

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, if 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

they would be on our side in the war against terrorism, stood up and said they would help us to make sure such an attack never occurred again, a broad coalition of countries standing behind the United States, many of these same countries we had helped in years gone by. Now they were prepared to help us.

We came here on Capitol Hill and in a matter of hours did two very important things. First, we declared war on the clear enemy of the United States, al-Qaida. Of course, the Taliban in Afghanistan became the focus of our military effort. It was a bipartisan vote, an overwhelming vote. There were no partisan speeches. We were together. We had identified the enemy. We were moving forward. We were not going to forget what happened on 9/11 even as we buried our dead and honored the wounded and the heroes of America.

And then think what happened next. We said to our Government: We are going to give you the tools and resources you need to fight this war against terrorism, to wage this war in Afghanistan. Again, we stood in a bipartisan fashion.

It is hard to believe that was only 3 years ago. It seems like so much longer. What has happened in the meantime? Take a look around at the United States and the world community. Countries that stood with us after 9/11, determined to help us, have walked away from us. Americans who were determined to work together are divided. We find ourselves with scarce resources to really attack the enemies of the United States. We find ourselves counting the dead and wounded on a daily basis, with no end in sight.

What has happened to make the difference? What has happened is a decision by this administration to lose focus, to stop this intensive effort against the enemies of 9/11 and instead to wage a war in Iraq—a war which sadly goes on and on every single day, with no end in sight. For some in the administration, it was an answer to a prayer; 9/11 was the reason and the excuse that was needed to attack Iraq. This irrational passion to go after Saddam Hussein in Iraq, whatever the threat against the United States, has led us to a point where we find so many of our best and brightest and bravest Americans dying and facing severe injuries and wounds in Iraq every single day.

When the war began in Iraq, I said I wanted to call every family in Illinois who loses a soldier. I have not been able to do that. Some I could not get through to. I have to tell you, there is a stack of six names on my desk. Over 50 Illinoisans have been killed in this war and there is no end in sight.

I spoke to another family yesterday, the family of a 28-year-old marine from Pana, IL, a wonderful young man who was dedicated to this country. He lost his life a few days ago. How many times that story has been played out

over and over again—over a thousand times American soldiers killed, over 7,000 gravely wounded.

I have been to Walter Reed and I have seen them with arms blown off, legs blown off, loss of both hands, head injuries, blinded, paraplegics. These are the wounded who come back from Iraq.

What do we know today? We know the case made by the Bush administration for the invasion of Iraq was wrong. We know the information given to the American people to justify the invasion of this country was wrong. How do we know that? The Senate Intelligence Committee, in a bipartisan report, came up with the clear conclusion that our intelligence was just plain wrong.

When the President told us we would find an arsenal of weapons of mass destruction, over a year and a half later we have found none. When the President told us we would find a stockpile of nuclear weapons threatening the Middle East and the United States, we have found none. When the President told us there was a linkage between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaida, the attackers of 9/11, we have found none. The list goes on and on.

The President has come back and retracted statements he made in the State of the Union Address, incorrectly saying that fissile materials, nuclear materials, were sent from Africa to Iraq. So the information given to the American people to justify the war turned out to be wrong.

Now, the question is, How were the American people misled? Was it deliberate? I personally believe that unless there is clear, credible, and convincing evidence that the President and his administration knew the information was wrong, you cannot say it was a deliberate deception of the American people. But this much you can say: People within this administration who continue to parrot these lines they know are false are, frankly, not only doing a great disservice to the American people, they have a wanton, reckless disregard for the truth.

Let me give you some quotes to back that up, so you understand what we are talking about. This is a statement made by President Bush at a press conference a few months ago:

The reason that I keep insisting there was a relationship between Iraq and al-Qaida is because there is a relationship between Iraq and al-Qaida.

Look what Secretary of State Colin Powell said a few days ago:

I have seen nothing that makes a direct connection between Saddam Hussein and that awful regime and what happened on 9/11.

That is his own Secretary of State who says the President is not telling the American people the facts.

Look at the 9/11 Commission report. This is a report prepared on a bipartisan basis, which has been lauded by everybody in Congress. This is what they say:

We have no credible evidence that Iraq and al-Qaida cooperated on attacks against the United States.

Yet if you ask the American people, they will make the following argument: It is far better for us to be fighting terrorism in al-Qaida over there than to be fighting it here in the United States. These conclusions by the 9/11 Commission and Secretary of State Colin Powell tell you that statement is just plain wrong.

We are not fighting al-Qaida in Iraq. The al-Qaida forces, as Senator KENNEDY said earlier, have metastasized around the world. They are a threat to all of us.

Let us tell you what we know for sure. We have lost international cooperation in Iraq; the same cooperation that was there to help us fight terrorism is gone. Our coalition continues to dwindle and the losses are to American troops; 95 percent of those killed and wounded are American soldiers. If you want to know who is waging the war, how much commitment is being made by this coalition, that statistic tells it all.

Secondly, we were unprepared, we were not prepared, our troops did not have the necessary equipment and even training for what they faced after the initial military victory in Iraq.

Over the weekend, back home, officers in the Illinois National Guard told us their units are being asked to do things far beyond their training capability. We know our troops went into battle in the aftermath without the necessary body armor and that the Humvees were not properly equipped for what happened in Iraq. We know our helicopters didn't have the necessary defense equipment—this from an administration that received every penny it asked for from Congress to wage this war.

This Commander in Chief did not stand up for our troops, was not prepared to defend our troops, and we have seen what resulted: over 1,000 dead, over 7,000 wounded.

There is no end in sight.

There is a litany of quotes from Senator HAGEL, Senator McCAIN, Senator LUGAR, and so many others on the Republican side who have joined on the Democratic side to say that, clearly, we are not winning the war in Iraq. This Commander in Chief cannot crow and brag about the great job in Iraq. We are there with no end in sight.

We have found now that we have been misled in going into Iraq, and we continue to be misled by statements from this administration about the reason for the war and what we can expect its outcome to be.

There are many who argue that JOHN KERRY should not be elected President because he cannot come up with a plan to extricate us from this complicated mess in Iraq. That, to me, is a curious position. This President, President Bush, drove our national bus into a cul-de-sac and now he can't turn it around, and he blames JOHN KERRY because he cannot explain how President Bush can get us out of this mess in Iraq.

What is wrong with that picture? This is a decision by President Bush to invade before the inspections were completed, before the U.N. had an opportunity to join us, to invade before the facts were in. The invasion took place and our military did its best. They are the best in the world. They conquered Saddam Hussein, but they left us in a position of vulnerability, with no end in sight. That is the choice facing American voters on November 2.

I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE REFORM ACT OF 2004

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 2845, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2845) to reform the intelligence community and the intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the U.S. Government, and for other purposes.

Pending:

McCain amendment No. 3702, to add title VII of S. 2774, 9/11 Commission Report Implementation Act, related to transportation security.

Wyden amendment No. 3704, to establish an Independent National Security Classification Board in the executive branch.

Collins amendment No. 3705, to provide for homeland security grant coordination and simplification.

AMENDMENT NO. 3705

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, last evening, on behalf of myself, Senator CARPER, and Senator LIEBERMAN, I offered an amendment to rewrite the formula for the Homeland Security Grant Program. The amendment we brought before the Senate was unanimously reported as a separate bill by the Governmental Affairs Committee.

We should always keep in mind that should there be another terrorist attack on our country, people will be calling 911; they will not be calling the Washington, DC, area code. It is our first responders—our firefighters, our police officers, our emergency medical personnel—who are always on the scene first. We know that from the tragic attacks of 9/11, and, as Secretary Ridge has pointed out many times, homeland security starts with the security of our hometowns. For this reason, we have come together in a bipar-

tisan way, representing large States and small States, to draft the Homeland Security Grant Enhancement Act, and we have offered it as an amendment to this bill. It would streamline and strengthen the assistance we provide to our States, communities, and first responders who protect our homeland.

The underlying Homeland Security Act contains virtually no guidance on how the Department of Homeland Security is to assist State and local governments with their homeland security needs. In fact, the 187-page Homeland Security Act mentions the issue of grants to first responders in but a single paragraph. The decisions on how Federal dollars should be spent or how much money should be allocated to home were left to another day when Congress enacted that important legislation, but it is now time for Congress to finally address this critical issue.

We know that much of the burden for homeland security has fallen on the shoulders of State and local officials across America, those who are truly on the front lines. In crafting the amendment before us, the Governmental Affairs Committee listened first and foremost to our first responders. We held three hearings on this vital topic and negotiated for 2 years to produce the amendment that Senator CARPER, Senator LIEBERMAN, and I are offering. The bipartisan measure was approved by the Governmental Affairs Committee by a 16-to-0 vote, and it currently has 29 cosponsors, including the distinguished Presiding Officer.

There are several groups that are active with first responders who are supporting our legislation. They include the National Governor's Association, Advocates for EMS, National Council of State Legislators, Council of State Governments, the National Association of Counties, the National League of Cities, and the Fraternal Order of Police.

As you can see, Mr. President, our approach has widespread support. It is supported by Senators from big States, such as Michigan and Ohio—and I want to particularly commend the Senators from those States for their hard work on this legislation—and small States, such as my home State of Maine and the State of the Senator from Delaware.

The wide breadth of support demonstrates the balanced approach our amendment takes to homeland security funding. It recognizes that threat-based funding is a critical part of homeland security funding. It does so by almost tripling the homeland security funding awarded based on threat and risk. This has been a particular concern to Senator CLINTON, who has brought this issue before the Senate a couple of times.

The amendment, however, also recognizes that first responders in each and every State are on the front lines and have needs. Therefore, the bill maintains a minimum allocation for each State.

The legislation will also improve the coordination and the administration of homeland security funding by promoting one-stop shopping for homeland security funding opportunities. It establishes a clearinghouse to assist first responders and State and local governments in accessing homeland security grant information and other resources within the new department. This clearinghouse will help improve access to information, coordinate technical assistance for vulnerability and threat assessments, provide information regarding homeland security best practices, and compile information regarding homeland security equipment purchased with Federal funds.

Establishment of these improvements will mean first responders can spend more time training to save lives and less time filling out unnecessary paperwork.

This amendment will establish a fair and balanced approach to allocating this critical funding. I am very pleased to have worked with the Senator from Delaware on this and I yield to him for any comments he might have, unless, of course, the ranking member would like to speak first.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I appreciate the recognition. Senator COLLINS and I have to go a short walk to a meeting, so I take this opportunity and use it briefly to rise in support of the Collins-Carper amendment submitted by the chairman of the committee and the distinguished Senator from Delaware, who worked very hard on this very important topic and area before the 9/11 Commission Report was assigned to the Governmental Affairs Committee.

This is an important addition to the National Intelligence Reform Act, the underlying proposal that came out of our committee last week, because it would help ensure that in these dangerous times the needs of our States and local first responders are met in a reasonable and coordinated way.

In the past 3 years since September 11, beginning on September 11, our first responders and preventers have made real progress in boosting America's preparedness to deal with the threat of terrorism. But as an independent task force of the Council on Foreign Relations found last year: the United States has not reached a sufficient national level of emergency preparedness and remains dangerously unprepared to handle catastrophic attack on American soil—dangerously unprepared. That I take to refer particularly not to the law enforcers, who are the first preventers, but to the capacity of our total response system at the local and State level to respond to a catastrophic attack.

This amendment, unanimously approved by a total nonpartisan vote in our committee, is an important first step in ensuring that our local first responders get the resources they need.