

the country and root out al-Qaida. How can we afford not to do that?

No. 8, we have alienated longtime friends and leaders in other nations, whom we heavily depend on for intelligence, for border enforcement, for shutting off funds to al-Qaida, and for many other types of support in the ongoing war against international terrorism. Mistrust of America has soared throughout the world, and we are especially hated in the Muslim world. In parts of it, the bottom has fallen out.

The past 2 years have seen the steepest and deepest fall from grace our country has ever suffered in the eyes of the world community in all our history. We remember the enormous goodwill that flowed to America in the aftermath of September 11, and we never should have squandered it.

Does President Bush ever learn? His chip-on-the-shoulder address to the United Nations last week was yet another missed opportunity to turn the page and start regaining the genuine support of the world community for a sensible policy on Iraq.

In fact, the President's arrogance toward the world community has left our soldiers increasingly isolated and alone. We have nearly 90 percent of the troops on the ground in Iraq, and more than 95 percent of those killed and wounded are Americans. Instead of other nations joining us, initially supportive nations are pulling out. The so-called coalition of the willing has become the coalition of the dwindling.

No. 9, our overall military forces are stretched to the breaking point because of the war in Iraq. As the Defense Science Board recently told Secretary Rumsfeld:

Current and projected force structure will not sustain our current and projected global stabilization commitments.

LTG John Riggs said it clearly:

I have been in the Army 39 years, and I've never seen the Army as stretched in that 39 years as I have today.

As Senator JOHN MCCAIN warned last week, if we have a problem in some other flash point in the world, "it's clear, at least to most observers, that we don't have sufficient personnel."

The war has also undermined the Guard and Reserve. Many Guard members are also first responders for any terrorist attack on the United States. Our homeland security, as well, is being weakened because of their loss.

No. 10, the war in Iraq has undermined the basic rule of international law that protects captured Americans. The Geneva Conventions are supposed to protect our forces, but the brutal interrogation techniques used at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq have lowered the bar for treatment of POWs and endangered our soldiers throughout the world.

No. 11, while President Bush has been preoccupied with Iraq, not just one but two serious nuclear threats have been rising—from North Korea and Iran. Four years ago, North Korea's plutonium program was inactive. Its nuclear

rods were under seal. Two years ago, as the Iraq debate became intense, North Korea expelled the international inspectors and began turning its fuel rods into nuclear weapons. At the beginning of the Bush administration, North Korea was already thought to have two such weapons. Now they may have eight or more, and the danger is far greater.

Iran, too, is now on a fast track that could produce nuclear weapons. The international inspectors found traces of highly enriched uranium at two nuclear sites, and Iran admitted last March that it had the centrifuges to enrich uranium. The international community might be more willing to act if President Bush had not abused the U.N. resolution passed on Iraq 2 years ago, when he took the words "serious consequences" as a license for launching his unilateral war in Iraq. Now, after that breach of faith with the world community, other nations now refuse to trust us enough to enact a similar U.N. resolution on Iran because they fear President Bush will use it to justify another reckless war.

No. 12, while we focused on the non-existent nuclear threat from Saddam, we have not done enough to safeguard the vast amounts of unsecured nuclear material in the world. According to a joint report by the Nuclear Threat Initiative and Harvard's Managing-the-Atom Project, "scores of nuclear terrorist opportunities lie in wait in countries all around the world"—especially at sites in the former Soviet Union that contain enough nuclear material for a nuclear weapon and are poorly defended against terrorists and criminals.

As former Senator Sam Nunn said:

The most effective, least expensive way to prevent nuclear terrorism is to secure nuclear weapons and materials at the source.

How loudly—how loudly—does the alarm bell have to ring before President Bush wakes up?

No. 13, the neglect of the Bush administration of all aspects of homeland security because of the war is frightening. All we have to do is look at today's paper.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to notify me when I have 1 minute remaining.

It says in the paper that the FBI is said to lag on translations. It talks about 3 years after 9/11 more than 120,000 hours of potentially valuable terrorism-related recordings have not been translated by the linguists at the FBI. Then it talks about that the al-Qaida messages "tomorrow is zero hour" and "the match is about to begin" were intercepted by the National Security Agency on September 10 but not translated until days afterwards.

Homeland security? Why aren't we getting this done in terms of securing our homeland? We are pouring nearly \$5 billion a month into Iraq. We are grossly shortchanging the urgent need

to strengthen our ability to prevent terrorist attacks at home and to strengthen our preparedness to respond to them if they occur.

As former Republican Senator Warren Rudman, chairman of the Independent Task Force on Emergency Responders, said: "Homeland security is terribly underfunded."

That is a Republican Senator who is saying that. That isn't a Democrat. "Terribly underfunded."

We see what happens as a result. Our hospitals are unprepared for a bioterrorist attack. Our land borders, our seaports, our shipping containers, our transit systems, our waterways, nuclear power—none of these have sufficient funds for protection against terrorist attacks, even though the Bush administration has put the Nation on high alert for such attacks five times in the last 3 years.

You can't pack all these reasons America is not safer into a 30-second television response ad or a news story or an editorial. But as anyone who cares about the issue can quickly learn, our President has no credibility—no credibility—when he keeps telling us that America and the world are safer because he went to war in Iraq and rid us of Saddam Hussein.

President Bush's record on Iraq is clearly costing American lives and endangering America and the world. Our President won't change or even admit how wrong he has been and still is. Despite the long line of mistaken blunders and outright deception, there has been no accountability. As election day draws closer, the buck is circling more and more closely over 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Only a new President can right the extraordinary wrongs of the Bush administration on our foreign policy and our national security.

On November 2, the American people will decide whether they still have confidence in this President's leadership. When we ask ourselves the fundamental question, whether President Bush has made us safer, there can only be one answer. No, he has not. That is why America needs new leadership. We could have been, and we should have been much safer than we are today.

We cannot afford to stay this very dangerous course. This election cannot come soon enough. As I have said before, the only thing America has to fear is 4 more years of George Bush.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ENZI). The Senator from Wisconsin.

#### THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WILDERNESS ACT

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, September 3, 2004, marked the 40th anniversary of the Wilderness Act. I have introduced a resolution, S. Res. 387, commemorating this important milestone, and I hope the Senate will approve this resolution, which has 18 cosponsors, before we adjourn for the year.

I would like to take this opportunity to recognize the many people who have

helped us preserve over 106 million acres of wilderness for future generations to hike, to hunt, to fish, and to enjoy.

People such as Howard Zahniser, Olaus and Mardy Murie, Ceila Hunter, and Bob Marshall had the vision to protect our wild places. Legislators such as John Saylor and Hubert Humphrey listened to them and made their vision a reality.

As a Senator from Wisconsin, I feel a special bond with this issue. My State has produced great wilderness thinkers and leaders, such as the writer and conservationist Aldo Leopold, whose "A Sand County Almanac" helped to galvanize the environmental movement; like Sierra Club founder John Muir; and like Sigurd Olson, one of the founders of the Wilderness Society.

Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico said that his support of the wilderness system was the direct result of discussions he had held almost 40 years before with Leopold. And then-Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall referred to Leopold as the instigator of the modern wilderness movement.

For others, the ideas of Olson and Muir—particularly the idea that preserving wilderness is a way for us to better understand our country's history and the frontier experience—provided an important justification for the wilderness system.

I am privileged to hold the Senate seat held by Gaylord Nelson, a man for whom I have the greatest admiration and respect. He is a well-known and widely respected former Senator and two-term Governor of Wisconsin, and the founder of Earth Day. What I find so remarkable is that, even after a distinguished career in public service, he continues to work for conservation. He is currently devoting his time to the protection of wilderness by serving as a counselor to the Wilderness Society—an activity which is quite appropriate for someone who was a co-sponsor, along with former Senator Proxmire, of the bill that became the Wilderness Act.

I am proud of Wisconsin's part in making this legislation law, and I am proud to carry on that tradition through the Senate Wilderness Caucus.

I also wish to thank my colleagues the senior Senator from West Virginia, Mr. BYRD, the senior Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY, and the senior Senator from Hawaii, Mr. INOUE, all of whom served in the Senate in 1964 and voted for the Wilderness Act.

That Act was the first piece of legislation in the world to preserve wild places. Forty years after the act passed, wilderness still enjoys widespread, bipartisan support. Just recently the Bush administration announced its recommendation for wilderness designation of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin, a place that is near and dear to my heart and to the hearts of many Wisconsinites. I thank my former staffer

Mary Frances Repko, who for 9 years worked tirelessly to promote, protect, and push for a wilderness study for the Apostles Islands, and to preserve America's public lands.

In closing, I would like to remind colleagues of the words of Aldo Leopold in his 1949 book, "A Sand County Almanac." He said, "The outstanding scientific discovery of the twentieth century is not the television, or radio, but rather the complexity of the land organism. Only those who know the most about it can appreciate how little is known about it." We still have much to learn, but this anniversary of the Wilderness Act reminds us how far we have come and how the commitment to public lands that the Senate and the Congress demonstrated 40 years ago continues to benefit all Americans.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I recently received a letter from Mrs. Margaret Baker of Hillsboro, WV, who wrote of "how important wilderness areas are to the quality of life in West Virginia." Writing about West Virginia's Cranberry Wilderness Area, she explains that, in this special place "you can take your children here and actually see what nature looks like when it's not in a neatly labeled museum exhibit, when the animals aren't in cages and the trees aren't trimmed into perfect little bricketts of shrubbery."

Mrs. Baker's letter continues:

My husband and I hike in the Cranberry Wilderness and always see something that is astonishing, a forest of ferns, an abstract art work of lichen or sunset colored mushrooms. You can see a picture of a wilderness area but unless you smell it, and feel the mud under your boots, experience the light shining on it and hear the birds and crickets, you can't really appreciate how amazing the offerings of the planet are. I think West Virginians have a duty to preserve this reminder of what is good and wholesome and worth being optimistic about in our world. Help keep West Virginia wild.

I share that letter today for several reasons. The first is that Mrs. Baker's letter gives me the opportunity to boast of the natural beauty of West Virginia, which everyone knows I like to do. One should not doubt that areas like the Cranberry Wilderness are both beautiful and unique. This incredible area of 35,864 acres of broad and massive mountains and deep, narrow valleys is the State's largest wilderness area.

As Mrs. Baker's letter so movingly indicates, visitors to the Cranberry Wilderness directly and vividly experience nature. Its wildlife includes black bear, white-tailed deer, wild turkey, mink, bobcat, numerous varieties of birds, and many species of reptiles. The waters of the Cranberry Wilderness are home to brook trout and several species of amphibians. Vegetation in the area includes spruce and hemlock at the higher elevations and hardwood trees such as black cherry and yellow birch and thickets of rhododendrons and mountain laurel in the lower terrain.

How exciting and rewarding it is to know that individuals like Mrs. Baker are able to use and enjoy this great wilderness. I certainly agree with Mrs. Baker that we "have a duty to preserve this [and other] reminders of what is good and wholesome."

That brings me to my second reason for sharing Mrs. Baker's letter with you. This year, 2004, is the 40th anniversary of the Wilderness Act of 1964, which was enacted to ensure that special places like the Cranberry Wilderness would be protected for future generations. In an era of "an ever increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization," the Wilderness Act declared that we must secure the land where "the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man and where man himself is a visitor."

My home State of West Virginia has certainly benefitted from the creation of wilderness areas, and the Cranberry Wilderness is just one of the five wilderness areas in my State. The others include Dolly Sods, Otter Creek, Laurel Fork North, and Laurel Fork South Wilderness Areas, and West Virginia remains wild and wonderful, in part, because of Congress's actions. Furthermore, our Nation's 662 wilderness areas have given Americans a freedom to explore. This freedom has been secured and protected so that future generations also may enjoy the beauty of God's creation.

Covered from end to end, and on all sides, by the ancient Appalachian Mountains, West Virginia is exquisite in its natural splendor. It is the most southern of the northern; the most northern of the southern; the most eastern of the western; and the most western of the eastern States. It is where the east says "good morning" to the west, and where Yankee Doodle and Dixie kiss each other goodnight.

It is only fitting that, on the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Wilderness Act, we cast our eyes backward so that we might have insight into how to better prepare for future events. On a whole range of important issues, the Senate has always been blessed with Senators who were able to reach across party lines and consider, first and foremost, the national interest.

Our late colleague, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey was certainly such a person. He introduced the first wilderness bill in the Senate in 1956 and was there for its passage in 1964. Other former colleagues had this ability, including Senators Scoop Jackson, Clinton Anderson, Frank Church, Richard Russell, and Mike Mansfield. They understood the art of legislating, and they reveled in it. For this and other reasons, I am also honored to be associated with such Senators and to be the recipient of the Hubert H. Humphrey Wilderness Leadership Award that was presented to me earlier this month.

As we look back 40 years, we can see how the seeds of legislation have blossomed. This certainly rings true of the

passage of the Wilderness Act. Through four Congresses, Members on both sides of the aisle worked through the key challenges and made the right compromises rather than simply succumbing to the purely political tactics and rhetoric that seem to dominate today. The debate on the Wilderness Act should serve as a great example of how Members of both parties in the Senate and the House of Representatives can come together to pass historic pieces of legislation.

It is hard for me to believe that 40 years have passed since Congress first approved the Wilderness Act. It is also hard to believe that only Senators INOUE and KENNEDY and I remain in the Senate as Members who voted for that original legislation. Yet today we can proudly say that the original designation of 9.1 million acres in that first bill has expanded to more than 105 million acres in 44 States. I believe that this landmark legislation should serve as a lesson for those who are seeking guidance regarding other important measures before this and future Congresses.

In closing, I am reminded of the immortal words of one of America's foremost conservationists and outdoorsmen, John Muir:

Oh, these vast, calm, measureless mountain days, inciting at once to work and rest! Days in whose light everything seems equally divine, opening a thousand windows to show us God. Nevermore, however weary, should one faint by the way who gains the blessing of one mountain day: whatever his fate, long life, short life, stormy or calm, he is rich forever. . . . I only went out for a walk, and finally concluded to stay out till sundown, for going out, I found, was going in.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize the 40th anniversary of the Wilderness Act.

From the days of the earliest settlers, wilderness has always been a defining part of our national heritage. Simply put, the American wilderness helped shape the American values of freedom, opportunity and independence.

As it did in 1964, Nevada still contains many of the wildest and least traveled places in the lower 48 States. The remote and untamed areas of Nevada represent a reservoir of challenges and opportunities for hunters, fishermen, birdwatchers, photographers, and other outdoorsmen.

We all play a stewardship role, and I am proud of the job our nation has done and continues to do in upholding these uniquely American values.

In particular, I would like to recognize four individuals from my home State of Nevada who are true wilderness heroes.

Marge Sill has advocated protecting wild places for more than 4 decades. She worked to pass the 1964 Act, as well as every Nevada wilderness bill since then. Marge helped establish the Friends of Nevada Wilderness, which celebrates its 20th anniversary this year, and has mentored multiple generations of wilderness advocates.

Hermie and John Hiatt have been leaders in Nevada conservation efforts for more than 2 decades. Their tireless advocacy for wilderness and environmental protection particularly in southern and eastern Nevada serves as inspiration for many. Their interest in and knowledge of the science behind conservation serves Nevada well.

Finally I would like to recognize Roger Scholl, who played a key role in the development of the 1989 Nevada Wilderness Protection Act. In a quiet but effective and reasonable manner, Roger has consistently sought to develop consensus wilderness proposals. From Mt. Moriah and the Schell Creek Range in White Pine County to Mr. Rose and High Rock Canyon in Washoe County, Roger's work on wilderness issues has benefited Nevada and our Nation. His counsel has served me well.

Through the work of these Nevadans the number of Nevada wildernesses has grown from one, the Jarbidge Wilderness, to more than 40 in 40 years. I commend them for their work on behalf of Nevada and the Nation.

As President Lyndon Johnson said upon signing the Wilderness Act, "If future generations are to remember us with gratitude rather than contempt, we must leave them something more than the miracles of technology. We must leave them a glimpse of the world as it was in the beginning."

With stewards such as these four great Nevadans, I know that our Nation's great wilderness heritage will be secure for generations to come.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, forty years ago this month, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Wilderness Act, which set aside some of the most quintessential American landscapes in this vast country. This visionary law first protected about 9 million acres of public lands. Today, as a result of a bipartisan commitment by successive Congresses and Presidents, 105 million acres of land are protected in 44 States.

California is blessed to have nearly 14 million acres permanently protected as wilderness for the public to enjoy and as a legacy for future generations. These areas include some of the most spectacular lands and diverse ecosystems, including forests, deserts, coastal mountains and grasslands.

Americans have long recognized the need to protect our public lands and their vast resources. John Muir, along with U.S. presidents from both parties, including Teddy Roosevelt, foresaw the need for us to protect these precious lands, lest they be lost forever.

Wilderness provides a place of refuge from urban pressures. Millions of Americans retreat to wilderness to fish, hunt, horseback ride, cross-country ski, hike and pursue other recreational breaks from everyday life.

Wilderness protects watersheds that provide clean water to our cities and farms. Forests cleanse our air and provide habitat for countless plant and animal species, many of which are endangered. Wilderness provides some-

thing else that is harder to measure, solitude and peace. California's population of nearly 36 million will balloon to 50 million in the next 20 years, so space will become even more precious.

I am pleased to cosponsor Senator FEINGOLD's resolution honoring the 40th anniversary of the Wilderness Act. I am also pleased to be the author of the California Wild Heritage Act, which would protect approximately 2.5 million acres of public lands as wilderness. The areas that would be protected by this legislation include: the King Range on the Lost Coast in Northern California; the White Mountains in eastern California, home to the ancient Bristlecone Pines; and Eagle Peak in San Diego County, which includes the headwaters of the San Diego River and is home to great plant and animal diversity.

These and many other areas deserve the protection that was envisioned back in 1964, when the Wilderness Act was signed into law.

I believe that our beautiful and varied landscapes help make us the people that we are. Today, we look back and are thankful for those who worked to set aside the rich tapestry that is our wilderness heritage. But looking back is not enough. We must also dedicate ourselves to securing the irreplaceable remaining unprotected wilderness areas as our legacy for those who follow us.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, how much time remains on the Democratic side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 11 minutes.

#### CHALLENGES FACING AMERICA

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I thank the Chair for this opportunity to speak on issues that go to the heart of the challenges facing America and the challenge we face in the upcoming election. Is there one of us who can forget 9/11, where we were, how our lives were changed, how America was changed?

I was in this building, evacuated in panic as the White House was being evacuated, wondering what would happen next. Senators, Congressmen were dispersing in every direction, trying to find some safe place with all the visitors in the Capitol.

I remember, as well, what happened during the course of that day. By the evening time, after the President had spoken to our country, Members of the Senate and House, Democrats and Republicans, in a remarkable, unprecedented move, stood together singing "God Bless America" on the steps of our Capitol—a sense of unity, a sense of purpose, a determination to avenge those who had attacked the United States and to protect Americans here and abroad.

Recall how the world reacted. Countries that had been barely friendly to the United States stood up and said