmerized by the live coverage as two great buildings collapsed, of people jumping from those buildings, of the knowledge of how many people were killed and injured, of seeing our Pentagon struck.

This vividness has affected the young people of our country much more than Pearl Harbor affected us. We had been acculturated to the fact that we were going to war. We had watched in the newsreels in 1939, in 1940, and 1941 the Germans marching across Europe and the Japanese raping Nanking. Such things came at us in a small bite, as we might call it today, with a little exposure here and there.

If our generation truly is the greatest generation, it is because of our parents and our guardians and our teachers. They prepared us for what we knew would be our duty to fight a war to restore freedom in the world.

Our young people yesterday saw just this total exposure to death and the effects of terrorism. I think we have to be aware of that. They have not been prepared as young people in this period of time, when they have all of these freedoms to the exposure through so many means of communication and acquisition and knowledge. I believe our young people are in a state of shock. It is time we thought about that and what it means to America to have this sudden awareness by so many people, particularly young children and the younger generation, becoming exposed to the visible impact of terrorist activity.

We don't live in a country like Israel where they have been attacked on the streets and they have seen bombing every day. We have really been living the life of luxury in terms of not being exposed to this type of activity. But it is here now. We were exposed to it yesterday. I don't think it is over.

I call on the Senate and the Congress and the President. I hope we think about the young people. I hope we take the time to explain to them why we are going to retaliate. I hope we take the time to explain to them why we are going to change some of the security procedures of our country in terms of getting on and off interstate and even local transportation. I hope we explain to them why there are no people in the gallery here today—which I object to, by the way.

But I think it is incumbent on those of us who are mature to try to guide these people toward the goal we hope they will pursue with us; that is, the goal of pursuing the perpetrators of these vicious terrorist attacks against the United States, and to support us in what we have to do. We should take time to understand their feelings. We should take the time to try to explain to them why we may not react the same way they would.

I had calls from all over the country yesterday. I don't know if everyone else did. I assume so. I certainly had an enormous number of calls from home. They were asking if I was safe and if my family and my staff were safe. And the totality of the experience they had, people around the country, in viewing what went on—I have to say myself, I was totally shocked when I saw that first tower come down. And then when the second one came down, I just felt a lump in my stomach.

The point is, I hope we act in terms of understanding that we have a job to lead the country, to have people understand what we are going to do in the future. If I have anything to do with it, we will finish our work here very quickly. I think we should bury our differences, find a way to move the appropriations bills, deal with the subjects we have to deal with, and go back to our homes to try to assist people in understanding why we are going to act as we must act; that is, we must deliver the most fierce retaliation against these people that the world has ever seen, because if we do not—if we do not—we are going to have some copycats around the world who think they, too, can take a crack at this country. That is something I would not like to see.

But I hope we all keep in mind and think of the young people, think of the children, and try to explain to them what they saw and why we are going to do what we must do.

Mr. President, II Corinthians, 4:8-9, states:

We are hard pressed on every side, but not crushed;

Perplexed, but not in despair;

Persecuted, but not abandoned;

Struck down, but not destroyed.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, yesterday's terrorist atrocities against innocent Americans were vicious and horrifying. They were acts of unspeakable cruelty unleashed against the American people in a shameful attempt

to spread chaos throughout our nation and instill fear in the hearts of our citizens. But such acts will not succeed, and they never will succeed.

No American will ever forget watching a hijacked civilian aircraft crash into the towers of the World Trade Center, or seeing the plume of smoke rise from the Pentagon in the aftermath of the terrorist attack. No American will ever forget the sense of anger and vulnerability that swept our nation yesterday, when thousands of innocent lives were suddenly, and senselessly ended by the vicious acts.

My heart goes out to the victims of this attack and their loved ones. The American people share our anger, our grief—and our resolve. We cannot bring back the lives of the fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, relatives, and friends—although we wish desperately that we could. We cannot yet fully answer the complex questions that haunt the country about this atrocity. As we search for and find the answers, we pray for the victims and their loved ones, and we hope that they will find a measure of peace and comfort from our prayers.

This is a massive tragedy for America, and we must make clear that our national resolve will not be weakened. Our country has been tested and tried in the past, and we have always emerged stronger and wiser. We will do so again now. America's commitment to the values of freedom and justice has not been shaken in the past. It will not be shaken by these acts of terrorism.

I commend President Bush for his strong statement last evening about finding and punishing the perpetrators of this atrocity. Those who murder American citizens must have no safe hiding place, and those who shelter terrorists must be punished as well. America will do everything possible to apprehend the perpetrators and to identify and punish those who give them aid and comfort.

Like December 7, 1941, September 11, 2001 will be remembered as a day that will live in infamy. Just as the Pearl Harbor attack galvanized the American people in their resolve to prevail in the war against fascism and tyranny, I am confident that yesterday's attack on the American people will galvanize our citizens and strengthen our spirit to prevail in the ongoing war against global terrorism.

It is tragic that these criminals were able to succeed in carrying out the most brutal terrorist attack in history on American soil. I pledge to work with the President, the Congress, and the families of the victims to seek answers to the many questions that exist, and to do all we can to strengthen the security of our people and to prevent such atrocities in the future. The American flag flies high today, and so does our commitment to our ideals here at home and all around the world.

Mr. President, I want to commend my friend from Alaska for talking

about the impact of this extraordinary violence on children. I think many of us have heard about and seen, as we were getting ready to come to work this morning, the counseling that is being provided to America's parents and children about how to cope with this violence.

As we seek to find those who perpetrated the crimes, we must also be resolute and sensitive to the extraordinary concerns about violence that will have an impact on a whole generation of children.

We have not focused extensively on this subject in the hours that we have discussed this resolution, but I thank the Senator for bringing this up. He is active in supporting the interests of children, and I think his point is extremely well taken.

This resolution was overwhelmingly supported by all Members. It is what we can do today. There will be other opportunities to support activities to address this tragedy.

The resolution recognizes the extraordinary suffering and the losses that have been experienced by so many families in America today. I think the focus, rightfully so, has been on New York, Pennsylvania, and also the Pentagon. But in my own State of Massachusetts, we have 39 parents who will not be returning home this evening. We have dozens of children who will be missing one parent, and in some instances, even two parents. There are scores of people who worked in the World Trade Center who were from Massachusetts as well. And that has been generally true about so many other States.

Although the targets were in New York and the Pentagon—and Lord only knows where the other plane was headed—all families feel an extraordinary threat to their lives and well-being and to the lives and well-being of their children. So we all reach out to them.

I can remember very well the extraordinary way people came together in my State when five extraordinary firefighters perished in a fire in Worcester, MA, just a little over a year ago. They were brave volunteers, who sought to save two homeless people, and we now know that the homeless people had left after the fire had started. Because of the concern for the two homeless people, they volunteered and went in, and all of them perished. I remember the impact that this had not only on Worcester but on our State.

When I heard, for the first time yesterday, of the loss of some 225 firefighters, more than 50 police officers, and scores of rescue workers, it is something that families in my State felt very deeply about. I know Americans across this country feel very deeply about it.

We say our prayers for the victims and their families. We reach out to them. We feel, to the greatest extent that we possibly can, the senselessness of this violence. And we resolve with them to bring to justice the perpetrators.

I support this resolution because it commits this Nation to bring the perpetrators of the terrorism to justice. We have all heard the speeches here, and we are all resolute in this.

I join with my colleagues who hope that we will have the opportunity for resolution. It appears from the briefings we have received that we have had good fortune in moving the investigation forward, and I hope that we will be able to identify those who perpetrated the crimes and those that supported them. There is some indication for that hope, as we have heard over the last days. But as has been pointed out, we will need to be resolute in this undertaking.

We have 13 families in Massachusetts who lost relatives Pan Am Flight 103. Yet, it was only a few months ago that many of our colleagues were talking about lifting the sanctions. Many of our European allies, many of our oldest friends in Europe wanted to abolish those sanctions.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 1 more minute.

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

Mr. KENNEDY. I can still name the names of those families who lost people on Pan Am flight 103.

Years after the Pan Am flight, if we are interested in combating terrorism, we are going to have to stay the course, stay resolute, persevere, and stay consistent.

Finally, I hope at this time we will not look for scapegoats. I hope that we are going to be careful, particularly with regard to our Arab-American friends. I hope that we will free ourselves from scapegoating and from the kind of conduct which would be helpful to terrorists who are interested in dividing this Nation in so many different ways.

We reject that. We must stick with the facts and follow them where they lead us and not involve ourselves in that kind of activity.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I think all of us who have an election certificate and who have been called upon to represent the citizens of our State feel an obligation today to come together as Americans, not as Republicans and Democrats but to come together in a way that says symbolically and in reality to our constituents that our ship of state is still on course.

Yesterday, America was called to endure yet another day of infamy. And in times of infamy, in times of tragedy, I find it helpful for us to refocus on the fundamentals that make us a great nation and a great people.

So I say to my friends, my constituents of the great State of Oregon, that this is a time to come together as a country the way the U.S. Senate today is showing it can.

Indeed, it is time, as individuals, to reach out to our neighbors, to love them better, to hold our families closer, and to serve our country with more

determination than ever in the way we live our lives.

Yesterday I was, like all, shaken beyond words at this tragedy and was soon hustled into a room—a secure room—where I was in the presence of Senator DASCHLE, Senator LOTT, Senator NICKLES, Senator REID, TOM DELAY of the House, and a number of others.

It was not a large group, but it was a group that normally has daily differences. Those differences melted away, and what remained were Americans determined to seek the greatest good of our country.

That is the kind of unity that has preserved America through days of infamy of the past and can sustain us yet again today and in the future.

When I spoke about focusing on fundamentals, this morning I got out my little copy of the Constitution. The preamble is worth reading, as we, Members of this body, consider our responsibilities:

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

That preamble, that set of values, brought people of diverse interests together to make of States united States and the United States the leader of the free world. Freedom is not free. America knows that now in a renewed fashion.

Our duty in this Senate, in this Congress, and in this country is now to rescue what victims remain alive and to comfort the families of those victims who have perished. It is to restore our institutions and set aright the shaken confidence many feel.

Then it is to seek retribution that is careful but certain and as swift as possible. When I say that freedom is not free, I believe the American people will expect of us a heightened sense of security, but the balance, we must remember, is that as we seek security we not trample on liberty.

The great test of our time in this tragedy, as one who supports without reservation the State of Israel, is how we treat our Arab brothers and sisters who are citizens of this land. We must not repeat the mistakes of the past. We must be careful.

We are the leader of the free world. We must not trample on freedom, as we continue to lead. We are the leader of the civilized world. Our retribution must not target in any way innocent civilians. They are the leaders of the uncivilized world, and we saw their work yesterday. America is called to lead in a different way. We are called to lead the civilized and the free.

I say, God bless our fellow citizens who perished yesterday. I say, God bless America.

I take this opportunity to recognize some Oregonians who are doing their

part to respond to this tragedy. The Oregon Disaster Medical Assistance Team has assembled and is prepared for immediate deployment by the Office of Emergency Preparedness. Many of their colleagues have already been deployed; the Oregon team is still on the ground awaiting availability of air transport. Their courage and willingness to serve is one of many bright lights that have brightened this dark day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise to support this resolution.

Yesterday was a terrible day of terror. Today to me seems even worse. Yesterday, perhaps because the acts of war that were carried out against our people were so horrific, we responded. We moved forward. But it all seemed unreal. Today when I awoke, it seemed painfully real. It reminded me of terrible days in my personal life when I have experienced a loss of a loved one. You cope, and then you wake up with the reality and the pain is deeper.

We all feel that today, and we can only imagine, therefore, how deep and pervasive is the pain of those many families whose lives have been devastated by the acts of terror that were carried out yesterday.

I pray that God will be with them and the souls of their loved ones who are gone, that they will find comfort in good memories and strength from their faith in God.

I have been very proud to be a Member of the Senate over these last few days. And it continues today, as I listen to the statements we have heard in this Chamber which should leave no doubt of our resolve nor our unity in holding accountable those who attacked us yesterday and sought to destroy our Nation.

Today we are filled with the deepest feelings of anger and outrage. We want retaliation, and we will have it. We will not rest until we know who perpetrated these evils, and we will then respond with the full force of the righteous might that President Roosevelt summoned in 1941.

We must be careful not to mistake swift punishment for lasting peace. We are at war. That is true. But this war is dramatically different from the one we engaged in after Pearl Harbor. In this struggle, vengeance is not victory. Retaliation for yesterday's atrocities is only the end of the beginning of what should be our response, not the beginning of the end of that response.

If, in fact, as this resolution says, we are acknowledging that we are in a war against terrorism, then we must understand that this war is not against a single known enemy but a broad and elusive threat from the forces of terror. And if we are to win this war, if we are to protect our security and freedom, we must adapt both offensively and defensively to the true nature of this threat and commit ourselves to a long and difficult struggle.

We have several challenges ahead of us. First, of course, we must identify and punish the perpetrators. We must also honestly then assess our vulnerability here at home and then take swift and strong action to fortify the security of our critical national infrastructure from attack and to improve the ability of national and State and local authorities to respond to such attacks. We must consider with renewed purpose the proposals that have been made to create a new agency with responsibility for defense of our homeland, for the decades of security that our two oceans have given us are over. Our enemies can strike at us with terrorism, with cyberattacks, or with ballistic missiles. We must raise our guard here at home to those attacks.

We have been warned by many experts that the threats we will face in the 21st century would be different and more diffuse than those we had faced over the last half century. That is why we have embarked on a path of transforming our military and other Government agencies to better prepare to wage and defend this new warfare.

We must now move, after yesterday, with far greater urgency, for our enemies will not wait. They will not delay. They will continue to work with single-minded determination to find our points of weakness and strike at them.

We must match and exceed their focus and determination. In doing so, we must not work and fight alone. This is not just our war. This is a war against democracy itself. In defending against those attacks, the world's other democratic nations must join together with us.

I am grateful for the decision by the North Atlantic Council today to find the acts of yesterday essentially acts, under article 5, acts of war against us which are acts of war against all of them.

If we are truly involved in a war against terrorism, then our allies in Europe and elsewhere must come to our side as we came to theirs in World War II and not tolerate and deal with and maintain normal relations of commerce or diplomacy with nations that harbor terrorists. We must convince them that they will either be allies of allies or allies of our enemies.

History rarely offers respite to victors. We won a magnificent triumph in the cold war. After World War II, we were once again at the pinnacle of power. But, once again, we face a new form of tyranny. I am confident that we can and will rise to defeat this new challenge just as we defeated the communism that rose to face us after World War II. Our love of liberty has not diminished, nor has our common sense of purpose in protecting it.

Succeed we can and succeed we must. The lives of our people, the security of our society, and the strength of our democracy depend on it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, yesterday was a day of great darkness, the likes of which we have never seen before. Yesterday we saw the face of evil in a cowardly and reprehensible act against the United States. The tragic events were a grave reminder of our Nation's vulnerability.

Sadly, the light of a new day has continued to show us that the horror of yesterday was all too real. Our worst nightmare has come true.

We all lost something yesterday, something very precious and something very real. I don't think we will ever again look at the footage of terrorist activities overseas quite the same way again. The comforting thought that protected us in the past, "It can't happen here" is no longer comforting, because it has been shown to us in very real and stark terms—it can happen here.

President Bush has stated his resolve to find those responsible for this attack and bring them to justice. I support him in this effort and I am confident that President Bush, together with the members of Congress and the people of America will come together in the next days and weeks as we mourn our dead and honor the memory of those who died in the attacks or subsequent rescue efforts.

Yesterday threatens to increase the anger we already feel in our hearts and make us cry out for revenge against someone, anyone.

We will not allow that to happen. We all know the real goal of terrorism is to turn neighbor against neighbor to make us fear and mistrust the people of our communities. With God's strength and support, and our faith and trust in Him, we can show that we are bigger and stronger than that.

Our strength as a nation comes from the different backgrounds, cultures, talents and abilities of our people. *E Pluribus Unum*, One out of many, is our Nation's motto for a reason. Yesterday we saw people of every race, religion and creed working together as Americans to help those affected by yesterday's attacks.

We will continue that work in the coming weeks, and, as we do, we will do something we have not had to do for many, many years. The task of cleaning up, repairing and building that looms before us is great, even for the greatest nation on earth.

Yesterday's events will raise a lot of questions that will need to be answered as we do our work. How did it happen? Why did it happen? What can we do to ensure it does not happen again?

They are all good questions and they will be investigated and answered. Vice President CHENEY has already been working on ways to improve and increase our intelligence gathering efforts. Now these improvements must be given the highest priority. As the Ranking Member of the International Operations and Terrorism Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, I pledge my time and my

efforts to work with Members on both sides of the aisle and the Administration to address all the issues raised by these cowardly attacks.

As do most Americans, I find it difficult to understand how someone could plan and carry out an attack such as the one we witnessed yesterday. Part of our work will be to review and reconsider our foreign policies and to increase our awareness and sensitivity to the fact that our actions abroad are not always supported by some members of the international community. We need to be aware that there are those who hate the United States for who we are and what we represent in the world. There are those who view our nation and the freedom we represent as a threat to themselves and their way of life.

We will rebuild our cities, we will refresh our spirit, and we will renew our commitment to the principles upon which our country was founded. As Mayor Giuliani said this morning, as we roll up our sleeves and get to work, we will emerge stronger than ever and face the future with a renewed spirit, united more strongly as one nation under God than we ever have been before.

It is time for us to reassure each other, to reach out to our neighbors, and to console our children that the world isn't a bad place, although there are bad people who live in it to be sure.

As we prepared to go to bed last night, I thought about the days years ago when I, as a father, would listen to my children say their prayers before they went to sleep at night. "And now I lay me down to sleep. I pray the Lord my soul to keep. If I should die before I wake, I pray the Lord my soul to take."

I thought about our children all over this country and around this world who went to bed last night who said those words and found a terrifying and frightening new meaning in them. They will all need the calm and reassuring touch of their mothers and fathers to assure them that they are safe and we are there to protect them.

Those that are responsible for this act of terrorism tried to take our spirit just as certainly as they tried to take as many lives as they could. They acted without regard for those in their path, just as they acted without regard for our freedoms or our way of life.

There is a price that will be paid for their actions. Maybe not today or tomorrow, but we will soon know who is responsible for these terrible acts of violence and they will be held accountable.

There will be a time for that, someday in the future. As the Bible tells us, there is a time for everything and a season for all things.

Now is the time to find the facts, develop a plan and make sure that every step we take in these next few days is warranted and necessary. For we are the most powerful nation on earth, and that brings with it a certain responsi-

bility. The world looks to us now to see what we will do next, how we will handle the leadership the world has seen us exercise so well for so many years.

Now is also a time for healing and rebirth—for coming together in pride as Americans. Now is the time to renew our commitment to freedom and the principles upon which we are founded. Now is the time to reach out in prayer to God and to each other.

But for those who hear the sound of my voice and think we may falter in our commitment to America and our way of life, make no mistake. The light of freedom may flicker from time to time, but it always returns to a brilliance and luster just like the torch held proudly aloft by the Statue of Liberty.

One thing the terrorists never understood is that we are a nation of more than just symbols, and landmarks and monuments, though they are all important and beloved by us all. We are a nation of strength and spirit and freedom and we will never yield our commitment to our principles, to each other and to our shared future.

Last night, today, and for a long time to come, people in Wyoming, in Washington, in New York and all over the country will be holding prayer vigils, attending Church services, and reaching out to one another in an embrace of faith, hope and love. That is how we will continue, one person, one step at a time, to assure each other of our support for each other and to ensure that this terrible tragedy never happens again.

We also join in prayer for the victims of this tragedy, for their families, friends and loved ones. We proudly recognize the efforts of our brave firemen, police and rescue workers who risked their lives to help those in need. Your efforts were greatly appreciated. You will never be forgotten.

Yesterday we witnessed both chambers of this great Congress come together as one, united in plan, purpose and resolve. May we continue to work together to make our nation stronger and the world a better place for us all. It won't be easy, but that never has not and never will stop us. May God bless and keep us all firm in our resolve.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today not as a Democrat or as a Republican, but as an American. The vicious, premeditated terrorist attack on our country cannot stand. We are joined in common purpose to defend our Nation and to strike back against those who have committed these crimes against humanity. Operating under the cloak of secrecy, they destroyed the lives of thousands of men, women, and children who were completely innocent.

Those innocents were not combatants in any cause. They were merely traveling to rejoin their families, or going to work, or heading for a holiday. They were harming no one. But terrorists bent on destruction transformed airliners into flying bombs and attacked them, attacked us, and attacked America.

Let the word go out that we will not be deterred, we will not be defeated, we will not be denied basic justice. These evil perpetrators of mindless violence will be pursued and found, and they will be held to account.

Let these adversaries understand that they have aroused the awful wrath of a mighty nation. We are united, we are determined, we are committed, and we will prevail. God bless America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, let me, on behalf of the people of the State of Wisconsin, express our condolences to all those who have lost loved ones and, of course, offer our expressions of concern to those who are injured, and all the family members and friends who are suffering today from this tremendous tragedy.

I want to join with others who have thanked the courageous individuals in New York and Washington and elsewhere who are helping to try to save whomever they can. And, of course, I share the intense feeling of rage and resolution when it comes to these acts. I had the same reaction a lot of other people did when I heard the news. It happened when, for the first time in my life, during the recess I had a chance to visit Pearl Harbor and tour with the admiral there and get a sense of just how terrible and surprising that attack was.

For many of us, that is why this action yesterday was so reminiscent of Pearl Harbor. It was an attack on our territory. It was an evil act. So when some of us make the comparison, that is not to suggest which situation was more dangerous or what was a greater sacrifice. Really, what it is about is an expression of gratitude and love across the generations but at different times in our history. Whether it be Pearl Harbor or yesterday's attack, the American people are asked to do extraordinary things—to defend our freedom.

In that context, I want to mention two elements of resolve and two cautions. The first resolve is that, obviously, this situation is almost certain to require military action. As a number of people have said today, this is not about simply bringing people to trial or finding a legal standard. I agree with those who say that these were "acts of war."

As one who has frequently questioned our military intervention and the wisdom—for example, our intervention in Kosovo and Bosnia, whether we really went about it the right way—this situation is different. It requires a strong and aggressive military response when we are able to determine exactly who we should be going after, and I understand we are pretty close to being certain of that.

One reporter already asked me if what we did today constituted something similar to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Of course not. It is not a blank check.

We as Americans are all united on this issue. We can respect article I of the Constitution if we are talking about a declaration of war. We can respect the War Powers Act. We can act together as an executive and as a Congress to be sure we are unified, not just emotionally, but as a government and a country when the necessary acts have to be taken to retaliate against those who have committed these deeds.

The second resolve relates to the suggestion by some that perhaps the American people will grow weary of our involvement in the Middle East and our concern about the Middle East. We will not retreat from our commitment to peace in the Middle East and, more specifically, we will not reward these terrorists by reducing one iota our support for the State of Israel, which is the only democracy in the Middle East, which is our steadfast ally militarily and otherwise. If those who committed these deeds believe this is the way to destroy Israel or destroy the link between our two nations, they have just made a very large mistake.

Let me also mention two cautions, and others have already done this today, but it is important to express this. One is, as we look for answers and we look for solutions and we look for the things we must do, domestically as well as externally, we must continue to respect our Constitution and our civil liberties in this country. I am the chairman of the Constitution Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. I recognize this is a different world with different technologies, different issues, and different threats, but we must examine every item that is proposed in response to these events to be sure we are not rewarding these terrorists by giving up our cherished freedoms that they do not believe in and that they would like to destroy.

Finally, the other caution, which has been mentioned by so many, particularly eloquently by Senator SCHUMER, the senior Senator from New York, this should not be an occasion for ill-treatment of Arab Americans, Muslim Americans, South Asians, or others in this country. It is wrong. They are as patriotic as any other Americans and are feeling extremely stressed as a result of this situation. I have already heard some reports of some acts, and I roundly condemn them. We must stand together, all Americans of all backgrounds, to condemn these actions.

Let me finally say, already in the middle of this enormous sadness, I can already see our country responding. I can already feel from the contacts we have had back home and the comments and actions of our colleagues here that we are responding in the best possible way to this unprecedented challenge.

I thank all my colleagues for the way in which things have been handled in the last day, and I look forward to working together to make sure our enemies understand that we will not stand back and we will remember this, we will remember it every day until we

have rooted out those who perpetrated these vicious actions against our country. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. MURRAY). The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I thank the Chair. Madam President, I appreciate the words of my colleagues on such a serious matter before this body. I, as an American, as a Kansan, and a Member of the Senate, am deeply saddened at the loss and tragedy our Nation has suffered, the shock of which still stuns us today.

I also express the complete unity of all of us in the Congress in our absolute determination to respond to this atrocity quickly, wisely, and forcefully. We will rescue survivors, bury our dead, rebuild our centers of commerce, and find the killers. Already there is order; soon there will be justice.

Kansans and Americans must be assured that our country will remain strong and will become stronger through this trial. Every hour I hear of new reports of Americans volunteering their time, their medical experience, their resources, and their blood to help their fellow citizens. We are responding to the evil of terrorism with the best of human nature, and I thank everyone who has sacrificed to help those in need in Washington and New York. The unsung heroes and untold stories are the bright lights in this dark sky.

We will not only help the hurting, but we will seek out and find those killers. To terrorists and the nations that harbor them, we have this to say: We will find you, and we will deal with you as you deserve. Justice will be done.

If there are rogue nations or terrorist groups that think they can intimidate our country, they are mistaken. I strongly agree with President Bush's statement that:

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security [and that]. . . . We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

I hope, from this dastardly act of terrorism, we will find support coming from many quarters of the world to fight this global scourge of terrorism. Already I have been in touch with people in several countries and spoken with them about their need to help us and found their quick statements of willingness to help us in support.

I have spoken with Jordan's King Abdullah, who is vigorously assisting the United States, and also there are other Arab countries, to encourage calm and reason in the Middle East and to support us in finding those who have conducted these heinous acts. We appreciate the efforts of Jordan and thank her people and her King.

There is another point that needs to be made. The culprits are terrorists, not the Arab people or those of the Muslim faith generally or any other group. Individuals are guilty of crimes,

not classes of people. In this instance, as always, we should reject unfair characterizations or generalizations targeted at groups of people.

We had already been investigating reports on another matter in our State associated with gasoline price gouging. We are confident that the problems will be resolved in short order. Oil supply channels remain open. Measures are being taken to ensure the uninterrupted flow of oil, and anyone who does engage in the disgusting practice of price gouging in a time of tragedy will be prosecuted.

I encourage my fellow citizens to contact offices in their States and public authorities if there is any way we can be of assistance in dealing with this matter.

The Congress will be convening in both joint and special sessions throughout the remainder of this week. That is an important statement of our resolve to continue to conduct business, even though it is not business as usual. I certainly intend to be at every session and meeting that involves our current national crisis.

I assure every American, particularly Kansans back home, that we are united, we are resolved, and we will seek justice to be done, swift and sure.

I ask for your prayers for all the victims and their families and offer my deepest condolences to the families and appreciation for the many prayers that have been offered and the help that has already flowed so richly to those who need it.

I finally note, in the weeks and months ensuing, we will be a changed nation. There are many things with which we will need to deal. We will need to deal with this battle, this war that we are in with terrorism, and we are going to have to fight it much more aggressively. It is an insidious conflict. We are going to have to get at it at its roots around the world, and we are going to need much help from many corridors. We will seek that, and we will fight and win this battle even though it is different from any other we have fought. We will pull together as a nation and do it. This will not be a Republican or a Democrat issue; this will be an American issue, as wars have been in the past, and we will wage it successfully.

I pray we will continue and we will grow from this experience. May God keep the souls of those who have lost their lives. May God save those who at this hour await rescue. May God lift the weighted hearts of the families of the missing and the dead. May God preserve all those who love freedom in this world. May God bless the United States of America.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized.

Mr. JOHNSON. Madam President, not since December 7, 1941, has the United States suffered such a damaging blow on our own soil as the cowardly and hateful terrorist attack our Nation

sustained on what will become, I am certain, a new day of infamy: September 11, 2001.

While our enemy may not be another nation in the traditional sense, the strike against America was, in fact, an act of war. Our Nation now needs to demonstrate the same kind of moral clarity and courage that characterized the World War II generation. Three immediate steps need to be taken.

First, of course, is that our Nation extends its prayers and its assistance to the victims of this monstrous and shameful attack. I am proud that South Dakotans have overwhelmingly responded with offers of blood and other assistance.

While our Dakota homes may not often be at direct risk from attacks of this nature, we fully understand the strike against New York and Washington was a strike against all Americans, wherever we might live.

The numbers are staggering, but we recognize in those numbers are real lives and real people, real children who have lost their parents, real parents who have lost their children. The people of South Dakota are grateful to the heroes who did so much to save so many, many of whom gave their own lives in the course of that effort. We share the sorrow of the rest of the Nation for those lives that were lost, those families who have forever been devastated by this hateful and shameful attack.

Second, we recognize we must respond in a spirit not of revenge but of justice. Our enemies, however, must understand that justice can be severe indeed. We must make careful but swift determinations about the guilt of our enemy and make it very clear we will not distinguish between terrorists and those who attempt to provide a safe harbor for terrorists.

Anything short of the capture and punishment of these people will only serve to encourage more terrorism against the United States and against all other liberty-loving nations throughout the world.

Third, the United States, in conjunction with its democratic allies all over the world, needs to make substantial improvements in our antiterrorist strategies. That means far better intelligence gathering and infiltration of terrorist cells so that plans for violence against innocent people, wherever they may be, can be intercepted before they are carried out. It means far better air transportation security efforts than anything, frankly, that has yet been developed.

As a new member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I vow I will do all I can to work with this administration to make certain that adequate financial resources are made available for all of these efforts.

Make no mistake, the recent attack against the United States of America was intended as an attack against the principles of democracy, of personal liberty, and of religious tolerance. Our

security is at stake, but even more importantly our fundamental values are under siege.

American citizens, Christian, Jewish, Muslim, have denounced this terrible violence. It is important we condemn the guilty but recognize that our American principles, the principles of our Constitution, keep us from unfairly stereotyping any ethnic or religious group. We need now, more than ever, to remain united as Americans, to put aside partisan politics, in this new war against the evil forces of hatred, intolerance, and barbarism.

God bless our Nation, and on this very difficult day, God bless the families who have lost so much. God bless our effort for renewed vigor in maintaining the principles of our democracy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. INHOFE. Madam President, I have heard so many sincere speeches by Members of the House and Members of the Senate, and I have heard a lot of redundancy. We certainly have the resolve to do all we can to go after those who were responsible.

The one question I have heard over and over again is: Did we receive a warning? Were we warned this was going to happen? I look at this in a little different context in that this should serve as a warning to us. It is time to get something on the record in the Senate as to what this means and what it really could mean in the future.

Ironically, at the time this happened I was on the ninth floor of the Hart Building in the Nation's Capitol complex, and I was looking out the window as I was speaking to a group. The last phrase of my speech was the same as it has been since 1995, and that is: We in the United States are in the most vulnerable and threatened position now as a nation than we have ever been in this Nation's history. As I said that, it happened to be right at 9:30 and I saw this billowing smoke come up from the area of the Pentagon, to find out later the tragedy really took place.

We are vulnerable, and we are vulnerable in three areas, certainly in conventional forces being one-half the force strength we were in 1991. We have to understand this; the American people have to understand this: We deployed our very rare resources to places where we should never have sent an American, such as Bosnia or such as Kosovo.

More than any other reason our vulnerability is that we had the opportunity to have a missile defense system in place by fiscal year 1998, and I say this criticizing the previous administration because they did not realize the threat was out there, the threat was real. We have veto messages from President Clinton that said: I will veto any bill that has money in it for a national missile defense system because the threat is not there. In fact, a threat is there. So in looking back at what

happened yesterday, I think we should have that as a warning to us of what could be even more devastating than what we witnessed yesterday.

I mention what I consider to be six incontrovertible facts. First of all, we are facing enemies who have the weapons and the skills and the mentality to strike without warning. We know that.

No. 2, they are willing and able to target innocent civilians within our borders.

No. 3, virtually all countries have weapons of mass destruction today, biological or chemical or nuclear.

No. 4, at least three countries—I say at least because we know North Korea, Russia, and China have ICBMs that will reach the United States from anyplace in the world but we do not know for sure that they are the only three countries because we do know China has been trading systems and technology with countries such as Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Pakistan. So we do not really know how many there are, but we know at least they exist out there.

No. 5, we have absolutely no defense. I hope Americans understand that if a missile came over from anyplace in the world, we would be totally naked. We have no defense against an incoming ICBM.

No. 6, the will is out there. No one can question that the will is there. We can remember even China saying back during the Taiwan Straits demonstration: We are not concerned about America coming to the aid of Taipei because they would rather defend Los Angeles than Taipei. Then we remember what Saddam Hussein said in 1991: If we had waited just 10 years to go into Kuwait, the Americans would not have come because we would have had the ability to launch a missile. And here it is, 10 years later.

I hope no one has any doubt, there should not be one Member of the Senate that has any doubt—of the fact that if someone is willing to drive an airplane into those towers, they would deploy a missile to the United States of America.

I, like everybody else, watched TV. I watched that skyline and the devastation in New York. I saw the skyline of New York City and the two towers imploding. If that weapon had been, instead of an airplane, a nuclear warhead, we would be looking at a cinder. It would not be 10,000, 20,000 or 30,000 people who lost their lives; it would be everybody in that area. We would be talking millions. It is a very real threat. The ultimate weapon of a terrorist is a missile with a nuclear warhead. We now know that. We have been warned.

We should make our No. 1 priority not just to go to our intelligence system and our conventional forces but to immediately get busy on being able to deploy a system at least to defend America against a limited missile attack. This should be our No. 1 priority. We are now warned. The ultimate

weapon of a terrorist could become a reality very soon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, no words can ever convey our regrets, our sadness, our shock, our loss from the great tragedy of September 11, 2001. The newness of the century, of a millennium, has been tarnished forever by the blood of innocent victims shed by anonymous assassins, terrorists whose only motivation is an evil hatred.

All our prayers are with the victims and their families and friends. When the final list of casualties is known, I am certain that every state, and perhaps every nation in the world, will have been touched by this calamity. Our prayers will be with them forever. We will remember each and everyone as long as we live and then our descendants will remember them too. It will be their memories that guide us in the difficult days ahead.

Their deaths have reminded us of our common humanity, that what we share is greater than what separates us, and that the fabric of beliefs which makes us Americans is strong enough to resist any cowardly act by terrorists. Where one American falls, another will stand. Each of us shine as a beacon of our shared beliefs in freedom, liberty and justice. In the dawn after this dark day we will all shine. Those who expect us to be weakened will be sadly mistaken.

Those who think Americans are soft and fearful will be astonished by our strength and determination. I was a young man when Pearl Harbor was attacked. I witnessed the bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japanese torpedo and bomber planes from my dormitory in the hills above Pearl Harbor. Then we knew our enemy and he thought our will could be shattered by one frightful day of disaster. Instead our enemies in Europe and the Pacific learned that where we had been broken, we healed and became stronger.

Today we begin to become stronger. We begin by mourning our dead brothers and sisters. We begin by comforting the survivors. And as we pick up the bricks and the steel and sweep away the glass and dust, we begin to identify our enemies and design the strategy for defeating them.

There will be no place that our enemies can hide, no sanctuary for them to cower in. We will seek them out and justice will be done. It will be a long process but it will be thorough. We have come brutally to understand that terrorism is an evil beyond our borders that still threatens our homeland. We have come to understand that our enemies want to extinguish the light of freedom which shines from America. We have come to understand that the only way to resist the darkness of hatred is to spread that beacon of light even farther from our shores. From this battle we hope will come not just a stronger, safer America, but a better, more secure, freer world.

May God bless America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. GRAMM. Madam President, yesterday, terrorists attacked the temple of American capitalism and the center of American democracy. With all of their terrible sophistication, they naively have seemed to believe, by destroying buildings and killing our people, that they can kill an idea. Capitalism and democracy are the most powerful ideas in the world. They are the crowning achievement of mankind on this Earth and they are not going to be destroyed by terrorists.

Our task today is to find out with certainty who did these terrible deeds, and then it is our obligation to make war on them. I am not talking about criminal justice. We are not going to be reading anybody their rights. No one is covered by Miranda. Any country, any city, any region, and any person who makes common cause with those who make war against America is making war against America, and the wages of sin is death. I believe these people have a hate that we cannot comprehend or understand. We are only going to be safe when these people are captured or killed.

We are hearing a lot of talk today about what we can do to be safer. I want to be safe. But let me make it clear: I don't want to change our way of life. I want to change their way of life. If we start infringing on our own freedom, if we start limiting our own freedom to move about our country and engage in our business and live our lives, then we are giving up what this war is about. We want to change their lives. We want to hunt them down in any dark corner, in any hiding place on this Earth.

We want to be relentless, and we don't want to be constrained.

I believe it is important that the people who did this terrible thing pay for it. I think if they pay for it, then we can make the world safer.

Finally, let me say that any American who watched the bravery of ordinary citizens in New York and in Washington, who watched police officers and firemen risk their lives, had to be proud of what Americans did yesterday. I have never been more proud to be a citizen of America than I was yesterday—ordinary people doing extraordinary things under terrible circumstances.

I know when we start getting the names of people, especially in New York and here at the Pentagon, who were killed, there are going to be many people on that list who we know. I knew Barbara Olson who was killed on the airliner that crashed into the Pentagon. She was a staffer here—a dedicated, brilliant woman. She called her husband, Ted Olson, our Solicitor General, and even facing death was talking about what she could do to try to resist. I am not surprised that she was brave because I knew her. My heart goes out to her and to everyone else who suffered.

We cannot tolerate this act. We cannot simply go through the motions. We have to hunt these people down and kill them. They deserve it. They made war against America.

I want people to stop talking about bringing them to justice. This is not about justice. This is about war. These people brought war to the mainland of America and killed thousands of our citizens. They have no rights. I think we have to hunt them down wherever they are and use whatever power we have in order to see that they don't do this again, and that no one else ever has the courage to do it again.

Thank you, Madam President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. MILLER. Madam President, I am pleased to have been on the floor to hear that speech from the senior Senator from Texas. The Senator is a great patriot, and his forthrightness is going to be missed.

The victims and the loved ones of this horrible act of war should be in our prayers. The perpetrators and those who give them shelter should be in our bombsights.

After Pearl Harbor, the Japanese remarked that the "sleeping giant has been awakened." I pray that "the sleeping giant" has again been awakened, and that we are ready to change the way we do things.

For too long, after terrorist attacks have happened, it seems America's first and foremost interest has been to please our friends, and then, if permitted, punish our enemies.

After yesterday and from here on out, that must be reversed. America's first and foremost interest must be to punish our enemies, and then, if possible, please our friends.

Our response should not only be swift but it must be sustained. As I said yesterday, our will as a country has been tested. Too often in the past terrorist attacks have not been answered as forcefully as they should have been. Oh, yes, there has been indignation, even outrage. There has been wringing of hands and sad talk. We have shaken our collective heads in dismay, sighed over our cocktails, then have gone home, had a nice dinner and got into a comfortable bed, feeling safe and secure that it is not going to happen here, that it is not going to happen to us.

Well, it has happened to us. It has happened here. Our world has been turned upside down. It will never be the same again, and it shouldn't.

We must strike the viper's nest—even if the viper is not there. We know that the Taliban and the Government of Afghanistan have nurtured Osama bin Laden for years. The diabolical plot was probably hatched there. Certainly similar plots have been. And it is time for us to respond.

I say, bomb the hell out of them. If there is collateral damage, so be it. They certainly found our American civilians to be expendable.

I also believe that we could immediately turn our attention to the security of our airlines. There is a large pool of willing ex-military personnel out there who possess the rudimentary skills to be effective, temporary air marshals if given a crash training course on the basic requirements of that job. Another option may be to have active duty military personnel do that job.

We should also install "communications hardware" aboard each aircraft that would let pilots make emergency transmissions to air traffic controllers. With today's "star wars" capability, I believe it is possible to outfit each aircraft with an emergency transponder combined with an "open mike" type system that would be strictly for one-way communication from aircraft to air traffic control. The pilot or crew members could push a button, much similar to a silent bank alarm, that would instantly alert authorities. It could also serve as a hidden microphone in the cockpit or in the passenger cabins.

Those are some of my thoughts today for whatever they are worth at this terrible time.

To paraphrase President Roosevelt, this Nation will endure as it has endured, but we must change the way we do business drastically.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam President, I am honored to have the opportunity to say a few words today after the most terrible tragedy that we suffered yesterday. It was a dastardly attack on our Nation that has occasioned the greatest loss of life domestically I suppose in our Nation's history—men, women, and children, police, firemen, soldiers, and all of the families and friends will be with us on this Earth no more. Our hearts go out to those who suffered pain and injury. Our hearts go out to the families and friends who are grieving tonight. All over America, this great Nation hurts.

My own church, just for example, the Ashland Place United Methodist Church, had a time of prayer yesterday for our families, our Nation, and its leaders. That is happening all over this country. As President Bush said, prayer is an important factor in providing this Nation strength.

We must ask ourselves: Now what can we do? What are our possibilities?

I believe we can do a better job of preventing these events. Our techniques work for some time, but after a period of time people learn how to get around them. We can improve that. We can do a very good job of identifying the people who commit these crimes.

Second, in almost every single terrorist act that has involved the United States, this Nation has been able to identify the people who were behind it.

Third, we can take steps at which we have not been so successful; that is, taking action against the people who perpetrate these horrible acts.

We have been, to some degree I think, handicapped by seeing these events in terms of our criminal justice system. As a Federal prosecutor, I know about the difficulties that have to be overcome to prosecute a person and convict them beyond a reasonable doubt. You don't have that burden when you are in war. We are in war today, or at least much closer to war than we are to a criminal justice case. Thinking in terms of war will give us more freedom, once we identify who the people are, to act effectively against them. Locating them, however, is a difficult problem. We can identify them, but where are they at a given time?

I believe it was Branch Rickey who said: Luck is merely the residue of design. As a prosecutor, I know in investigating cases you have to have some luck, but you won't have luck if you are not out there working. You will not have the break in the case that identifies where these people are until and unless you are out there shaking that tree, doing everything possible throughout this world to identify where they are. Then you make your luck.

So that is what we have to do with regard to locating these people. And make no mistake, I am absolutely confident that, if we remain steadfast and determined, we will locate these people. Then we have to develop a plan to apprehend or destroy them. We have to trace them back to their lairs and make sure they are no longer capable of inflicting this kind of death and destruction on this Nation or the world.

The Romans, a number of years ago, in the Mithridatic wars faced this problem. The pirates had grown in strength. They were all over the Mediterranean. There were tens of thousands of them. Shipping was threatened very seriously. They had to face a decision; and they made that decision. According to "Appian's Roman History" this is what happened:

When the Romans could no longer endure the damage and disgrace they made Gnaeus Pompey, who was then their man of greatest reputation, commander by law for three years, with absolute power over the whole sea within the Pillars of Hercules, and of the land for a distance of 400 stades from the coast. They sent letters to all kings, rulers, peoples and cities, that they should aid Pompey in all ways. They gave him power to raise troops and to collect money from the provinces. . . .

And they raised an army. And they developed a plan. They set about to execute that plan, and it was a brilliant plan. They killed 10,000 of the pirates, and the rest surrendered. It was the end, and it broke the back of this kind of activity.

We have a similar time today. We simply have to be determined. We have to remember the friends that have been lost. And I, too, as Senator GRAMM, remember, with so much sadness, Barbara Olson, such a wonderful, vivacious person who loved life and gave herself to it. It is just a tragedy that she will

not be with us, one who worked in this Senate as a staffer. So all of us have those whom we have lost.

In conclusion, every single person, every group, every organization, every nation must know that if they perpetrate an attack on the United States, or they support those who attack the United States, they will pay a cost far more than their gain. Those individuals and groups must be hounded to their lairs and destroyed. We simply cannot tolerate this kind of activity in the future. Only in this way can we ensure that the lives lost yesterday will be given their full meaning. And only in this way can we prevent further attacks on this Nation. Because to fail to act effectively we will everywhere encourage more groups to attack this great Nation. And a great nation never encourages attacks upon itself but discourages attacks upon itself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. SESSIONS. I thank the Chair. Our Nation will, I am confident, fulfill its role as the greatest nation in the world, defend its people and its territory, and bring justice to those who have damaged us.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. For the information of Members, we have a prayer service tonight, as has been previously announced. It starts at 7:30. We are going to have to end business today at about 7:15 so Senators have an opportunity to gather here to move over there.

I see Senator HATCH and Senator BREAUX are here. I hope we will understand that at 7:15 we are going to end the proceedings for tonight. There appears to be enough time for everybody if they stick to the 5 minutes. There will be some time perhaps tomorrow. The leaders are talking about that now. Maybe in the morning, before we go to the appropriations bill, we could do that. Perhaps we might not, but that announcement will be made later.

If everyone would do what they could to expedite matters, we will have another announcement later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Madam President, we have suffered an egregious loss. We mourn for those who have perished. We pray for those who suffer. We are inspired by the courage and heroism of the people of New York, particularly the brave firefighters and police officers. We are inspired by the fidelity to duty of our men and women in uniform at the Pentagon and around the world. Ages ago, the Greek historian Thucydides reminded us:

[T]he bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding, go out to meet it.

Yesterday we saw the bravest: firefighters and police officers who rushed into a burning and collapsing skyscraper, a chief of the New York City

fire department, a deputy chief, and department chaplain who stayed at their posts as the building collapsed around them; soldiers, sailors, airmen, airwomen at the Pentagon who struggled through wreckage to take out survivors, and returned today to work at their posts; office workers in New York who carried fellow workers down 60 flights of stairs to safety.

Their bravery and their courage is an inspiration to all of us. And we are profoundly angered by those terrorists who have struck this devious, horrific blow against us all.

The emotions of yesterday and today must and will coalesce into a steely resolve to mete out justice to the terrorists, to those who harbor them, to those who train them, and to those who encourage them.

We must work with our allies to destroy the network of terrorism that is committed to imposing its fanatical and suicidal pathology on free men and women everywhere.

Yesterday we lost what little innocence that remained in our view of the world. We have been bloodied. But we retain a common and constant faith that free men and women, committed to individual progress, and mindful of the dignity of all men and women, will prevail over the fanatic dedicated to destruction and darkness.

Archibald MacLeish, the American poet, gave voice to many of the emotions we feel when he spoke of those who fell in battle:

The young dead soldiers do not speak.

Nevertheless, they are heard in the still houses: who has not heard them?

They have a silence that speaks for them at night and when the clock counts.

They say: We were young. We have died. Remember us.

They say: We have done what we could but until it is finished it is not done.

They say: We have given our lives but until it is finished no one can know what our lives gave.

They say: Our deaths are not ours; they are yours; they will mean what you make them.

They say: Whether our lives and our deaths were for peace and a new hope or for nothing we cannot say; it is you who must say this.

They say: We leave you our deaths. Give them their meaning.

We will rebuild New York and the Pentagon. And although we can never replace the lives that were lost, we will give them their meaning. Let our foes everywhere know that our words are more than a lamentation; they are a call to action and a promise of swift and certain justice.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, yesterday was one of the bloodiest days in American peacetime history. When suicide terrorists attacked New York and Washington, DC, they attacked our whole country.

The horror we witnessed yesterday when we saw New York's proud skyline shattered will be with us forever. Few

Americans will remain untouched by the mass graves of our citizens that we will now have in downtown New York, in the Pennsylvania countryside, and, of course, at our Pentagon.

These terrorists killed innocent Americans from every part of our country. We were so saddened to learn that Mary Alice Wahlstrom and her daughter, Carolyn Beug, of Kaysville, UT, were struck down by this senseless violence.

Mary Alice's husband of 52 years, Norman, described Mary Alice as the "happiest lady you'll meet." As one of the "kids," she joined with her only daughter to help her twin 18-year old granddaughters settle in at art school on the East Coast. In this time of grief, we join Norman, her four sons, and eighteen grandchildren in hoping that our love and faith will continue to sustain each of us during this tragedy.

We also were devastated to hear of the loss of Barbara Olson, who perished on the plane hijacked to the Pentagon. Barbara was one of the bright lights among conservative commentators and legal experts, and her passing will most certainly leave a void not easily filled. My deepest condolences go to her husband, Ted, our Solicitor General, at this terrible, terrible time. I called him yesterday. He was devastated. This is a terrible time for him and all of us.

Many of us were equally grief-struck to learn that Lisa Raines, was on board American Airlines Flight 77. Lisa, although only 42, was a senior officer of Genzyme Corporation. In Congress, we recognized Lisa for her incredible talent, intelligence, integrity and energy. She was seen a key leader in the biotechnology industry and one of the most effective biotechnology leaders with whom I have worked. My staff and I will miss her terribly. We share in her family's sorrow and extend our prayers and deepest sympathy to Lisa's husband, Steve Push.

The grief all Americans feel today is barely speakable. I, for one, cannot express in words the sorrow I feel for the thousands of families profoundly shattered by the acts of war perpetrated against us yesterday by the cowards. I commend my colleagues who have spoken so eloquently at such a great moment of national tragedy.

As many of my colleagues have noted, our grief is leavened by the countless stories of sacrifice and heroism. News reports yesterday from New York said that approximately 50 percent of New York's first responders to the attacks on the Twin Towers are missing. These were the policemen, firemen and emergency personnel who rushed to the buildings and entered them in a race against collapse—a race that they lost. I hope that every American who sees a fireman or a policeman today thinks of the sacrifice that these everyday individuals are prepared to make for the good of our society, for the good of ourselves every day.

There is no calamity America will withstand that will not be met with,

and overwhelmed by, the decency, courage and selflessness of Americans coming to the aid of their own. It will be years before we can collect all of these stories and I expect, we never will, because it is impossible to measure the courage and bravery of Americans. As John says in the Bible, "Greater love hath no man than this; that a man lay down his life for his friends."

I also commend my colleagues for their unanimous support for the administration of President George W. Bush. Americans are not partisan when we are to face a common foe, nor are their representatives.

We will face this foe together, and together we will prevail.

At this moment, we do not know definitely or definitively who is the perpetrator of this calculated, coordinated and devastating attack on American's citizens, symbols, economy and government. And it is up for the administration to determine when they want to announce the perpetrator. I suspect that when that announcement comes, our retaliation will already be underway. The administration knows that they have the complete, unwavering support of this Senator, as the resolution we passed this afternoon will record the support of this body for the administration as it prepares its response to this act of war.

President Bush was absolutely correct last night when he said that we would make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these attacks and the countries that harbor them.

We have reached the end of ambivalence when it comes to dealing with terrorism.

And while we may have a difficult battle before us, the United States will prevail, and the world of freedom-loving people will benefit.

My colleagues know that I have focused a great deal of time on the Osama bin Laden through the years, who is widely believed to be the major perpetrator of this attack. While the United States government has made no official determination over the mastermind behind yesterday's barbarisms, we have previously determined that bin Laden is an armed and active threat against this country and its interests—and he has been for over a decade.

We will have plenty of time to discuss policy in the coming days and weeks, but I say today that the threat of Osama bin Laden and his cohorts must be eliminated. And his protectors—the Taliban regime of Afghanistan, which has become a front for the violent, anti-American internationalist jihad movement that the vast majority of the Afghan people reject—must be removed from power. The government of Pakistan, a country with whom we have had many constructive relations in the past, must fully cooperate with us on these goals from this day on.

I am very grateful for the expressions of support we have heard from around

the world. But I am extremely troubled by the reports I have read and watched of some communities celebrating this attack against the U.S. The United States was attacked yesterday and thousands of our citizens perished. Now is the time that we note where the rest of the world stands, and I assure you that I will forever appreciate all of the support we receive from our allies and friends around the world—as I believe American policymakers must take note of all of those who offer rhetorical or other support for the attackers on America.

The U.S. Congress will, I know, provide all of the support and resources the administration needs to respond to this act of war, so that we can pursue the perpetrators, eliminate them where we need to and bring them to justice where we can.

I commend my colleagues for this resolution. Elaine and I offer our prayers for the victims and their families, as well as the thousands of brave rescue workers, including Utah's Urban Search and Rescue team. The team consists of fire department personnel from Salt Lake City and County. Our prayers go to the members of our armed forces—the greatest defenders of freedom a nation has ever known. And our prayers go to President Bush and his administration, who are dedicated to peace and must now respond to war.

May God bless America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri is recognized.

Mrs. CARNAHAN. Madam President, today—all across America and the world—hearts are heavy with grief.

We mourn for the victims and families whose lives have been ripped apart by yesterday's horrific and unprecedented attack on innocent men, women and children.

Like all Missourians, I am deeply grateful to the rescue workers and volunteers whose heroism saved thousands of lives.

Tragically, many of those heroes are now among the victims.

Their sacrificial deeds stand in sharp contrast to the barbaric acts we witnessed during yesterday's air attacks on peaceful people.

The terrorists wanted to do more than destroy our buildings. They wanted to destroy our influence in the world, the core of who we are as a people, and the beliefs we stand for as a democracy.

They will not succeed.

I can remember as a young girl the shock and sadness we felt with the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.

But I also recall the undaunted spirit of America and our resolve to win a victory over tyranny.

We dropped everything we were doing and devoted our full energy and resources to eradicating the threat to our freedoms.

That resolve is as firm today as it ever was.

The pursuit of freedom is our destiny as a people.

We will not now, or ever, flinch in the face of any aggressor or threat to our homeland.

Let those who practice terrorism or harbor terrorists have no doubt about America's resolve. There is no hiding place.

We will find you.

And you will pay a heavy price for your acts against mankind.

We have withstood worse enemies than you.

We conquered the evil of fascism in Europe and Asia, we rescued democracy, and we built a better world.

We defied communism for decades powered by the certainty that freedom would ultimately triumph over oppression.

Tyrants will not take these gains from us.

Admittedly, today's foes are different.

They are faceless fanatics with no clear address or even purpose.

They target innocent people, sitting in offices and airplanes.

But they are sophisticated and well-funded.

Their days are numbered. We will stand united against their aggression, and we will do so in a manner that is consistent with the Constitution that is the foundation of our greatness.

During this time of national tragedy, we stand behind our President and our national leaders.

We will make the necessary sacrifices, direct the necessary resources, and use American might, technology, and ingenuity to secure our homeland.

But most of all, we will rely on America's courage and faith, knowing that our country has been a source of progress for humankind for over two centuries; knowing that peace-loving people around the world will join with us to eliminate this evil that plagues us all.

To the families who grieve and the victims who suffer, I say we mourn with you this day.

But there will be a dawn tomorrow and many tomorrows after that.

There will be many dawns for America.

We will prove again what the poet Carl Sandburg once said: "We are Americans. Nothing like us ever was."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. FRIST. Madam President, I join my colleagues in support of today's resolution condemning those who perpetrated these barbaric and godless acts against our country. Our hearts ache for those who have lost loved ones even as our minds struggle just to comprehend this unspeakable horror.

The scope of these evil acts is breathtaking. The economic losses are staggering, but they pale in comparison to the loss of life that touches so many. The greatest and most immediate losses, of course, have been suffered by the tens of thousands of Americans who have lost family members, who have lost loved ones. Those are wounds that time will never heal.

As a nation, we have not faced a sterner test in modern times. So I want to say to those responsible: Do not doubt our resolve. We will not stop until we find you and destroy you.

Our country is united. I have never before seen the unity that is everywhere in this country. In Tennessee, all across the country, Americans are joined together in their commitment to the destruction of this evil. We invite freedom-loving people from around the world to join our cause. The American spirit is alive. Americans are also united in our desire and willingness to help. Blood banks are overwhelmed with donors. Special response teams from around the country are organizing to help. A medical group just arrived from Tennessee to assist at the Pentagon.

In the coming days, those of us in Government will be making decisions intended to help restore the protections and the peace of mind that all too often we take for granted.

This is no simple task, and I realize that America will never be the same after the events of September 11. As an open society with enormous respect for civil liberties, we are vulnerable to those who would target innocent civilians. Airplanes used as flying bombs have joined other terrorist weapons from which we have been working hard to protect ourselves.

Devastating as yesterday's damage is, we are forever exposed to huge risks from biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons. All Americans should know that we are rededicating our efforts to better protect ourselves from all of these risks, even as we strive to maintain the freedoms that we all hold so dear.

President Bush will take the lead, and we in Congress will work closely together with him in the search for answers. Pray for us as we go about our work. But take comfort in knowing that even though our challenges are great, our commitment is greater. As the President said just this morning, this is a monumental struggle between good and evil, and good will prevail—the good of the American people and civilized people everywhere.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MILLER). I recognize the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, for so many Americans the day began with a bright, sunny morning, with beautiful, clear skies. It ended with darkness and a profound sense of vulnerability and a profound sense of anger of all Americans. It will certainly be a day that we as Americans should, and I argue will, never forget. Our greatest sympathies go out to those who have suffered the greatest of losses, the death of members of their families, their loved ones. Especially our thoughts today are with those people from the New York area and also for the people from the greater Washington area who are most directly touched by this travesty.

Indeed, all of us have been touched in our own ways by what happened yesterday. My own office has been working with a Louisiana constituent who is trying to find out the status of her husband who was attending a meeting yesterday at the World Trade Center. She talked with him after the first plane struck the first tower, but she has not been able to hear from him ever since.

Mr. President, the American people want and expect us to act. They expect us to act quickly, they expect us to act decisively, and they expect us to act with great determination so that this will never happen to us again. President Bush and his team have given us their assurances, and all of us pray for his leadership and pledge our strong, bipartisan cooperation and support in his efforts.

We must all act as one. We must all act as one Nation and we must all speak with one voice. Let us at the same time all be mindful of some points that I think need to be remembered. First, these perpetrators are not American citizens. They are not entitled to the protection of the U.S. Constitution. They are not entitled to a presumption of innocence. They are not entitled to a trial by jury of their peers, and they are not entitled to the services of a free attorney. They have themselves, in fact, chosen the field on which they will be judged, and the field that they have selected is clearly the battlefield and not a courtroom.

I urge our Government to proceed carefully but also to proceed not as if we were preparing for an indictment to be followed by a trial in which we must prove our case beyond the shadow of a doubt. What they did to us was to physically invade our country and slaughter innocent people in the process. What they did was to declare war on the United States of America and the people of our country.

We must respond in kind. Our military must be fully utilized. The world is watching our Nation and what we do should be remembered for longer than what they did. After they are removed as a cancer in this world, we must also address our own internal security. People in our country must know that they can fly without fear, that we can gather in large numbers and celebrate and be entertained without worry, and that our loved ones can live in a country in which we are all safe and also secure.

That is our goal. That is our challenge. We will meet that challenge.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, this has been quite a day for all of us. I have the very sad duty in the State of Florida to call the loved ones of a number of people who were on the respective flights. Indeed, I have the sad duty that I will be calling the widower and the daughter of a mother from Boston, who also lived in Miami, who was on the flight from Boston to

Los Angeles. And it just brings all the more home the poignant tragedy for all of us and for this Nation.

Mr. President, we need to go get the perpetrators. The resolve of this Nation and of this Congress is clearly there. We need to find these people. We need to hunt them down and we need to let the message go forth that no terrorist act such as this will ever be tolerated in this country again. That goes for the terrorists and that goes for the people who are harboring the terrorists.

We have experienced all too personally a new kind of warfare, and in the process of us exacting this justice—I say justice; I did not say revenge—we will protect the constitutional rights of all people; we will respect them.

It is important for people in this country to rise above ethnic or religious prejudice because we are a nation of all peoples and all faiths. But we are going to get the perpetrators in the cross hairs of the bull's eye, and we are going after them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, we have all experienced a daunting national tragedy. It touches every single one of us. As Americans, we stand united behind our President, speaking with one voice as we move forward in the wake of this tragedy, and move forward as a nation we will.

This is the time to bring to bear all of our country's formidable resources of heart and mind. We must reach out to those families who have suffered grievous loss and to the communities torn apart by this savage act.

The challenge we now face will not be surmounted overnight. We must seek out the facts which will be the basis for our response. We must have a binding determination, a steely resolve to see that those responsible for these heinous acts will be held accountable.

We should not fool ourselves that we will find a quick or simple answer, but we will persevere, and we will work in concert with democratic forces the world over to see that this terrible scourge, which has just had such devastating consequences, is eliminated altogether.

I thank and praise the heroic efforts, the courage, and the sacrifice of our police, our firefighters, our emergency medical service personnel—all of the rescue workers who have been involved in addressing this tragic situation in New York, in Pennsylvania, and here in Washington.

In fact, numerous firefighters and emergency medical service personnel from my own State have responded to the attack upon the Pentagon, and my thanks go out to all of them for their prompt efforts.

This morning, the Baltimore Sun ran a very strong editorial entitled "Answer Terror with Resolution."

Answer terror with resolution. It went on in the course of that editorial to say:

The Nation needs unity, clarity, purpose . . .

Courage and steadfastness of an unremarkable, everyday persevering kind, are required. A well-directed and effective response from government is required. Resolve is required to continue on our path to do what is right. These are the ways the terrorists lose.

We are resolved and determined that they shall lose.

I ask unanimous consent that the full editorial from this morning's Baltimore Sun be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From The Sun, Sept. 12, 2001]

ANSWER TERROR WITH RESOLUTION

ATTACKS ON U.S.: NATION NEEDS UNITY, CLARITY, PURPOSE TO THWART TERRORISTS' OBJECTIVES.

The American people will rise to the challenge of the most depraved terrorist atrocity in history. We were all attacked. We are all in it together, sharing shock, fear and grief.

Acts of heroism and altruism amid the carnage in New York and Washington were too many to be noticed, honored and rewarded.

The nation's heart goes out to the victims, the pawns, the innocent chosen at random and their loved ones.

Terrorism is war. It is also publicity stunt. Its purpose is to be noticed, to spread fear, to undermine confidence and to provoke the wrong responses so as to alienate more people. Terrorism has little function if the cause is not known. Usually the perpetrators seek recognition, as well.

This plot showed extreme sophistication in coordinating four plane hijackings, apparently inserting suicide pilots, and going for targets that could be hit with weapons that were not the ones against which the United States was conspicuously guarding.

All that suggests a large and well-funded operation, not a lone wolf. A great deal of thought went into the terrorism. A great deal of cool rational thought should go into the responses.

A civil and open society is vulnerable. But this attack brought the nation and much of the world's business to a standstill. Clearly, airport security for all its nuisance to passengers is not as good as U.S. experts thought, and the terrorists must have experimented and known how to penetrate it.

The president has vowed to find and punish the terrorists, as indeed he should. Virtually all Americans must want that. In this kind of war, it is important to get the identifies right. To hit the wrong ones, to make people suffer who did not do it or even help those who did, only achieves what the terrorists want.

Most suspicion points to Osama bin Laden and the network of affinity groups linked to him. The Saudi-born, Yemenite-descended exile in Afghanistan has orchestrated a great deal of terrorism, including the bombings of the New York World Trade Center in 1993, of two U.S. embassies in Africa in 1998, for which he has been indicted, and of the USS *Cole* in port in Yemen last October.

Vows to get bin Laden have only fueled his mystique. Yet knee-jerk assumptions he was behind the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing were made foolish by the home-grown terrorist Timothy McVeigh.

Attacks at wrong targets would only help him. The notion of a war between Islam and the United States of America is his. The United States has no quarrel with Islam. Most of the world's Muslims have no quarrel with the United States.

The attacks produced all sorts of precautions across Maryland and the nation. A review must examine which were sensible and which were not. Certainly transportation was needed to get school children and commuters home, whether from Washington or the Baltimore suburbs.

Panic, chaos, confusion and unnecessary shutdown all reward the terrorist.

Terrorism must be fought with steely resolve, but also with common sense and precision.

The United States is supposed to be the only superpower, in an era of peace. Clearly the very good things about American society make it vulnerable. But we are not the first people to endure terrorism.

Now Americans understand better what Israelis have been living through, what British people lived through before the IRA cease-fire, what ordinary law-abiding Colombians are living through from FARC.

Life, the nation's business and civil society go on. Otherwise, the terrorists win.

The policies of the nation, including the search for a just peace in the Middle East, go on. Otherwise, the terrorists win.

Courage and steadfastness, of an unremarkable, everyday persevering kind, are required. A well-directed and effective response from government is required: Resolve is required to continue on our path, to do what is right. These are the ways the terrorists lose.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, Yesterday's horrific and tragic events were much more than a carefully planned terrorist attack against the United States. The slaughter of innocent civilians, the total destruction of the World Trade Center, and the significant damage to the Pentagon by hijacked commercial airplanes were a brutal and outright assault on America, and all humanity.

Make no mistake, our country is at war, and this Congress should consider a formal declaration. The world must understand that America will respond with the overwhelming force and conviction that her citizens demand and expect. Let me be clear: America will identify those responsible for yesterday's violence, and they will be destroyed. There shall be no mercy.

America is at war against fanatics who appear threatened by our freedoms, prosperity, and respect for the rule of law. In the past, this war was undeclared, but undeniable. The American lives lost in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, the terrorist attacks against U.S. facilities in Kenya and Tanzania, and the more recent assault against the U.S.S. *Cole* serve as concrete evidence of the ongoing and escalating battle.

As we sift through the rubble of buildings and comfort those whose lives have been shattered, America stands as a strong and united Nation. The shocking events of yesterday did not weaken or undermine the foundations of our democracy, foundations that were forged over two hundred years ago and have been continuously strengthened throughout our history. We fought for our freedoms then, and we will continue to defend them now. Whatever the political objectives of yesterday's terrorists, they have failed. And the extent of their failure will be-

come abundantly clear in the coming days.

America did not seek this conflict, but we will not shy away from our responsibility to protect life and liberty. Nations that harbor or shelter terrorists must also be treated as terrorists themselves. A declaration of war would make clear to the world that the United States will no longer stand for violence against innocent men, women, and children be they in midtown Manhattan or Murray, Kentucky.

As the world's sole superpower, we bear an awesome responsibility to assist those democracies with shared values and strategic interests. These nations, in turn, bear a responsibility to support the United States in times of emergency. Israel, a nation long at war against some of the very radicals who may be responsible for yesterday's death and destruction, has already pledged to join arms with the U.S. in the struggle against fanaticism. We should embrace Israel's offer, and enlist the assistance of other democracies in what may be a long and difficult war.

In the days, weeks, and years to come, America, alone, or with her allies will take action to prevent and lessen the opportunities for such carnage to occur in the future. These measures should include: (1) reassessing and improving intelligence operations and capabilities that must provide early warning to deter terrorist attacks at home and abroad; (2) identifying terrorist organizations worldwide and actively subverting their capabilities and very existence; (3) reassessing and improving airport security and the integrity of aircraft cockpits; (4) enhancing security and emergency response procedures for America's most vulnerable targets, including mass transit systems and historic or symbolic sights; (5) increasing citizen awareness of suspicious activities; (6) restricting assistance and imposing sanctions against those countries harboring terrorists; and, (7) investing in the promotion of democracy and the rule of law abroad.

Once before in our history, America was the target of a surprise and deadly attack. As with Pearl Harbor, violence has been met with resolve and common purpose to defeat the enemies of our Nation. As in December 1941, our Nation is led by capable and dedicated leaders who are up to the task of responding to terrorist attacks, both foreign and domestic. President Bush and the Administration know full well that they have the support and backing of the American people.

On December 8, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the Nation on "America's Answers to Japan's Challenge." His words ring true nearly six decades later: "When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers, we are builders. . . . We are

going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.’

The dark minutes and hours of yesterday failed to bring our country to its knees. America’s strength is its diverse people, just institutions, and shared values. No terrorist attack will ever extinguish the flames of freedom and democracy.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, a brutal and cowardly act of terrorism has taken thousands of lives, destroyed great symbols of U.S. power and wealth, and stolen from every one of us a measure of the joy and confidence that Americans take as our birthright. As the poet Yeats once wrote, “everything is changed, and changed utterly.”

In this dark hour we all stand with President Bush and the military and intelligence leadership of this Nation in the search for the propagators of this great evil, and for an appropriate and strong response.

America must respond to this crime, this act of war, rapidly and decisively, with an intensity and determination that reflect the outrage every American and I feel. A response whose violence and magnitude makes it clear to every terrorist that their lives are in danger, and makes it clear to every nation that the cost of supporting terrorism is too high to bear. We will not hesitate to put the strongest military on earth to use as it was intended: to protect the lives, safety and property of American citizens, everywhere in the world.

But we must also respond with a defiant embrace of our way of living.

The United States must continue to make military and foreign policy decisions based on our understanding of what is right and what is wrong, and what is in the best interest of the American people and allies with whom we are proud to stand.

This Nation must remain a free and open society, people of every race and background must be accepted and embraced without fear and without prejudice.

And America must continue to prove to the world the worth of our beliefs and of the society we have created by remaining the most dynamic force for growth, creativity and opportunity this earth has ever seen.

For all that must and will change, for all that has changed already, some things must remain constant: America must remain a moral, open and vital society embarked on a new era of triumph.

Franklin Roosevelt said that “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.” Fear is the terrorists’ greatest weapon. Together, looking confidently ahead, we can disarm this cowardly and elusive foe.

The Senate will be searching for the reasons behind this tragedy and for strategies that will prevent another, similar disaster. I will report to the people of West Virginia regularly, consistent with national security.

Mr. NELSON of Nebraska. Mr. President, I would normally express that ‘it’s at a moment like this’ when words cannot suffice to express the anguish of yesterday’s attack, but there has never been a moment quite ‘like this’ in our history as a sovereign nation.

The magnitude of the events that transpired yesterday will be measured in an infinite number of ways for years to come. We will mourn with words and photographs and stories as we try to wrap our arms around this tragedy and try to make sense out of that which seems so senseless.

We are One Nation Under God—a God who is bigger than terrorism, who is bigger than hate, and who cannot be destroyed by acts against humanity.

As I have listened to my colleagues today, I have been deeply moved by their compassion and I share their grief and sense of loss. I join with them in expressions of determination to hold those who are responsible accountable—to the fullest extent possible.

In an effort to find hope in the midst of this pain, I have focused on the truth that terrorism cannot expunge the virtues on which this country was built. Yes, the landscape has been irrevocably changed and lives on Earth tragically and abruptly ended, but our composition, our principles and our freedom remain the same.

We Americans are a people whose spirit of freedom and democracy will not be defiled by those who choose terrorism over the lives of our mothers and brothers and sisters and fathers.

America’s freedom and democracy—the real targets sought by the enemy—will never be compromised. Ever.

Yes, those virtues can be challenged. And they have been to a most unconscionable degree. Make no mistake. We are at war. But this is not a conventional war fought by conventional means, rather this is an invisible war where the targets are uncertain and the attacks are unpredictable. There are no tanks, no troops, and no clear military objectives in this new war. We have worked to define and counter these new threats to world stability. But yesterday those new threats, which we have sought to define, were made real.

But just as those threats were made real, the spirit of America was renewed. Firefighters and policemen in Pennsylvania and New York and Washington have worked—and continue to work—selflessly to salvage lives, as well as clues from the wreckage. These men and women are heroes—every one of them. Over two hundred workers have perished in the line of duty. Each has made the ultimate sacrifice. This display of courage has been an important first step toward healing.

As we survey the emotional and physical damage, we will not brush aside the implications of the attack. The world is on notice. America is more than bricks and mortar. Her citizens are strong. I am convinced we will show the world how great nations

stand resolute in the face of great adversity. The American people have responded with the will and the spirit that has served as the mortar in the construction of our country. America is back on the job, and will continue to lead the world.

In the days ahead, we will investigate, pursue, prosecute and punish those responsible for these despicable acts. America will not be deterred. America will not negotiate or compromise in our pursuit of justice.

Let our enemies know, and let those who harbor our enemies know, that we have declared this to be a new day, a new chapter in history, a time in which America will renew and strengthen its resolve and its commitment to defeat terrorism and those who give succor or shelter to terrorists.

To our friends, we thank you for your expressions of sympathy, and to all people committed to peace, we ask for your cooperation, your support, and your common dedication to defeating the forces of terror and championing the ideals of free societies.

So as we move forward to sustain life and freedom, we will continue to meet challenges with resolve and resiliency. We will learn from this experience and put that knowledge to good use. We will overcome this tragedy. But we will never forget.

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, on September 11, 2001, a day that will be seared into our national memory, the United States was suddenly, deliberately and viciously attacked by ruthless terrorists. Thousands of innocent civilians were killed in a brief, violent, and unprecedented massacre. They died because they were Americans.

Through the actions of Tuesday, the United States was violently shaken from a post-cold-war stupor. The attacks were well planned, well resourced, and well coordinated by deadly warriors willing to kill innocent civilians. It was an act of war. From a formidable, unseen enemy.

Today, in the aftermath, America sifts through the rubble and debris, searching for survivors, victims, evidence, and answers. While the smoke still billows from the Pentagon and site of the World Trade Center, the sickening feeling of senseless devastation places an icy grip on our hearts. The outrage builds in our national soul as we hear of the phone calls to loved ones that ended with a dead line and of rescuers who became victims; as we learn the identities of the lost and began to understand the scope of this deliberate act of war perpetrated on American soil.

September 11, 2001, is likely to emerge as the deadliest day in the history of the United States. More than 2,400 Americans perished in the attack on Pearl Harbor and nearly 1,500 lost their lives on the beaches of Normandy during the D-Day invasion. The Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest day of the Civil War, resulted in more than 4,800 deaths and 2,800 missing. The death toll

of Tuesday's terrorist attacks may reach the tens of thousands. The magnitude of these losses is unimaginable and is yet to be fully comprehended.

The cold-blooded murderers who committed this act attempted to strike not just the twin towers of the World Trade Center but the twin pillars of America, our economic strength and our military might. They damaged the symbols of each—but they could not penetrate the essence of our Nation. America's indomitable spirit is undaunted. We've seen it in the actions of rescue workers who risked, and gave, their lives to save others. We've seen it in reports of brave actions attempted on the hijacked planes. We've seen it in the lines of volunteers outside blood banks and the prayer services held throughout this Nation. We've seen it in the steely determination of those ready to rebuild what has been lost. We've seen it in the resolve of a President and our military, ready, willing, and able to strike back at whoever we determine committed this horror. Our Government stands in unity. Republican and Democrat. House and Senate. In support of our Commander-in-Chief.

We are at war with the scourge of our time: terrorism. This was not just an attack upon America. As Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair commented, it was an attack upon democracy. It was a blow against the civilized world. Our allies and those opposed to terrorism must unite with resolve and commitment to rid the earth of this plague. We cannot deliver a glancing blow, we must go at the root and strike at the heart of terrorist organizations and those nations granting them safe harbor.

America will be forever changed. As with Pearl Harbor, our very way of life has been threatened. We must look at whatever shortcomings in either intelligence or security procedures allowed this tragedy to happen. But we must not relinquish the freedoms that make us Americans. If we abandon the liberties we cherish, the terrorists will have won.

America will stand together, as we always have when our Nation is threatened. We will defeat this enemy.

As President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said on December 8, 1941:

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory . . . Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger. With confidence in our Armed Forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph. So help us God.

As I arrived at the Capitol early Wednesday morning, I was greeted by the sounds of fighter jets and military helicopters in the air above Washington. But I heard something else as well, a clear sound that pierced the morning air, a lone trumpeter nearby played the National Anthem.

God bless the United States of America.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, America, sadly, has a new date that will live in infamy for the rest of our lives and generations to come.

Today, more than 24 hours after the first terrorist strike that took the lives of countless U.S. civilians, we are only now beginning to realize that we will spend many days, weeks, months and years trying to come to grips with the magnitude of yesterday's attack on our freedom.

We are left with searing images of a horror that could not be contained, acts of terrorism that unfolded before our eyes, gripping this Nation and the world in raw and vivid devastation, touching all of us with feelings expressed in public and in private; from panic to helplessness; helplessness to anger; and anger to loss.

This morning we stand in this capital as one to condemn these attacks, comfort the victims and their families and commit our full support to bring those responsible to justice. Our heartfelt thoughts and fervent prayers go out to those who have been lost.

Our response in the days ahead to the mass murderers who planned and carried out the attack and to any nation or nations that gave them aid must be as decisive as was our steadfast determination to defend our homeland and punish the aggressors in the immediate aftermath of a day that we will remember as one of the worst in American history.

The challenge ahead will require strengthening U.S. defenses and intelligence at home in ways consistent with American values. Embassies and military bases must be better defended along with domestic airports and other civilian targets.

But this does not mean that we can allow terrorists to alter the fundamental openness of U.S. society or the government's respect for civil liberties. If we do so, they will have won.

Some have rightfully declared that yesterday's attacks amount to an all out declaration of war against America. If so, then we will have to make sacrifices by accepting greater inconvenience in public places and perhaps developing and cultivating a heightened sense of awareness common in other free nations that have come to accept terrorist activity as a price for openness and democracy.

But above all, a state of war means a national bipartisan commitment to attack and defeat our Nation's enemies. There can be no greater purpose to our foreign and defense policy in the years ahead.

This means that we must embark on an unprecedented effort that will take us beyond arresting individual suspects or engaging in isolated attacks as has been done in response to previous incidents such as the attack on U.S. military in the 1996 Khobar towers bombing in Saudi Arabia, or the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania by Osama bin Laden's network to name a few.

In the past, the United States has failed to fully confront those linked to terrorist attacks against Americans. Yesterday, it was made clear that we can no longer afford to do so.

The United States must now seek to assemble an international alliance to identify and eliminate all sources of support for the terrorist networks that would wage war on our nation including the identification and destruction of the larger networks behind these attacks.

So many have drawn a comparison between September 11 and December 7, 1941. And while there are differences, what President Franklin D. Roosevelt said after Dec. 7 in Pearl Harbor, "a date which will live in infamy," applies to yesterday just as well. "Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us," Mr. Roosevelt said. "No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory. I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost, but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again."

Yesterday the world changed for every American. What those responsible for these barbaric acts will come to learn is that our resolve has not.

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, as a Nation we mourn the loss of so many Americans whose lives were tragically ended by these vicious attacks, the folks on the airplanes, the soldiers and civilians at the Pentagon, the office workers at the World Trade Center and the rescue workers who tried to save them. Each one of them had family, friends, and loved ones, and plans for the future. We cannot begin to fathom the incomparable grief their deaths have produced—of mothers who lost sons, husbands who lost wives, children who lost parents.

While we bow our heads in prayer for those whose lives were taken, we remain unbowed in the face of this heinous assault on our Nation. The terrorists who perpetrated this crime may have succeeded in striking the symbols of American power, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, but they cannot touch the spirit of the American people or our commitment to defend our liberty, our democracy and our way of life.

I have full confidence that the United States has the will and ability to determine which terrorist group is responsible for this assault on our homeland, as well as those states that are giving them refuge, and those entities that are providing them aid and financial support.

We must deliver a punishing blow to these terrorists and those who aid and abet them, because terrorists only understand one language, the language of force.

Anything less than a full response to these cowardly attacks within our borders would be appeasement. And history shows that appeasement against a determined enemy only encourages more attacks. The terrorists who came to our country to kill and maim its citizens, along with those who protect them, must be made to pay a price. And the United States should be ready to act with a clear conscience in its self-defense.

Let there be no doubt: We are at war. It is not a war we choose to fight, but one that we will finish and win.

The last time an act of war was committed against the U.S. on our soil, at Pearl Harbor, our military and economic power combined to form the greatest fighting force the world had ever seen. Admiral Yamamoto had called us a "sleeping enemy." He woke us to his great regret. The terrorists who committed these crimes have made a similar mistake, they have awoken a sleeping giant. Americans are slow to anger, but once roused we are indomitable.

Today, the men and women in this great chamber are not Democrats or Republicans, but Americans. And as Americans, we in Congress stand united in support of our Nation's leader, the President of the United States. You will not hear partisan bickering. You will not see members trying to lead from Capitol Hill. The United States must speak with one voice and act in concert for the good of our nation.

We will stand united, because Americans always unite in the face of adversity. We cannot allow these acts of terrorism to divide Americans by race, ethnicity, or religion. If we start fighting, neighbor against neighbor, then the terrorists have won. We will have destroyed the very foundation of our country's greatness, the fact that people of all backgrounds can join together in the great American experiment.

As our Nation prepares to confront the threat of terrorism, we must be careful not to destroy the freedom which makes this country great. We must not abandon civil liberties within our borders or our ability to act unilaterally outside our borders if we want to be safe. As Thomas Jefferson warned us, "Those who desire to give up Freedom in order to gain Security, will not have, nor do they deserve either one."

Nevada is proud of our slogan, that we were "Battle Born." It is on our State flag. It reflects the firmness of purpose and the willingness to fight for what is right that is so much a part of the character of the Nevadan people.

This is as true today as it was when our state entered the Union during the Civil War. The nature of the challenges may have changed over the years, but not the nature of the Nevadans fighting to overcome them.

I know that Nevadans—and, indeed, all Americans will rise to this challenge. We can give blood and donate to

charities that are helping the victims like the Salvation Army and the Red Cross. We can go out to our front yards and proudly fly the American flag to send a signal across oceans that we will not be cowed by terrorists.

The Nevadans in our Armed Forces stand ready to fight and die to defend their Nation. Let us pray for them, for all our men and women in uniform. Let us pray for President Bush our military leaders, and for all the rescue workers and victims. And most importantly, let us pray that, in this struggle between good and evil, the righteous will prevail.

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, today, I join with my Senate colleagues in united support for this joint resolution. I share their horror and outrage at the terrible atrocities committed yesterday against our country and our citizens. Those criminal acts will not be forgotten, and they will be avenged, at the right time, against their evil perpetrators.

One hundred years ago, at our Minnesota State Fair, Theodore Roosevelt spoke his famous words: "Speak softly, and carry a big stick." Today is a day to speak softly and briefly. Words can barely describe our reactions, our revulsion, and our resolve.

Let there be no doubt: our Nation will recover from these despicable acts. We will learn the painful lessons necessary to strengthen our domestic and foreign intelligence capabilities, our air traffic emergency system, and our guarantee to our citizens of their safety wherever they live, travel and work.

We will support our President and his associates as they identify those responsible for these vicious assaults and retaliate against them. We will move forward and we will move ahead. No one anywhere should doubt our national strength and resolve; our private and public actions in the days and months ahead will prove it.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, Americans woke up this morning a sadder and angrier people. It is very difficult to wrap one's mind around the terrible tragedy this country suffered yesterday, and still harder to comprehend what must have been in the hearts of the people willing to commit such atrocities against their fellow human beings. It is very hard even to find the words to speak about it.

But speaking about it is something that we must do. The American people and the government of the United States of America must today speak with crystalline clarity. The families and friends of those killed or wounded in these awful terrorist attacks must know that the prayers of every American, and of millions upon millions of people around the world, are with them this day. The heroic firefighters, police officers, rescue workers, National Guardsmen, doctors, nurses, and volunteering citizens who are even now struggling to find and save the lives of surviving victims must know that our hearts and deepest gratitude are with

them in their vital work. Our commander-in-chief and all the men and women of our armed forces, our law enforcement community, and our intelligence agencies must know that we stand behind them as perhaps never before in my lifetime, as they set about with grim resolution to ensure that justice is done to those responsible.

And the evil people who planned and committed these atrocities, and those who may have aided and abetted them, must know that far from paralyzing the American people and dividing us fearfully against each other, what they have done instantly is to unite us into one people. We awoke this morning united in the solidarity of grief and commitment to our fellow-citizens, and utterly single-minded in our determination to remain unbowed and to see justice done.

These, then, are the messages that we must send today—and that we must keep sending with relentless determination in the difficult weeks and months ahead. America lost a measure of innocence yesterday, a degree of that special separateness that has helped to keep our land of liberty safe from some of the storms that have long battered other peoples in an often turbulent world.

We are clearly not as separate, nor as safe, as once we thought. But no one should doubt our resolve and our resilience. It is in moments like this that the special character or our great Republic can and should shine through with particular brilliance. It shines through in our sacrifices in helping our fellow citizens in terribly trying times. It shines through in our commitment, even in adversity, to the bedrock values that make our system of government worth protecting even as these values draw the murderous ire of twisted souls whose only answer to the discourse of liberty is a vocabulary of violence, terror, and death.

As we rescue survivors and comfort the bereaved, we also will set about finding those responsible. We must respond to these horrors in ways befitting our voice as a free and united people. But let there be no doubt. Respond we must, and respond we shall.

As difficult as it is to find a voice to talk about the horrors we experienced yesterday morning, I believe that by finding our voice amidst such shock, rage, and pain, we reaffirm our most cherished principles. With God's help, we will persevere, find comfort in our grief, and find strength in the days ahead.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, yesterday I was in a meeting here in the Capitol, when I looked out the window and I saw something that I will never forget.

I saw black clouds of smoke filling the sky over the Pentagon.

Yesterday, terrorists attacked our country, our financial center, our military headquarters, and our sense of security. Yesterday's horrific pictures are fixed in our minds forever.

But today, we see something else. We see a country that's come together. We see a government that speaks with one voice to denounce terrorism. And we see people who have volunteered—to search the rubble, to help the injured, and to donate blood.

These acts of terror were meant to divide us. But the truth is they've brought us all closer together.

This afternoon, I want to extend my prayers to all the victims, their families and friends.

I want to thank all of the emergency personnel who responded with such courage: including the brave men and women of our armed forces, police, firefighters and medical personnel.

And I want everyone to know that our country is unified behind the President. We will help the injured. We will protect our citizens. And will punish those who committed these cowardly acts. Every resource we have will be made available to support the recovery effort.

Yesterday we were attacked, but today, we stand united.

As our work resumes, we will work together to plug the security holes that this attack has uncovered.

I want all of my colleagues to know that, as chair of the Transportation Appropriations Subcommittee, my top priority is the safety of the traveling public.

We will do what it takes to ensure the safety of our Nation's transportation system.

In the coming days and weeks, we must evaluate our security system, our intelligence abilities and the safety of our transportation network.

Our citizens have a right to feel secure at home, at work, at school, and on our Nation's transportation system. We are going to make sure Americans have the safety and security they deserve.

Ours is a great Nation. We have withstood many challenges. We will learn the lessons of this challenge, and together, we will build a stronger country.

So as we take stock of this unspeakable tragedy, as we learn the names of the victims, as we hear stories of the heroism and compassion in the wake of this attack, we are standing together we are speaking with one voice and will do everything we can to ensure our safety and to answer this evil act with justice.

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, yesterday the United States of America suffered a horrible national tragedy the images of which will forever etch the date, September 11, 2001, in the collective minds of the American people.

As Father Eugene Hemrick of St. Joseph's Church said this morning at mass, our lives will never be the same.

As one who has lost a child, I know this is especially true for the families of those who were the victims of this act of war and of those who laid down their lives to save them. My thoughts and prayers are with them.

As Members of Congress, our first responsibility, working with the President on a bipartisan basis, is to secure the support that the victims and their families will need in the days and months ahead—their grief should not be compounded by worrying about how they will deal with their tragedy financially.

We must provide the resources our country needs to guarantee that yesterday's tragedy will not be repeated during the lifetime of our children and grandchildren.

We must prioritize how we allocate these resources including the money to upgrade the technology and personnel that secure our airports, and we must respond to the human capital needs that caused former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, who now represents the U.S. Commission on National Security in the 21st Century, to say before the Oversight of Government Management Subcommittee earlier this year:

... it is the Commission's view that fixing the personnel problem is a precondition for fixing virtually everything else that needs repair in the institutional edifice of U.S. national security policy.

We must also dedicate ourselves to meeting a number of other challenges, including: providing the resources that will help improve our signals intelligence capabilities, or, in other words, our ability to "listen in" on unfriendly nations; stepped-up law enforcement to prevent terrorism; coordination of effort between various Federal agencies such as CIA, FBI, NSA, etc.; coordination of effort between Federal, State and local governments and law enforcement to maximize our ability to stop terrorist activity; and greater use of electronic surveillance and satellite imagery to track the enemies of peace.

Finally, we must identify those responsible for committing these cowardly acts of war as well as those who have encouraged them by silence, assistance or asylum and we must hold these individuals or Nations accountable.

I agree with what President Bush said in his address to the Nation last evening:

we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

We must also join the President and declare war on terrorism and convince world religions and political leaders that terrorism is a threat to peace in the world and a prelude to Armageddon. We need more voices in the world like Pope John Paul II who said:

... the ways of violence will never lead to genuine solutions to humanity's problems.

Our determination to winning the war on terrorism must have the same high priority that we gave to winning World War II, and we must engage our allies in this war.

We should make the same preparation that we made for D-Day and the world's entry into the Persian Gulf war. Our actions must be ongoing and relentless, and be dedicated to excising

the cancer of terrorism wherever it raises its ugly head.

Our efforts cannot be another catharsis after a national tragedy, and they must not fade with time into business as usual. We owe it to yesterday's victims and their families, especially their children and grandchildren.

Most of all, we owe it to the American people and the world community to bring an end to terrorism everywhere and forever.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, all of us share in the overwhelming shock and grief at the horrible events of these past 24 hours. All of us are struggling to find the right words to say—struggling to understand our own emotions—struggling to answer the question, "Where do we go from here?" Despite our uncertainties, we share a common bond—the deepest sorrow and sympathy we feel for those innocent people who have lost their lives or their loved ones in those instants of unspeakable inhumanity. I join with the people and leaders of the world in expressing my profound sadness and extending my personal condolences to all of those who have been victimized by these acts of terror.

Ten years ago, the Soviet Union crumbled and the Warsaw Pact disappeared. The cold war, many have said, is over. The nation moved quickly to reduce the size of our military and to reorder our national priorities to attend to pressing national issues of health care, education, justice, and so forth. All of us celebrated the nation's new priorities. Hopes for the future of our nation and the evolving international system were high. What we were only beginning to understand, however, was that the end of the cold war did not mean the end of America's need to ensure its security in new and different ways.

In the wake of the cold war, military experts around the country began to discuss their concerns about the nation's new vulnerabilities. The prospect of a pitched battle between heavy tanks on the fields of Europe was no longer the most likely threat to which our military forces would be asked to respond. Experts began discussing the idea of "asymmetric warfare"—that is, the ability of America's enemies to attack us where we are most vulnerable. The cold war structure of our military and its weaponry was designed to meet adversaries with similar capabilities—not to meet adversaries who chose different, often less sophisticated ways to get the job done.

Slowly, too slowly, we have begun to understand the full extent of our country's vulnerability. Many are concerned that potential enemies are developing intercontinental missiles with destructive warheads and that we have no missile system capable of thwarting an attack of that kind. Others have warned that our enemies could deliver packages of destruction in suitcases, rental trucks, or on shipboard. Still others have observed our inability to

intercept low flying aircraft or cruise missiles heading to American targets. The events of the past 24 hours demonstrate another horrible scenario of America's vulnerability to terrorist attack, an attack that was indiscriminate in those who were targeted.

Our priorities are clear at this point. First, rescue these victims and help those who survive, their families, their children. Second, resolve to identify and punish those who perpetrated these heinous acts. And finally, we must put in place the safeguards and protections so that this type of heinous act can never occur again in this country.

My colleagues have referred to September 11th as a day of infamy—recalling the same shock and horror the nation experienced at the news of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. President Roosevelt offered the nation some vital words on that occasion. He said:

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to an absolute victory. This is a time of national resolve. This is a time for us to also recall President Roosevelt's directive that "the greatest fear we have, is fear itself."

We cannot permit ourselves to stand still, overcome by shock, in times such as these. We must move forward as one, resolved to seek justice, and solutions to our national security laid bare by this horrible event.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, on September 11, 2001, the United States suffered the worst combined acts of domestic terrorism in our Nation's history. The world stood shocked and outraged at unprovoked acts of violence committed upon thousands of innocent Americans.

President George W. Bush has ordered the Federal Government to assist the victims of violence, investigate these acts of terror, and take steps to bring those responsible for these tragedies to justice. I fully support President Bush's actions, and will do whatever I can to help him, and our country in this time of need. Terrorism cannot and will not be tolerated. I know the President will take all measures necessary to seek out and punish those who so viciously attacked innocent and defenseless Americans.

As Americans, we are a strong and resilient people. We will heal and emerge stronger than ever. Our strength and spirit of democracy will shine through. We will not simply endure, we shall prevail. And we will send a sharp message to these cowards, showing that terrorist acts will not be tolerated. They will never be able to destroy our freedom and our way of life.

My heartfelt thoughts and prayers go out to those who so tragically lost their lives and those friends and families who lost their loved ones. This was far more than a tragedy—it was an outrageous act of terrorism that killed and injured so many innocent and decent citizens of our country. Nothing I

can say to express my sympathy for those suffering is enough. My outrage toward this cowardice act remains unwavering. For now, we must mourn those who have passed on and care for those injured.

We must let the President, law enforcement, military and the intelligence community do their work. As a law-abiding Nation, we must be sure to place blame on the guilty. Taking independent action against the innocent and guests in our country is wrong. Many like me are filled with anger and an unyielding desire for revenge, but we must remain calm and focused. In the heat of passion fired by the outrageous and despicable acts of those who are guilty, our leadership must be calm and dispassionate in determining who is responsible and how we must deal with them. Have no doubt: we will find those responsible. I say to those responsible, "You have no where to hide." Justice will be served swiftly and harshly.

September 11, 2001, is another day that will forever live in infamy. Yesterday's acts represented a well-planned, well-financed attack on our freedom by a faceless and gutless enemy. Make no mistake, we are at war. Our military is on highest alert. Our armed forces are ready.

I stand firmly behind our Commander-in-Chief, President Bush. There is no doubt of our unity and resolve to track down, root out and relentlessly pursue terrorists and the states that support them and harbor them. I stand by to support our military and intelligence community and fight for any and all of the resources they need to ensure our national security. Let us not forget this as we consider our funding bills.

This is a great Nation with a strong and brave history. Americans have come together and triumphed through difficult times like these. We will again, and we will punish those responsible. America is united and strong. Our military might remains unchallenged. America remains resolved in its efforts to find those who so cowardly committed these horrific acts.

To quote a few words from our Battle Hymn of the Republic, those responsible will soon understand the true meaning of the line, "he hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword" as America will indeed march on.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, first and foremost, my thoughts and prayers are with the hundreds of injured and the families of the lost. Words cannot fully describe what happened to these victims yesterday. But our actions in the days and months ahead must do them justice as we honor their ultimate sacrifices.

I also extend my gratitude to the scores of emergency service providers police, firefighters, medical personnel who rushed to the World Trade Center and the Pentagon to save lives, only to lose their own. And we remember the

many military and federal law enforcement personnel who were working in those buildings at the time of the attacks who also lost their lives.

As we sort through the details of the savage terrorist attacks yesterday, and the wreckage left in their wake, we begin to comprehend more fully the scope of this tragedy in our history. On December 7, 1941, more than 2400 lives were lost at Pearl Harbor. And, during the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862 the day with the highest death toll on American soil—approximately 22,000 lives were lost. No matter what the final count will be of lives lost yesterday, what distinguishes us from the terrorists is the value we place on those lives as we learn more about the enormously sad events of this newly written chapter in our nation's history.

This morning all Americans woke up to a different world. The horrific terrorist attacks yesterday on our economic and military institutions were a frontal assault not only on America, but on freedom and democracy enjoyed by millions of people around the world.

We Americans learned again that our freedom comes with a cost, and the new battlegrounds are not on foreign soils or far away beaches. While we must always seek peace we, as a nation, will always defend ourselves from any enemy.

America has been challenged before, and now America once again will rise to meet this challenge head-on.

The terrorists who perpetrated yesterday's carnage will be held accountable for their senseless acts of violence. Towards that end, I strongly support the statement President Bush made last night to the nation and his commitment that "we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them."

The time has come to quit treating terrorists as mere civil disobedients, and begin treating their acts as acts of war.

The time has past when renegade nations can give safe harbor to terrorists with impunity. The President and the U.S. military have my full support to strike and strike hard when the perpetrators and their accomplices are identified and found. For this Senator, that time can't come soon enough.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I rise to add my voice in our united support for the Joint Resolution we are adopting today.

American citizens, American aircraft, American buildings have been brought down by barbaric terrorist attacks. Yet the American people, we as their elected representatives, and our free and open society stand unbowed and united.

America's spirit and resolve remain strong.

Today, we express condolences to those who suffered unspeakable loss. The victims and their families are in our thoughts and prayers.

We commend the rescuers, working even now to save lives, the brave firemen and police, doctors and nurses and

generous volunteers helping others and giving blood.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency, which my Appropriations subcommittee funds and oversees, is coordinating Federal assistance. Director Albaugh and FEMA have mobilized urban search and rescue teams. A top-notch team from Montgomery County and 7 others from around the country are hard at work at the Pentagon and in New York. All 20 other teams are ready to go. FEMA has also mobilized Army medical support, the Army Corps of Engineers to help debris removal, and Army mortuary teams.

We are cooperating to confront this tragedy with President Bush and the Administration, within Congress, and with allies around the world.

We condemn these barbaric attacks.

We are committed to tracking down the terrorists, punishing them and those who harbor them, and preventing future attacks.

America is being tested by terrorism and America is rising to the challenge. I am proud of the American people, who are responding not only with shock and grief, but with unity, resolve, and generosity.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise in support of the resolution condemning yesterday's terrorist attacks. These assaults were a strike not only against America, but against freedom itself.

My deepest condolences go out to those who lost loved ones during this tragedy, and also to those rescue workers who risked, and many times lost, their lives in an effort to save the victims of this horrific event. Even as we pause to pray for the victims and their families, we promise to be unwavering in our pursuit of the cowards responsible for these acts. It is a day we will never forget, but a day that only strengthens our resolve to protect the freedoms that are the cornerstone of our society.

Watching this tragedy unfold, I recalled the day when our sovereign country was violated by the attack on Pearl Harbor. Over the years, I hoped and prayed that our hallowed lands would never again be defiled, and now they have once again been attacked. This time, however, our enemies remain nameless. These cowardly acts of terrorism will not be tolerated, and those who are responsible for these atrocities will suffer the consequences of their actions. Let there be no mistake, we have faced adversity before, and the United States of America will once again prevail.

If this assault was intended to weaken the American spirit, these cowards will be very disappointed. When speaking on the purpose and means of war, the military theorist Carl Clausewitz stated that the fighting forces of the enemy "must be put in such a condition that they can no longer carry on the fight". Mark my words, we stand united and prepared to use whatever means necessary to respond and destroy those responsible.

The acts of heroism and generosity by Americans in New York City, Washington, D.C., and across the Nation has been extraordinary, but not surprising. It is in difficult times that we are fortified by unity, and this will be no exception.

On December 8, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed Congress in response to Pearl Harbor. His words then inspired our Nation to victory. Once again, his words ring true, "With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounding determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God."

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, much has been said on the Senate floor about the events of the last 24 hours. I, too, want to express deep sadness and remorse for those that lost family and loved ones. We, as a Nation, share your loss. The free world shares your grief. This was an attack on liberty, an attack on freedom, we are all victims.

As a veteran of the last World War, I know personally the horrors of war. Pearl Harbor woke us from the dream that we would not be dragged into World War II. Many commentators have made the parallel between yesterday's attack and the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. We were compelled to act to defend our country from an unprovoked attack.

The events of yesterday, like those during Pearl Harbor, shattered our innocence and exposed our vulnerabilities as a Nation. In my view, yesterday's attack was worse than an act of war because, unlike Pearl Harbor, the enemy preyed upon unsuspecting, defenseless civilians to maximize the loss of innocent human life and spread terror. Our freedom and the openness of our society, essential virtues that define us as a Nation, were exploited to inflict terror upon our society. These were coordinated, well-organized attacks on our Nation. Unlike the wars of the past, today we face an enemy we cannot immediately identify and whose exact location is unknown. The President and his national security team have committed all the resources possible to find those who are responsible. I stand with the President and the American people, we must seek those who are responsible and respond with overwhelming force.

While this is still an emotionally charged time, we must begin the process of looking forward and addressing our security vulnerabilities exposed by yesterday's attacks. It is important to note that as the events were unfolding, the Senate was debating the appropriations bill for the Departments of Commerce, Justice and State, the funding legislation that directly addresses counter-terrorism. And while it may not provide immediate relief for the situation that we're faced with today, it is one of the legislative vehicles through which we can impact the Nation's ability to address counter-terrorism.

We must have better organization and coordination of our counter-ter-

rorism efforts. Sen. JUDD GREGG and I have worked to organize an Office of Counter-terrorism under the Attorney General and provide adequate funding for the Department of Justice. As we have argued, we must redouble our national commitment and sustained effort to address counter-terrorism. It begins with a coordinated effort organized in the Department of Justice, it is enhanced by improved security standards, and it is sustained through adequate funding.

This attack has highlighted the need for a new national security paradigm. It has showed us that the tools of our economic strength, such as civilian aircraft, can be used as instruments of destruction. Therefore, we must analyze the security threats associated with all modes of commerce. Obviously, we must take immediate action to review and enhance the security at our Nation's airports. Moreover, we know that current, inadequate security at our nation's ports makes us vulnerable to future attacks. With this knowledge, Senator GRAHAM and I introduced a bill to address security at our ports. The legislation seeks to enhance security at U.S. seaports through better inter-agency coordination and more sufficient resources.

Seaports are international borders that currently are not subject to any security guidelines enforced by the federal government. Drug smuggling, migrant smuggling and trade fraud are prevalent crimes along the Nation's seaports, and the lax security measures make terrorist activity an imminent threat as well.

Terrorism affects us all. We as a nation must stand together and state resolutely that we will not tolerate terrorism, in the United States or abroad. We will work in Congress to put in place the protections necessary to defend our country from future terrorist activity and uphold the liberties and freedom we hold dear. As stated by the Commander-in-Chief, the United States and its allies will stand firm and take decisive action.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, yesterday a cowardly act of terrorism was committed against this Nation. But, today, this Nation stands strong and unified—a Nation of freedom and of hope, a Nation hurting, but resolute in our determination to stamp out terrorism, now even on our own shores.

We can no longer ignore the threat that international terrorist groups present to other nations. Yesterday, we faced the reality of that threat. Until yesterday, we had rested in the belief that such an atrocity by foreign hand could not occur on U.S. soil, but now it has, and we must respond. We must safeguard our shores from further acts of violence. We are at war with an enemy of rogues and cowards and they must be crushed. We have received a rude awakening, and now we must act. There is a lot for us to do. More than a year ago, I was critical of the diversion of funds from human intelligence

to high tech counter-terrorism efforts. Tomorrow, we will resume that debate, but today is a day for national mourning.

My prayers go out to all the victims and their families. I pray that God will grant a comfort and peace that is unspeakable in its depth to those who are hurting and for the families of the victims. I cannot adequately express my sympathy to those who lost loved ones in these tragedies, and across America we share in their grief.

Outside of Union Station, a block from the Capitol, fly the flags of all 50 States. It is right that these 50 flags now fly at half mast, for this is a day that will directly touch millions of families across this Nation. We have already learned that at least one Iowan, Karen Kincaid, a native of Waverly, IA, was aboard the hijacked plane that struck the Pentagon on Tuesday morning. Our prayers go out of Karen's family and her loved ones. I fear that in the days to come we may learn of other Iowans whose lives have been destroyed by these tragedies. We all must look for ways to help. We can pray for peace. We can give blood.

In the face of all of yesterday's evil, thousands of courageous Americans rose to the challenge. Men and women, filled with the basic decency and goodness that embodies all that is America, rushed to the rescue of the injured and the dying. Firefighters, police, EMTs, doctors and other volunteers have been working around the clock, and we thank them. Unfortunately, we have learned that many of these brave men and women have given that last full measure of devotion. We mourn for them and honor their sacrifice. The greatness of our people stands in sharp contrast to the unnamed cowards who have perpetrated this evil.

I also want to recognize and thank Secretary Thompson for his effort to bring 7000 doctors, nurses, and health care professionals to New York.

Now, we must go on, unified behind President Bush's leadership. Today's resolution demonstrates the unity of Congress to stand behind the President in the effort to bring the perpetrators to justice. We must commit ourselves to the task of preventing tragedies such as this from ever again happening on our shores. We are a Nation strong and dogged in our commitment to seek out and crush the men who committed these acts of violence against our country.

Terrorism is our national enemy and we must fight it as a Nation. These great tragedies were perpetrated not against a particular race, color, religion, or creed. Yesterday's violence was born in a hatred of America and what it stands for. It was an open attack on all our people and our values. Freedom itself was under assault. Truly this was an act of war on America, and we must act accordingly.

Our friends in the International community, we now ask you to work by our side to quash those who have en-

gaged in these heinous acts. We will need your assistance to identify and punish those who are behind these acts.

State sponsored terrorism is an enemy to all democracies. To see victory over terrorism, we must not just retaliate against the terrorist, but as President Bush said last night, we must also punish those countries who harbor and assist them. Justice must be brought to the terrorists and to the States from which they plan and wage their evil schemes.

We must all be unified in this effort to combat terrorism. I am proud to be an American.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The 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. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to a period for morning business, with Senators allowed to speak for a period of 5 minutes each.

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

COMMERCE, STATE, JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise today in support of the Smith amendment allowing American veterans—our U.S. citizens—who were used as slave laborers in Japan during WWII to have their day in court.

I appreciate the sensitive nature of this issue. Just prior to the recess, I received correspondence from my dear friend and former Secretary of State, George Schultz. He outlined the provisions of article 14 of the 1951 peace treaty with Japan which seemingly settles the question of restitution for the former POWs. His letter, quite properly, has been referred to in order to address this issue. I must, however, respectfully disagree with my valued friend and adviser.

I believe we must look at the entire treaty. Article 26 contains a provision which states that if Japan enters into any future treaties with other countries providing better terms than those extended to the United States, then those more favorable terms will be extended to the United States as well. It is my understanding that several other countries such as Sweden and Denmark have received such terms.

I have listened closely to my esteemed colleague from Hawaii speak on this subject, and I recognize our duty to honor our treaties. However, we must be sure to look at the entire treaty and honor our obligations to our veterans who survived under such horrible conditions.

I have been contacted by a significant number of veterans from my State, and I feel duty-bound to let them have their day in court. I ask my colleagues to consider their views and the entire treaty when making their vote.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

HUGH C. GRAHAM

• Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise today to honor a distinguished constituent of mine, Hugh C. Graham, upon the occasion of his retirement from the American Legion Department of Connecticut.

As a member of the American Legion for 57 years, Hugh served as an Adjutant for 32 years, the longest-serving Adjutant in the country. During his tenure within this revered national organization, Hugh admirably dedicated himself to promoting the health and well-being of our veterans, both in Connecticut and beyond.

Hugh himself served his country with distinction during World War II. Having enlisted with the United States Army in New Haven on February 16, 1942, he served as a rifleman in the 45th Infantry "Thunderbird" Division of the 180th Infantry Regiment. For 511 days, he fought bravely in the European theater, seeing combat in Italy, France, and Germany, and participated in five amphibious assault landings. For his valor and wounds received at Anzio Beach, Hugh was awarded the Purple Heart Medal. He was also awarded the European-African Theater Medal with five campaign stars, the World War II Victory Medal, and the Combat Infantryman's Badge. Hugh received an honorable discharge from the Army on September 5, 1945.

Over the years, Hugh's work with and for veterans has received well-deserved recognition from numerous organizations. He has received various service and achievement awards from the Forty and Eight Society, the Veterans Administration, and the American Legion Department of Rhode Island.

Although Hugh is retiring from active duty in the American Legion, I know that he will continue to promote veterans affairs and that his legacy will live on within the organization. Once again, I would like to congratulate Hugh upon the occasion of his retirement and I sincerely thank him for all of the service he has given to both Connecticut and our nation. I wish him all my best in his future endeavors.●

HONORING JAMES L. VOSS, DVM

• Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a man who has had a profound impact on Colorado State University, the City of Ft. Collins, CO and the veterinary community nationwide.

According to US News and World Report, Colorado State University boasts

the second best veterinary medicine program in the nation. One of the reasons CSU is so nationally renowned is because of its wonderful Veterinary Teaching Hospital. And one of the reasons that hospital exists is because of Dr. James L. Voss.

Currently the Dean of the CSU College of Veterinary Medicine and Biomedical Sciences, Dr. Voss received his Doctorate of Veterinary Medicine from CSU in 1958 and was hired by the University as an instructor. While a student, he was one of my best instructors. As the university was growing and seeking to enhance its veterinary teaching capabilities, plans for a new Veterinary Teaching Hospital got underway. Dr. Voss became the faculty representative of the hospital building committee. In 1979, the Hospital was completed. And now, the Hospital will bear his name.

I am proud to join all CSU veterinary School alumni in saying that no finer man deserves this honor. This building and all the science and teaching that has taken place in it since 1979, are direct results of Dr. Voss' determination, dedication and love of veterinary medicine. Because of Dr. Voss and his long service to the university and our profession, CSU has produced some of the finest veterinarians in the nation. CSU and Ft. Collins have become central locations in national and international veterinary science.

When one man does so much for an institution and a profession like Dr. Voss has, it is only fitting to honor him in this manner. I am extremely pleased that from this day forward, the James L. Voss Veterinary Teaching Hospital at Colorado State University will continue to serve the university, the veterinary medical community, and science.●

TRIBUTE TO THE GEORGE KHOURY ASSOCIATION OF BASEBALL LEAGUES, INC.

● Mrs. CARNAHAN. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to recognize an outstanding organization that is dedicated to youth baseball, the George Khoury Association of Baseball Leagues, Inc. I commend this extraordinary program that is celebrating its 65th anniversary.

The George Khoury Association of Baseball Leagues, Inc. was founded by George M. Khoury in 1936 in Saint Louis, MO. It is dedicated to promoting America's favorite pastime, and committed to giving youth a chance to play the game and learn about sportsmanship. In 1936, there were only four baseball teams in the Khoury league. However, after World War II, the program began to expand into other states, like Kentucky and Illinois. Now there are leagues in several states all over the country and even in some foreign countries. The Khoury league not only includes baseball teams, but also softball, soccer, and other exciting team sports.

I commend the George Khoury Association of Baseball Leagues, Inc. for its dedication to youth sports and the community.●

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Ms. Evans, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:48 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 434. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into a cooperative agreement to provide for retention, maintenance, and operation, at private expense, of 12 concrete dams and weirs located within the boundaries of the Emigrant Wilderness in the Stanislaus National Forest, California, and for other purposes.

H.R. 695. An act to establish the Oil Region National Heritage Area.

H.R. 788. An act to provide for the conveyance of the excess Army Reserve Center in Kewaunee, Wisconsin.

H.R. 1628. An act to amend the National Trails System Act to designate El Camino Real de los Tejas as a National Historic Trail.

H.R. 1761. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 8588 Richmond Highway in Alexandria, Virginia, as the "Herb Harris Post Office Building."

H.R. 1766. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 4270 John Marr Drive in Annandale, Virginia, as the "Stan Parris Post Office Building."

H.R. 1937. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in certain feasibility studies of water resource projects in the State of Washington.

At 3:31, a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Niland, one its reading clerks, announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 223. Concurrent resolution permitting the use of the Rotunda of the Capitol for a prayer vigil in memory of those who lost their lives in the events of September 11, 2001.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and the second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 434. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into a cooperative agreement to provide for retention, maintenance, and operation, at private expense, of 12 concrete dams and weirs located within the boundaries of the Emigrant Wilderness in the Stanislaus National Forest, California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 695. An act to establish the Oil Region National Heritage Area; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 788. An act to provide for the conveyance of the excess Army Reserve Center in Kewaunee, Wisconsin; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 1628. An act to amend the National Trails System Act to designate El Camino Real de los Tejas as a National Historic Trail; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 1761. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 8588 Richmond Highway in Alexandria, Virginia, as the "Herb Harris Post Office Building"; to the Committee on Government Affairs.

H.R. 1766. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 4270 John Marr Drive in Annandale, Virginia, as the "Stan Parris Post Office Building"; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

H.R. 1937. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in certain feasibility studies of water resource projects in the State of Washington; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-3733. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Airbus Model A319, A320, and A321 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0439)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3734. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Empresa Brasileira de Aeronautica SA Model EMB 135 and 145 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0443)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3735. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Empresa Brasileira de Aeronautica Model EMB-135ER and 135LR Series Airplanes, and Model EMB 145, 145MR and 145LR Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0442)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3736. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model DC 10-30 Series Airplanes Modified by Supplemental Type Certificate SA8452SW" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0446)) received on August 23, 2001; to the

Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3737. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Empresa Brasileira de Aeronautica SA Model EMB 120 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0445)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3738. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Boeing Model 737-100, 200, and 200C Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0444)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3739. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Boeing Model 747-400 and 767 Series Airplanes Equipped with GE CF6-80C2 Series Engines" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0447)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3740. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Boeing Model 747-100 and 200 Series Airplanes Modified by Supplemental Type Certificate ST00196SE" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0451)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3741. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Boeing Model 767-300 Series Airplanes Modified by Supplemental Type Certificate ST00157SE" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0450)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3742. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Boeing Model 767-200 Series Airplanes Modified by Supplemental Certificate SA4998NM" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0448)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3743. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Boeing Model 747 Series Airplanes Equipped with GE Model CF6 45 or 50 Series Engines or Pratt and Whitney Model JT9D-3, 7, or 70 Series Engines; and 747-E4B Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0457)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3744. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Airbus Model A319, A320, A321 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0454)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3745. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives:

Boeing Model 737-600, 700, and 800 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0455)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3746. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Boeing Model 767-200 Series Airplanes Modified by Supplemental Type Certificate SA5134NM" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0452)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3747. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model MD 11 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0462)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3748. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Aerospatiale Model ATR42 200, 300, 320 and 500 Series Airplanes; and Model ATR72 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0460)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3749. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model MD 11 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0466)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3750. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model MD-11 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0458)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3751. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Lockheed Model L-1011 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0459)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3752. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model MD 11 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0463)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3753. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model MD 11 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0464)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3754. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: JanAero Devices Part Number (PN) 14D11, A14D11, B14D11, C14D11, 23D04, A23D04, B23D04, and C23D04 Fuel Regulator Shutoff Valves; Request for Comments" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0468)) received on August 23, 2001;

to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3755. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model MD 11 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0469)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3756. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations: Naval Submarine Base Bangor and Naval Submarines, Puget Sound and Strait of Juan De Fuca, WA" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0076)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3757. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model MD 11 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0467)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3758. A communication from the Program Analyst of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: McDonnell Douglas Model MD 11 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0465)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3759. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations: Summerfest 200—Harbor Island Lagoon Activities, Milwaukee, Wisconsin" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0077)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3760. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations: Lower Mississippi River, LMR Mile 351.1 to 537, Vaucluse Trenchfill (COTP Memphis 01-007)" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0078)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3761. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Establishment of a Class E Enroute Domestic Airspace Area, Kingman, AZ; confirmation of effective date" ((RIN2120-AA66)(2001-0138)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3762. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations: Vicinity of Atlantic Fleet Weapons Training Facility, Vieques, PR and Adjacent Territorial Sea" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0080)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3763. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Drawbridge Regulations: Atlantic Intracoastal

Waterway, Fort Lauderdale, Broward County, FL" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0077)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3764. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Connecticut River, CT" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0078)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3765. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Brooks Memorial (S.E. 17th Street) Bridge Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway, Ft. Lauderdale, FL" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0080)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3766. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Harlem River, Newtown Creek, NY" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0076)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3767. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Manitowoc River, Wisconsin" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0075)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3768. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Regatta Regulations: SLR; Inner Harbor, Patapsco River, Baltimore, Maryland" ((RIN2115-AE46) (2001-0024)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3769. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Brorain Street Bridge, Across the Hillsborough River, Tampa, FL" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0079)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3770. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations: Naval Force Protection, Bath Iron Works, Bath, ME" ((RIN2115-AA97) (2001-0079)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3771. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations: Lake Michigan, Grand Haven, MI" ((RIN2115-AA97) (2001-0075)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3772. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Kennebec River, ME" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0070)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0070)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3773. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: John Limehouse Bridge (ICW), Johns Island, SC" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0071)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3774. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Jamaica Bay and Connecting Waterways, NY" ((RIN2115-AE47) (2001-0072)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3775. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations: Oswego Harbor, Oswego, NY" ((RIN2115-AA97) (2001-0074)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3776. A communication from the Acting Director of the Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fisheries of the Northeastern United States; Atlantic Bluefish Fishery; Commercial Quota Transfer and Reopening" (I.D. 072301E) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3777. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Japanese Fisheries High School Training Vessel EHIME MARU Relocation and Crew Member Recovery, Pacific Ocean, South Shores of the Island of Oahu, HI (COTP Honolulu 01-054)" ((RIN2115-AA97) (2001-0072)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3778. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations: Fireworks Display, New Jersey Pierhead Channel and Kill Van Kull" ((RIN2115-AA97) (2001-0073)) received on August 23, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3779. A communication from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Atlantic Highly Migratory Species Fisheries; Atlantic Bluefin Tuna; Adjustment of General Category Daily Retention Limit" (I.D. 072501A) received on August 24, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3780. A communication from the Acting Director of the Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Atlantic Highly Migratory Species Fisheries; 2001 Atlantic Bluefin Tuna Quota Specifications and General Category Effort Controls" (RIN0648-AO96) received on August 24, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3781. A communication from the Acting Assistant Administrator for Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fisheries of the Exclusive Economic Zone Off Alaska; Record Keeping and Reporting Requirements; Alaska Commercial Operator's Annual Report" (RIN0648-AN01) received on August 24, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3782. A communication from the Acting Director of the Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fisheries of the Northeastern United States; Summer Flounder Fishery; Commercial Quota Harvested for Connecticut" (I.D. 081001B) received on August 24, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3783. A communication from the Assistant Administrator for Satellite and Information Services, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Office of Research and Applications Ocean Remote Sensing Program Notice of Financial Assistance" (RIN0648-ZA90) received on August 24, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3784. A communication from the Acting Director of the Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fisheries Off West Coast and Western Pacific States; West Coast Salmon Fisheries; Closure of the Commercial Fishery from Horse Mountain to Point Arena, CA" received on August 25, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3785. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.622(b), Table of Allotments, DTV Broadcast Stations, Charlottesville, VA" (Doc. No. 00-240) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3786. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.622(b), Table of Allotments, DTV Broadcast Stations, Lexington, KY" (Doc. No. 01-83) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3787. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.622(b), Table of Allotments, DTV Broadcast Stations, Missoula, MT" (Doc. No. 01-15) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3788. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.202(b), Table of Allotments, FM Broadcast Stations (Hugo, Colorado)" (Doc. No. 01-97) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3789. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to

law, the report of a rule entitled "Regatta Regulations: SLR; Bush River, Abingdon, Maryland" ((RIN2115-AE46)(2001-0026)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3790. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations; Bayou Boeuf, LA" ((RIN2115-AE47)(2001-0082)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3791. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations; Mississippi River, Iowa and Illinois" ((RIN2115-AE47)(2001-0081)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3792. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Triathlon, Ulster Landing, Hudson River, NY" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0081)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3793. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Gulf of Alaska, Southeast of Narrow Cape, Kodiak Island, AK" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0094)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3794. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Sister Bay Marina Fest, Sister Bay, Wisconsin" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0093)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3795. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Inner Harbor Navigation Canal, New Orleans, LA" ((RIN2115-AE47)(2001-0083)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3796. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Draw-bridge Regulations: Ouchita River, LA" ((RIN2115-AE47)(2001-0084)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3797. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; McArdle Bridge Repairs—Boston, Massachusetts" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0084)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3798. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Ashley River,

Charleston, SC" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0082)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3799. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Maumee River, Toledo, Ohio" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0086)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3800. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Fireworks Display, Newport, RI" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0088)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3801. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Vicinity of Atlantic Fleet Weapons Training Facility, Vieques, PR and Adjacent Territorial Sea" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0085)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3802. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Candlelight on the Water, Port Washington, Wisconsin" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0087)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3803. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Maumee River, Rossford, Ohio" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0090)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3804. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Indian Summer Festival 2001, Milwaukee, Wisconsin" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0091)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3805. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Safety/Security Zone Regulations; Arthur Kill, Staten Island, NY" ((RIN2115-AA97)(2001-0092)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3806. A communication from the Paralegal Specialist, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directive: CFM International CFM56 Series Turbofan Engines" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0471)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3807. A communication from the Paralegal Specialist, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: Airbus Model A330 Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0472)) received on Au-

gust 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3808. A communication from the Paralegal Specialist, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives: BAe Systems (Operations) Limited Model Avro 146-RJ85A and 146-RJ100A Series Airplanes" ((RIN2120-AA64)(2001-0473)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3809. A communication from the Paralegal Specialist, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Standard Instrument Approach Procedures; Miscellaneous Amendments (36) Amdt. No. 2065" ((RIN2120-AA65)(2001-0048)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3810. A communication from the Paralegal Specialist, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Standard Instrument Approach Procedures; Miscellaneous Amendments (63) Amdt. No. 2066" ((RIN2120-AA65)(2001-0049)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3811. A communication from the Attorney-Advisor, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Anthropomorphic Test Devices; 12-Month-Old Child Dummy; Response to Petitions for Reconsideration" (RIN2127-AI37) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3812. A communication from the Attorney-Advisor of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Interior Trunk Release; Response to Petitions for Reconsideration" (RIN2127-AI51) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3813. A communication from the Attorney-Advisor, Maritime Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Eligibility of U.S.-Flag Vessels of 100 Feet or Greater in Registered Length to Obtain a Fishery Endorsement on the Vessel's Documentation" (RIN2133-AB45) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3814. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.202(b), Table of Allotments, FM Broadcast Stations (Salem and Molalla, Oregon, and Fairport and Avon, New York)" (Doc. No. 01-59) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3815. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.202(b), Table of Allotments, FM Broadcast Stations (West Hurley, Rosendale and Rhinebeck, New York, and North Canaan and Sharon, Connecticut)" (Doc. No. 97-178) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3816. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law,

the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.202(b), Table of Allotments, FM Broadcast Stations (Topeka, Iola, Emporia, and Pleasanton, Kansas)" (Doc. Nos. 98-9, 98-13) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3817. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.202(b), Table of Allotments, FM Broadcast Stations (Sugar Hill and Toccoa, Georgia)" (Doc. No. 98-162) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3818. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communication Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.622(b), Table of Allotments, DTV Broadcast Stations, Panama City, FL" (Doc. No. 99-318) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3819. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.202(b), Table of FM Allotments; FM Broadcast Stations Naches, Sunnyside and Benton City, Washington" (Doc. No. 01-95) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3820. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.202(b), Table of Allotments, FM Broadcast Stations (Elkhorn City and Coal Run, Kentucky)" (Doc. No. 00-14) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3821. A communication from the Senior Legal Advisor to the Bureau Chief, Mass Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendment of Section 73.622(b), Table of Allotments, DTV Broadcast Stations, Kansas City, Missouri" (Doc. No. 00-116) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3822. A communication from the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Auctions Expenditure Report for Fiscal Year 2000; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3823. A communication from the Chief of Regulations and Administrative Law, United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Regatta Regulations: SLR; Nanticoke River, Sharptown, Maryland" ((RIN2115-AE46)(2001-0025)) received on August 30, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3824. A communication from the Chief Financial Officer, Office of Managing Director, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "In the Matter of Amendment of Parts 1, 21, 61, 73, 74, and 76 of the Commission's Rules; Adoption of a Mandatory FCC Registration Number" (Doc. No. 00-205) received on September 4, 2001; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. LEVIN, from the Committee on Armed Services, without amendment:

S. 1416: An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 107-62).

S. 1417: An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for defense activities of the Department of Energy, and for other purposes.

S. 1418: An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military construction, and for other purposes.

S. 1419: An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. LEVIN:

S. 1416. An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; from the Committee on Armed Services; placed on the calendar.

By Mr. LEVIN:

S. 1417. An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for defense activities of the Department of Energy, and for other purposes; from the Committee on Armed Services; placed on the calendar.

By Mr. LEVIN:

S. 1418. An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military construction, and for other purposes; from the Committee on Armed Services; placed on the calendar.

By Mr. LEVIN:

S. 1419. An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; from the Committee on Armed Services; placed on the calendar.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 1420. A bill to make clerical and other technical amendments to title 18, United States Code, and other laws relating to crime and criminal procedure; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself, Mr. LOTT, Mr. REID, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. SCHUMER, Mrs. CLINTON, Mr. WARNER, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. HELMS, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. ALLARD, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOND, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. BREAUX, Mr. BROWNBACK, Mr. BUNNING, Mr. BURNS, Mr. BYRD, Mr. CAMPBELL, Ms. CANTWELL, Mrs. CARNAHAN, Mr. CARPER, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. CLELAND, Mr. COCHRAN, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. CORZINE, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. DAYTON, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. DODD, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr.

DORGAN, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. ENSIGN, Mr. ENZI, Mr. FEINGOLD, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. FITZGERALD, Mr. FRIST, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. GREGG, Mr. HAGEL, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. HATCH, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. INOUE, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KERRY, Mr. KOHL, Mr. KYL, Ms. LANDRIEU, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mrs. LINCOLN, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. MCCONNELL, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. NELSON of Florida, Mr. NELSON of Nebraska, Mr. REED, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. SANTORUM, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SHELBY, Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Ms. SNOWE, Mr. SPECTER, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. VOINOVICH, Mr. WELLSTONE, and Mr. WYDEN):

S.J. Res. 22. A joint resolution expressing the sense of the Senate and House of Representatives regarding the terrorist attacks launched against the United States on September 11, 2001; considered and passed.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. THURMOND (for himself, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. BOND, Mr. BROWNBACK, Mr. BUNNING, Mr. BURNS, Mr. BYRD, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. CLELAND, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. DODD, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. FITZGERALD, Mr. FRIST, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HAGEL, Mr. HATCH, Mr. HELMS, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. KERRY, Ms. LANDRIEU, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LOTT, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. MILLER, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. SANTORUM, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SHELBY, Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. VOINOVICH, Mr. WARNER, and Mr. WELLSTONE):

S. Res. 159. A resolution designating the week beginning September 16, 2001, as "National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HATCH (for himself, Mr. REID, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. DODD, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. CLELAND, Mr. HUTCHINSON, and Mr. INOUE):

S. Res. 160. A resolution designating the month of October 2001, as "Family History Month"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 88

At the request of Mr. ROCKEFELLER, the name of the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 88, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide an incentive to ensure that all Americans gain timely and equitable access to the Internet over current and

future generations of broadband capability.

S. 172

At the request of Mr. SMITH of Oregon, the name of the Senator from Washington (Ms. CANTWELL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 172, a bill to benefit electricity consumers by promoting the reliability of the bulk-power system.

S. 247

At the request of Mr. HARKIN, the name of the Senator from New York (Mrs. CLINTON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 247, a bill to provide for the protection of children from tobacco.

S. 484

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the name of the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. BINGAMAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 484, a bill to amend part B of title IV of the Social Security Act to create a grant program to promote joint activities among Federal, State, and local public child welfare and alcohol and drug abuse prevention and treatment agencies.

S. 805

At the request of Mr. WELLSTONE, the name of the Senator from Virginia (Mr. WARNER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 805, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for research with respect to various forms of muscular dystrophy, including Duchenne, Becker, limb girdle, congenital, facioscapulohumeral, myotonic, oculopharyngeal, distal, and emerydreifuss muscular dystrophies.

S. 913

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the names of the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. BINGAMAN), the Senator from Washington (Ms. CANTWELL), and the Senator from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW) were added as cosponsors of S. 913, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for coverage under the medicare program of all oral anticancer drugs.

S. 917

At the request of Ms. COLLINS, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KERRY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 917, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to exclude from gross income amounts received on account of claims based on certain unlawful discrimination and to allow income averaging for backpay and frontpay awards received on account of such claims, and for other purposes.

S. 966

At the request of Mr. DORGAN, the names of the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HARKIN) and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. CONRAD) were added as cosponsors of S. 966, a bill to amend the National Telecommunications and Information Administration Organization Act to encourage deployment of broadband service to rural America.

S. 1022

At the request of Mr. WARNER, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr.

CRAPO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1022, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow Federal civilian and military retirees to pay health insurance premiums on a pretax basis and to allow a deduction for TRICARE supplemental premiums.

S. 1140

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1140, a bill to amend chapter 1 of title 9, United States Code, to provide for greater fairness in the arbitration process relating to motor vehicle franchise contracts.

S. 1333

At the request of Mr. JEFFORDS, the name of the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1333, a bill to enhance the benefits of the national electric system by encouraging and supporting State programs for renewable energy sources, universal electric service, affordable electric service, and energy conservation and efficiency, and for other purposes.

S. 1379

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1379, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish an Office of Rare Diseases at the National Institutes of Health, and for other purposes.

S. 1409

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the names of the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU) and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. WYDEN) were added as cosponsors of S. 1409, a bill to impose sanctions against the PLO or the Palestinian Authority if the President determines that those entities have failed to substantially comply with commitments made to the State of Israel.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 1420. A bill to make clerical and other technical amendments to title 18, United States Code, and other laws relating to crime and criminal procedure; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

S. 1420

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Criminal Law Technical Amendments Act of 2001".

SEC. 2. TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS RELATING TO CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE.

(a) MISSING AND INCORRECT WORDS.—

(1) CORRECTION OF GARBLED SENTENCE.—Section 510(c) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "fine of under this title" and inserting "fine under this title".

(2) INSERTION OF MISSING WORDS.—Section 981(d) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "proceeds from the sale of this section" and inserting "proceeds from the sale of such property under this section".

(3) CORRECTION OF INCORRECT WORD.—Sections 1425 through 1427, 1541 through 1544 and 1546(a) of title 18, United States Code, are each amended by striking "to facility" and inserting "to facilitate".

(4) CORRECTING ERRONEOUS AMENDATORY LANGUAGE ON EXECUTED AMENDMENT.—Effective on the date of the enactment of Public Law 103-322, section 60003(a)(13) of such public law is amended by striking "\$1,000,000 or imprisonment" and inserting "\$1,000,000 and imprisonment".

(5) INSERTION OF MISSING WORD.—Section 3286 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting "section" before "2332b".

(6) CORRECTION OF REFERENCE TO SHORT TITLE OF LAW.—That section 2332d(a) of title 18, United States Code, which relates to financial transactions is amended by inserting "of 1979" after "Export Administration Act".

(7) ELIMINATION OF TYPO.—Section 1992(b) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "term or years" and inserting "term of years".

(8) SPELLING CORRECTION.—Section 2339A(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "or an escape" and inserting "of an escape".

(9) SECTION 3553.—Section 3553(e) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting "a" before "minimum".

(10) MISSPELLING IN SECTION 205.—Section 205(d)(1)(B) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "groups's" and inserting "group's".

(11) CONFORMING CHANGE AND INSERTING MISSING WORD IN SECTION 709.—The paragraph in section 709 of title 18, United States Code, that begins with "A person who" is amended—

(A) by striking "A person who" and inserting "Whoever"; and

(B) by inserting "or" after the semicolon at the end.

(12) ERROR IN LANGUAGE BEING STRICKEN.—Effective on the date of its enactment, section 726(2) of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-132) is amended—

(A) in subparagraphs (C) and (E), by striking "section" the first place it appears; and

(B) in subparagraph (G), by striking "relating to" the first place it appears.

(b) MARGINS, PUNCTUATION, AND SIMILAR ERRORS.—

(1) MARGIN ERROR.—Section 1030(c)(2) of title 18, United States Code, is amended so that the margins of subparagraph (B) and each of its clauses, are moved 2 ems to the left.

(2) CORRECTING CAPITALIZATION IN LANGUAGE TO BE STRICKEN.—Effective on the date of its enactment, section 607(g)(2) of the Economic Espionage Act of 1996 is amended by striking "territory" and inserting "Territory".

(3) CORRECTING PARAGRAPHING.—The material added to section 521(a) of title 18, United States Code, by section 607(q) of the Economic Espionage Act of 1996 is amended to appear as a paragraph indented 2 ems from the left margin.

(4) SUBSECTION PLACEMENT CORRECTION.—Section 1513 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by transferring subsection (d) so that it appears following subsection (c).

(5) INSERTION OF PARENTHETICAL DESCRIPTIONS.—Section 2332b(g)(5)(B)(i) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by inserting "(relating to certain killings in Federal facilities)" after "930(c)";

(B) by inserting "(relating to wrecking trains)" after "1992"; and

(C) by striking “2332c.”.

(6) CORRECTION TO ALLOW FOR INSERTION OF NEW SUBPARAGRAPH AND CORRECTION OF ERRONEOUS INDENTATION.—Section 1956(c)(7) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (B)(ii), by moving the margin 2 ems to the right;

(B) by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (D);

(C) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (E) and inserting “; or”; and

(D) in subparagraph (F), by striking “Any” and inserting “any”.

(7) CORRECTION OF CONFUSING SUBDIVISION DESIGNATION.—Section 1716 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in the first undesignated paragraph, by inserting “(j)(1)” before “Whoever”;

(B) in the second undesignated paragraph—

(i) by striking “not more than \$10,000” and inserting “under this title”; and

(ii) by inserting “(2)” at the beginning of that paragraph;

(C) by inserting “(3)” at the beginning of the third undesignated paragraph; and

(D) by redesignating subsection (j) as subsection (k).

(8) PUNCTUATION CORRECTION IN SECTION 1091.—Section 1091(b)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “subsection (a)(1),” and inserting “subsection (a)(1)”.

(9) PUNCTUATION CORRECTION IN SECTION 2311.—Section 2311 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking the period after “carcasses thereof” the second place that term appears and inserting a semicolon.

(10) SYNTAX CORRECTION.—Section 115(b)(2) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “, attempted kidnapping, or conspiracy to kidnap of a person” and inserting “or attempted kidnapping of, or a conspiracy to kidnap, a person”.

(11) CORRECTING CAPITALIZATION IN SECTION 982.—Section 982(a)(8) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “Court” and inserting “court”.

(12) PUNCTUATION CORRECTIONS IN SECTION 1029.—Section 1029 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in subsection (c)(1)(A)(ii), by striking “(9),” and inserting “(9)”; and

(B) in subsection (e), by adding a semicolon at the end of paragraph (8).

(13) CORRECTIONS OF CONNECTORS AND PUNCTUATION IN SECTION 1030.—Section 1030 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by striking “and” at the end of subsection (c)(2)(A);

(B) by inserting “and” at the end of subsection (c)(2)(B)(iii);

(C) by striking “; and” at the end of subsection (c)(3)(B) and inserting a period;

(D) by striking the period at the end of subsection (e)(4)(I) and inserting a semicolon; and

(E) by striking “and” at the end of subsection (e)(7).

(14) CORRECTION OF PUNCTUATION IN SECTION 1032.—Section 1032(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “13,” and inserting “13”.

(15) CORRECTION OF PUNCTUATION IN SECTION 1345.—Section 1345(a)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (B), by striking “, or” and inserting “; or”; and

(B) in subparagraph (C), by striking the period and inserting a semicolon.

(16) CORRECTION OF PUNCTUATION IN SECTION 3612.—Section 3612(f)(2)(B) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “preceding,” and inserting “preceding”.

(17) CORRECTION OF INDENTATION IN CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES ACT.—Section 402(c)(2) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 842(c)(2)) is amended by moving the margin of subparagraph (C) 2 ems to the left.

(C) ELIMINATION OF REDUNDANCIES.—

(1) ELIMINATION OF REDUNDANT PROVISION.—Section 2516(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by striking the first paragraph (p); and

(B) by inserting “or” at the end of paragraph (o).

(2) ELIMINATION OF DUPLICATE AMENDMENTS.—Effective on the date of its enactment, paragraphs (1), (2), and (4) of section 601(b), paragraph (2) of section 601(d), paragraph (2) of section 601(f), paragraphs (1) and (2)(A) of section 601(j), paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 601(k), subsection (d) of section 602, paragraph (4) of section 604(b), subsection (r) of section 605, and paragraph (2) of section 607(j) of the Economic Espionage Act of 1996 are repealed.

(3) ELIMINATION OF EXTRA COMMA.—Section 1956(c)(7)(D) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by striking “Code,,” and inserting “Code.”; and

(B) by striking “services,,” and inserting “services.”.

(4) REPEAL OF SECTION GRANTING DUPLICATIVE AUTHORITY.—

(A) Section 3503 of title 18, United States Code, is repealed.

(B) The table of sections at the beginning of chapter 223 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking the item relating to section 3503.

(5) ELIMINATION OF OUTMODED REFERENCE TO PAROLE.—Section 929(b) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking the last sentence.

(d) CORRECTION OF OUTMODED FINE AMOUNTS.—

(1) IN TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE.—

(A) IN SECTION 492.—Section 492 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “not more than \$100” and inserting “under this title”.

(B) IN SECTION 665.—Section 665(c) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “a fine of not more than \$5,000” and inserting “a fine under this title”.

(C) IN SECTIONS 1924, 2075, 2113(b), AND 2236.—

(i) Section 1924(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “not more than \$1,000,” and inserting “under this title”.

(ii) Sections 2075 and 2113(b) of title 18, United States Code, are each amended by striking “not more than \$1,000” and inserting “under this title”.

(iii) Section 2236 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting “under this title” after “warrant, shall be fined”, and by striking “not more than \$1,000”.

(D) IN SECTION 372 AND 752.—Sections 372 and 752(a) of title 18, United States Code, are each amended by striking “not more than \$5,000” and inserting “under this title”.

(E) IN SECTION 924(e)(1).—Section 924(e)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “not more than \$25,000” and inserting “under this title”.

(2) IN THE CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES ACT.—

(A) IN SECTION 401.—Section 401(d) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 841(d)) is amended—

(i) in paragraph (1), by striking “and shall be fined not more than \$10,000” and inserting “or fined under title 18, United States Code, or both”; and

(ii) in paragraph (2), by striking “and shall be fined not more than \$20,000” and inserting “or fined under title 18, United States Code, or both”.

(B) IN SECTION 402.—Section 402(c)(2) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 842(c)) is amended—

(i) in subparagraph (A), by striking “of not more than \$25,000” and inserting “under title 18, United States Code”; and

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking “of \$50,000” and inserting “under title 18, United States Code”.

(C) IN SECTION 403.—Section 403(d) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 843(d)) is amended—

(i) by striking “of not more than \$30,000” each place that term appears and inserting “under title 18, United States Code”; and

(ii) by striking “of not more than \$60,000” each place it appears and inserting “under title 18, United States Code”.

(e) CROSS REFERENCE CORRECTIONS.—

(1) SECTION 3664.—Section 3664(o)(1)(C) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “section 3664(d)(3)” and inserting “subsection (d)(5)”.

(2) CHAPTER 228.—Section 3592(c)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “section 36” and inserting “section 37”.

(3) CORRECTING ERRONEOUS CROSS REFERENCE IN CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES ACT.—Section 511(a)(10) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 881(a)(10)) is amended by striking “1822 of the Mail Order Drug Paraphernalia Control Act” and inserting “422”.

(4) CORRECTION TO REFLECT CROSS REFERENCE CHANGE MADE BY OTHER LAW.—Effective on the date of its enactment, section 601(c)(3) of the Economic Espionage Act of 1996 is amended by striking “247(d)” and inserting “247(e)”.

(5) TYPOGRAPHICAL AND TYPEFACE ERROR IN TABLE OF CHAPTERS.—The item relating to chapter 123 in the table of chapters at the beginning of part I of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by striking “2271” and inserting “2721”; and

(B) so that the item appears in bold face type.

(6) SECTION 4104.—Section 4104(d) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “section 3653 of this title and rule 32(f) of” and inserting “section 3565 of this title and the applicable provisions of”.

(7) ERROR IN AMENDATORY LANGUAGE.—Effective on the date of its enactment, section 583 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1998 (111 Stat. 2436) is amended by striking “Section 2401” and inserting “Section 2441”.

(8) ERROR IN CROSS REFERENCE TO COURT RULES.—The first sentence of section 3593(c) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “rule 32(c)” and inserting “rule 32”.

(9) SECTION 1836.—Section 1836 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in subsection (a), by striking “this section” and inserting “this chapter”; and

(B) in subsection (b), by striking “this subsection” and inserting “this section”.

(10) CORRECTION OF ERRONEOUS CITE IN CHAPTER 119.—Section 2510(10) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “shall have” and all that follows through “United States Code;” and inserting “has the meaning given that term in section 3 of the Communications Act of 1934;”.

(11) ELIMINATION OF OUTMODED CITE IN SECTION 2339A.—Section 2339A(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “2332c.”.

(12) CORRECTION OF REFERENCES IN AMENDATORY LANGUAGE.—Effective the date of its enactment, section 115(a)(8)(B) of Public Law 105-119 is amended—

(A) in clause (i)—

(i) by striking “at the end of” and inserting “following”; and

(ii) by striking “paragraph” the second place it appears and inserting “subsection”; and

(B) in clause (ii), by striking “subparagraph (A)” and inserting “clause (i)”.

(f) TABLES OF SECTIONS CORRECTIONS.—

(1) CONFORMING TABLE OF SECTIONS TO HEADING OF SECTION.—The item relating to section 1837 in the table of sections at the beginning of chapter 90 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “Conduct” and inserting “Applicability to conduct”.

(2) CONFORMING HEADING TO TABLE OF SECTIONS ENTRY.—The heading of section 1920 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “employee’s” and inserting “employees”.

SEC. 3. ADDITIONAL TECHNICALS.

Title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in section 922(t)(1)(C), by striking “1028(d)(1)” and inserting “1028(d)”;

(2) in section 1005—

(A) in the first undesignated paragraph, by striking “Act,,” and inserting “Act,;” and

(B) by inserting “or” at the end of the third undesignated paragraph;

(3) in section 1071, by striking “fine of under this title” and inserting “fine under this title”;

(4) in section 1368(a), by inserting “to” after “serious bodily injury”;

(5) in section 1956(c)(7)(B)(ii), by inserting “or” at the end thereof;

(6) in section 1956(c)(7)(B)(iii), by inserting a closing parenthesis after “1978”;

(7) in subsections (b)(1) and (c) of section 2252A, by striking “paragraphs” and inserting “paragraph”; and

(8) in section 2254(a)(3), by striking the comma before the period at the end.

SEC. 4. REPEAL OF OUTMODED PROVISIONS.

(a) Section 14 of title 18, United States Code, and the item relating thereto in the table of sections at the beginning of chapter 1 of title 18, United States Code, are repealed.

(b) Section 1261 of such title is amended—

(1) by striking “(a) The Secretary” and inserting “The Secretary”; and

(2) by striking subsection (b).

(c) Section 1821 of such title is amended by striking “, the Canal Zone”.

(d) Section 3183 of such title is amended by striking “or the Panama Canal Zone.”.

(e) Section 3241 of such title is amended by striking “United States District Court for the Canal Zone and the”.

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself, Mr. LOTT, Mr. REID, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. SCHUMER, Mrs. CLINTON, Mr. WARNER, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. HELMS, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. ALLARD, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOND, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. BREAUX, Mr. BROWNBACK, Mr. BUNNING, Mr. BURNS, Mr. BYRD, Mr. CAMPBELL, Ms. CANTWELL, Mrs. CARNAHAN, Mr. CARPER, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. CLELAND, Mr. COCHRAN, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. CORZINE, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. DAYTON, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. DODD, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. DORGAN, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. ENSIGN, Mr. ENZI, Mr. FEINGOLD, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. FITZGERALD, Mr. FRIST, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. GREGG, Mr. HAGEL, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. HATCH, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. INOUE, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KERRY, Mr. KOHL, Mr. KYL, Ms.

LANDRIEU, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mrs. LINCOLN, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. MCCONNELL, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. NELSON of Florida, Mr. NELSON of Nebraska, Mr. REED, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. SANTORUM, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SHELBY, Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Ms. SNOWE, Mr. SPECTER, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. VOINOVICH, Mr. WELLSTONE, and Mr. WYDEN);

S.J. Res. 22. A joint resolution expressing the sense of the Senate and House of Representatives regarding the terrorist attacks launched against the United States on September 11, 2001; considered and passed.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the joint resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

S.J. RES. 22

Whereas on September 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked and destroyed four civilian aircraft, crashing two of them into the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, and a third into the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C.;

Whereas thousands of innocent Americans were killed and injured as a result of these attacks, including the passengers and crew of the four aircraft, workers in the World Trade Center and in the Pentagon, rescue workers, and bystanders;

Whereas these attacks destroyed both towers of the World Trade Center, as well as adjacent buildings, and seriously damaged the Pentagon; and

Whereas these attacks were by far the deadliest terrorist attacks ever launched against the United States, and, by targeting symbols of American strength and success, clearly were intended to intimidate our Nation and weaken its resolve: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress—

(1) condemns in the strongest possible terms the terrorists who planned and carried out the September 11, 2001, attacks against the United States, as well as their sponsors;

(2) extends its deepest condolences to the victims of these heinous and cowardly attacks, as well as to their families, friends, and loved ones;

(3) is certain that the people of the United States will stand united as our Nation begins the process of recovering and rebuilding in the aftermath of these tragic acts;

(4) commends the heroic actions of the rescue workers, volunteers, and State and local officials who responded to these tragic events with courage, determination, and skill;

(5) declares that these premeditated attacks struck not only at the people of America, but also at the symbols and structures of our economic and military strength, and that the United States is entitled to respond under international law;

(6) thanks those foreign leaders and individuals who have expressed solidarity with

the United States in the aftermath of the attacks, and asks them to continue to stand with the United States in the war against international terrorism;

(7) commits to support increased resources in the war to eradicate terrorism;

(8) supports the determination of the President, in close consultation with Congress, to bring to justice and punish the perpetrators of these attacks as well as their sponsors; and

(9) declares that September 12, 2001, shall be a National Day of Unity and Mourning, and that when Congress adjourns today, it stands adjourned out of respect to the victims of the terrorist attacks.

STATEMENTS ON SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 159—DESIGNATING THE WEEK BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 16, 2001, AS “NATIONAL HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WEEK”

Mr. THURMOND (for himself, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. BOND, Mr. BROWNBACK, Mr. BUNNING, Mr. BURNS, Mr. BYRD, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. CLELAND, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. DODD, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. FITZGERALD, Mr. FRIST, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HAGEL, Mr. HATCH, Mr. HELMS, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. KERRY, Ms. LANDRIEU, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LOTT, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. MILLER, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. SANTORUM, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SHELBY, Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. VOINOVICH, Mr. WARNER, and Mr. WELLSTONE) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 159

Whereas there are 105 historically black colleges and universities in the United States;

Whereas black colleges and universities provide the quality education so essential to full participation in a complex, highly technological society;

Whereas black colleges and universities have a rich heritage and have played a prominent role in American history;

Whereas black colleges and universities have allowed many underprivileged students to attain their full potential through higher education; and

Whereas the achievements and goals of historically black colleges and universities are deserving of national recognition: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved,

SECTION 1. DESIGNATION OF NATIONAL HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WEEK.

The Senate—

(1) designates the week beginning September 16, 2001, as “National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week”; and

(2) requests that the President of the United States issue a proclamation calling on the people of the United States and interested groups to observe the week with appropriate ceremonies, activities, and programs

to demonstrate support for historically black colleges and universities in the United States.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to submit a Senate Resolution designating the week beginning September 16, 2001, as "National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week." It is my privilege to sponsor this legislation, honoring the Historically Black Colleges of our Country, for the sixteenth time.

Thousands of young Americans have received quality educations at the 105 Historically Black Colleges and Universities in this Country. These institutions have a long and distinguished history of providing the training necessary for participation in a rapidly changing society. I am pleased that eight of the 105 Historically Black Colleges and Universities are located in my State of South Carolina. Historically Black Colleges offer our citizens a variety of curricula and programs through which young people develop skills and talents, thereby expanding opportunities for continued social progress.

Studies have shown that Historically Black Colleges and Universities have graduated the majority of black professionals in the Nation. The adoption of this resolution will affirm the United States' support for these institutions and the critical contributions of their alumni to our society.

SENATE RESOLUTION 160—DESIGNATING THE MONTH OF OCTOBER 2001, AS "FAMILY HISTORY MONTH"

Mr. HATCH (for himself, Mr. REID, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. DODD, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. CLELAND, Mr. HUTCHINSON, and Mr. INOUE) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. RES. 160

Whereas it is the family, striving for a future of opportunity and hope, that reflects our Nation's belief in community, stability, and love;

Whereas the family remains an institution of promise, reliance, and encouragement;

Whereas we look to the family as an unwavering symbol of constancy that will help us discover a future of prosperity, promise, and potential;

Whereas within our Nation's libraries and archives lie the treasured records that detail the history of our Nation, our States, our communities, and our citizens;

Whereas individuals from across our Nation and across the world have embarked on a genealogical journey by discovering who their ancestors were and how various forces shaped their past;

Whereas an ever-growing number in our Nation and in other nations are collecting, preserving, and sharing genealogies, personal documents, and memorabilia that detail the life and times of families around the world;

Whereas 54,000,000 individuals belong to a family where someone in the family has used the Internet to research their family history;

Whereas individuals from across our Nation and across the world continue to re-

search their family heritage and its impact upon the history of our Nation and the world;

Whereas approximately 60 percent of Americans have expressed an interest in tracing their family history;

Whereas the study of family history gives individuals a sense of their heritage and a sense of responsibility in carrying out a legacy that their ancestors began;

Whereas as individuals learn about their ancestors who worked so hard and sacrificed so much, their commitment to honor their ancestors' memory by doing good is increased;

Whereas interest in our personal family history transcends all cultural and religious affiliations;

Whereas to encourage family history research, education, and the sharing of knowledge is to renew the commitment to the concept of home and family; and

Whereas the involvement of National, State, and local officials in promoting genealogy and in facilitating access to family history records in archives and libraries are important factors in the successful perception of nationwide camaraderie, support, and participation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) designates the month of October 2001, as "Family History Month"; and

(2) requests that the President issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe the month with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 1548. Mr. KERRY (for himself and Mr. BOND) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 2500, making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 1549. Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself, Mrs. HUTCHISON, and Mrs. BOXER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 2500, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 1550. Ms. COLLINS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 2500, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

TEXT OF AMENDMENTS

SA 1548. Mr. KERRY (for himself and Mr. BOND) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 2500, making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 102, line 3, strike the period and insert: "Provided further, That \$13,700,000 shall be available in fiscal year 2002 to fund grants as authorized by section 29 of the Small Business Act."

SA 1549. Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself, Mrs. HUTCHISON, and Mrs. BOXER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 2500, making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending Sep-

tember 30, 2002, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 75, insert between lines 11 and 12 the following:

SEC. 306. ADDITIONAL FEDERAL JUDGESHIPS FOR CRITICAL AREAS.

(a) DISTRICT JUDGES FOR THE DISTRICT COURTS.—The President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, the number of additional permanent district judges recommended by the Judicial Conference's Request to Congress issued February 5, 2001, for any district where the weighted filings per judgeship in the 12 months ending September 30, 2000 is, according to the Judicial Conference, greater than twice the national benchmark caseload standard used by the Judicial Conference as a measure of the need for new judgeships.

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this section, including such sums as may be necessary to provide appropriate space and facilities for the judicial positions created by this section.

SA 1550. Ms. COLLINS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 2500, making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 101, line 18, insert the following before the colon: ", of which, \$13,700,000, shall be available to carry out the Women's Business Development Program established under section 29 of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 656), and shall remain available until expended".

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Governmental Affairs be authorized to meet on Wednesday, September 12, 2001, at 11:00 a.m. SH-216, for a hearing regarding "How Secure is Our Critical Infrastructure?"

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

AUTHORIZING THE USE OF THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H. Con. Res. 223, just received from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the concurrent resolution by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 223) permitting the use of the Rotunda of the Capitol for a prayer vigil in memory of those who lost their lives in the events of September 11, 2001.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be agreed to and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

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

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 223) was agreed to.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT
AGREEMENT—S.J. RES. 22

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following be the order of speakers on Thursday morning dealing with S.J. Res. 22 which we voted on today: Senators BOND, LINCOLN, SMITH of New Hampshire, STABENOW, COLLINS, GRAHAM, MURKOWSKI, and BYRD.

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

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY,
SEPTEMBER 13, 2001

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until the hour of 9:30 a.m. on Thursday, September 13. I further ask unanimous consent that on Thursday, immediately following the prayer and the pledge, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate be in a period for morning business until 11 a.m., with Senators permitted to speak with respect to S.J. Res. 22 for up to 5 minutes each, with each side alternating; further, at 11 a.m., the Senate resume consideration of the Commerce-State-Justice appropriations act.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. REID. Mr. President, based on the ruling of the Chair, tomorrow morning the Senate will convene at 9:30 a.m., with a period for morning business for Senators to speak regarding S.J. Res. 22. At 11 a.m., the Senate will resume consideration of the Commerce-State-Justice appropriations act. We hope to complete action on the Commerce-State-Justice appropriations bill early tomorrow evening. It would be a big accomplishment for us to be able to do that. There will be votes throughout the day.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M.
TOMORROW

Mr. REID. 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 provisions of S.J. Res. 22 as a further mark of respect to the victims of the terrorist attacks.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 7:20 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, September 13, 2001, at 9:30 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 12, 2001:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

EDWARD R. MCPHERSON, OF TEXAS, TO BE CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, VICE SALLY THOMPSON, RESIGNED.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

READ VAN DE WATER, OF NORTH CAROLINA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION, VICE FRANCISCO J. SANCHEZ, RESIGNED.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RALPH LEO BOYCE, JR., OF VIRGINIA, TO BE A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA.

ROBERT W. JORDAN, OF TEXAS, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA.

ROBERT V. ROYALL, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA.

KEVIN E. MOLEY, OF ARIZONA, TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE EUROPEAN OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR, VICE GEORGE EDWARD MOOSE.

KENNETH C. BRILL, OF MARYLAND, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR.

KENNETH C. BRILL, OF MARYLAND, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE VIENNA OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR.

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

JOSE A. FOURQUET, OF NEW JERSEY, TO BE UNITED STATES EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK FOR A TERM OF THREE YEARS, VICE LAWRENCE HARRINGTON, RESIGNED.

UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

J. EDWARD FOX, OF OHIO, TO BE AN ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR OF THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, VICE JOSEPH R. CRAPA, RESIGNED.

E. ANNE PETERSON, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR OF THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, VICE BARRY EDWARD CARTER.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DUNN LAMPTON, OF MISSISSIPPI, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS, VICE JOE BRADLEY PIGOTT, RESIGNED.

BENIGNO G. REYNA, OF TEXAS, TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE UNITED STATES MARSHALS SERVICE, VICE JOHN W. MARSHALL, RESIGNED.

JUAN CARLOS BENITEZ, OF PUERTO RICO, TO BE SPECIAL COUNSEL FOR IMMIGRATION-RELATED UNFAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES FOR A TERM OF FOUR YEARS, VICE JOHN D. TRASVINA, TERM EXPIRING.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

The Senate and House passed S.J. Res. 22, expressing the sense of the Senate and House of Representatives regarding the terrorist attacks launched against the United States on September 11, 2001.

The House agreed to H. Con. Res. 223, permitting the use of the rotunda of the Capitol for a prayer vigil in memory of those who lost their lives as a result of these attacks.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S9283–S9342

Measures Introduced: Five bills and three resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 1416–1419, S.J. Res. 22, and S. Res. 159–160. **Page S9337**

Measures Reported:

S. 1416, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces. (S. Rept. No. 107–62)

S. 1417, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for defense activities of the Department of Energy.

S. 1418, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military construction.

S. 1419, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces. **Page S9337**

Measures Passed:

Terrorist Attack Response: By a unanimous vote of 100 yeas (Vote No. 277), Senate passed S.J. Res. 22, expressing the sense of the Senate and the House of Representatives regarding the terrorist attacks launched against the United States on September 11, 2001. **Pages S9284–88, S9289–S9332**

A unanimous-consent agreement was reached providing for further debate on the resolution, on Thursday, September 13, 2001. **Page S9342**

Rotunda Prayer Vigil: Senate agreed to H. Con. Res. 223, to authorize the use of the Rotunda at

anytime on September 12, 2001 for a prayer vigil in memory of those who lost their lives in the events of September 11, 2001. **Pages S9341–42**

Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Act—Agreement: A unanimous-consent agreement was reached providing for further consideration of H.R. 2500, making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, on Thursday, September 13, 2001.

Page S9342

Nominations Received: Senate received the following nominations:

Edward R. McPherson, of Texas, to be Chief Financial Officer, Department of Agriculture.

Read Van de Water, of North Carolina, to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation.

Ralph Leo Boyce, Jr., of Virginia, to be to be a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia.

Robert W. Jordan, of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Robert V. Royall, of South Carolina, to be Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania.

Kevin E. Moley, of Arizona, to be Representative of the United States of America to the European Office of the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador.

Kenneth C. Brill, of Maryland, to be Representative of the United States of America to the International Atomic Energy Agency, with the rank of Ambassador.

Kenneth C. Brill, of Maryland, to be Representative of the United States of America to the Vienna

Office of the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador.

Jose A. Fourquet, of New Jersey, to be United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank for a term of three years.

J. Edward Fox, of Ohio, to be an Assistant Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development.

E. Anne Peterson, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development.

Dunn Lampton, of Mississippi, to be United States Attorney for the Southern District of Mississippi for the term of four years.

Benigno G. Reyna, of Texas, to be Director of the United States Marshals Service.

Juan Carlos Benitez, of Puerto Rico, to be Special Counsel for Immigration-Related Unfair Employment Practices for a term of four years. **Page S9342**

Executive Communications: Pages S9333–37

Messages From the House: Page S9333

Measures Referred: Page S9333

Statements on Introduced Bills: Pages S9338–40

Additional Cosponsors: Pages S9337–38

Amendments Submitted: Page S9341

Additional Statements: Pages S9332–33

Authority for Committees: Page S9341

Record Votes: One record vote was taken today. (Total—277) **Page S9300**

Adjournment: Senate met at 10:01 a.m. and adjourned at 7:20 p.m., until 9:30 a.m., on Thursday, September 13, 2001. (For Senate's program, see the remarks of the Acting Majority Leader in today's Record on page S9342.)

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

GOVERNMENT INFRASTRUCTURE

Committee on Governmental Affairs: Committee concluded hearings to examine the security of critical governmental infrastructure, challenges in protecting federal systems, development of analysis, and warning capabilities, including the Presidential Decision Directive 63, a strategy for protecting our nation's critical infrastructures from computer-bases attacks, after receiving testimony from Roberta L. Gross, Inspector General, National Aeronautics and Space Administration; and Joel C. Willemsen, Managing Director, Information Technology Issues, General Accounting Office.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS FOR THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 2001

(Committee meetings are open unless otherwise indicated)

Senate

Committee on Armed Services: to hold hearings on the nomination of General Richard B. Myers, USAF, for appointment as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and appointment to the grade of general, 2:30 p.m., SH–216.

Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation: Subcommittee on Science, Technology, and Space, to hold hearings to examine digital divide issues, 2 p.m., SR–253.

Committee on Foreign Relations: to hold hearings on the nomination of John D. Negroponte, of the District of Columbia, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations during his tenure of service as Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations and to be the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations in the Security Council of the United Nations, 11 a.m., SD–419.

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions: business meeting to consider S. 952, to provide collective bargaining rights for public safety officers employed by States or their political subdivisions; S. 928, to amend the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 to require, as a condition of receipt or use of Federal financial assistance, that States waive immunity to suit for certain violations of that Act, and to affirm the availability of certain suits for injunctive relief to ensure compliance with that Act; and the nomination of Brian Jones, of California, to be General Counsel, Department of Education, 10 a.m., SD–430.

Committee on the Judiciary: business meeting to consider S. 754, to enhance competition for prescription drugs by increasing the ability of the Department of Justice and Federal Trade Commission to enforce existing antitrust laws regarding brand name drugs and generic drugs; S. 1319/H.R. 2215, a bill to authorize appropriations for the Department of Justice for fiscal year 2002; S. 1140, to amend chapter 1 of title 9, United States Code, to provide for greater fairness in the arbitration process relating to motor vehicle franchise contracts; S. 1315, to make improvements in title 18, United States Code, and safeguard the integrity of the criminal justice system, an original bill, designating the week beginning September 16, 2001 as "National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week", and pending nominations, 10:30 a.m., SD–226.

Full Committee, to hold hearings to examine the nominations of Barrington D. Parker, Jr., of Connecticut, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit, Laurie Smith Camp, to be United States District Judge for the District of Nebraska, Michael P. Mills, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Mississippi, and John W. Gillis, of California, to be Director of the Office of Victims of Crime, 2 p.m., SD–226.

Next Meeting of the SENATE

9:30 a.m., Thursday, September 13

Senate Chamber

Program for Thursday: After the recognition of eight Senators for speeches and the transaction of any routine morning business (not to extend beyond 11 a.m.), Senate will resume consideration of H.R. 2500, Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Act.



Congressional Record

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