

coordinated effort to assess damage to historic buildings in lower Manhattan and deal with other preservation issues stemming from the tremendous damage in that area.

As an outgrowth of this collaboration with our New York partners, the National Trust is one of 5 organizations that have established the Lower Manhattan Emergency Preservation Fund, which will make grants to help alleviate the impact of the disaster and to stabilize, renovate, and restore damaged historic sites in Lower Manhattan. We've already pledged \$10,000 to this fund, and we're prepared to do more. The Lower East Side Tenement Museum, a National Trust historic site located within sight of Ground Zero, opened its doors to shelter those fleeing the financial district on September 11. Now, as part of its longstanding commitment to programs that promote cultural tolerance and understanding, the museum—with support from Trust employee contributions—is launching new initiatives focusing on understanding the Arab-American experience.

National Trust staff are also contributing to the Service Employees September 11th Relief Fund, established to provide assistance to the thousands of janitors, day porters, security guards, tour guides and other service employees working in the World Trade Center and the Pentagon who were either killed or injured in the attacks, or who are out of work indefinitely because of the damage to these buildings.

Anyone who wishes to contribute to these funds is certainly welcome to do so. Already we have collected more than \$11,000. We'll continue to increase this amount with your help tonight—in the lobby as you leave there will be volunteers accepting your contributions to this effort. Thank you in advance for your help. For future and ongoing contributions, you can get information about them at the National Trust programs booth in the Resource Center.

These efforts mark the mere beginning of what will be a long process of recovery and rebuilding. I'm convinced that it will challenge this organization and the preservation movement as a whole. Fortunately we are positioned to meet the challenge effectively. As you'll hear in a few moments, our financial base is strong and getting stronger. And our programs to help Americans appreciate their heritage and strengthen efforts to save it are meeting unprecedented success.

My confidence in the National Trust's ability to meet this challenge extends to the preservation movement as a whole. We've never been stronger. Historic sites across the country are doing a better job than ever of linking us with our past and reminding us of its relevance to our daily lives. There are more—and more effective—statewide and local organizations than ever before. Together, we're making a real difference—a difference you can see in landmark buildings put to innovative uses; in traditional downtowns given new economic life; in historic neighborhood schools adapted to provide state-of-the-art learning environments for today's students; in farmland and open spaces protected from wasteful sprawl; in historic sites where interpretive programs bring our heritage alive; and in communities rescued from decades of disinvestment and deterioration.

Because of the great strides our movement has made in recent decades, it's hard to find a city or town where preservation's benefits aren't clearly and proudly—and even profitably—displayed. This widespread success is helping vast new audiences learn what you and I have always known for a long time: that preservation is not about buildings, it's about lives.

It's about saving historic places not just as isolated bits of architecture and landscape,

not just as lifeless monuments, but as environments where we can connect with the lives of the generations that came before us, places where we can build and maintain safe, rich, meaningful lives for ourselves and the generations that will come after us.

Our strengths, our skills, our experience and our unique perspective will see us through this challenge. But I am convinced that it won't be easy—and what's more, it certainly won't be quick. In the altered context in which we now operate, many questions remain to be answered: How will the changing and uncertain state of the economy affect us? How will the events of September 11 affect the growing momentum of the back-to-the-city movement? Can we take steps to ensure that smart-growth issues such as improved passenger rail and mass-transit options and increased development density are included in the national recovery agenda?

Can we develop innovative, yet sensitive ways to address the very real concerns for public safety in historic buildings and gathering places? How can we best help the public understand the importance of a strong commitment to historic preservation as an essential component of building our national unity?

These are tough questions. There are dozens more, all equally challenging. We'll need time and perspective and lots of serious conversation before we find answers to them. This conference provides an excellent forum for starting those conversations. As Americans, one of our greatest strengths is our identity. Knowing who we are makes us strong. Knowing where we came from makes us confident. Knowing the legacy we have inherited makes us part of a powerful partnership between past, present, and future.

Passing on that knowledge—of who we are, where we came from and what is the legacy that shapes and enriches us—is what preservation is all about. It's what makes preservation such important—and yes, noble—work. The Talmud tells us, "We do not see things as they are. We see them as we are." As preservationists, we have a unique way of seeing things. Our vision can help America find its way through the uncertainties of this new world. We will pass on that vision.

As preservationists, we understand the strength that comes from a shared sense of the rich heritage that is ours as Americans. We will pass on that heritage—and the strength that grows with it.

We know that our work is America's work. We know that the heritage we share is worthy of our best efforts to save it. We know that the skills and vision we offer have never been more important—or more needed. We have an enormous job to do—but it's the same job we've been doing for a long time, and we know how to do it well.

So let us go forward with a renewed sense of purpose. The heritage we preserve will sustain us in these very different and trying times. The heritage we pass on will enrich and inspire generations of Americans to come.

May God bless our work as preservationists. May God bless America.

Thank you.

#### ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB BY WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

Mr. CLELAND. Madam President, I rise to day to pay tribute to a great friend of the United States and a man whose unique perspective on the current events of the world is worthy of our attention. Recently, I had the rare honor of spending some time with Win-

ston S. Churchill. His grandfather, former Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill is a hero to many Americans including myself. Sir Winston's leadership of the British people in their darkest hours are a source of inspiration for all of us in these uncertain times. His picture hangs on the wall of my office and a recording of his speeches remains ready to be played in my car should I need inspiration for the day ahead. In the face of adversity and as his country was faced with the most brutal of all enemies, Churchill steadfastly "held the line." In October of 1941, just over 60 years ago, Churchill spoke these words to the young men of Harrow school:

Never give in, never give in, never, never, never, never. In nothing, great or small, large or petty—never give in except to convictions of honor and good sense. Never yield to force; never yield to the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy.

Those words inspire me to keep fighting in the Senate for what is right and for what is good. Those words inspire me to keep working toward the righteous goal in the conflict in which the United States and the United Kingdom are fighting today. I have no doubt that, were Sir Winston alive today, he would be standing beside our country in this crisis, just as Prime Minister Blair has done.

Last month, at a dinner hosted by the Churchill Center, I had the honor of meeting with Winston S. Churchill. Just like his grandfather, Winston S. Churchill has led a remarkable life. His experience as a former war correspondent and Member of Parliament has, I believe, given him a unique insight into our current War on Terrorism. He has traveled the globe and has a deep understanding of the different peoples and cultures of our world. In particular, my colleagues may benefit from his interesting and thought provoking assessment of the current situation he made in an address to the National Press Club on October 11, 2001.

I ask unanimous consent this address be printed in the RECORD and, on behalf of the American people, I offer Winston S. Churchill my sincere appreciation for everything that he has done to further the "special relationship" between the United States and Great Britain.

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

CONFRONTING THE CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM (Address to the National Press Club, Washington, DC, on Thursday, 11 October 2001, by Winston S. Churchill)

I find it a remarkable honour, as a former war correspondent of the 1960s and early 1970s, to be your guest here today. At the time I received your invitation back in May, it was my intention to speak to you on the theme of the Special Relationship, which it was fashionable—especially in media circles—to regard as finished. Though that remains an underlying theme, the subject of my address to you today is: Confronting the Challenge of Terrorism.

Precisely one month ago today, the vilest and most devastating terrorist attack was

perpetrated against innocent civilians. Let there be no doubt: in striking at New York's Twin Towers and at the Pentagon here in Washington, the terrorists were striking at us all, all that is who value freedom, decency and democratic government.

I happened to be in New York at the time and watched in disbelief as, one after the other, these two proud icons disappeared from New York's skyline. I saw the courage of the men and women of New York's Fire and Police Departments and the calm resolve of the ordinary citizens in the face of terror, which came without warning out of a clear blue sky.

It evoked for me memories of wartime London. I was a Blitz baby, born in 1940, and my earliest memories are of bombs falling on London, of blazing buildings, of anti-aircraft tracer crisscrossing the night sky and of many a night spent in public shelters beneath the streets of London.

Indeed I understand that Mayor Guiliani, who has been such a tower of strength to New Yorkers in their hour of crisis, has become so fond of quoting my Grandfather, that he has earned the accolade of "Churchill in a ball cap". The words of Winston Churchill, in a speech to the House of Commons—following Hitler's orders to the German Luftwaffe to begin terror-bombing the civilian population of Britain—are indeed most apposite. They apply every bit as much to New Yorkers and the people of America today:

"[Hitler] hopes by killing large numbers of civilians, and women and children, that he will terrorise and cow the people of this mighty imperial city. . . . Little does he know the spirit of the British nation, or the tough fibre of the Londoners. . . .

"This wicked man, the repository and embodiment of many forms of soul-destroying hatred, this monstrous product of former wrongs and shame, has now resolved to try to break our famous island race by a process of indiscriminate slaughter and destruction.

"What he has done is to kindle a fire in British hearts, here and all over the world, which . . . will burn with a steady and consuming flame until the last vestiges of Nazi tyranny have been burned out of Europe, and until the Old World—and the New—can join hands to rebuild the temples of man's freedom and man's honour, upon foundations which will not be soon or easily overthrown.

The reference to "the temples of man's freedom" has a haunting echo about it, and I could not help but notice the date of that 1940 speech: poignantly, it was 11th of September.

However much we may wish our lives to return to normality, things can never be the same again. What happened on Tuesday, 11 September 2001, is something that has changed the lives of us all. There is a new sense of vulnerability and a realisation of how tenuous a hold each one of us has on life when—with barely a split second's warning—death can come upon us out of a clear blue sky. It is not just New Yorkers, Washingtonians or Americans, who have been touched by this outrage, but all of us, wherever we may live.

Jogging round London's Hyde Park the other day I noticed—just as I had in Central Park a few days earlier—how much more friendly we have suddenly all become. There was a smile or "good morning" from total strangers who, previously, would just have gone about their business like planets spinning in their own orbits, heedless of the rest of the universe. All at once we have come to realise how much we depend upon each other. More than ever before, we are extending the hand of friendship to total strangers.

Even at national level, new friendships and alliances are being forged, while old ones are

being put to the test. Suddenly President Putin is our friend and Russia has become our ally in encompassing the defeat of the Taliban in Afghanistan, giving its blessing to Uzbekistan providing a base for a major U.S. military build-up in what was a former Soviet republic. What we are witnessing is nothing less than a revolution in Russia's relations with the West. Even the People's Republic of China appears as an ally for, like Russia, she feels threatened by the spread of Islamic fundamentalism on her borders.

The 15 nations of the European Union have pledged their full support for America and the 19 NATO allies have vowed to stand right behind her. What this will mean in practical terms remains to be seen. As someone once very truly remarked: "It is only at the height of the storm, by the lightning's flash, that you can turn round and see your friends".

In recent years it has become fashionable among the chattering classes on both sides of the Atlantic to declare that the "Special Relationship" between the United States and Great Britain was something of the past, indeed effectively dead. Well, to paraphrase Mark Twain, events of the past month have only gone to show that reports of its death were "greatly exaggerated".

Today, as action continues against the Taliban regime of Afghanistan, United States and British forces stand shoulder to shoulder once again, united as never before. Britain has in place a military force of 24,000 Army, Navy and Air Force, deployed to southern Arabia. Our nuclear submarines, H.M.S. *Triumph* and *Trafalgar*, have already engaged the enemy with Tomahawk cruise-missiles, elements of our Special Air Service have undoubtedly, for some time now, been covertly on the ground inside Afghanistan, while our air and ground forces are standing by to attack.

Despite the brave words of support from other nations, it is likely, at the end of the day, that the bedrock for any military action in the prosecution of this war against terrorism—and of those states that harbour and support terrorists—will be the British/American alliance, just as it has been British and American pilots alone who, in the wake of the Gulf War and to this day, have risked their lives enforcing the "No-Fly" zones over Northern and Southern Iraq.

President Bush wasted no time in picking up the gauntlet cast down by the terrorists on 11 September, but perhaps not in the way that Bin Laden imagined. It was doubtless one of his prime aims to provoke the United States into a wild, furious reaction, which would—at a stroke—unite Islam and all Islamic states against America and, in the process, bring about the downfall of the West's friends in the Arab world, including the Saudi monarchy and the Gulf Sheikdoms, and the pro-Western governments of Pakistan and Egypt.

But the President, while declaring war on terrorism and its supporters, has been meticulous and measured in his response. Thus far, the Administration has handled this unprecedented crisis with consummate skill. He has rightly—and repeatedly—gone out of his way to stress that this is a war against terror, not against Islam.

He has emphasized that the more than 6 million Moslems and Arabs living in America are, overwhelmingly loyal, patriotic Americans, who love their adoptive country and who are appalled by the actions of those extremist fanatics who, in a telling phrase of the President, are trying to "hijack Islam" for their own purposes. The President has set a fine example by extending the hand of friendship to members of America's Islamic community, as has Prime Minister Blair to the 2 million Moslems living in Britain.

It is clear that, if we are to win this war against Islamic fundamentalist terrorism—and, though we are told that such terminology is not politically correct, I use those words advisedly—it will only be if we can win and retain the support of moderate Islamic states, and the hearts and minds of the overwhelming majority of Moslems in our own countries and around the world.

It is essential that we persuade them to join with us in lancing this boil of fanatical extremism and to destroy the incubus of terror that poses such a mortal threat, not only to Western civilisation, but also to all moderate Arab and Islamic states who are, each and every one of them, our natural partners in this battle. This explains the trouble and effort the Administration has taken to build up a coalition of nations to fight the menace of terrorism. Their support is vital—and I believe it can be won.

But we must also realise the extent to which we are walking on eggshells. In my days as a war correspondent in the 1960s, I saw both sides of war. I have seen it from the cockpit of U.S. Air Force Phantom and Super Sabre fighter-bombers, while taking part in air strikes in Vietnam.

I have also, at the time of the Nigeria/Biafra civil war, been on the receiving end. I have seen the bomb-bay of an Iluyshin bomber opening up above my head and the bombs cascading down to land a few hundred yards down the street on a maternity clinic, killing dozens of nursing mothers and their babies.

Together with New York Times correspondent, Lloyd Garrison, I had the horrific task of reporting and photographing the consequences of a deliberate raid by another Iluyshin on a market place containing some 2,000 civilians, the great majority of them women and children. It was by far the most harrowing task I have ever undertaken in my life and one, which I shall never forget.

Those were, of course, the days before the omni-presence of CNN, and before such graphic scenes of horror could be transmitted to our homes in real time. Today it would take only one or two such outrages, in which a school or hospital was hit by accident, for Mr. Bush's elaborately constructed coalition of moderate Islamic states to fall apart and for support to start ebbing away in Europe and even on the home front.

It is impossible to guess how long it will take to apprehend Bin Laden and his henchmen, and bring them to justice. That it will be done in time, I have no doubt. Meanwhile the overthrow of the cruel, barbaric Taliban regime, which harbours him, is clearly the top priority. This is an alien regime, established only in the past five years, with funding and arms from Arab countries, by way of Pakistan, which acted as "godfather" to the Taliban.

Their rule has been so brutal and disastrous that an estimated one in four Afghans have fled as refugees to Iran or Pakistan, creating a massive humanitarian crisis in the region. Once the Taliban have been overthrown, a high priority must be to cut off the funding, not only for the terrorists, but also for the fundamentalist madrassas—the theological schools, established in numerous countries around the world, where the gospel of Islamic purity and anti-Western hatred is preached.

Unbelievable though it may seem, no country has been more responsible for this than Saudi Arabia—the West's principal ally in the Middle East. In order to appease and deflect criticism of their pro-Western leanings and opulent lifestyle, the Saudi ruling family—in an act of consummate folly—has poured vast resources into the establishment of these schools and religious universities, in their own country and overseas. They now

find that they are riding a tiger of extremist fundamentalism, entirely of their own creation, which threatens the very foundations of their hold on power. As a result, today almost half the young Saudi males coming onto the jobs market have only religious qualifications, making them not only unemployed, but unemployable. In consequence, barely one in four is able to find a job. The rest make a fertile field of disaffection, from which bin Laden is able to recruit new generations of suicide-bombers, hijackers and terrorists, and it is no coincidence that many of last month's hijackers were Saudis.

More horrifying yet, if estimates attributed to the CIA are to be believed, in recent years some 70,000 militants have passed through bin Laden's terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and are currently dispersed across no fewer than 55 countries around the world, including our own. New attacks are inevitable—and some, undoubtedly, will succeed—before this hydra-headed monster of international terrorism is destroyed.

While it will be difficult for the Saudi government to bring it's extremist theological schools under control and integrate them within the state education system, if it fails to do so, it is inevitable that the Saudi ruling family will, sooner or later, forfeit its hold on power, and be drowned by a tidal wave of fundamentalism.

Beyond that, intense international and economic pressure will have to be brought to bear on those powerful Islamic states that provide bases and backing for terrorism, especially Iraq, Iran, Syria and Sudan, some of which—such as Iraq—have been working for 30 years or more on obtaining or developing weapons of mass destruction.

Indeed, as long as twenty years ago, I was the first to report in the London Times that the French Government, in an act of breathtaking irresponsibility, had sold Saddam Hussein 72 kilograms—or some 160 lbs.—of weapons-grade uranium, sufficient for the manufacture of three nuclear bombs. It was this that, a few months later, prompted the long-range strike by Israeli Air Force jets that took out Saddam's Osirak reactor.

Some of these rogue states are already in a position to equip terrorists with weapons of mass-destruction, especially with agents of chemical and biological warfare. Meanwhile, they are themselves working on—or seeking to acquire from North Korea—intermediate or long-range missiles, with which to threaten their neighbours, including Israel and Saudi Arabia, as well as Western Europe.

It would be a mistake for the United States and her close allies to set out their full agenda but, where peaceful means prove inadequate to ensure the ending of these programmes that potentially menace millions of innocent civilians, we shall have no choice but to do so by military action.

There will be those, both in America and in Britain, who will not have the stomach for such a fight, and there will be many of our coalition partners, not only in the Middle East, but also in Europe, who will fall by the wayside as the campaign expands in scope. But, come what may, we must have the courage and resolve to see this through to victory.

Horrific though the attacks were, that were wrought against innocent civilians on 11 September, can anyone doubt that what we saw in New York and Washington a month ago was but a foretaste of far, far worse to come?

It is certain that if we do not have the courage to extirpate this cancer of terrorism once and for all, that our children and grandchildren will live to see whole cities consumed by fire and large numbers of their fellow-citizens struck down by devastating, and

incurable, plagues. We shall not be talking of a few thousands or tens of thousands of civilians being blown away in an instant, but rather of millions. This has indeed been a wake-up call from hell and we have no option but to heed the warning.

At the same time it is vital that we appreciate exactly what we are up against and just how high are the stakes for which we are playing. In the 1930s it was fashionable to dismiss Hitler's declared aims as the ravings of a mad man. He was not a mad man. He was a deeply flawed genius, who came within a hair's breadth of victory.

By the same token, it would be a terrible mistake to dismiss Osama bin Laden as no more than a mad mullah hiding out in some cave in Afghanistan. He is a brilliant but evil man, with a limitless well of hatred for everything that constitutes the values of Western society, all that we hold dear: freedom, democracy, prosperity and tolerance.

His aim is to garner the resources that would enable him to inflict infinitely greater damage upon the United States and her allies, including especially Israel. Already bin Laden and the Taliban, which works hand-in-glove with him, control 70 percent of the world's opium production. By way of example, 90 percent of heroin sold on the streets of Britain today comes from Afghanistan and it is this that constitutes the primary source of funding for his campaign of terror against the West. But his ambition ranges far higher. Can anyone doubt but that he has his sights set on the nuclear arsenal of Pakistan and the oil wealth of Arabia?

The importance of seeing this war through to victory cannot be overstated. The price of failure would be terrible: far, far more terrible than stopping half way to Baghdad, as we did in the Gulf War. If, for example, faced with mounting casualties—to our forces in the field and to our civilian population at home, as a result of further terrorist outrages—we were to falter or fail, let no one doubt what would be the consequence.

Were we to withdraw leaving the job unfinished, bin Laden and his henchmen would be the heroes of Islam. America and her allies would be seen as no more than paper tigers. President Pervaiz Musharraf and the pro-Western elements in Pakistan's armed forces would be swept aside, while those who have long had close links with the Taliban would seize power. At a stroke, bin Laden would have secured control of Islam's one and only nuclear power, estimated to have some 30 tactical nuclear warheads each with the power of 2½ Hiroshima bombs.

Nor would that be the end of his ambition. He has avowed his determination to purge his native Saudi Arabia of the infidel American presence which, in his eyes, defiles the Holy Land of Islam. A crisis in the ruling Al Saud dynasty, could pave the way for their violent overthrow by fundamentalist forces linked to bin Laden.

Armed with the oil-wealth of Arabia—amounting to one quarter of the world's reserves—the drug-wealth of Afghanistan and the nuclear capability of Pakistan, in addition to a terrorist network with tentacles in 55 countries, bin Laden would constitute a desperately grave threat to the entire Western world. Now that battle is joined, we have no choice but to see it through to victory, however long the road, however great the cost.

Since the words and spirit of my Grandfather have been invoked already many times in the past month, I can do no better than to conclude with a quote from Winston Churchill's first address to the House of Commons on becoming Prime Minister in May 1940:

"You ask what is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war by sea, land and air, with all

our might and with all the strength that God can give us: to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crimes. That is our policy.

"You ask: What is our aim? I can answer in one word. It is victory. Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror. However long or hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival."

I say to our friends and allies in Europe and around the globe, this is not America's battle alone; it is a battle on behalf of the whole world, and on behalf of generations yet unborn. Together we have overcome far more powerful enemies than those that assail us today. I have every confidence that, in confronting this new challenge, America and Britain—together with our allies—can prevail and shall prevail, just as together we have triumphed in the past.

## ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

### 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF CENTER POINT

• Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the Senate's attention the wonderful and necessary work of Center Point, Inc. in California. Center Point is preparing to celebrate its 30th anniversary of service to the community. This milestone is a testament to the success of its programs and the life affirming and life-changing nature of its mission. I could not be happier for Center Point CEO Sushma Taylor and the organization's dedicated staff and extended family.

Begun in 1971, in my home county of Marin, Center Point has since developed into a model community services provider, assisting at-risk families and individuals of all ages with issues ranging from drug and alcohol addiction, to homelessness, to HIV/AIDS, to job training. Each year it serves over 8,000 individuals through its residential, outpatient, housing and in-custody programs. These efforts not only serve to rescue individual lives, they have the power to heal families and ultimately transform whole communities.

I believe strongly in the work being done at Center Point and at similar facilities around California and the Nation. We need to encourage and enable these programs that are making a difference. I introduced my Treatment on Demand Assistance Act this year to do just that. My bill would double the Federal Government's funding for drug and alcohol treatment over 5 years, from the current \$3 billion to \$6 billion. It also provides for incentives to States that have instituted a policy of emphasizing treatment over incarceration for non-violent drug offenders.

Treatment works. When we invest in it and other programs proven to improve lives, we are investing in a safer, healthier future for us all. Center Point has been proving this for 30 years.●