

know that he has chemical and biological weapons today. He has used them in the past, and he is doing everything he can to build more. Each day he inches closer to his longtime goal of nuclear capability—a capability that could be less than a year away.

I believe that Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime represents a clear threat to the United States, to our allies, to our interests around the world, and to the values of freedom and democracy we hold dear.

Saddam has proven his willingness to act irrationally and brutally against his neighbors and against his own people. Iraqi's destructive capacity has the potential to throw the entire Middle East into chaos, and poses a mortal threat to our vital ally, Israel.

What's more, the terrorist threat against America is all too clear. Thousands of terrorist operatives around the world would pay anything to get their hands on Saddam's arsenal, and there is every possibility that he could turn his weapons over to these terrorists. No one can doubt that if the terrorists of September 11 had had weapons of mass destruction, they would have used them. On September 12, 2002, we can hardly ignore the terrorist threat, and the serious danger that Saddam would allow his arsenal to be used in aid of terror.

Iraq has continued to develop its arsenal in defiance of the collective will of the international community, as expressed through the United Nations Security Council. It is violating the terms of the cease-fire that ended the Gulf War and ignoring as many as 16 U.N. Security Council resolutions—including 11 resolutions concerning Iraq's efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction.

These U.N. resolutions are not unilateral American demands. They involve obligations Iraq has undertaken to the international community. By ignoring them, Saddam Hussein is undermining the credibility of the United Nations, openly violating international law, and making a mockery of the very idea of international collective action which is so important to the United States and our allies.

The time has come for decisive action. With our allies, we must do whatever is necessary to guard against the threat posed by an Iraq armed with weapons of mass destruction, and under the thumb of Saddam Hussein. The United States must lead an international effort to remove the regime of Saddam Hussein and to assure that Iraq fulfills its obligations to the international community.

This is not an easy decision, and it carries many risks. It will also carry costs, certainly in resources, and possibly in lives. After careful consideration, I believe that the risk of inaction is far greater than the risk of action.

As we set out on this course, we must be as conscious of our special responsibility as we are confident in the rightness of our cause.

The United States has a special role of leadership in the international community. As America and its allies move down this path, we must do so in a way that preserves the legitimacy of our actions, enhances international consensus, and strengthens our global leadership.

First, this means making the strongest possible case to the American people about the danger Saddam poses. Months of mixed messages, high-level speculation and news-leaks about possible military plans have caused widespread concern among many Americans and around the world.

I am encouraged that the President has overruled some of his advisors and decided to ask for the support of Congress. From the support of Congress, this effort will derive even greater and more enduring strength.

Second, the Administration must do as much as possible to rally the support of the international community under the mandate of the United Nations Security Council. We should tap into the strengths of existing alliances like NATO to enforce such a mandate. And let me be clear: America's allies deserve more than just token consultation. The Bush administration must make a full-court press to rally global support, much like the impressive effort President Bush's father made to rally the first international coalition against Saddam in the fall of 1990. If they do, I believe they will succeed.

If, however, the United Nations Security Council is prevented from supporting this effort, then we must act with as many allies as possible to ensure that Iraq meets its obligations to existing Security Council resolutions. After all, that's what the U.S. and its NATO allies did during the 1999 war in Kosovo, when a U.N. Security Council resolution was impossible.

Third, we must be honest with the American people about the extraordinary commitment this task entails. It is likely to cost us much in the short-term, and it is certain to demand our attention and commitment for the long-haul. We have to show the world that we are prepared to do what it takes to help rebuild a post-Saddam Iraq and give the long-suffering Iraqi people the chance to live under freedom.

Working with our allies, we have to be prepared to deal with the consequences of success—helping to provide security inside Iraq after Saddam is gone, working with the various Iraqi opposition groups in shaping a new government, reassuring Iraq's neighbors about its future stability, and supporting the Iraqi people as they rebuild their lives. This is a massive undertaking, and we must pursue it with no illusions.

Ensuring that Iraq complies with its commitments to the international community is the mission of the moment. Rebuilding Iraq and helping it evolve into a democracy at peace with itself and its neighbors will be the mission of many years.

Unfortunately, the administration's record to date gives me cause for concern. They must not make the same mistakes in post-Saddam Iraq that they are making in post-Taliban Afghanistan, where they have been dangerously slow in making the real commitment necessary to help democracy take root and flourish.

Finally, the administration must show that its actions against Iraq are part of a broader strategy to strengthen American security around the world.

We must address the most insidious threat posed by weapons of mass destruction—the threat that comes from the ability of terrorists to obtain them. We must do much more to support the many disarmament programs already in place to dismantle weapons and prevent access to weapons-grade materials in Russia and the former Soviet states; we must fully fund Nunn-Lugar; and we should work hard to forge international coalition to prevent proliferation.

We must be fully and continuously engaged to help resolve the crisis between Israel and the Palestinians. Disengagement was a mistake. The United States cannot deliver peace to the parties, but no agreement is possible without our active involvement.

We also must have a national strategy for energy security, working to strengthen relationships with new suppliers and doing more to develop alternative sources of power.

And we must do far more to promote democracy throughout the Arab world. We should examine our overall engagement in the entire region, and employ the same kinds of tools that we used to win the battle of ideas fought during the Cold War, from vigorous public diplomacy to assistance for democratic reform at the grassroots.

The path of confronting Saddam is full of hazards. But the path of inaction is far more dangerous. This week, a week where we remember the sacrifice of thousands of innocent Americans made on 9/11, the choice could not be starker. Had we known that such attacks were imminent, we surely would have used every means at our disposal to prevent them and take out the plotters. We cannot wait for such a terrible event—or, if weapons of mass destruction are used, one far worse—to address the clear and present danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

#### SEPTEMBER 11 REMEMBRANCE

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, yesterday we marked the anniversary of one of the most horrific events in our Nation's history. On September 11 of last year, without provocation or warning, extremists took control of four of our planes and used them as weapons of destruction against us to cowardly take from our lives our friends and neighbors, our mothers and fathers, and our sons and daughters.

As we watched those events unfold, during the subsequent rescue attempts,

we saw more of our Nation's brave men and women lose their lives in the support and defense of others. It was not only a terrible loss of life. It was a loss of our most vital and valuable resource, our Nation's people and the potential they carried within them for greatness in so many different fields and endeavors of importance to them and to us.

As we watched the images broadcast around the world, we all made a decision in our hearts to do everything we could to respond to the attack on our nation, our freedom, our liberty and our way of life. For each of us it meant something different, but for all of us, it helped to know there was something we could all do to help.

For Congress, that meant expressing our strongest support for the President and his ambitious and necessary plan to end the global network of terror that has sown the seeds of despair and hatred wherever it has found fertile ground. The President's plan is to do more than defeat the forces of terror. It is to replace those seeds of anger and hatred with seeds of hope and peace.

For our Nation's Armed Forces, it meant answering the call to duty and taking arms against an enemy who placed no value on human life.

The rules of war are not many, but one unavoidable one is that it takes the lives of our young men and women. One of those we lost in the early stages of the war was one of Wyoming's own, Jonn Edmunds, an Army Ranger from Cheyenne, who gave his life in Afghanistan as he fought and died for a cause that he believed in.

For all Americans, it meant an awakening of our sense of patriotism and our love of country, as we put aside our differences and unfurled our flags and proudly displayed them on our porches and windows. We came together as one, united, in support of our leaders and our President.

We know from past experience that the effort to respond to challenges like this is not a quick or easy one. It takes a lengthly and determined commitment to principle if we are to succeed.

I have no doubt our resolve will remain strong and we will be united in purpose, as we have done before when called to respond to a threat to our way of life.

A little over fifty years ago, on a day that has been compared to this one, those who opposed us were heard to say after their attack that they may have done nothing more than awaken a sleeping giant. On that day in December and this one in September, we may have been a sleeping giant, but when the time came to respond, we did, and by so doing, we changed the world.

We have to respond with strength and determination because those who attacked us chose their targets with such clear and evil intent. They attacked the World Trade Center, because of its symbolic representation of our economic power. They attacked the Pentagon because of its symbolic rep-

resentation of the power of our military. And they sought to attack our Nation's capital because it is the heart of our government and it represents our democracy and our way of life.

No one will ever forget where they were or what they were doing as they first heard the news of the terrorist attack on our Nation. We all sat and watched in stunned silence as events unfolded that are now forever etched in our mind.

In the days that have passed since then, we have kept alive the memory of those we lost, repaired and restored what we could, and made plans to recreate what could not be saved. It has been a difficult and daunting task.

Through it all the President has led a united Nation, committed to ending the threat of terrorism, not just for us, but for our children, and for all the children of the world who deserve to grow up and pursue a dream of peace, hope and opportunity.

When the terrorists struck at the heart of our Nation that day they took something more precious than our buildings, and the symbols of American pride and ingenuity we all hold dear. When they took our loved ones from us, they also took the innocence of our children who had to learn quickly, and at a young and tender age, that there are bad people in the world who do bad things. And that all too often, bad things happen to good people.

But, when they looked at us with questioning eyes, did any of us have a good answer to the question they wanted answered the most, "Why?"

Fortunately, the President's leadership has enabled him to put together an international coalition dedicated to dismantling the network of terror and to bringing those responsible to justice, wherever they may try to hide.

The conspiracy of terrorism can only survive in the darkness of hatred. It can not long survive when we bring the light of peace to bear on all the Nations of the world. That light is the symbol of freedom that our Statue of Liberty holds proudly and with purpose in the harbor of New York, not far from where the Twin Towers once stood. It is a light that will someday shine for everyone in every country in the world, and we will all live in peace and freedom.

We are, and always will be, a Nation of individuals. We all have our own stories, our own goals and ambitions, and our own plans for our lives. But, when faced with a crisis, as we were last year, we come together as one united in our commitment that no one will ever have to endure a tragedy as terrible as the events that unfolded last year.

Yesterday was a day of remembrance. It will always be so. May it serve as a constant reminder that we are one Nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

The lives of all those who were lost are like an unfinished symphony that has been left to us to continue and

complete. We carry their dreams, their hopes, their ambitions, their challenges and their plans for the future with us. With God's strength and the support of each of us we will complete the work they started and ensure the safety and security of all people, of all countries, and of all regions of the world for generations to come.

#### CBO ESTIMATES ON REPORTED BILLS

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, prior to the August recess, the Committee on Foreign Relations reported several bills without written report. At the time, the Congressional Budget Office, CBO, estimates on the bills were not available. I ask unanimous consent that the CBO estimates on these bills, S. 1777, H.R. 4558, and H.R. 2121, be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. CONGRESS,  
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,  
Washington, DC, August 1, 2002.

Hon. JOSEPH R. BIDEN, Jr.,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Congressional Budget Office has prepared the enclosed cost estimate for S. 1777, the International Disability and Victims of Landmines, Civil Strife, and Warfare Assistance Act of 2002.

The CBO staff contacts for this estimate are Joseph C. Whitehill, who can be reached at 226-2840, and Jeanne M. De Sa, who can be reached at 226-9010.

Sincerely,

BARRY B. ANDERSON,  
(For Dan L. Crippen, Director).

Enclosure.

S. 1777—*International Disability and Victims of Landmines, Civil Strife, and Warfare Assistance Act of 2002*

Summary: S. 1777 would authorize the President to furnish assistance to individuals with disabilities in foreign countries, including victims of landmines and other war injuries. The bill also would authorize the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) to provide such assistance, and would authorize the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) to provide advice and expertise to U.S. agencies and private voluntary agencies undertaking such programs. Currently, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the CDC, and VA provide some assistance in this area under more general authority. CBO estimates that implementing S. 1777 would cost about \$4 million over the 2003-2005 period, assuming appropriation of the necessary amounts. Because S. 1777 would not affect direct spending or receipts, pay-as-you-go procedures would not apply.

S. 1777 contains no intergovernmental or private-sector mandates as defined in the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act (UMRA) and would not affect the budgets of state, local, or tribal governments.

Estimated cost to the Federal Government: For this estimate, CBO assumes that the legislation will be enacted near the beginning of fiscal year 2003, that the estimated amounts will be appropriated each year, and that outlays will follow historical spending patterns. The budgetary impact of S. 1777 is shown in the following table. The costs of this legislation fall within budget