

Medals to the 40 who were crew and passengers of flight 93. As I moved through the assembled ladies and gentlemen who were families of the victims and spoke to them and heard of their grief, the common thread was: Please move ahead. Thank you for the legislation—thanking the Congress for the legislation authorizing the creation of a memorial at Shanksville, a national memorial site, but also asking that our legislation for the Congressional Gold Medals be completed.

The family of Georgine Rose Corrigan presented me with this photo and the ribbons, red, white, and blue. These photos were worn by so many—virtually all of the families of the victims who were in attendance.

Yesterday, I spoke on the floor of the Senate and said that sometime before dusk today I would ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill S. 1434, which has 69 cosponsors, which would grant the Congressional Gold Medal posthumously to the victims of flight 93. This bill should have been moved a long time ago. I have taken it up with the appropriate Senators to get it moved, and it has not moved because of the interest of some in expanding it to cover other victims—the firefighters, the police, and others.

I certainly think it would be appropriate to grant recognition to all of those people. However, I think the victims of flight 93 are in a special category because they saved the Capitol.

In order to avoid the complications of having a bill discharged from committee, I have consulted with the Parliamentarian as to the procedures for having a bill held at the desk.

#### MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—S. 1434

Mr. SPECTER. At this time, I submit on behalf of myself and 69 cosponsors a bill to authorize the President to award posthumously the Congressional Gold Medal to the passengers and crew of United Airlines Flight 93 in the aftermath of the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11, 2001.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be read for the first time.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1434) to authorize the President to award the Congressional Gold Medal to the passengers and crew of United Airlines flight 93 in the aftermath of the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11, 2001.

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, for purposes of completing the procedure, I intend to object after asking the bill be read the second time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection has been heard.

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks the program for the commemorative ceremony in Shanksville be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I yield the floor.

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

“A TIME FOR HONOR AND HOPE”—ONE YEAR ANNIVERSARY MEMORIAL SERVICE, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 2002

The County of Somerset wishes to express heartfelt thanks to all who have come forward to assist, contribute and participate in the One Year Anniversary Memorial Service. We would also like to extend a special thank you to these sponsors:

#### DIAMOND LEVEL

United Airlines Corporation  
Deitrick & Associates Interiors, Inc.

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#### HEARTFELT SUPPORT LEVEL

Ironworkers Local Union #46  
Radio Shack Corporation  
Rockwood Area School

ONE YEAR ANNIVERSARY MEMORIAL SERVICE—  
9:30 AM

#### MUSICAL SELECTIONS

Johnstown Symphony Orchestra and the 2d Marine Aircraft Wings Band, 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, Cherry Point, NC

#### “OLD GLORY” FLAG PRESENTATION

101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), Fort Campbell, KY  
Remarks by Mr. Dave Pawlewicz, Century Link America

#### PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

U.S. Marine Corp Honor Guard, 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, Cherry Point, NC

#### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

Miss Priscilla Gordeuk and Mr. Elwood Brant, Top Honor Senior Students, Shanksville-Stonycreek School District

#### NATIONAL ANTHEM

Ms. Jeanne Wentworth

#### FLYOVER

C-130's—911th Airlift Wing, Pittsburgh International Airport Air Reserve Station

#### REMARKS

Sandy Dahl, Wife of Flight 93 Pilot, Jason Dahl

“ONE MINUTE OF SILENCE FOR WORLDWIDE PEACE”

Murial Borza, Sister of Flight 93 Passenger, Deora Bodley

10:06 AM—“TOLL THE BELLS”

Br. David W. Schlatter, O.F.M., Bells of Remembrance toll forty times as names of passengers and crew are read. Presentation of Names: Mr. Tony Mowd

INTRODUCTION OF GOVERNOR MARK SCHWEIKER

#### REMARKS

Governor Mark Schweiker

INTRODUCTION OF KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Governor Tom Ridge, Homeland Security Advisor

#### REMARKS

Governor Tom Ridge, Homeland Security Advisor

#### TWENTY-ONE GUN SALUTE

Marines of the 4th Marine Aircraft Wing, Site Support Element, Johnstown, PA

#### ECHO TAPS

2d Marine Aircraft Wing Band, 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, Cherry Point, NC

#### MUSICAL SELECTION

“God Bless America”—2d Marine Aircraft Wing Band, 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, Cherry Point, NC and public

#### AIR FORCE FLYOVER WITH MISSING MAN FORMATION

AT-38's, 80th Flying Training Wing (80FTGW), 88th Flying Training Squadron (88FTS) Sheppard AFB, Texas

#### HEROES MEMORIAL RELEASE

Release of forty white birds representing the fallen heroes of flight 93

#### “GOD BLESS AMERICA”

Ms. Jeanne Wentworth, Leading assembled public and Johnstown Symphony Orchestra

#### FORMAL RETIREMENT OF THE COLORS

Honor Guard 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, Cherry Point, NC

#### DEPARTURE OF FLIGHT 93 FAMILIES

#### DEPARTURE OF DIGNITARIES

#### PUBLIC DEPARTURE

#### IN REMEMBRANCE OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. JOHNSON. Madam President, I rise today to commemorate the vicious terrorist attacks that occurred on our Nation a year ago today, September 11, 2001.

Over the past few days, in large cities and small towns, in New York and the Pentagon today, in my home State of South Dakota, people have gathered to remember and to reflect upon what happened this last year.

In many ways it still does not seem possible that a year has passed since the attacks of September 11, 2001. It seems too soon to look back and reflect on the meaning of September 11 because the events of that day still echo in our daily lives. The wound is still too fresh, the loss too great. Every American will remember exactly where they were when they realized that our Nation was under attack. The images of that day will be with us forever: The burning buildings, the endless television footage of airplanes crashing into the Twin Towers, the images of New York covered in rubble.

I will always remember the smoke of the Pentagon as it appeared through a

too-perfect blue sky here in Washington DC. But other thoughts—candlelight vigils, American flags adorning buildings, fences, and barns, the heroism of the passengers of American flight 93, and the lasting bravery of firefighters and other first responders—will also remain in our hearts as constant reminders of that day in September.

Across the Nation and around the world, people came together to do what they could for the victims and their families. I was proud, but not at all surprised, when South Dakotans overwhelmingly responded with offers of blood and other assistance. Millions of dollars were donated by South Dakotans to relief organizations, and thousands of hours of time were volunteered in efforts to aid survivors and the family members of victims. Employees at Luverne Fire Apparatus in Brandon put in 2,000 hours of their own time to build a fire truck that was donated to New York City. Red Cross volunteers from Rapid City assisted in recovery efforts at the Pentagon. Farmers and ranchers throughout the state sold cattle and grain at auctions and livestock drives and donated that money to relief efforts. In one extraordinary example, Don and Adeline Hight of Murdo sold 100 calves and donated the proceeds, about \$40,000, to help victims of the terrorist attacks. In Brown County, the Rural American Patriot Fund used the money they collected from fellow farmers and ranchers to buy thousands of dollars in Patriot Bonds. The idea of Patriot Bonds began with a call from a South Dakotan to my office, and were approved by the Treasury Department last December. Patriot Bonds, similar to World War II war bonds, allow Americans to support the relief and recovery efforts at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and to help fund the war on terrorism.

South Dakotans also helped to ease the emotional strain that the attack had on survivors and the victims' families. Police officers specializing in stress management from Mitchell and Yankton went to New York to help the police officers there deal with the emotional aftermath of the terrorist attacks. Lance Fillspipe, Junior Rodriguez, and eight other police officers from Pine Ridge Indian Reservation traveled to New York to help the police there handle security. Bonnie Riegenbach and Bob Holmes of Rapid City, both therapists, traveled to New York to do what they could to help people mend their lives. The Disaster Mental Health Institute at the University of South Dakota went to New York City in the wake of the September 11 attacks and played a key role in helping the recovery process. Students at Mount Marty College put together a banner signed by members of the community with words of sympathy and support for the city of New York. That banner is being considered by the Guinness Book of World Records as being the largest handmade banner

ever made. Through gestures large and small, South Dakotans united with their neighbors and worked to bring something positive from all of the terrible destruction.

A lot has changed in our country, and in our world, since September 11. Our Nation has learned, to our vast sorrow, that we were not as untouchable as we had believed ourselves to be. Our country is involved in a war against terror that has taken our courageous military men and women, including my son Brooks, to Afghanistan as well as other far-off corners of the world. Our military effort in Afghanistan has helped to free people who were oppressed by a dictatorial regime that, in addition to the atrocities that the government inflicted upon its own people, harbored a terrorist group representing the worst humanity can become.

Here on the home front, things have changed as well. Barricades have been erected around national monuments, the Capitol, and the White House. Lines are longer and security more thorough at airports. Despite the longer lines and tighter security, our Nation still moves and functions much as it has for the last 225 years. We remain a beacon of democracy and justice for much of the world, and I work very hard as a Senator to make certain that new regulations, however necessary they may be in our post-September 11 world, do not infringe upon the basic rights of our citizens that we seek to secure.

So as we take this day to reflect upon the many lives lost last year, we are to reflect on the courage and heroism of those who did so much to save lives and defend our liberty today. We take comfort that the terrorists' goals were not realized—that there were attacks on buildings, but there were also attacks on everything America stands for—on individual liberty, on religious tolerance, on democracy, on free speech, and all the rights of our Constitution. These forces of hate, these forces of intolerance tried to destroy the very things that make this Nation strong. Buildings are being repaired but, more importantly, the light of democracy that holds this Nation together and our fundamental values burn just as brightly as it ever has.

The United States took a hit, but we have responded aggressively, and America will remain a beacon of liberty and freedom for the world forever after.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CANTWELL). The Senator from Utah.

Mr. BENNETT. Madam President, as I contemplated what I might say here today, I went back in my computer and pulled up a letter I wrote on September 22, 2001, in response to a friend of mine who corresponded with me in that difficult time. He is a history professor. I have known him since high school. And I sat down at my computer and simply let things flow out. I have now decided to share that letter with the Senate

and with the country as I look back on it after a year's time. I think it reflects better than anything I could create now not only my feelings at the time but my concern for where we should be and what we should be doing.

I read the letter dated September 22, 2001:

I have your letter, dear friend, and am moved to reply in depth using you as my audience as I make an attempt to speak to all the issues I see.

I start with the President's address to the Congress last Thursday. It has been called historic, one of the greatest Presidential addresses ever given. It certainly had that character and, listening to it in a packed chamber more hushed than I can ever remember, I was struck by the power, eloquence and directness of his words. From a distance of a day or two, however, as I analyze it and discuss it with my colleagues, I realize that the speech was more than moving rhetoric. For the first time since the end of the Cold War, a U.S. President has laid out a clear statement of what the world is now like and what the U.S. role must be in that world.

The fact that this has not been done before is less a knock on previous Presidents than a realization that, until September 11, Americans in general were probably not yet free of all our Cold War illusions. We are the world's only remaining superpower, we told ourselves. We are a just compassionate nation, we said. Ergo, we reasoned, it follows that, under our vigorous stewardship, the world itself will become a just and compassionate place, albeit little by little.

With Hitler and Stalin and Mao all dead, we thought, with the Soviet Union gone, evil—true malevolence—has gone from the world stage. It only pops up here and there in the form of an isolated Serb or Somali warlord.

No more.

Now we know that evil is alive and thriving, still threatening the peace everywhere in the world. Irrational hatred has not disappeared. The same mindset of fanaticism that built gas chambers 60 years ago is now hijacking airplanes and flying them into buildings, overseeing the preparation of chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. As the President made so starkly clear, the world's new enemies hate freedom as much as Hitler did, and are prepared to kill millions as much as Stalin did. Evil has not gone away; it has simply changed its political language and its physical address.

Our Cold War mentality told us that the trouble in the Middle East was about Israel, about power politics between established nation states, about borders and economics and markets. I readily agree that Israel has real problems with her neighbors, and they with her, but this is not about those problems. It is not about Israel. It is about defending the helpless against evil.

President Bush told us that America is feeding the poor in Afghanistan. I didn't know that before. Since his speech I have been in briefings from those familiar with the region who tell us that the Taliban uses food as a weapon, denying it to those that oppose them. They say they hate us for our support of Israel, but they also hate us because we are trying to feed the starving in their own country, and thus undermine their effort to starve everyone into submission.

They hate us because we profane their world with our notions of freedom—we "pollute the holy places" with business people and diplomats who let women drive and appear in public with bare faces. They hate us because we take the youth of all countries,

including theirs, into our universities and teach them about science and economics and democracy, as well as about blue jeans and movies and freedom to travel and open debate. President Bush said it better than I can, and it was necessary for him to lay all that out if the Country is to “get” what we are facing.

The President spoke of the diplomatic front in this war, of our need for partners. . . . He reported good progress there, citing Pakistan as an example. In the same briefings that told us about food shipments to Afghanistan I learned that the current leaders of Pakistan really don't have much of a choice in this fight because they are a target themselves. They hardly qualify as democrats by our definition, but the radicals still hate them for even their tenuous ties to us. By some estimates, the radicals are close to bringing the government down and turning Pakistan into another Afghanistan. The same is true, in terms of the radical's end goal, in Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere.

The leaders of those countries know they are at risk, and have been for some time. Sadat was murdered because he was willing to go to Jerusalem and say, “No more war.” Those leaders need our help and are willing to help us in return because, long term, they know that the only nation with the capacity to lead a world wide campaign to eliminate this evil is ours. The success we are having in building a coalition of partners in the first days of this conflict is one of the most encouraging signs that things are, for the moment, going somewhat well.

You are a historian; you know that the Second World War didn't begin on December 7th. Neither did this one begin on September 11th. As was the case with Europeans in the 30's, Americans have been in Foreign Policy denial in the 90's. Thrilled with the demise of our four-decade Soviet enemy, we read articles about the “end of history” and ignored the signs that were there to be seen. Now we have to go back and examine those signs. . . .

We must realize that we are truly at war, and, as was the case in 1941, really have been for some time. The embassy bombings, the attack on the U.S.S. *Cole*, the intelligence warnings—all these should have told us that this is a war and not, as some of the commentators have described it, a law enforcement problem. What's the difference? . . . In a war you focus on prevention of attack, not punishment. You . . . go after the enemy's assets to destroy them before they can be used to destroy you, gather the best intelligence you can and then play hunches and probabilities. You don't give out Miranda warnings.

Please accept my assurance that our leaders know how different and difficult this war will be. They know that we have to have partners, and that many of these partners have internal problems that will prevent them from being the kind of “allies” on which we could traditionally count. . . . The team that President Bush has assembled is experienced, intellectually nuanced in its understanding, and deep. Down below the level of Cheney, Powell, Rumsfeld and Rice is a significant bench of very solid players who understand what we are up against. . . .

So there we are. It has fallen our lot . . . to be the leader of the free world in a struggle that is global and against an enemy that is fanatic, decentralized, persistent, completely fearless and very, very patient. . . . bin Laden and his fellow fanatics have decided that they can defeat [us] . . . by keeping intact their capacity to visit horror on us at unexpected times. We will not have won until that capacity is destroyed. This will be a very long, tricky and difficult fight.

But, as the President said, we will win it. And it will be worth it. The stakes are nothing

less than they were in 1941 and through the Cold War years, for us and for all the rest of those who want to live in freedom.

Madam President, reading that a year later, I still feel the same way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that I be recognized to speak for up to 10 minutes in this slot previously reserved for the Senator from Illinois and that Senator DURBIN be recognized to speak in the next Democratic slot.

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

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I thank the Chair.

Madam President, it is truly an honor to have the opportunity to come and speak on the floor of the Senate today. This is one of those days when the Senate Chamber is really the people's forum, when the partisan or ideological or regional or whatever differences that sometimes separate us in votes fall aside and we stand here before the Chair, under the slogan that describes us—“E pluribus unum,” “Out of many, one”—and truly represent the common and shared values, hopes, and aspirations of our people.

I am proud of what my colleagues have said thus far in this discussion and very grateful to be a part of it.

In New York City today, they are reading the names of the victims, the names of 3,000 of God's children, magnificent in their characteristic American diversity, whose lives were savagely taken on September 11 of last year simply because they were American. None of us here can say anything as powerful or profound as the recitation of those names today.

The Pentagon, the World Trade Center, and that field outside Shanksville, PA, will forever be hallowed battlegrounds, places where we will take our children to stand silently and contemplate their meaning, places of worship, really, where we will revere the lives lost and honor their place in our history.

This morning, as I left the very moving and unifying commemorative rededication service at the Pentagon, I came across a family, and I said hello and shook their hands, and I realized these were survivors of a man killed in the Pentagon on September 11 of last year: A young boy about 10 or 12 years old, full of innocence and youth, a great looking kid, carrying an American flag in a case—I presume the flag that was either placed over his father's coffin or given to him in memory of his father—a woman, who was the wife of the deceased and his parents—strong American stock—a man wearing the cap of a veteran, tears under his eyes. And there it was: A son without a father, a woman without her husband, parents without their child. I was speechless. There was nothing I could say except to shake their hands and put my hands over my heart.

In some ways, silence is a more appropriate response to the dreadful

losses that were suffered on September 11. Silence, somehow, speaks more loudly to the horror and the complicated feelings that we all had on that day. Nevertheless, we must speak, to reflect on what happened that day, in the year that has passed, and to try to learn from that day and chart our way forward.

Madam President, our enemies hoped that September 11, 2001, would be the first page of a new chapter in world history: The end of the American century; the end of America as we know it; the beginning of a civilizational conflict, based on theological differences, taken to an inhumane extreme, which would end in the victory of radical extreme Islam.

As a distinguished Muslim citizen of Connecticut said yesterday at a public ceremony, al-Qaida hijacked his religion.

In this the terrorists betrayed their ignorance, not just about Islam but about America; not just about the American people but American democracy and its values.

I wish to speak for a moment about this conflict that September 11 has put us into and the differences between us and our enemies, which is what this is all about. This is not a simple struggle for power. This is a global conflict for values, for ideals. We are idealists. We and our many allies around the world, including so many millions in the Muslim world, believe in the inalienable and inviolable rights of every individual. Our enemies are craven cynics who desire raw power for themselves and seek to crush those who look or act or think differently. They claim to be religious, but how can they be religious and faithful in any way in which any of the world's religions understand it, if they are prepared to kill thousands of God's children allegedly in the name of God?

We are different. We are optimists. We grant people liberty, not as the gift of politicians but as our Declaration of Independence says: As the endowment of our Creator. We have confidence that a society governed by its people will progress, and that is why we seek to open the world and broaden the community of nations living under democracy, as we have so magnificently since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Our enemies are not just pessimists; they are fatalists. They fear the voices of the people. They want to bring down a theological iron curtain to divide the world into acceptable and unacceptable people and nations and faiths, to those worthy of living and those targeted for death and domination.

Third, we are skeptics in a very healthy way. We question one another and ourselves. We are proud of who we are but not so proud that we pretend to be without fault. Our enemies proceed with a chilling sense of certainty and an unwillingness to look at themselves in the mirror.

It is those values that have guided us through our history and distinguish us

now from our enemies. The men and women of our military performed brilliantly in unfamiliar territory against an unprecedented foe. Our police officers, firefighters, and other first responders have had reason to despair, but they have risen to the immense challenge and reminded us of what heroism they display every day. Every day Americans in our communities have had reason to lose faith and to turn from hope to fear, but they have not faltered. They have come together, finding our strength, not losing our optimism and our courage.

Here in Congress, though we still have work to do, we have faced the new reality of the post-September 11 world. We have asked tough questions of ourselves. We have supported our President as Commander in Chief. We have realized that we have not been as prepared as we should have been on September 11 last year, and we are taking steps to close our vulnerabilities.

As we do, we must remember that September 11 was not just a tragedy that happened. It was not just a natural disaster. It was an unnatural disaster, carried out as an intentional act by people who were evil.

That is why, as Charles Krauthammer wrote in the *Washington Post* a while ago, we must understand this anniversary as more than a day of mourning and solemn remembrance. It must be not just a day of commemoration but a day of rededication. Charles Krauthammer wrote:

We would pay such homage had the World Trade Center and the Pentagon collapsed in an earthquake. They did not. And because they did not, more is required than mere homage and respect. Not just sorrow, but renewed anger. Not just consolation, but renewed determination. . . .

We will build beautiful memorials to those killed on September 11, but there are other memorials that we here in Congress can and must build: a Department of Homeland Security that does everything humanly possible to prevent anything such as September 11 from recurring, and it need not recur. We must support and encourage our military to search out and destroy or capture al-Qaida wherever they exist. We must reach out to the Muslim world, the great majority who are not fanatics or extremists, who suffer from a lack of freedom and a lack of material resources and hope, and offer them the support and the freedom that they desire and that is ultimately the best defense against the evil terrorism of the minority in the Islamic world that al-Qaida represents.

As we approach the great debate in this Chamber on the questions around Saddam Hussein and Iraq, we must remember the lessons of September 11. As we look back, having heard the warnings of Osama bin Laden, having experienced the attack against the World Trade Center in 1993, against the two embassies in Africa, against the U.S.S. *Cole*, as we look back, don't we wish we had taken the kind of action

we are taking today to destroy al-Qaida?

In her foreword to "At Home In The World," a collection of Daniel Pearl's writings in the *Wall Street Journal*, his widow Mariane Pearl wrote:

The terrorists who killed Danny stood at the other extreme of what Danny represents. They could only wield their knife and cowardice against Danny's intellectual courage and bold spirit. Danny died holding only a pen. They stole his life but were unable to seize his soul. By killing Danny, terrorists took my life as well but could not lay claim to my spirit. We will never let them win.

So, too, the terrorists may have killed 3,000 innocent Americans on September 11 of last year, but they will never lay claim to America's living spirit. We will never let them win.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Madam President, I rise to speak about the events of 1 year ago. I am delighted to follow my colleague, Senator LIEBERMAN of Connecticut, with whom I have worked and will continue to do so. I add my name to his comments.

Today we are gathered to remember those who lost their lives on September 11, to honor those who sacrificed everything for the concept of and belief in freedom. That day and every day since then are stark and simple reminders that freedom is not free and that it is never secure.

This is something the people of my home State of Kansas have long understood. Our very motto is "ad astra per aspera"—"To the stars through difficulties." We have lived this every day, every year since before we were a State.

It is also a theme our entire Nation embraces today. We were not bowed by last September's attack. In fact, we arose from the ashes stronger and more resilient than ever.

"The greatest victories come when people dare to be great," Ronald Reagan said, "when they summon their spirits to brave the unknown and go forward together to reach a greater good."

In the days immediately following that fateful day, we summoned our spirits and went forward together. We dared to be great.

As you look at the memorials, and as you listen to the speeches of remembrance, think of the sacrifice of all those involved, and of the lives cut short, the promises broken, the happiness destroyed. It is all too easy to cloak these sacrifices in mere platitudes. We must remember exactly what it means to sacrifice and what exactly was sacrificed.

These were not nameless, faceless people who just simply acted out some role. These were sons, daughters, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, mothers, and fathers. They were scared men and women who had thrust upon them the part of hero, and they lived up to the billing.

It is also too easy to just call them heroes and walk away. It is not easy to

recognize the fear and the strength and the courage they exhibited on that particular day.

I have been particularly taken now, reading stories of the heroes of 9/11 and the miracles that happened on that day—stories that we are all familiar with now—Todd Beamer and "let's roll," and the flight that went into the field in Pennsylvania, which was the very flight headed for this building. It probably would have reached its target had they not been heroes on that day. Would this place even be here now? It may have been rebuilt, but would we be back here yet? How many lives would have been lost here?

I read last Friday in *USA Today* about miracles of 9/11. Some police officers, one a rookie, went into the south tower; they were buried in 20 feet of rubble. Three of them were together. The first was killed in the first crushing, but two survived and they were able to crawl around. The second tower came down and they were pinned underneath the rubble and stayed there almost 24 hours. They could see a light about 20 feet up, and they knew there was a possibility they would get out. As they faded in and out of consciousness during the night, one of them had a vision, it said in *USA Today*. The vision he saw was Jesus coming toward him, bringing him a bottle of water. It gave him strength. He wasn't fearful of death. He was able to reach out with strength and yell for help. They were eventually found by a marine and were dug out from the rubble. That is one of the miracles of 9/11.

I think of the heroes that were going up the tower, instead of coming down, on 9/11. It was an amazing day, a tragic day, one we should not and we won't forget.

Also, sometimes it is easy to think that perhaps life does not change that much when actually life has irrevocably changed. It is not that life doesn't go on; it certainly does. We must never forget.

As author Elie Wiesel said in his Nobel lecture:

For me, hope without memory is like memory without hope. Just as a man cannot live without dreams, he cannot live without hope. If dreams reflect the past, hope summons the future. Does this mean that our future can be built on a rejection of the past? Surely, such a choice is not necessary. The two are incompatible. The opposite of the past is not the future, but the absence of the future; the opposite of the future is not the past, but the absence of the past. The loss of one is equivalent to the sacrifice of the other.

We must not forget our past or the attacks or the outpouring of generosity and patriotism and simple kindnesses in the days following the attacks. All of this must continue. We cannot return to the safety of our homes and pretend the storms buffeting the lives of people hundreds and thousands of miles away does not affect us.

September 11 was a wake-up call that we cannot and will not forget. It has changed us. It has changed us in substantial ways that we can see and feel,

and in ways that I don't think we have wrestled with yet.

One simple thing: "God Bless America" has become a national song—not the National Anthem but the national song. We gathered again today as Members of the Congress on the steps and sang it as we did on September 11. I hope we can officially continue to do that. Even though it was unofficial today, I hope our national song will become official.

We are a nation founded by men and women who are willing to stake their lives upon the conviction of universal rights and freedoms; that this was larger than their own lives and small roles that they felt they would play; that their actions were just a shot across history's bow on behalf of all people who both desired to be free and honored the sense of duty that liberty engendered.

On September 11 we saw a number of people step forward to recognize and fight for those universal rights and freedoms, each of us in our own way in our own actions. Today, we still have a torch to carry—for all those who died on September 11, all those who have died in the war against terrorism, and all peoples across the world who desire freedom.

These may seem to be the worst of times, but we are resilient and, most importantly, we are a hopeful people and we will prevail. There is a Biblical verse that says:

And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed. . . .

We are a hopeful people. God bless America.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, I joined my colleagues in the Senate this morning on a trip to the Pentagon. The project there is known as the Phoenix Project, and those familiar with mythology know that the Phoenix is the great bird that rose from the ashes and flew again. Well, the spirit of America was flying again this morning at the Pentagon as we looked at a restored building—more importantly, a restored spirit.

The President, the Secretary of Defense, and others spoke. We all gathered—thousands of us—to pay tribute to those who lost their lives on September 11 there, as well as the victims in Pennsylvania and in New York.

As our buses came back, there were a number of people gathered in Washington on The Mall. Many of them were—in their own way, with their families and friends—commemorating September 11. As I passed, I saw one man standing there with a handwritten sign that said "United in Memory." I thought that really captures what we are doing today. We have stood united since September 11, but today we reflect. We are united in memory. We

grieve for the victims. We mourn those who died.

But we also stand in praise of those heroes of September 11. Each one of us carries certain images in our minds of where we were when we heard it, what we did. For most of us, the first calls were to our families, and maybe it was indeed proper that we would turn to those we love the most to make certain they were safe.

I still remember images of that day, and the days following, just as real as the moment when I experienced it. One was a photograph from the New York Times, which showed a New York firefighter racing up the stairs, as you saw a long line of people racing down the stairs of the World Trade Center. A young, handsome face—probably a man with a family himself, thrusting himself into the jaws of that disaster in the hope that he could save someone's life.

Many like him—firefighters, policemen, first responders, medics, and others—gave their lives on September 11. They got up that morning and put their badges and uniforms on and probably never thought twice about whether they would return to their families. Sadly, many never did. They are truly American heroes.

I can recall a few weeks later being out on Lake Michigan, near Chicago, in a Coast Guard vessel with the young men who were keeping 12-hour shifts, patrolling the shores to keep them safe, checking every vessel that came on the Great Lakes. Most people in Chicago didn't even know they were there. But they were—every single day.

I can remember, as well, the Capitol Police just outside this door and around this complex, who worked 12-hour shifts day after day, week after week, to protect us, to protect the visitors, to protect the staff, to protect this great building after September 11. They are truly American heroes.

In January, as part of the first congressional delegation to visit Afghanistan in the daylight hours, we went to Bagram Air Force Base. It was an old Soviet base, and we were using it as part of our efforts to liberate Afghanistan from the Taliban.

To sit down with those young men and women in uniform who had missed Christmas with their families, did not know how long they were going to be there, and just to talk with them and eat with them and share some stories about home, and to have one young man come up to me and say: Senator, I am from Illinois. Can I ask you a favor? When I come back after this, could you give me a helping hand?

I said: Sure, what is it?

He said: I would like to become an American citizen.

I said: Wait a minute, you're a soldier here.

He said: Yes, I am. I was born in Panama, and I am not an American citizen. Will you help me become an American citizen?

I said: You got it, buddy; whatever you want, I will be there.

I also remember another incident in the middle of December. I flew into O'Hare, and I went down to get in the line for a taxicab. I drew a taxicab, and the driver was wearing a black turban and a beard. As we started to move along, I said: Excuse me, sir, would you happen to be a member of the Sikh religion?

He said: Yes, I am.

I remember I had been visited by Muslims, Sikhs, and others worried about people who would discriminate against them, and I knew a little bit about some of the terrible things that happened to them—they were isolated, but that did happen.

I said to the taxicab driver: How have things been for you over the last several months, wearing your turban, trying to be a regular taxicab driver?

He said: Most people couldn't be nicer. There were bad ones, too. Some cussed me out; some wouldn't get in my cab. They think I am a terrorist, too.

He said most people could not be nicer. He said: I have been in the United States for 33 years. I wish they would get in my cab because I would like to show them something.

I said: What is that?

He reached over and pulled down the visor, and there was a photograph of a young man in a U.S. Army uniform.

He said: I want to show them a picture of my son Michael.

I said: Michael is in the Army?

He said: Oh, yes; he was in Kosovo.

I said: Where is he now?

He said: He is with the Special Forces in Afghanistan, and I haven't heard from him in 6 weeks.

I thought to myself: Boy, does that tell the American story. Here we have a man who some, with little education or learning, in their ignorance, would say is an enemy of America. No, that man is a loyal American who was offering his greatest treasure on Earth, his son, to our Nation to serve and who was in harm's way at that very moment.

Just a few weeks ago, four widows from the World Trade Center came to see me. They want a public investigation of what happened leading up to September 11. I completely support them. I think it is now overdue. We should do it.

They talked about their experiences with their families. They told their stories over and over in all the Senate offices. Some of them carried around their necks photographs of husbands and families.

I remember one saying: I am lucky. My three friends here do not have any evidence of their husbands they lost, but I was a lucky one because they found a hand, and on that hand was my husband's wedding ring which I now have on my hand. That is all that survived.

She was grateful for that one memento of his life and how much it meant to her, and what a reminder it is to all of us of the true grief and loss that so many families have endured.

I suppose the lesson from September 11 should be clear: Let all those around the world who would attack the United States know that they will pay a heavy price. We approve of that. But also let everyone around the world know that we are not an aggressive, angry people. We are a caring and compassionate nation, and if others will reach out with a hand of peace, we will extend ours as well, no matter where you are from, no matter what your religion or ethnic or cultural background. Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida did not understand that, but we in America understand it well.

When I reach back in history for words that bring inspiration, I so often turn to one of our favorite sons, Abraham Lincoln from Illinois, and his second inaugural address right outside this building in which he said:

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

Lincoln said those words as we came to the close of the most devastating war in our history. He reached out to try to find common ground, even with the enemy, to bind this Nation. So, too, should we reach out in this world to tell the story of America, to help build a more peaceful world, a world where our children and grandchildren never have to fear another September 11.

After September 11, we were not just united in anger, not just united in sympathy. We were united in memory and united in hope—hope for a world of peace, hope that our children and children around the world will be spared the horror, the disaster, and the tragedy of September 11.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, as we observe the 1-year passing of the day al-Qaida attacked America, we have in our hearts, our thoughts, and our prayers the victims and their families. On this painful anniversary, they do not stand alone in their grief. All Americans of all faiths, colors, and creeds mourn the senseless loss of life on September 11, 2001.

The war on terrorism is a fight against evil forces bent on destroying America and our many freedoms. President Bush said this war will be unlike any we have ever seen, and he is certainly right. This is a war without borders and one in which the battle must be brought to the enemy, lest terrorists strike again on our own soil.

In the long proud arc of our Republic, America's courage has been too great, its values too strong, and its freedoms too dear to ever be turned back by an enemy. As we stand at the beginning of a new century, I am certain in the knowledge that we will prevail again.

Madam President, the watchwords for Kentuckians and all Americans on this day must be: Never again.

I think we can safely say that 1 year after September 11, 2001, we have ended the first chapter in the book about the war on terrorism. But the second chapter is going to be, in many ways, much more challenging.

The President and many of us in this Chamber are haunted by the notion that a year ago today, had those planes been full of something other than gasoline—a chemical weapon, a biological weapon or, worse still, a nuclear weapon—all of the destruction that we remember so vividly today would have been dramatically worse.

We will have before us in the Senate in the next few weeks a resolution giving the President the authority he will be seeking, and we will need to give him, to begin to launch the second chapter in this war, which is to target weapons of mass destruction, wherever they may be in the world, in the hands of leaders or gangs who wish to use them against our own people here at home.

This is a new doctrine the President will be laying down. In the past, we have turned the other cheek, if you will; we have waited to be attacked, and then we have responded. But that approach, when one considers the devastation of weapons of mass destruction, is simply unacceptable. The American people will not accept a strategy based upon responding after the next attack on our own soil using weapons of mass destruction.

This will be one of the most important debates we will have in the history of this body, and it will come up in the next few weeks. It will be an appropriate memorial and remembrance to those who lost their lives a year ago today as a result of a conventional attack. Were they alive today, I am sure they would applaud our efforts to prevent another attack with weapons even more devastating on other Americans here at home.

Make no mistake about it, this is the new challenge of the 21st century: Weapons of mass destruction in the hands of gangs such as al-Qaida or regimes such as the one in Baghdad used on Americans here at home by people who really are against modernity, who want to roll the clock back to the Middle Ages where women had no rights, where people had no opportunity to speak or to worship as they chose.

This is a war between modernity and the Middle Ages. Our enemies are quite intelligent and resourceful, and this challenge is going to go on for quite some time.

In conclusion, this would be a fitting memorial to those who died a year ago today, that America in a very proactive way seeks to prevent the next attack in the United States using weapons of mass destruction.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. CRAIG. Madam President, I think all Americans today are pausing, if not for a moment, for a longer time just to think, to kneel and pray. On their mind is a historic incident that occurred a year ago today in this country.

Many of my colleagues and I went to the Pentagon this morning to recognize that great tragedy once again and to be there to honor those 184 civilian and military men and women who tragically died in the Pentagon when it was struck by terrorists.

There is no doubt in my mind, and my guess is there is no doubt in any American's mind, they again relived the events of the phenomenal and tragic incident that occurred a year ago today, both mentally and visually on television or in ceremonies or prayers or moments of silence around this country.

In rethinking that day myself, I thought of my own emotions; that I grew angry at first to realize we were being attacked by terrorists. Then I experienced for a moment on Capitol Hill that day a sense of fear that maybe the Capitol itself would be struck, or our office buildings, and that my staff might be in some way injured or my family may not be safe. Out of that fear, though, grew in my mind, and grew in most Americans' minds, a phenomenal sense of resolve.

Since that tragic day, we have seen that resolve take shape in so many forms, whether it is the celebrating of a complete reconstruction of the Pentagon today in almost unbelievable time, or whether it was citizens across this Nation reaching deep in their pocket to give a little or a lot of their personal wealth to help the remaining citizens whose husbands, wives, sons, or daughters were the victims of the 9/11 incidents.

As I was listening to our Secretary of Defense and our President today, I thought of two Idahoans who died a year ago today at the Pentagon, one LTC Ron Vauk of Nampa, ID, and one Brady Howell of Sugar City, ID.

I have known LTC Hawk only by a piece of paper. When I was a young Member in the House of Representatives, I had looked at his resume. I had studied his grades and I, along with the rest of my colleagues, had decided he was eligible for and ought to be nominated to the Naval Academy at Annapolis. We did nominate him, and he served with honor.

He had retired out of the military and was serving in the Navy Reserve, teaching in this area. He was serving only as a reservist at the Pentagon in a temporary status for a few days, having been called from his job to do so when that plane struck. I will never forget the time I spent with his bride and their small son in Maryland. I watched the unity of that family coming around the widow and that small son of LTC Ron Vauk. That was the kind of resolve we have seen repeated time and time again out of the tear-

stained faces of Americans as they recognized that they had to commit themselves, as our President and as this Congress has committed itself, to never letting this happen again.

I remembered Jennifer Vauk today, and I can only say to that brave widow that I thank her for her courageousness at this tremendously difficult time for her. Resolve and resilience flowing from the veins of Americans into the energy of their souls clearly speaks so well in this country today. It is not just a 9/11 feeling, it is a sense of patriotism and resolve that has grown out of nearly every crisis this great country has experienced down through the years. It comes in all different forms.

At this instance, in Idaho, it was the Red Cross sending volunteers all the way across the country to Ground Zero in New York, or it was the numerous churches or memorial services held across the State of Idaho, or it was a marvelous little gal in Pocatello who had saved \$1,000 of her own money to buy a horse, and she gave all of it to the 9/11 charities so some other child could have a little bit because that child had lost so much, a mother or a father.

It was not just an Idahoan doing it. It was thousands of Americans speaking out from the smallest, almost the poorest, to the tallest and the most wealthy in our country who found the capacity in their heart to experience this resolve and dedicate themselves, as did Leah Wright in Pocatello with her \$1,000.

I suspect every generation has a defining moment. My guess is that September 11 is the defining moment for America's current generation. Our President, in speaking today, has given a name for all of us who would call it 9/11. It will be a Patriots Day, and I hope that every year we stop to remember Patriots Day and why we now recognize it in that capacity.

Congress is now debating legislation to create homeland security as a department, hopefully to bring our country together more cohesively, to allow our law enforcement communities to do so in a way that will give us greater intelligence and therefore greater resolve. In doing so, we must not allow terrorism, or our commitment to stopping it, deny us our own personal freedoms. We should never select security over freedom because it is the very freedom of our country that gives us the resolve we have today. Tragically enough, it was the very freedom of our country that caused terrorists to strike at us because we do not speak of freedom for Americans only, we speak of it for all citizens of the world and citizens of all countries as a right of humankind to be as free as possible, and for this great country to be dedicated to that freedom.

In our search for security, let us not deny ourselves the very freedom that is the strength of our country.

Many more will speak today, and at the end of the day many tears will be

re-shed in memory of the men and women who died on 9/11. I am so proud of my country and so proud to be but a small part of its leadership because I have sensed in the Senate that while we may have our differences politically, a resolve all Americans have at this moment is to never allow this to happen again, never allow our citizens to be the target of an enemy that would choose to strike them down for political expression.

So be it 9/11 or be it Patriots Day, I hope on September 11 next year we will once again be speaking out about that day on September 11 of 2001 when thousands of Americans lost their lives, but America found once again a revitalized reason for being what we are and striving to allow the rest of the world to have the same kind of human freedoms we have and cherish.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. FRIST. Madam President, though we would never wish to relive the horror of September 11, 2001, we must dedicate ourselves to appropriately remembering it. That is the task we begin with this first anniversary of that darkest of days, to properly and lastingly honor the sacrifice of the more than 3,000 women, men, and children who perished at the Pentagon, at the World Trade Center, at the crash site of flight 93 in Shanksville, PA.

September 11 will be a day of mourning for many years to come. And it should be, for the grief of those who lost loved ones on that day will pass only with their passing. Nothing can wipe away the memory of a friend or a family member taken before their time. The victims of September 11—those who died and the friends and family who survived them—deserve our enduring respect.

Though the attacks were carried out in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania, no American was left untouched by this tragedy. That includes the men and women of my home State of Tennessee. I think of John and Pat Lenoir of Knoxville who lost their son, Rob, when the World Trade Center collapsed. Francis Hall of Knoxville lost her sister-in-law. And Otis and Nancy Tolbert of Brentwood, TN, lost their son when flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon. We keep those Tennesseans in our thoughts and prayers today.

It is entirely appropriate that the President and First Lady began their September 11 by attending a church service. I hope Americans all across this country follow their example by spending some part of their day in a house of worship or on bended knee in prayer. Regardless of the God we may worship, faith in a higher power can help heal and explain and console and reassure us today, just as it did a year ago.

Though September 11 attacks did bring one of the darkest days in our history, a few rays of light did shine

through. Americans rallied to help those in need by waiting hours to give blood, by donating supplies to the rescue effort, by digging deep in their own pockets for the September 11 charities. I am especially proud of the Tennessee Baptist Convention that sent 30 volunteers to prepare food for the rescue workers at the World Trade Center.

I am still moved to this day, as we were at the Pentagon a few hours ago, by the presence of members of the Tennessee Task Force One who helped search for survivors and recover the fallen at the Pentagon.

America will always remember the men and women who risked their lives to save the lives of others on September 11: Those on the front line, the medical personnel, the firemen, the police officers, all who rushed into harm's way, who forever touched our hearts with their heroism. Their example exists, survives, as an inspiration to us all. It will remain so for generations to come.

Britt Brewster, a 12-year-old Tennessee girl, who came up yesterday from Tennessee to participate in the remembrance services said earlier this week:

The one good thing [about September 11] was that America started coming together as one.

I remember visiting Ground Zero with about 40 of my colleagues from this body a couple days after the attacks. Smoke was still rising from the debris. Almost everything was covered with the fine ash. The only color, other than the workmen's bright yellow hats, was the American flags that hung so proudly posted on the buildings around that World Trade Center site. We should fly our flags on this anniversary and show our common love for country and our fellow countrymen.

There has been much debate about what we should teach our children on this first anniversary of the September 11 attacks. I believe they need to know the truth. I had the opportunity to take my wife and my three teenage boys to Ground Zero about 2 months after the attacks. I wanted them to see firsthand the destruction with their very own eyes and remember, long after I am gone and my generation is gone, what evil once did—and, I should add, can do again—to our country. I will take them back to New York. We were just there 5 days ago and saw the rebirth, the vitality of that remarkable city. I also want my sons to see what good can be done, and can always be done, in our country.

The Gettysburg Address is considered one of the most powerful pieces of funeral oratory ever delivered on American soil. As Lincoln himself admitted, even he could not dedicate the battlefield beyond what those who fell there had already done. Instead, he urged his audience at the time to dedicate themselves, "that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

The terrorists attacked on September 11 and continue to make deadly threats because they hate our country and everything we represent. The 3,000 women, men, and children who died on that tragic day did so for the same cause as those who fell on the battle green of Lexington, and the forests of Argonne, and on the beaches of Normandy—justice, equality, liberty, democracy.

I urge every American to offer their respects to families who lost loved ones, to put those who perished in their prayers, and to show their patriotism by unfurling the American flag. But above all, I hope we will rededicate ourselves to those values, to the values that have been the core of the greatness of our country for more than two and a quarter centuries. Those values may be threatened sooner than we may think. If they are, we will find strength and hope and resolve in remembering, properly and lastingly, September 11, 2001.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. Madam President, this past year, has been one of tragedy and challenge for the American people. Just a year ago, on September 11, 2001, we experienced a dawning national tragedy.

Just as the workday was beginning—8:46 a.m. to be precise—terrorists struck this country in a series of savage attacks. Over 3,000 were killed and many more were injured. Those attacks struck a vicious blow at every American everywhere.

Over the past year we have labored with the highest degree of human spirit to address our grievous losses—as individuals, in our families, in our communities, and as a nation. At the same time, we have worked hard to deal with the challenges that confront us now and into the future. We are resolved to put an end to the scourge of terrorism and to bring its perpetrators to justice. Our response to terrorism must be committed and complex, for no simple solution or single action can accomplish our goal. We must engage in the broadest possible international effort, for we know that terrorists are not contained by national borders. As we move forward, we take our inspiration from the calm determination and steely resolve of the firefighters, police, emergency personnel, and airline passengers who responded to the attacks, and from the resilience of those who are rebuilding lives and families and communities.

And we shall move forward, for we have families to care for, neighbors to look after, jobs that must be done, and civic obligations that must be met. The events of September 11, 2001, were tragic beyond measure, but our response to those events demonstrates the great strength of America and provides a new sense of what it means to be an American. The future of our Nation is ours to make.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, a year ago today our Nation was savagely attacked in maybe the most evil attack ever on American soil. Over 3,000 innocent people were killed. I call it an evil attack because how can it be more evil than to kill people who are totally innocent—men, women, and children?

The attack on the World Trade Center was an attack on the United States, on our economic beliefs and foundations. The attack on the Pentagon was an attack on our national security and defense. Flight 93 was, we now find out, headed for the Capitol, an attack on our democracy. I thank God for the heroes, the passengers on the plane.

A lot of heroes came out as a result of these savage attacks a year ago—men and women who were running into the buildings, not away from the buildings; into the buildings to save lives.

It is amazing. If you look at the pictures we have seen in the last few days of the World Trade Center and Pentagon—it is amazing that there are only 3,000 that were lost. That number could have been significantly higher. If you look at the devastation in New York City alone, it would not have been hard to imagine 20,000 lost, not 3,000. It probably would have been 20,000 lives lost had it not been for the courageous acts of firemen and policemen and fellow workers putting their own safety at risk to save other lives, not to mention the passengers on flight 93 who kept that plane from running into our Capitol, from hitting our Capitol. I cannot imagine the loss that would have happened, not just the loss of life—of Senators and Congressmen, our staffs, our employees, our security officers—but also the effect it would have on democracy. I shudder to think what would have happened if they would have hit our Nation's Capitol.

Today I joined with the President and many others in rededicating the Pentagon. It is great to see the Pentagon rebuilt, and my compliments go to the workers and others who rebuilt such a wonderful building in such a short period of time. But we also remember the loss of life in each of these instances.

In the Pentagon, a former employee and personal friend of mine, Barbara Olson, was killed. She was a passenger on that airplane. My heart still aches for Ted Olson and their family. What a terrible loss that was, taking the life of a person who was so bright, had so much life, was so engaged in the political life of our country. To have that life taken is just a very sad tragedy. To think that is multiplied by 3,000 times all across the country, it is a very sad reminder of the enormous tragedy we have suffered.

It reminds me of the Oklahoma City bombing we suffered on April 19, 1995. In Oklahoma City, we lost 168 lives. I knew some of those people as well. When you know somebody it makes it

more personal. It is not just 3,000 lives. You realize it is individual families and some of those families were totally devastated and their futures enormously changed, if not destroyed because of this senseless, cowardly, evil attack that happened a year ago.

Like Oklahoma City, we had a lot of heroes. The heroes, the firemen who raced into the building, the heroes on flight 93, the heroes who were saving lives in the Pentagon, the medical personnel and others who saved countless lives, in some cases they gave up their life in order to save lives. The Bible says:

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

We had a lot of American citizens who laid down their lives to save other lives. What an enormous gift they have given. They did this to pay the ultimate price or make the ultimate sacrifice—to save the lives of other Americans.

Thousands of people killed one year ago today. Why? Because they were Americans, because they happened to be citizens of the United States, because they stood for freedom, they happened to share freedom.

Our country was attacked economically and militarily and politically. However, we survived that attack. The American economy is fine. Our American military stands strong. Our American democracy remains steadfast.

My compliments to the men and women in the military who are protecting our freedom daily and who have done a fantastic job going after the culprits, those who are responsible for this attack, in Afghanistan and other places.

My compliments to the administration, President Bush, Secretary Powell and Secretary Rumsfeld and others, who are going after the perpetrators of this crime—not just in Afghanistan, but in countries all across the world. My compliments to them for building up an international coalition of over 90 countries who are joining us in this attack, fighting the battle against terrorism throughout the world.

There is a lot of work that has been done and a lot of work that yet needs to be done. This Congress needs to join with the administration, both legislatively but also in support in continuing this attack and this battle on terrorism. We are not finished. There are still a lot of trained terrorists who threaten our country. Unfortunately, maybe they have been brainwashed into thinking it is good to try to kill innocent people if they happen to be Americans, or maybe if they happen to be friends of Israel. There is a lot of hatred that has been fomented for a long time, and that is very regrettable, but it is important that we band together—people all across the world—to condemn and combat terrorism.

I think the President has done an outstanding job, leading this country and leading the free world in that battle. I compliment him for it. We have a



lot of work ahead, but I am absolutely confident that freedom will prevail. We are a great country because we are a free country. We have greater freedoms—political freedom, economic freedom, religious freedom—than any other country in the history of mankind. I am absolutely confident, though, in 10 years from now or 20 years from now, we will still be able to say that we live in the greatest and most free country in the history of mankind. However, these freedoms have been attacked. Frankly, these freedoms have been under attack for several years. Now we are responding and we are responding strongly. Yet we still have a lot to do. I am confident that the people who challenge us will not be successful. Freedom will prevail.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARPER). The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I think my colleague from Oklahoma is exactly right. We can carry it one step further. We have these freedoms and that is why they hate us so much; they don't have these freedoms. The idea that individuals can have the freedoms we in this country have is totally alien to everything they believe in.

I sat there as others did—I am sure my colleague from Oklahoma did this morning—and looked at the Pentagon, and I know what went through his mind and what went through my mind was the Murrah Federal Office Building in Oklahoma City in 1995. We lost about the same number of lives back then as we did in the Pentagon. There are a lot of other similarities there.

The appearance after the airplane struck was so similar to that which we experienced in Oklahoma City. That brought back those very sad memories.

I sometimes look at things and ask, How can anything good come from something as bad as all that? Yet I can see—it is obvious, as I saw the changes in attitudes of people here in this body, and also the body down the hall—they are reflecting the interests of the American people.

I have been concerned for the last 10 years with the deterioration in the condition of our military. We talk about the authorization program. We talk about our end strength. We talk about the fact that we don't have a national missile defense system.

Somebody very smart back in 1983 determined that there will be a day—and they put the date, fiscal year 1998—when we are going to have to be able to defend our people from an incoming missile. So we got on schedule to be able to deploy something to defend against a limited missile attack.

We talked about land-based, air-based, space-based, and the AEGIS system, and evaluated all of these until the early 1990s when the program stopped. President Clinton was President at that time. He vetoed the Defense authorization bill. In his veto message, he said: I will continue to veto any bill that has money in it for

a national missile defense system because there is no threat.

Now we know there is. We know the threat is there, and we wish we could look back and say, Why didn't we stay on schedule where we would have to deploy by fiscal year 1998?—which is really 1997.

We have been watching the deterioration of our military in terms of end strength and in terms of authorization. Right now, we are sending our troops out into battle with inferior equipment.

My colleague from Oklahoma and I have both experienced the condition of our artillery system. It is one that has 1958 technology. You can think of it as Civil War technology where you have to run the barrel between each shot.

I think even some of the military leaders in America do not realize how deteriorated it is. I think a lot of our leaders were not aware until September 11 that there are many other countries making more sophisticated strike systems than we have. Our best air-to-air defense and air-to-ground vehicle is the F-16. They now have the SU-27 and SU-30. They are on the open market. We know that China has bought around 240 of these. It is a very threatening situation.

I can recall the day this happened. A year ago, we had the Chamber of Commerce in from the State of Oklahoma. They come up once a year. And they were over in the Hart Building. It was my turn to address them from 9 to 9:30. Senator NICKLES was addressing them from 9:30 to 10. As I got to the end of my 30-minute speech, I ended it the same way I have ended my speeches since 1994/95; that is, today we are in the most threatened position we have been in as a nation in the history of our country. Just as I said that, I looked up, and I saw this billowing smoke—not knowing what it was, not even finding out until Senator NICKLES ended his speech that in fact it was the bombing of the Pentagon.

This mentality that has been permeating the Halls of both the House and the Senate—that somehow the cold war is over and the threat is not out there anymore—is something that people now understand is not true.

When this administration came in, they saw our end strength and the problems we have in the military. We have to change our policy—which has always been to defend America against two MTW; that is, two major theater wars. Now it is to defend America against one theater.

This is something that is not acceptable to the American people. And they find out. I know this, Mr. President, because every time I say it, they ask the question: Do you mean that we don't have that capability, and we have abandoned the policy we have had in this country for the last 20 years? I say: Yes, that is where we are.

I think Secretary Rumsfeld was right when he testified before our Senate Armed Services Committee and said

now we are trying to keep a military on a smaller amount of money relative to our gross domestic product than before Pearl Harbor. We are spending less today—3 percent of our gross domestic product—on our military.

People talk about how much stronger we are than anyone else. There are not many other countries that do not spend more than that percentage. Historically, it has been between 4 percent and 5 percent.

We are having a markup of the Defense authorization bill. I came over from there because I wanted to get on record as strongly as I can about the result and how we might benefit from this tragedy a year ago today.

In this debate which we are in, we need to know if there is some way we can relieve the Guard at the gates at our military operations so they can go and relieve some of the Guard and Reserves who are overworked. Right now, there is not a Senator in here who hasn't heard from Guard and Reserve back home. They are overworked and overdeployed. They have lost their jobs. Many of these individuals have had to quit the Reserves and the Guard. Sadly, we are missing the critical MO authorization specialties. It is something we are going to have to do.

But there is a mentality among people—and we don't disrespect those people who believe the threat is not out there. There are some people who honestly in their hearts believe that if we all stand in a circle—all countries—and hold hands and unilaterally disarm, all threats will go away. I know that doesn't sound reasonable, but in Washington, there are quite a few of those around.

I think the shock treatment we got on September 11 of 2001 brought us out of that. We understand what we are going to have to do. We are going to have to do a rebuilding.

I think if there is anything to come to benefit us as a result of this tragedy a year ago, it is to remind not the people in this Chamber—they react to the people at home—but to remind people at home that we are in a very threatened situation and the most vulnerable in the history of this country.

Secretary Rumsfeld said it in a way which I think is very good. He said the consequences of making a mistake now are far greater than ever before. He said they are minuscule by comparison—that the consequence of making mistakes in Somalia in 1993 was that we lost 18 soldiers. The consequence of making mistakes in Yemen in 1999 was tragic. We lost 17 sailors. But he said the consequence of making a mistake right now is that we could lose hundreds of thousands of people.

We need to move on and allow this tragedy in America to serve as a reminder to the people of America that we have to rebuild. We have to make America strong again to the point that we can meet the minimum expectations of the American people. We do not today.

I only say, as tragic as it is, that the best way to ensure that those individuals who died—over 3,000—a year ago will not have died in vain is by learning the lesson and rebuilding and preventing a far greater catastrophe from happening again.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, it is a privilege to welcome a distinguished delegation from the Norwegian Parliament. Nine members of the Committee on Defense are with us today in the Senate Chamber. They have come to the United States this week as a part of an ambitious series of events which will include meetings at the Pentagon, the State Department, the National Security Council, and Central Command in Florida.

They had been scheduled to leave Washington this morning, but they have changed their itinerary deliberately because they wanted to be with us here, the U.S. Senate, in the Capitol Building on this solemn day.

As fellow legislators and close NATO allies, the Norwegian Defense Committee wanted to express its solidarity with Congress and with the American people on the first anniversary of September 11.

I would like to read a letter into the RECORD from the Defense Committee of Norway.

They have written:

To the Senate of the United States:

The Standing Committee on Defense of the Norwegian Parliament wishes to express its deepest sympathy and solidarity with the American people on this day of remembrance—one year after the horrible terror attack on the United States that occurred September 11, 2001.

Let us never forget all those individuals who lost their lives in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, including firemen, police officers, and volunteers who tried to rescue people from the flames.

The letter continues:

September 11 changed the world and international politics. Norway is proud to participate in the broad coalition against terrorism and does so by taking part in "Operation Enduring Freedom" under U.S. command. The fight against terrorism is a fight for democracy, for an open and free society, and for human rights.

Sincerely,

The Standing Committee on Defense [of Norway]:

Ms. Marit Nybakk, Chairman DC, Ms. Aase Wisloeff Nilssen, Member DC, Mr. Bjoern Hernaes, Member DC, Mr. Kjetil Bjoerklund, Member DC, Mr. Per Roar Bredvold, Member DC, Mr. Gunnar Halvorsen, Member DC, Mr. Aage Konradsen, Member DC, Mr. Leif Lund, Member DC, Mr. Per Ove Width, Member DC, Mr. Joern Olsen, Secretary DC.

I know that I speak for all Members of the Senate when I say that we deeply appreciate your support today. Your presence here reminds us of the importance of allies and the enduring bond between the United States and Norway.

During the long decades of the Cold War, Norway was the only NATO member to border directly on the Russian Republic. This "front-line" position imposed a special burden on Norway, and its value as a member of the Alliance far exceeded the size of its population.

The border between Norway and Russia is now peaceful and cooperative. Yet Norway still bears burdens from its history as a front-line state. In particular, it must contend with the environmental dangers created by the nuclear-powered Soviet-era fleet that is deteriorating on the nearby Kola Peninsula.

In June of this year, I had the pleasure to visit Norway following an extensive trip to Russia. There I met with many members of the Norwegian defense establishment, including members of the Defense Committee. We talked a great deal about nuclear clean-up issues on the Kola Peninsula. Norway has been an invaluable partner in addressing this nuclear threat through its support for the Nunn-Lugar program and its participation in the trilateral Arctic Military Environmental Cooperation program or AMEC. Under AMEC, our country has been working with the Russians and Norwegians to safely dispose of the nuclear material from decommissioned vessels.

We have had great success so far, but the challenges of safeguarding weapons and materials of mass destruction are immense. I am hopeful that our efforts can be expanded and accelerated, and I know that Norway will work closely with us to address these dangers.

So we welcome the Norwegian Defense Committee and draw encouragement from their presence here on this day of remembrance. We look forward to all that we can accomplish together, as we strive to make the world safe from terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

#### RECESS

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in a short recess in order that we can greet the defense committee of the Norwegian Parliament, and I ask the Senate and members of the staff to greet the delegation assembled behind my desk.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 2:52 p.m., recessed until 2:55 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. CARPER).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. BUNNING. My congratulations to the Senator from Indiana and the delegation from Norway. We are privileged to have them here.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I rise today in honor of those in New York, at the Pentagon, and in the skies over Pennsylvania who lost their lives 1 year ago today.

None of us in the Senate will ever forget the events of that terrible morning, nor will we ever forget the courage and compassion displayed by Americans everywhere in response to the attacks.

Today, my thoughts and prayers are with the victims, their families, and all of those who risked their lives to save others on that awful day. The despicable acts that we witnessed were meant to create havoc and to test our resolve as Americans. America passed that test. We are stronger and more united as a Nation today than we ever were. Despite the fact that our buildings were damaged, America's foundations remain unshaken. And despite the fact that 3,000 of our friends, relatives, and neighbors were murdered, America's sense of community is stronger than ever.

This morning, many of us took part in a memorial service across the river at the newly restored Pentagon. One year ago today, that building was on fire. One of its five sides essentially lay in ruin.

Last September, I visited the Pentagon just days after the attack. It was a terrible scene of devastation. But today we saw a building that has been completely rebuilt. The Pentagon, both on the inside and on the outside, is better than before. The offices within are busy now with the activity of military men and women who are hard at work in the war against terror.

The Pentagon, today, stands as a reminder of the American spirit and a warning to those who want to terrorize us: America will triumph, and those who want nothing less than to destroy our way of life will fail. They will fail because of the American spirit. They will fail because of our faith in freedom and democracy. They will fail because of the strength and character of the American people.

I believe Americans have emerged from the attacks even stronger and more dedicated to our beliefs and to our Nation. But we cannot let our guard down again. We cannot forget that evil is lying in wait for another opportunity to attack. So far, we have been able to anticipate, with intelligence, any future attacks. But we know the enemy will try again.

It has been said many times—but it bears repeating—it might not seem that we are at war, but we are at war. It is a different kind of a struggle than we have ever fought before.

On the surface, it might not seem like World War II, Korea, Vietnam, or any other conflict of the past. Make no mistake about it, danger still lurks, and we must remain vigilant.

Americans have made many sacrifices, big and small, over the last