

Of course, I believe the automatic pay raise is never appropriate. As my colleagues are aware, it is an unusual thing to have the power to raise our own pay. Few people have that ability. Most of our constituents do not have that power. And that this power is so unusual is good reason for the Congress to exercise that power openly, and to exercise it subject to regular procedures that include debate, amendment, and a vote on the RECORD.

This process of pay raises without accountability must end. It is offensive. It is wrong. And it is unconstitutional.

In August of 1789, as part of the package of 12 amendments advocated by James Madison that included what has become our Bill of Rights, the House of Representatives passed an amendment to the Constitution providing that Congress could not raise its pay without an intervening election. Almost exactly 212 years ago, on September 9, 1789, the Senate passed that amendment. In late September of 1789, Congress submitted the amendments to the States.

Although the amendment on pay raises languished for two centuries, in the 1980s, a campaign began to ratify it. While I was a member of the Wisconsin State senate, I was proud to help ratify the amendment. Its approval by the Michigan legislature on May 7, 1992, gave it the needed approval by three-fourths of the States.

The 27th amendment to the Constitution now states: "No law, varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives, shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened."

I try to honor that limitation in my own practices. In my own case, throughout my 6-year term, I accept only the rate of pay that Senators receive on the date on which I was sworn in as a Senator. And I return to the Treasury any additional income Senators get, whether from a cost-of-living adjustment or a pay raise we vote for ourselves. I don't take a raise until my bosses, the people of Wisconsin, give me one at the ballot box. That is the spirit of the 27th amendment.

This practice must end, and earlier this year I reintroduced legislation to end the automatic cost-of-living adjustment for congressional pay.

But we should not wait to enact that law to say "no" to the \$4,900 pay raise that will go into effect beginning next year.

To that end, I call upon the leadership of both parties to work together, in the spirit of the bipartisan unity we have seen flourish in recent days, to stop the pay raise that is scheduled to go into effect in 2002.

I very much hope it will not be necessary to fight this issue out on the floor of the Senate. I have an amendment prepared to stop this backdoor pay raise, and am willing to offer it if that becomes necessary, but I want to give our leadership the opportunity to respond and to act together.

We are spending the hard-earned tax dollars of millions of Americans to re-

cover from the horrific events of September 11 and to ensure that it does not happen again.

And right this minute, our Nation is sending the men and women of our Armed Services into harm's way.

This is not the time for Congress to accept a pay raise, and I am confident that upon reflection, Members of the Senate and the other body will want to stop this automatic pay raise from taking effect.

Let's stop this backdoor pay raise right now, and then, let's enact legislation to end this practice once and for all.

THE WORLD SITUATION AFTER THE TERRORIST STRIKE

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a speech delivered by a member of the U.S. Court of International Trade, Evan Wallach. A graduate of Cambridge and a Neveadan, this expert international jurist and expert in the law of war, with clarity reviews the world situation, only days after the terrorist strike of September 11, 2001.

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

SPEECH, 21 SEPTEMBER, 2001 HUGHES HALL
COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

It is good to be home. Whether it is because we as peoples share the same language and laws, value the same rights of humanity, and pray to the same God, or because I have developed so many ties and deep friendships since I first set foot in these halls some twenty-one years ago, I cannot feel myself a stranger in this house and in this fair land. It is good to be home and to share with you our common hopes and our common tragedy.

When President Richards invited me to speak here some months past, I had in mind a few words about my personal history at Hughes, and some specific thoughts about how much Cambridge has meant to the cause of freedom. I meant to speak about how England stood alone and undaunted in those dark days of May and June, 1940, as the only bulwark between the free world and the dark night of unending barbarism. Long before we Americans were forced into the affair, even before her empire could effectively rally to the colors, this island held the line; and this small town, with its great university, was at the center of that resistance, providing many of its pilots, much of its intelligence apparatus, and a great deal of its military leadership.

My original thought was to come here to thank you yet again, and to speak about the links forged in that crucible of war which bind us still.

That was before Tuesday, September 11.

On that morning I was talking to my secretary Linda Sue as she prepared coffee. When we heard the first explosion I thought it was a bomb. We were relieved when the television said it was an airplane. It had to be an accident. We watched the second aircraft fly into the WTC. In one second it changed everything. We knew we were at war.

New Yorkers reacted very well. They reminded me so much of Londoners in the Blitz. Our court is exactly a half mile from the WTC. There was no panic. People helped someone when they stumbled, urged one another on, and were kind to strangers. It was

as Dickens says, the best of times and the worst of times.

We are much a family, we Americans, a very large, very extended and often very dysfunctional family. When our brothers and sisters come into harm's way we react as does any family; we cry, we grieve, we pray, we hold each other close, and then we go on living.

Make no mistake about it, we will go on. The continental Europeans have a conception of America which has a strong kernel of truth. We are still, somewhat, the vaguely isolationist, happy-go-lucky plough boy who can be insulted by foreign waiters, euchred by a sidewalk grifter, blow his month's pay on a pretty bar girl, and still go home convinced he had a real nice time in the big city.

But when you slap us across the face, we know we've been wronged and it is not in our nature to slap you in return. Rather, our national instinct is to destroy your armies, drive your population into exile, pillage your cities and plow salt into the ground where they stood; in short, to act like Europeans. Then, however, being Americans we pass out chewing gum and foreign aid to help rebuild what we just destroyed.

That baser instinct, however, is fortunately also mitigated by one equally strong which we suckled at the breast of our mother country with the milk of Magna Carta. I refer, of course, to the sanctity of the rule of law. As Edmund Burke said in 1775: "In this character of the Americans a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole . . . This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies, probably, than in any other people of the earth [because] the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen."

We learned our lessons well at your knee. We learned from Entick v. Carrington that though a citizen lives in the rudest hut with no door or window, though the wind may blow through and the rain may pour in, the King of England with all his armies may not pass over his threshold without an invitation to enter.

We have taken the rights and liberties of Englishmen and extended them even further. We have enshrined them in a written Constitution and from time to time, as we have done wrong to individuals and learned our lesson from that wrong doing, we have added additional protections.

We have been attacked by people from one particular part of the world. I am not an Arabist or a scholar of that region's history to any great degree but I think I can say those who planned this attack are mistaken about the United States in many ways. I believe they thought to wound us deeply by attacking our national symbols, and that they viewed the WTC as one such symbol. They thought, I imagine, that as a capitalist state, worshipping the almighty dollar, we would reel back, shaken and demoralized, by the loss of this great temple of Mammon. Truly they mistake us.

We reel back, not at the loss of a building, because bricks, and mortar can always be restacked; we usually tear down our great edifices every few decades or so anyway, to construct something larger and more modern. What wounded us, what cut us to our souls, what enraged us beyond the comprehension of these bombers, was the loss of five thousand of our sons and daughters, moms, and dads, firemen, policemen, janitors, bankers, doctors and lawyers. For this we shall not forgive the perpetrators; this we shall never forget. They are sadly mistaken.

If I could say one thing to those attackers and to their followers it would be this: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits . . . Every tree that bringeth not forth

good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. Wherefore, by their fruits shall ye know them."

I trust we will not again make the mistake of the Second World War and presume that because an individual or his forefathers came from that region or worships our common God in its way, that he is anything other than someone entitled to mutual rights and mutual respect. There will be no mass round-ups based on race, there will be no mass internment camps based on religion. We are not the same people as we were in 1941, and thank God, we are not the same people as those with whom we are at war.

I take some pride, that as a member of the federal judiciary I have taken an oath to do equal justice to all who come before me, and I have great confidence that not only shall we honor that oath, but that the executive branch will equally honor its obligation to protect the rights of those who reside within our nation whatever their race or religion. If restrictions there are, and there will be, if some limitations arise on the freedom from government interference with our ability to travel, and there will be, they will be applied equally. If individual officials make mistakes simply because of someone's color or creed, we will correct those mistakes as quickly as possible and apologize for the error. We will all face the burden together, we shall spread it as fairly as possible, and we shall bear it with quiet determination and good humor, for we are at war.

Make no mistake about it, we are at war. It is a different war than those of the recent past, and we Americans tend to be so forward looking that we confine our vision only to the front, but there is historical precedent for what we are about to do. When our nation was still in its infancy we fought an undeclared war with your neighbors across the Channel, we sent our young navy to the Mediterranean to battle the corsairs of Barbary, and over the years we have chased bandits and pirates beyond our borders whenever our national interest required it. Often, and for many decades, we shared that job with the Royal Navy.

I cannot, in this English language, say anything about this endeavor upon which we now embark in any way better than my hero who led your fight for civilization in the last world war. Let me quote from two speeches by Mr. Churchill: "There shall be no halting or half measures, there shall be no compromise or parley. These gangs of bandits have sought to darken the light of the world; have sought to stand between the common people and their inheritance. They shall themselves be cast into the pit of death and shame, and only when the earth has been cleansed and purged of their crimes and villainy shall we turn from the task they have forced upon us, a task which we were reluctant to undertake, but which we shall now most faithfully and punctiliously discharge.

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"We do not war primarily with races as such. Tyranny is our foe, whatever trappings or disguise it wears, whatever language it speaks, be it external or internal, we must forever be on our guard, ever mobilized, ever vigilant, always ready to spring at its throat. In this, we march together."

In this indeed, I know, we shall march together.

ELECTIONS IN BELARUS

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about Belarus and my concerns about the country's recent presidential election.

Belarus has endured tremendous difficulties in its history. For centuries, Belarus has been fought over, occupied and carved up. It has borne heavy

losses, including the loss of over 2 million people, one quarter of its population, during WWII. Today, the Belarusian people continue to suffer devastating consequences from the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster in neighboring Ukraine.

Belarus' declaration of independence in 1991 held great promise for a better future. As it broke from communist rule, it had the opportunity to build a free nation and become part of a peaceful, more secure Europe. The country began to embrace economic and political reforms and democratic principles. It courageously chose to be a nuclear-free state, ratified the START Treaty, acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and became a member of NATO's Partnership for Peace. It established a constitution and held its first Presidential election in 1994.

Unfortunately, the prospect of democratic change in Belarus was quickly halted as its first President, Alexander Lukashenka, adopted increasingly authoritarian policies, including amending the constitution in a flawed referendum to extend his term and broaden his powers. Lukashenka's regime has been marked by a terrible human rights record that is progressively getting worse, with little respect for freedom of expression, assembly and an independent media. A pattern of disturbing disappearances of opposition leaders fails to be seriously investigated by authorities. The living conditions in Belarus are declining and Lukashenka's refusal to institute economic reforms has only exacerbated the situation.

For months, nations throughout the world have been following closely the events leading up to the presidential election which took place on September 9, 2001, with hope that Lukashenka would take the necessary steps to allow the election to be free, fair and transparent. The United States, the European Union and leaders of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE, had urged Lukashenka to uphold his commitments to democratic principles as an OSCE member state and adhere to international election standards. Lukashenka was encouraged to seize this opportunity to signal to his European neighbors and the rest of the world that he is ready to change his heavy handed policies which have isolated his government and earned him a reputation as the lone remaining dictator in Europe.

Unfortunately, this election process demonstrated that Lukashenka is still unwilling to acknowledge the will of the Belarusian people. Much like last year's parliamentary elections, this election was marred by reports of intimidation, harassment and fraud. The OSCE concluded that it failed to meet internationally recognized democratic election standards.

Leading up to the election the opposition was denied fair and equal access to state-controlled media coverage, the independent media was harassed, publishing houses were shut down, and

newspapers reporting on the opposition were seized. International observers from the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, ODIHR, were denied entry into the country for several weeks, and some were denied visas altogether, thus hindering efforts to establish a complete and thorough observation mission. Consequently, observation of critical aspects of a free and democratic election were missed, including the formation of election commissions and the candidate registration process. As voters cast their ballots, efforts to conduct a parallel vote-count were thwarted when Belarusian authorities disqualified thousands of domestic election observers. As a result, while most of Belarus' Central and Eastern European neighbors continue to progress toward democracy and integration into a peaceful, more secure Europe, Belarus remains on a path of its own, isolated from much of the world.

The United States must continue to pressure Lukashenka to change his archaic iron fist policies and adopt political reforms that espouse democratic principles such as respect for human rights, support for civil society, and the rule of law. We must continue to urge his regime to institute desperately needed market-oriented economic reforms to promote trade, investment, growth and development in Belarus. We should also engage the Russians in high-level discussions, urging them to raise these issues with their neighbor, to pressure Lukashenka to take the steps he knows are necessary to facilitate normal, productive relations between his country and the international community.

While putting pressure on the Belarusian Government, the U.S. should also continue to support programs that will strengthen civil society and build democracy. The OSCE cited one positive observation about the Presidential election in Belarus: an increasingly pluralistic civil society is emerging and working to build the core institutions neglected by the state. The U.S. should continue to support programs that will build upon this progress within civil society and help restore democracy in Belarus.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

HISPANIC HERITAGE MONTH

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, today I rise in recognition of Hispanic Heritage Month. Each year, from September 15 through October 15, we recognize the contributions that Hispanic Americans bring to the United States. During this Hispanic Heritage Month, our Nation is in the process of coming to terms with the unspeakably savage attacks of September 11th and bracing for what may follow. Yet, in the wake of these heinous terrorist acts, we have demonstrated one of our greatest