

whether or not Afghanistan actually surrenders Osama bin Laden, the alleged mastermind of last week's attacks, our military intends on fighting a long and bitter worldwide campaign against international terrorism in more than 60 countries, or, as Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld announced this week, we intend to drain the swamp.

I understand a draft bill, which is the first of a far larger package of anti-terrorist legislation, is now circulating Capitol Hill, and I am told it proposes giving law enforcement the power to detain non-U.S. citizens for indefinite periods without charge, giving immigration authorities greater and accelerated powers to deport non-U.S. citizens, and, at the same time, curtailing rights of non-U.S. citizens to judicial review and appeal.

Many of these reforms that the Bush Administration is now proposing are the very same types of state powers that we routinely criticize other nations for possessing in our own State Department's annual Human Rights Report. I am greatly concerned that we are about to engage in an extremely hazardous military campaign of unknown duration with unrealistic objectives and perhaps even ultimately harmful long-term consequences for our Nation.

Already, there is disquiet in the Muslim world that the U.S. is poised to turn its terrorist campaign into a war against Islam. The Bush Administration has already had to change the name of the military mission once when it used term "crusade," and now it has got to change the name again, because it used the term "Infinite Justice," and that is offensive to our Muslim communities.

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All of these gaffs feed the growing Muslim fear that this impending U.S. military action could become a broader campaign against them.

Mr. Speaker, I know I do not need to address the impending catastrophe should large sections of the world's 1.2 billion Muslims unify and turn against the United States. It would be ironic indeed if we as a Nation destroyed democracy in the name of saving democracy. But before we grant more powers and massive resources to our law enforcement, military and intelligence community, we should be examining why they did not detect the threat of these and other attacks, especially since we had been told that the attacks last week were sophisticated, involved many people over a considerable period of time, and maybe even involved the assistance of a foreign government.

We should know or should have known that bin Laden was capable of attacking our major cities. Just 7 months ago, during the trial of suspects charged with the embassy bombings in Africa, Federal prosecutors detailed the bin Laden network in open court. Details of bin Laden's business

and financial history, his international terror network, as well as his hatred for America, were all systematically dissected by Federal prosecutors.

Given these revelations, it was clear, or it should have been clear, that our Nation and our citizens were in grave danger. I do not understand how intelligence services have the ability to penetrate, analyze and publicly distribute records of bin Laden's alleged cellular phone traffic in the hours immediately after the bombings. From these conversations, we learned of bin Laden's alleged celebrations with supporters. But in stark contrast, over the same period of months, they were not able to intercept bin Laden's planning or preparations for the attacks.

I am also deeply concerned that recent reports in the press of specific, credible and quite extraordinary warnings of terrorist attacks on our citizens, which were ignored by our government, and some of these warnings directly referred to the use of hijacked aircraft attacking the World Trade Center.

For example, the L.A. Times reported on September 20, 2001, that Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, had warned the FBI and the CIA that a major terrorist force of some 200 individuals were entering the U.S.

The Advertiser Newspaper from the Murdoch Group reported on Monday, September 17, that a man in the Cayman Islands wrote to U.S. authorities on August 29 and warned them that he had overheard three Afghan men in a bar talking about impending attacks on the United States. The CIA is said to have followed up on the attack, but apparently did not take it any further.

Then it is also reported that a week later, an Iranian in Hamburg, Germany, contacted police and warned them of an impending terrorist attack against the United States using hijacked planes.

Tragically, I am forced to say, this does not appear to be the first time our intelligence services have been caught flatfooted. Earlier this year, Jamal Ahmed al-Fadl, a former aid to Osama bin Laden, while testifying in New York against the four men accused of the U.S. embassy bombings in Africa, said that he told U.S. officials that bin Laden's group was trying to make a war on the United States. Similarly, Prudence Bushnell, the U.S. Ambassador in Nairobi, warned the State Department of the poor security of her embassy in Nairobi. Regrettably, these warnings appear to have been ignored. Not surprisingly, our government now finds itself subject to civil actions by survivors and family representatives of those killed in the U.S. embassy bombings in Africa.

Count up the combined assets of our Nation's law enforcement, military intelligence agencies charged with fighting terrorism over the last 10 to 15 years, and we have budgets worth billions and billions and billions of dollars, space-age technology that most

countries would just dream of having; and despite all of these resources, we sustained these terrible attacks upon our military, our cities, our warships, our embassies.

In my view, the problem is not one of resources, but of a failure of implementation on a scale that should shame us. But what frustrates me most is that no one in a position of leadership in our Nation has yet to seriously ask why our Nation has been attacked in this way. Why have our cities, our embassies and our military forces been systematically targeted by terrorist organizations? Why is it that our Nation and its people are being attacked in these ways? Our politicians and political observers have, for years, been willing to analyze and discuss about the IRA in England, the Shining Path in Peru, the Red Brigade in Italy; but now that it has come home, all of a sudden, we failed to analyze and ask the question, why did it happen.

Secretary of State Colin Powell is absolutely right. We must give diplomacy a chance. We must honestly ask ourselves, what is the root cause of this war being waged on our people and our country? I suspect that we will need to look at altering some of our foreign policy positions. Unless we do this, I fear that a military campaign, unsupported by sound foreign policy strategies, will only cause immeasurable civilian suffering throughout the world and may well actually lead to more terrifying attacks upon our cities and our citizens.

I would ask our President to sidestep those Rambos in the Pentagon who are talking about using nuclear weapons. Now is not the time for us to be talking about using nuclear weapons. We need to free our Secretary of State to do his job, and I know he can do it.

Finally, I pray that common sense and reason will prevail.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Ms. CARSON of Indiana (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today on account of a family emergency.

Mr. BEREUTER (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today after 3:00 p.m. on account of official business.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

The following Members (at the request of Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:

Mr. BONIOR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFazio, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SHERMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.