

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 resolute 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 unequaled reputation, quality, who have proven themselves to meet the challenge in the past, whether we are talking about Vice President DICK CHEENEY, 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 proound 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 financers 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. CARMER). 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 unintimidated.

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 Ramone, 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 overmatched 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 arbit-

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 fund-raising 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 Aerospace 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 INOUYE 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 people, 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 anywhere 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 anywhere 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, air-women 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 Peal 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, fire-fighters 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 sub-committee funds and oversees, is co-ordinating 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, immigrant 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 to day 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