

the engine of growth for the entire world, is left without the means to play that role.

America is becoming ever more dependent on foreign suppliers of basic manufactured products, even in areas—such as steel—where our producers are the most technologically sophisticated and efficient in the world. Has anyone stopped to consider the impact on our national defense of this foreign dependence? Has anyone attempted to determine how our international position will be affected as we become more susceptible to economic blackmail? Has anyone taken full account of how unfair international trade has helped to restrict income growth at home, particularly in the case of middle class families? Many such families now need two incomes—both parents out in the workplace—to maintain the kind of lifestyle that single-earner families could expect a generation ago.

We hear a lot about the projected economic benefits of fast track. Of course, this administration does not dare call it fast track. No, it is “trade promotion authority”—“trade promotion authority.” That is an attempt to hoodwink those who would fall for it: fast track!

We hear a lot about the projected economic benefits of trade promotion authority, fast track. Yet, as a recent study by the Economic Policy Institute pointed out, the forecast model most frequently cited by fast track advocates relies on unrealistic assumptions. For example, the model assumes that there is no unemployment here or anywhere else in the world and that there are no national labor or environmental standards. Moreover, the model assumes that denying elected officials the authority to set the rules of the marketplace has no costs either in terms of the functioning of the global economy or the achievement of domestic economic and social objectives. These assumptions tell us more about the prejudices of a global trade elite than they do about the economic circumstances in which we find ourselves.

Let us have a trade policy for the new millennium. Let us demand that trade negotiations become a two-way street, both in form and in substance. Let us make it clear to our trading partners that we will not be duped by those who would grant America the mantle of “leadership”—the mantle of “leadership”—only in exchange for unilateral concessions. All countries stand to benefit from expanded international trade, and all countries should bear the costs of constructing the framework of that trade. American workers should no longer be left holding the bag in international trade negotiations. The steel workers have been left holding the bag all too long, the textile workers have been left holding the bag all too long in international trade. The automobile workers have been left holding the bag all too long in international trade negotiations.

U.S. trade negotiators need congressional input. Let’s debate it. Let’s talk

about it, and, if necessary, let’s amend it. U.S. trade negotiators need congressional input in the negotiating process. Remember the ad? “Do it here. Do it now.” The same with trade negotiations. U.S. trade negotiators need congressional input. Enhanced legislative participation will help them in their efforts to reinforce the framework of fair trade. Is it only fair trade when the United States continues to run up huge deficits in the billions of dollars or in the hundreds of billions of dollars? It will give the results of trade negotiations greater legitimacy and increase public understanding of the costs and benefits of globalization. The Constitution—ah, there is the Rock of Gibraltar, the Constitution—the Constitution requires that we make this effort, and the American people expect it.

Mr. President, toward the end of his life, in a letter to Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson brilliantly analyzed the fundamental issue upon which the debate over fast track turns. This is what he said:

Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties: Those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes, and, Those who identify themselves with the people. . . . In every country these two parties exist; and in every one where they are free to think, speak, and write, they will declare themselves.

Mr. President, from 1974 to 1994, Congress was, unfortunately, asleep at the wheel as the one-sided trade jalopy—I wonder if our little pages here have ever heard that word, “jalopy”?—as the one-sided trade jalopy rumbled down the fast track. The people’s branch of Government—ha, ha, ha—let’s let that other branch of Government down the avenue become aware again that there is the people’s branch, that does not bend before any President, that isn’t elected by any President, that isn’t sent here by any President, that cannot be fired by any President—let them hear it from Capitol Hill. Bring on your trade promotion authority. You will get your fight right here.

The people’s branch of the Government—the Congress—allowed itself, I am ashamed to say, to be shunted aside in the process of formulating and implementing U.S. trade policy. Let us resolve to seize the day, to restore the constitutional balance—bring it on; there isn’t enough time left in this year, if we did nothing else, to pass it in this body—and to make international trade agreements reflect the interests of hard-working Americans. There is not enough time left in the year to pass “fast track” here, unless I am very, very badly and sadly mistaken.

Now is the time to move past the failed trade paradigm of recent administrations, both Republican and Democratic. Now is the time to restore the people’s faith that they can have an impact on the policies that shape their lives. Mr. Zoellick, we are talking

about the people’s lives. “I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.”

Mr. President, I come to bury fast-track authority, not to praise it! Now is the time to reject fast track and to embrace republican self-government as it has been bequeathed to us by the Framers of the Constitution, by those who debated the Constitution, by those who ratified it in the State conventions.

We must be steadfast in our loyalty to the Constitution. Forget about political party. Think of the Constitution and think of the people who send us here. We are not to be yeasayers or naysayers. We are here to debate and to amend and to render our considered judgment on behalf of the people who send us here, who pay our salaries, and who can bring us back home when the day of judgment comes.

We must be steadfast in our loyalty to that Constitution. Here it is in my hand, the Constitution. There is my trade promotion authority! See it? There is my trade promotion authority, my TPA, the Constitution of the United States!

We must be steadfast in our loyalty to the Constitution, that exquisitely balanced instrument of the people, by the people, and for the people. We must stand together and resist the temptation to once again ignore the clear dictates of our most fundamental law.

#### IN THE COMPANY OF HEROES

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the nights are growing chilly, though the days remain warm and dry—dry for too long, really, over in McLean. The brilliant crimson maple and bright yellow poplar leaves have nearly disappeared, replaced by the more somber late autumn tones of deep bronze oak and rich golden hickory leaves falling in swirling waves across the road to join the drifts of leaves awaiting the rake.

The more subdued coloring is in keeping with the holiday that approaches this Sunday. For, despite any attempts to mask the nature of this holiday behind sales and pre-Christmas hype, Veterans Day remains true to its purpose. It was the old Armistice Day when I was a boy—Armistice Day, November 11.

To say Veterans Day is to hear the haunting echo of taps being played on a lone trumpet on a West Virginia hill far away—I can hear its tones being wafted by the autumn air to this Capital City—and the sharp report of a 21-gun salute ricocheting across a field of sad white crosses. Out of the corner of one’s eye is glimpsed the silent rank and file of heroes who came home, some whole and some not, but all remade by the shared experience of warfare.

On Veterans Day, we travel in the company of heroes. Veterans Days, Armistice Day. My mother died on the eve of Armistice Day 1918; my mother, whom I never saw, as far as my recollection is concerned—the 11th hour of

the 11th day of the 11th month, the day on which the guns fell silent at the end of the war to end all wars, World War I.

Today it honors the veterans from all wars, and, sadly, there have been far too many of those: World War II, the cold war, the Korean war, the Vietnam conflict, the Persian Gulf war, and none-too-peaceful peacekeeping missions around the globe. America has in the last century been embroiled in some form of conflict far more often than she has known peace.

No conflict is ever truly finished. In addition to the troops we leave buried in foreign soil, a living guarantor remains behind to protect each fragile and precious truce. United States forces remain in Europe, in Korea, a legacy of this war or that war. United States troops stand at the frontier between the two Koreas. They were there when I looked with binoculars at the Communists just across the dividing line in Korea 46 years ago this month. They have been there since the 1950s.

More United States troops remain in Saudi Arabia and Turkey, vigilant against further aggression from Iraq. In these last months, the United States has been thrust unwillingly but unhesitatingly into a conflict of a new and more ambiguous kind, the war against terrorism. Already this conflict has added new names to the honor roll of heroes whom we honor on Veterans Day. Already active-duty Reserve and National Guard troops have responded to this latest call to arms. Much rides on their shoulders, beyond an understandable thirst to avenge the senseless slaughter of innocent men and women, leaving innocent widows and orphans behind. This war on terrorism must succeed.

The New Testament's—"testament" meaning covenant—admonition to turn the other cheek does not work here. The New Covenant's admonition to turn the other cheek does not work here, but rather we must hew to the Old Testament's—Old Covenant's—harsh warning regarding an eye for an eye. This attack must be answered or the scope and scale of terror attacks worldwide will be forever increased. That universal understanding is reflected in the broad consensus supporting the current U.S. military action and in the concerted efforts to cut off funding for terrorists. So this year, as we honor the veterans of past wars, it is appropriate to salute those who are still in uniform and to give them our support.

In 1961, a veteran of World War II gave his Inaugural Address, his first speech as the new President of the United States. He said, in part:

Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe. Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight

struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation,"—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

To President Kennedy's list of the common enemies of man, we can now add terror.

Though we may hope for a quick and conclusive end to this new struggle, we must be prepared for the long haul, for a "long twilight struggle, year in and year out . . ." and for eternal vigilance. We have but to look to our own history to know that we can muster the will, we can muster the determination, we can muster the perseverance to achieve our goal and to preserve the liberty that this Nation has held dear through long centuries.

In the wake of September 11, Americans have rallied by proudly flying American flags on their homes, on their mailboxes, on their cars, yes, and on their lapels. On November 11, those flags fly in remembrance not only of those who so recently lost their lives in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania, but also for all those men and women who have struggled or died to defend our freedom, our liberty, our Nation through the years. I am proud to salute them all, to remember them all, to honor them all. No amount of bloodshed and no amount of fear can turn this great Nation from the ideals that were forged in war in 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, and 1781, and defended ever since. Our flag—there it is standing beside the presiding officer's chair, in all of its grandeur, in all of its state-ly magnificence, in all of its quiet beauty. It still flies!

Mr. President, I close with one of my favorite poems, by Henry Holcomb Bennett, entitled "The Flag Goes By." It eloquently puts words to the message being sent by the many, many flags now bedecking our Nation.

Hats off!  
 Along the street there comes  
 A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums,  
 A flash of color beneath the sky:  
 Hats off!  
 The flag is passing by!  
 Blue and crimson and white it shines,  
 Over the steel-tipped, ordered lines.  
 Hats off!  
 The colors before us fly;  
 But more than the flag is passing by:  
 Sea-fights and land-fights, grim and great,  
 Fought to make and to save the State;  
 Weary marches and sinking ships;  
 Cheers of victory on dying lips:  
 Days of plenty and years of peace;  
 March of a strong land's swift increase;  
 Equal justice, right and law,  
 Stately honor and reverend awe;  
 Sign of a nation great and strong  
 To ward her people from foreign wrong:  
 Pride and glory and honor,—all  
 Live in the colors to stand or fall.

Hats off!  
 Along the street there comes  
 A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums;  
 And loyal hearts are beating high:  
 Hats off!  
 The flag is passing by!

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. 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. BYRD. Mr. President, before proceeding, I wish to express on behalf of the majority leader and myself our profound gratitude to the Presiding Officer for his patience and for his equanimity and for his good humor always, for the work he has done on behalf of his country today, sitting in the Chair for longer than he should.

#### A NEW COMMITMENT TO AMERICA'S VETERANS

Mrs. CARNAHAN. Mr. President, in the past few weeks, I have often thought of that scene in one of Shakespeare's plays where two friends meet, but one does not recognize the other. One explains: "Grief hath changed me since you saw me last." Yes, grief has changed the face of America. We are tear stained by tragedy, but we are triumphant in spirit.

It has been nearly 60 years since we experienced such a lethal and cowardly attack on our Nation. Though I was a young child at the time, I still remember the shock and sadness of Pearl Harbor. But I also recall the spirit of unity and patriotism that swelled up within us following that attack.

At a time when half of our Navy lay at the bottom of the ocean, President Roosevelt spoke of our "inevitable triumph." He placed his confidence in what he called "the unbounding determination of the American people."

We all pulled together in the years that followed. We conquered fascism and communism, we rescued democracy, and we built a better world. America's veterans led the way.

Today, our President has called us to a similar resolve. And we will answer that call again. We must start by making a new commitment to all those who serve today, and to every one of America's veterans.

I have proposed legislation that would extend Tri-Care benefits to our citizens soldiers for up to four months after they return from active duty. It has passed the Senate, and I am working to make sure it becomes part of the Defense bill.

I also support a bill to provide Tri-Care for life to every American veteran, because I think we owe them that much.

I believe we should extend the Montgomery G.I. bill, and allow veterans to transfer half of their education benefits to their family.

I also support the President's efforts to improve the Veterans' Administration's response to benefit claims. It is shameful that someone who risked their life for our country should have to wait for months, even years, to get the benefits they deserve, the benefits they have earned.