more terror and by our resolve to track down, to root out, and to relentlessly pursue terrorists and those who would shelter or harbor them.

Last night, at the Pentagon, I joined Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, Senator Warner, and General Shelton in sharing that determination with the American people. That resolve is reflected by the fact that the Pentagon is functioning 24/7 to root out and destroy the terrorists.

Debate is an inherent part of democracy. And while our democratic institutions are stronger than any terrorist effort to shake them, in one regard we operate differently in times of national emergency. We set aside our differences to join forces together, with decent people everywhere, to seek out and defeat a common enemy of the civilized world.

Our unity is unshakable, and, God willing, we will persevere and prevail.

I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 3:30 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 2:29 p.m., recessed until 3:29 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. Reid).

TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. Gregg. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Oklahoma, the assistant Republican leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. Nickles. Mr. President, I thank my colleague. Yesterday was a tragic day in U.S. history. It is a tragic day for people who love freedom, who cherish freedom. Some may claim it was a victory for terrorism. I don’t think so.

This act of terrorism has brought our country together in a way that we haven’t been able to do among ourselves. There is a great amount of unity between Democrats and Republicans who said: We are going to be united against this type of senseless violence. We are going to stand together and say it will not stand. It will not be successful.

I commend President Bush and his Cabinet, not only for his speech last night but also for the Cabinet he has assembled. He has assembled a Cabinet of unequaled reputation, quality, who have proven themselves to meet the challenge in the past, whether we are talking about Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell or Secretary of Defense Don Rumsfeld.

In witnessing the events yesterday, it took me back to the tragedy we suffered 6 years ago in Oklahoma City where 168 people lost their lives to an act of terrorism. The most deadly act of terrorism in U.S. history happened in Oklahoma City that year on April 19. Until we saw it replaced by an even more horrendous act, an act that certainly was designed by people who wanted to do the maximum amount of deadly operations they could against the United States.

They will not be successful in any way, shape, or form. The United States, under the leadership of President Bush and his administration, and a united Congress, Democrats and Republicans, will stand up and say that type of violence will not stand. It will be punished.

Our condolences go to the families of the victims of this terror. It comes home to all of us in different ways. The thousands of people who were injured or lost their lives in the World Trade Center, the many people in the Pentagon, the hundreds of people who were on the airplanes, those were husbands, mothers, fathers, children, sisters, grandparents. They disrupted thousands of lives. Those were friends.

I happen to have a friend who was on one of the planes: Barbara Olson. She worked for me for 2 or 3 years in the State of Massachusetts. Many people in the Senate got to know Barbara Olson. I got to know her very well. I got to admire her, to respect her. She was an outstanding staff member and friend, a frequent visitor on the television shows. I think many Americans, when they saw her face on CNN yesterday, realized this has an impact. This brings the real tragedy home.

My prayers and condolences go to her husband and also my very dear friend, Ted Olson, who happens to be Solicitor General of the United States. What a tragic loss, the loss of life for Barbara Olson and the countless others, thousands of people whose lives were destroyed or families who were broken as a result of this malicious activity.

We must act together. I am confident that we will. I am confident that Congress will act and give the administration the tools necessary, both legal and financial, to rebuild, to assist in fixing the damage. The President has shown the capable leadership of Joe Allbaugh. I am sure that we will do that both with the Pentagon and the World Trade Center.

It is important that we stand together and confront terrorism. It is important that we combat terrorism. In some cases in the past our rhetoric has maybe exceeded our success. I don’t believe we were successful in bringing the perpetrators of the bombings in Kenya and Tanzania to justice. I don’t believe we were successful in bringing the perpetrators of the Khobar Towers bombing to justice. I don’t believe we have been successful as of yet in bringing the perpetrators of the bombing of the USS Cole to justice and bringing those perpetrators to justice and having helped finance and orchestrate and maybe even organize these terrorist activities.

It is important that we do so, not just in rhetoric but in deed, not just today and not just in the next week but, frankly, on a continual battle. We must, when we say this type of terrorism won’t go unpunished, we must mean what we say. I feel confident with this President we will see the resolve. Our country will show the resolve that this will not go unpunished.

Yesterday was a very sad and tragic day in our U.S. history. A very tragic day, one that I believe our country will pull together and say: This type of terrorism will not prevail. We have so many good people in the United States, so many people who are coming together and saying: Help us assist. We have so many people who are coming together worldwide to assist to make sure this type of tragedy will not go unpunished and also to alleviate the pain and suffering of the innocent victims in this terrible tragedy. My heart, my sympathy, my prayers go out to the victims. Our resolve has never been stronger to stand together to fight this type of terrorism.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ms. Landrieu. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. Reid. There is an order in effect now that each Senator will have up to 5 minutes each rather than 10 minutes. We are going to have approximately 25 Senators still wishing to speak. If we use the 10 minutes each, we simply cannot finish and allow each Senator to speak. I have conferred with the minority and they are in agreement that each Senator should have 5 minutes, and we alternate back and forth. I propose a unanimous consent request that Senators be allowed to speak for up to 5 minutes each rather than 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. Reid. Will the Senator yield? I want to express on behalf of the majority leader and minority leader appreciation for the cooperation. Everyone wants an opportunity to speak. But for this unanimous consent agreement, that would not be possible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.
Mr. WELLSTONE. Madam President, as a Senator from Minnesota, I rise to thank the religious community, the faith community in my State—Christians, Muslims, Jews, and others—come together and for their prayers for all of the men, women, and children who were murdered in our country. That is the very best of Minnesota. That is the very best of our country.

Let us also stand and pray for all of the loved ones of our firefighters and law enforcement community who have lost their lives in trying to protect people and save people’s lives.

I believe people in our country will come together and that one message for these terrorists who have committed this murder on a mass scale is that they will not change our values. They will not change our way of life. They will not change who we are as Americans. We will never give way to the politics of hatred. We are a diverse people of many different colors and religious backgrounds. We will continue to respect and support one another.

President Bush is certainly right when he says we will leave no stone unturned in getting to the bottom of who committed this act of murder. As a Senator, I certainly believe we must hold them accountable.

Most importantly, we have to do everything within our power, regardless of political party, to take the steps and do what is necessary to make sure people in our country are safe and secure.

Madam President, one more time. I want to finish up in the few minutes I have by saying that murder is never legitimate, and this was a mass murder of men, women, and children. I think the thing that I will never be able to get out of my mind is that so many innocent Americans could be murdered in a single day in our country. To me, in my adult life, yesterday was the worst day for our country. To me, in my adult life, yesterday was the worst day for our country. To me, in my adult life, yesterday was the worst day for our country.

I am absolutely convinced this will bring out the best in us. I am absolutely convinced that these terrorists will see Americans coming together and I hope the whole international community that represents civilization will come together so these kinds of acts of murder can never be committed again.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, yesterday was the worst day for our country, and there are going to be many more difficult days because we don’t even have a sense of the loss of life.

I am absolutely convinced this will bring out the best in us. I am absolutely convinced that these terrorists will see Americans coming together and I hope the whole international community that represents civilization will come together so these kinds of acts of murder can never be committed again.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona is recognized.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I have no words to describe or condemn adequately those who committed the acts of murder against our country and our allies. We will never get over the shock of this act.

Mr. WELLS. Mr. President, today is the very beginning of the end of the war on terrorism. The United States and our allies will prevail.

Mr. MCCAIN. When we refer to the war on terrorism, we refer to a war against violence, a war against terrorism that is committed by nations that would destroy our way of life.

The United States and our allies are committed to this war on terrorism and will stand strong.

The United States and our allies will not bend or buckle. We are greater than our enemies. We have not been vanquished, for the full measure of justice will be done, for freedom and righteousness will prevail.

We pray for those lost and for their families. In Iowa, Doug and Betty Haviland, our former neighbors in Ames, IA, are going through a difficult...
time right now. Their son, Tim, worked on the 96th floor of the World Trade Center, and Tim is currently missing. I want Doug and Betty to know that my thoughts and prayers are with them today. I am hoping for the best.

The sister of my long-time friend Kasey Kincaid, an attorney in Des Moines, Karen Kincaid, an attorney here in Washington, born in Waverly, a graduate of Waverly High School, was on the ill-fated flight that crashed into the Pentagon yesterday.

When the smoke clears, we will comfort all the families in their time of need. We want them to know that although their loved ones may be gone, they are not alone. All of America stands with them. We are Americans and we take care of our own. The tallest buildings may crumble, but no one will bring down our spirit. We have been through tough times before; we will do so again. Let me be clear. These cowardly acts against our great Nation will not stand. I stand with President Bush in calling on every resource of our Government to track down and bring to justice those who committed these acts and to bring them to swift and certain justice. We will seek out not only the terrorists but their backers and financiers as well. Americans will do what we have always done. We will come together, get down to work, and we will demand justice.

Mr. President, when we do strike back, we must be very careful. We must ensure that when we train our sights on the enemy, we do not harm innocent people in the crossfire. I want to quote the words of Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, the Archbishop of Washington, who spoke at a mass yesterday. He made a point that we should all take to heart:

Let us pray for those who have lost their lives or who have been seriously injured in this calamity. But we must resist the temptation to strike out in vengeance and revenge and, in a special way, not to label any ethnic group or community for this action, which certainly is just the work of a few madmen. We must seek the guilty and not strike out against the innocent or we become like them who are without moral guide or direction.

I could not agree more strongly. We must not use these events of yesterday to paint with a broad brush all Muslims, have of the Islamic faith or of Arabic descent. It has happened before; it should not happen again.

Those who perpetrated these murders yesterday are not associated with Muslims or with the Islamic faith. If they claim to speak for Islam, that is just a lie. They are using the cloak of religion to justify the murder of innocent people. Again, we have seen this before.

We must also make sure we do not fall prey to the theory that in order to defeat this enemy, we must become more like them. I am old enough to remember the McCarthy era, when there were those who said in order to defeat communism, we had to become a police state. There were reasonable voices that said: No, we do not have to; we can stand firm and still maintain our freedoms. That, Mr. President, is what we must do.

We as Americans respect civil rights and human rights and diversity. We are of diverse backgrounds and faiths. Muslims are just one part of the fabric of America, a part of our strength. Let us be sure we go after the real enemy, and let us not paint with a broad stroke those who are of the Islamic faith or are Americans, who are Muslims, who are part of our great society.

I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARPER). The time of the Senator from Iowa has expired.

The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HARKINS. Mr. President, I ask that the distinguished Senator from Wyoming be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. THOMAS. I thank the Chair. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from North Carolina.

We all have very strong feelings at this time, and most of all those feelings have been expressed, eloquently I might say, and now we have time for the real challenge.

Yesterday was a very sad day. The sadness, of course, continues for those who were injured and the families of those who were lost.

Acts of war have been committed against our Nation. Forces of evil have struck at the center of our Government, our families, and our communities.

There are no words that can possibly explain the devastation or convey sufficient sympathy for the women and children who lost their lives, nor even do words exist to describe our collective anger.

It is a somber day, but our sadness will lead to resolve.

Powerful symbols of our democracy have been destroyed, but the root of our strength—our personal commitment to our country and our families—is even stronger.

Our focus now must be on the victims, of course, and those who still face the challenge of life and rescue. America will take care of its own.

Let me assure people today that the functions of Government will continue. As you can see, Congress is meeting and most Federal agencies in Washington are open and doing their jobs.

There is no amount of terror that can be committed that will throw us off our course to protect and serve democracy.

The next great test for the Government of the United States will be the challenge to move forward—and that is a necessary part—to comfort those who have lost everything in their lives and rebuild the physical structures that have been lost. Our democracy will continue to exist uninhibited and unimimidated.

Next, we must strive to devise updated security and intelligence measures to serve us better in the future so this will not happen again.

Next, and at the appropriate time with the intelligence information that is required, the United States will exact a supreme measure of justice against the criminals who have perpetrated terror on this country, and they are not long for this world. Those terrorists should understand well we are coming for them and nothing will deter us from seeing that they are eliminated, as well as other terrorists around the world, even though they may not be specifically involved with this terrorism.

We all offer our condolences and prayers to the families of the missing. I offer my hopes for those who are working these tragedies today and rescue efforts. God bless them. God bless America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming yields back his time.

The Senator from Washington.

Mr. WYDEN. I thank the Chair. Mr. President, on Tuesday morning this Nation witnessed an attempt to pitch into darkness the light of American liberty. It was nothing less than an offensive against the freedom our Nation represents. It was nothing less than pure evil that cast a shadow over our country darker than the smoke from any explosion.

Yesterday, fanatics challenged our Nation to war, striking at civilians and service members alike. Today the Senate is making it clear that we will not bow to this brutality. We believe passionately in our country in due process, in the rule of law. But the effort to fire these grievances cannot be allowed to degenerate into the all-too-frequent endless debate. America must act decisively.

Families across this country are in their darkest hour right now. At the moment, not all of the victims’ names are known out of the thousands believed lost in the tragedy. In coming days, they are going to become familiar to us, and their lives and legacies will be shared with the world. But we already know them. These victims are husbands and wives, daughters and sons, brother and sisters to every American.

We honor the memory of those whom we have lost, but we also make it clear today that we will not allow this Nation to be sapped by terror. America is not going to be drained by devilish acts of rage.

The light of hope is burning across America. The voice of a New York firefighter who says he will not stop searching until the last stone is turned is a voice of hope.

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The courage of the Federal employees who returned to work today across the country is a courage ground in hope.

Hope shines in the people willing to wait for hours to help, as we saw yesterday when they donated blood. It shines in the hearts of those who are praying today in churches and synagogues and mosques across the country.

Here is my bottom line, Mr. President: The light that shines in America is going to be relentless when it is turned on those who have declared themselves our enemies. The dark forces that perpetrated these acts ought to make sure today that they are in their hiding places because we are going to come after them. The blinding beam of our determination and the long arm of the United States of America is going to expose them and extract justice.

Our entire Congress stands united behind the President of the United States and against our enemies and against those who would shelter them. Our whole Nation stands together with a very clear intention: To endure.

Our enemies should know the entire free and democratic world stands unmoved in its dedication to liberty for all. We speak with one voice, and we will move in concert to protect principles that we hold dear.

The flame of democracy is going to be fanned even brighter. We will not just carry the torch, but we are going to make sure that standard is held higher than ever before.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina, Mr. HELMS, Mr. President, I ask that the distinguished Senator from New Mexico, Mr. DOMENICI, be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from New Mexico is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, first, it is a pleasure to speak to the Senators who are present and listening.

An era has come to an end. As many commentators have noted, most say it was an era of innocence. I agree. Americans now know firsthand the kind of mindless terrorism and brutal disregard of all concepts of morality that afflicts the world. What will be our measure of response as a nation?

Our people in the world will watch, listen, and wait, for, as Franklin Roosevelt said, “We defend and we build a way of life not for America alone but for mankind.”

We will, of course, support the President in every respect, provide any and all resources, including emergency funding for New York City, for Washington, D.C., for Arlington, VA, sparing no expense to save our neighbors who need our help in this time of great distress.

Whatever it takes—and I repeat, whatever it takes—to pursue those who planned, funded, aided, harbored, and carried out yesterday’s destruction, we will use the full extent possible. All the resources of this great nation must be brought to bear to demonstrate our unity and our power. We know something else now. We understand that the threshold of possible terrorism has been crossed.

We know more, but the terrorists know more, too. We must commit to an all-out effort, not just to a war against terrorism but to new weapons in this war. We must do everything possible to prevent the possibility of calamities above this threshold. The Federal Government must pursue every avenue. Our defense programs—our national laboratories, universities, and other research institutions—must take the next technological steps to win the war that terrorists declared yesterday on our people.

Congress can do two or three things, less obvious perhaps, but more important in the long run. We can set aside petty bickering. We can unify in concrete terms by attending to the Nation’s business. The American people can judge barbarians who committed this act of war yesterday, but they will judge us in Congress, too.

We in this time of grave challenge must rise above the political bickering that has afflicted us for too long. We must quickly unify on the issues that have divided us, whether it is defense spending or energy policy. By doing so, we can show by our actions that truly yesterday was the end of an era.

I am not naive. I understand politics. But now is the time to lay them aside and, as the American people, unite behind our President. Let us in Congress rise to this historic challenge by joining hands and doing the Nation’s business now.

A final word of advice, too, for those who committed these atrocities. How little you know of our Nation, for you are so cowardly you have no way of understanding us. No act of these criminals could have contemplated will unify this Nation more, nor galvanize our will more firmly than yesterday’s destruction. They have done what many feared perhaps could no longer be done. They have taken America’s resolve, prompted our patriotism, and unleashed our power. They have committed an act of war. They have awakened a sleeping giant, and they will inherit the whirlwind.

My heart goes out to all of those suffering today. I know that New Mexicans have suffered losses but, we understand, nothing like New York. I know other Americans have suffered losses. I share in their grief, and I hold them up in my prayers and in the prayers of our family.

Let us understand if we have been awakened, as I believe we have, by uniting and eliminating the bickering, we can move our Nation ahead and we can begin to solve and get rid of terrorism here and everywhere. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, let me begin by thanking the distinguished Senator from New Mexico for that eloquent comment, thank him for his extraordinary leadership on this particular subject, and for the years he has served as a leader to our Nation.

Let me begin by thanking the many people in Louisiana, first our spiritual leaders, our military leaders, our elected officials at every level, our emergency personnel, every citizen who through prayer or action is engaged in helping this Nation at this time. We all appreciate their efforts.

In the darkest hours, America has always risen to her promise. We find ourselves again in the very darkest of times. For only the second time in American history, our borders have been penetrated and Americans attacked.

The greatest generation of Americans responded to the first attack, Pearl Harbor, with an unwavering commitment to defend the ideals of democracy around the globe.

Our generation will be remembered for how we respond to this attack against our Nation, our liberty, and our freedom. I have no doubt our Nation will rise to the challenge and find light in our darkest hour.

Through the endeavors of our people and the providence of God, our Nation prevailed in the struggle with the Soviet Union. It was a struggle lasting over 40 years, spread over every continent, costing this Nation the treasure of its youth and resources beyond imagination.

After yesterday, the American people must understand that today we begin to undertake a task no less daunting. President Kennedy’s inaugural address is remembered for its impact in rallying the resolve of our Nation at that time. I can think of no better place to turn to today. His eloquence is as relevant this morning as it was 40 years ago: Now the trumpet summons us again. Not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to bear 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 our tribulation, a struggle against the common enemies of man—tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Yesterday we heard the pages of history turn in explosions which brought down skyscrapers. The sound heard around the world was deafening, perhaps a fitting beginning to what we were called to know as the silent war; a silent war where cowardice of our enemies is their greatest asset. Yet no deception, no amount of subterfuge, no
resort to villainy will protect our enemies from the righteous anger of the American people called to war.

It is important for our people to know we are all being called into this struggle. In a silent war, we are all targets and, therefore, we are all combatants. Sacrifices to the unparallel freedom that we enjoy, costly expenditures, and the employment of our military men may all be required before this war is over.

Yesterday’s terror may have broken the hearts of American families, but it will not break the American family. Yesterday’s terror may have destroyed lives but it will not destroy this Nation’s destiny. Yesterday’s terror may have shattered buildings, but it will not shatter the American spirit.

This morning, not that long ago, over the crater that used to be part of the Pentagon walls was hit an American flag flying over the rubble. It is in that spirit America will prevail. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Nelson of Nebraska). The Senator from Maine is recognized.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, as did all of my colleagues and all Americans, I woke up this morning with a broken heart but not a broken spirit.

The unimaginable and horrific attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon was an attack on all Americans and against every freedom-loving nation of the world.

Today, our prayers and our deepest sympathies are with the families of those innocent victims who lost their lives, as well as those who were injured in these monstrous tragedies. We can scarcely comprehend the images that have flashed before our eyes over the past 24 hours, but we know that so many of our fellow Americans are grieving as we were, and our heart is filled with a great deal of sympathy.

Our hearts are heavy but our resolve is strong. This outrageous attack has reverberated through every level of our society. But let there be no mistake, and let the word go forth from the Halls of Congress and from the White House and from every house across our indomitable Nation that we will find who is responsible, we will hold them accountable, and we will persevere.

The soul of this country and the ideals upon which it was built cannot be torn asunder neither by war, nor by assassination, nor by the brutal and bloody instruments of faceless cowards. The forces that have chosen to attack our country’s determination before. As we rose to the challenge then, so will we rise at this most solemn of times.

Clearly, the attacks on our Nation were coordinated, and they were calculated by and for our own twisted fanaticism—whatever brand of fanaticism that may prove to be—the perpetrators of this crime against humanity and the American people failed to understand that ours is a nation in which the principle of individual freedom is exceeded only by our commitment to protect our freedom.

The American spirit is stronger than stone and water, tougher than steel and glass, and more enduring than any pain or suffering that can be inflicted on our national conscience. It cannot be collapsed by fire and terror.

To the contrary, today we stand united behind our President and the entire leadership of the Congress. Today, solidarity eclipsed politics and partisanship. And this will remain so for every minute of every hour of every day that it takes to right this injustice.

We must remain always vigilant but never fearful. We must relentlessly seek justice, and we must do all that is within us to prevent such catastrophic terrorist attacks both at home and abroad.

There are events in our lives that will forever etched on the landscape of our consciousness. We all know where we were and what we were doing at the precise time they happened. As we remember the assassination of President Kennedy and, for many of my colleagues, Pearl Harbor, our children will remember this day.

We are angry as a nation, and we have every right to be angry. But now it is time to focus our energies on responsible actions and swift responses when the masterminds are found. Now is also the time to heal and to tend to our neighbors and families and friends.

Typical American fashion, heroes rushed to the aid of those in peril, even as the sounds of blasts still echoed across Manhattan and our Nation’s Capital.

For the unthinkable numbers of people in New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, military personnel, and the Pentagon, passengers on planes from across America, policemen, firefighters, and emergency personnel who gave their lives, their memory will live on with the memory of this tragedy. To the families, our Nation shares in your unspeakable loss.

America will never be the same, just as we were forever changed by two World Wars and numerous other conflicts throughout the world. Now terrorism has come to American soil on a scale most dared not imagine. We are changed, but we are far from broken. Ours is a nation born of adversity, forged by perseverance, and defined by our determination to kill the most people, and to do it at a time of day when that would happen.

They deliberately selected important symbols—one, the military headquarters of the United States, and the other a major center of American economic entrepreneurship.

What is now emerging is genuine acts of heroism aboard our planes. Heroism aboard UAL Flight 93, which left Dulles International Airport, may well have prevented Flight 93 from striking the White House or the United States Capitol.

Californians were aboard that plane. One Californian, Thomas Burnett of San Ramon, phoned his wife. He told her the flight was doomed but that he and two other passengers were determined to do something about it. “I love you honey” were Burnett’s last words to his wife. He said, “I know we are all going to die, but there are three of us who are going to do something about it.” He worked for a company called Thoratec. He leaves three children.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues. Very frankly, my heart is filled with a great deal of mixed emotions. On the one hand, I want this country to smash back. On the other, I want us to be sure that we are on firm ground, that we know what we are doing, and that we are successful in our mission.

Yesterday was one of the darkest days I can remember. Many have speculated that the loss of life may well only be exceeded by the battle, 1-day battle at Antietam during the civil war. It will certainly be more than the loss at Pearl Harbor.

One of the things that I have recognized, and what should be abundantly clear to all of us, is that there are those out there without a heart who are willing to carry out this kind of attack, and to do it with malevolence and cunning that defies science and humanity. That is really what we are up against.

I really consider what happened in New York and at the Pentagon to be a declaration of war against the United States. I believe we must respond accordingly in a well-considered military and political decision.

I join the President, the congressional leadership, and particularly Secretary of State Colin Powell, whose remarks this morning share that same determination.

Let there be no mistake. This attack was deliberately planned. It was planned to have the largest possible impact and to maximize the loss of innocent human life.

The terrorists deliberately selected the largest planes with the greatest fuel loads to create the biggest explosion, to kill the most people, and to do it at a time of day when that would happen.

They deliberately selected important symbols—one, the military headquarters of the United States, and the other a major center of American economic entrepreneurship.

What is now emerging is genuine acts of heroism aboard our planes. Heroism aboard UAL Flight 93, which left Dulles, I think to a great degree, small if we will have prevented Flight 93 from striking the White House or the United States Capitol.

Californians were aboard that plane. One Californian, Thomas Burnett of San Ramon, phoned his wife. He told her the flight was doomed but that he and two other passengers were determined to do something about it. “I love you honey” were Burnett’s last words to his wife. He said, “I know we are all going to die, but there are three of us who are going to do something about it.” He worked for a company called Thoratec. He leaves three children.
You might say he and others made the ultimate sacrifice.

Yesterday firmly establishes in my mind that the major threat and No. 1 national security problem facing the United States is the asymmetrical attack, the unconventional and unpredictable horrific act of terrorism.

I don’t believe America can be a paper tiger in response. I think the United States should spare no effort to uncover, to ferret out, and to destroy those who commit acts of terrorism, those who provide the training camps, who shelter, who finance, and who support terrorists. Whether that enemy is a state or an organization, those who harbor them, who arm them, who train them, and permit them must, in my view, be destroyed.

It is interesting to note that 3 weeks ago the British press carried articles which charged that bin Laden operation was prepared to launch—and this a quote—”an unprecedented attack against the United States.” We know that the organization is wanted as well for two prior major terrorist attacks against the United States.

It seems to me that there is a good indication we will shortly find who is responsible for this act of war against our country. And then we must strike back against them hard.

It is also critical that America lead an international effort that makes clear to all nations that countenance terrorism, that harbor terrorists, that aid and abet their actions, that that country is an enemy of the United States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have a couple additional minutes.

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

Ms. FEINSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. President.

All civilized nations, whether it is NATO, our European allies, Russia, China, the moderate Arab States, or anyone else—I received a call this morning from the Chinese Embassy saying the President of China had called our President yesterday to indicate China’s solidarity with the United States and to offer any help. Indeed, that is a giant step forward. It is a beginning. I believe we must create a critical divide between the civilized nations that will not sanction terrorism and spell out those that do and do something about it.

Presently, the United States spends about $12 billion, spread among a number of Departments dealing with terrorism. The proposed budget will shortly be before the Senate. If we are to engage against this threat, I think we must also organize and coordinate our Government’s effort. I speak now as chairman of the Terrorism Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee and also as a member of the Intelligence Committee. We must see that these dollars are wisely spent, not frittered among more than 40 Departments. I do not believe those dollars are well spent at the present time.

We must also understand that homeland defense should be our highest priority: coherent and carefully balanced, with trained personnel in every State, and an intelligence network that provides a coordination between all branches of Government and each of our States.

America has at its disposal a wide array of tools, but these tools must be directed carefully, with a coherent policy. This is not now the situation. I believe we must remedy it promptly.

We Americans are a resilient, a determined, and a patriotic nation. We will not lose the spirit that makes us the greatest democracy on Earth by going after terrorists full scale. We have always been ready to respond in defense of freedom. And now that challenge is before us in a manner, shape and form that offers unprecedented challenges. We must respond.

Let me also speak a few moments as a Californian. The four planes that were hijacked were all going to California; three to Los Angeles, one to San Francisco.

Two hundred sixty-six people died on the planes. It is certain that many of them have families in California. To them, I extend my heartfelt sorrow. But I also extend a commitment that I will do everything in my power as one Senator to see that these deaths were not in vain.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask that the able Senator from Arkansas be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. President, on this day of mourning and on behalf of all Arkansans, I offer my deepest and most sincere condolences to the families of the victims of the cowardly attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

I especially want to mention the Arkansas flight attendant, Sara Lowe, and offer my sympathy and condolences to her parents Mike and Bobbie, and to her sister Allison. There may well be other Arkansans who were aboard, but Sara served, and served well. I am proud to call her Flight No. 1.

While New York bears the brunt of the pain today, I am reminded, as I think of Sara Lowe from Batesville, AR, that there are hundreds of towns and hamlets and villages all across the Nation that share in the grief and the suffering today. Our Nation is grief stricken but our Nation is strong. Our Nation is united, and our Nation is resolved to bring those responsible to justice.

I honor today the courage and compassion of the rescuers in New York City and at the Pentagon. Your Nation is grateful and your Nation is indebted.

We all woke up yesterday and prepared to go about our normal business in a world that looked the same as it did the day before. Today everything is different. The New York skyline is changed, and so is the geopolitical landscape of the world.

We stand at the violent birth of a new era in international relations and national security. The strategic pause that we enjoyed after the cold war ended is over. I pray that we have used this interlude properly; and I fear that we may not have.

But this needs to be clear: Any nation that harbors, shelters, or abets these terrorist thugs will be regarded as full participants in these acts of war and will be held equally accountable.

We will devote as many resources as necessary to find and punish the perpetrators of these acts. We must make a national commitment to breaking the back of international terrorism.

On the Armed Services Committee, I am fortunate to have served as a member of the Emerging Threats Subcommittee under the leadership of Senator Roberts from Kansas.

As frightening and as horrific as the toll and the results of the incidents yesterday are, I fear that a biological or a chemical attack upon this country would make the tens of thousands of victims yesterday pale in comparison to the millions that might be the victims of such an attack. But the American people should be assured that we will utilize every resource at the disposal of our great country to protect them.

We Americans will stand together, united, determined, and ultimately victorious.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, I was sickened by the actions that were taken against our country yesterday. I felt very much like I was back in the Vietnam war in the Tet Offensive of 1968 of which I was lucky to survive. When I looked out my window and saw the smoke coming from the Pentagon, I literally felt, for the first time, that I was under attack in my own country. That is a terrible feeling, I think many Americans shared that feeling.

My staff is still trying to recover. They still have traces of tears in their eyes and on their faces from the suffering that we have seen on television by our fellow Americans.

For the first time, I guess certainly in my long time, American blood has been shed on American soil by a foreign enemy. That gives us all pause to get the most out of this historic moment. That is what I am trying to do in my own mind as I rise to pay tribute to those who served, and those who have come to the aid of our fellow Americans in New York and in this great city of Washington, DC.
Emerging Threats Subcommittee, matched and undercoordinated in our homeland defense? Are we over-
in the future?
threats we can expect not only now but evidence upon evidence, testimony of the real threats to this country as human intelligence? Do we not have our intelligence community. Do we not this spur for action, this spur for great-
loss of this incredible opportunity, life. I would be even more sickened by our best professionals are, and then go through the regular committee struc-
do have some responsibility, maybe of us on the Armed Services Com-
attack, probably wrongfully so. Those mel there in Hawaii got blamed for the we ought to do about it.
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But I think of the families as well who have suffered forever the loss of a loved one. Many children will go without fathers tonight. Many families will go by by an unexpected and foreign policy undertaking.
As we determine how best to address this ongoing threat, it will not be necessary to start anew or to reinvent the antiterrorism wheel. I have this privilege, as some have said, for serving for 3 years as the chairman of the newly created Subcommittee on Emerging Threats. That is a subcommittee created by our distinguished former chairman, JOHN WARNER. The committee is now ably chaired by Senator MARY LANDRIEU.
Our subcommittee is now compiling the testimony of the many witnesses we have had over the years, and the recommendations we have made which we will make available to the administration, to the Pentagon, to the American public, and, yes, to the Federal agencies that have claimed jurisdiction of one kind or another with regard to homeland security.
In this respect, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a letter that five Senators representing the Senate Armed Services, Intelligence, and Appropriations Committees and two subcommittees, including the Emerging Threats Subcommittee, sent to Vice President Cheney as of last July. There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HON. RICHARD B. CHENEY, Vice President of the United States, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: The hearings conducted by the Senate on May 8, 9 and 10, 2001 demonstrated that some Federal agencies do not have a firm grasp of their roles and responsibilities for combating terrorism, for, and responding to acts of domestic terrorism. This lack of clarity is due to the absence of a true, comprehensive national strategy that you solicit input from and in embody in two Presidential Decision Directives, the Attorney General’s Five Year Plan, and two Federal response plans, one maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and one maintained by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). This “patchwork quilt” approach is not a substitute for a national strategy, the purpose of which would be to coordinate our Federal agencies into an effective force.
This attached report contains seven recommendations that emerged during the course of the hearings. They merit your strong consideration as you move toward bringing all of the Federal entities involved in combating terrorism under a single umbrella of clear leadership and a consolidated national strategy. The recommendations identify and propose actions to address weaknesses in our overall national system to combat domestic terrorism.
We hope these recommendations will be useful to you as you chart a new course for this nation’s domestic terrorism policy. With respect to the review itself, we strongly recognize that you soon will incorporate the worthwhile suggestions of
The sharing of information, especially by intelligence agencies and law enforcement organizations, is imperative to preventing acts of domestic terrorism. The Department of State also has an important role to play in preventing terrorism through its diplomatic and law enforcement personnel. The Co-Coordinators should work in close cooperation with the Department of State to ensure that we have a unified strategy for combating both domestic and international terrorism. Our level of preparedness will depend on our commitment to training, equipment programs, and regularly scheduled exercises which allow us to hone our skills. Our ability to respond to a domestic terrorist attack will require the close coordination of all entities with responsibility for combating domestic terrorism. Pre-established guidelines outlining agencies' missions and order of operations during a range of plausible threat scenarios must be developed and distributed.

The Co-Coordinators should be responsible for coordinating agencies' and departments' programs and policies so that they complement the national strategy. They should also be the responsibility of the Federal departments and agencies to keep the Co-Coordinators apprised of any changes in their organization, management, or responsibilities pertaining to combating domestic terrorism. All agencies and departments involved in combating domestic terrorism should participate in an annual review process coordinated by the Co-Coordinators, who should undertake this review on behalf of the President. In conducting this review, the Co-Coordinators should consult with the appropriate entities including Congress and the State and Local Advisory Group. The Co-Coordinators should make specific recommendations regarding agencies' policies, programs, and objectives for combating domestic terrorism as well as monitor their progress in implementing the national strategy.

IV. Budget Reviews.—There is currently no concept of Operations Plan (CONPLAN) to suit each particular type of terrorist incident: nuclear, chemical, biological, radiological, or conventional. The plans might compete with the present Deputy Attorney General position. As with the Deputy FEMA Director, consideration be given to domestic terrorism. The Co-Coordinators should work in close cooperation with the Attorney General position.

V. Chain of Command.—The Senate hearings have demonstrated that there still a need for a coherent chain of command at the Federal level during the response phase of a terrorist incident. During a recent exercise, agents from the FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) argued for an hour over who was “in charge” at the scene, while actors playing the part of the wounded and dying got hypothermia. This confusion is the result of a poorly understood and communicated chain of command.

The Federal Response Plan (FRP) and Concept of Operations Plan (CONPLAN) identify which agencies must respond at what point in time and what function each agency must perform or lead. These plans have not been effectively communicated to responders at all levels, from local to Federal. Furthermore, these plans were designed for a number of different disaster scenarios. This “one size fits all” approach is the lack of detailed understanding of the plan at all levels, is responsible for the confusion encountered by responders at the scene.

We recommend that the Co-Coordinators develop “challenge specific” plans based on the FRP and CONPLAN to suit each particular type of terrorist incident: nuclear, chemical, biological, radiological, and conventional. The plans should focus on application of the unified command structure across territorial, jurisdictional, and interagency lines. The resulting matrix of response plans should also reflect the possibility of a simultaneous attack involving two different types of weapons, particularly a cyber attack.

The purpose of creating a separate response plan for each type of attack is to minimize delays in decision-making and expeditiously and effectively respond to a terrorist attack. A plant's Critical Emergency Plan (CEP) should reflect the specific response requirements of a chemical, biological, nuclear, radiological, or conventional attack. The CEP should provide a chain of command, specify the agency that will act as the coordinating agency for the Federal level, and specifically reflect the possibility of a simultaneous attack involving two different types of weapons, particularly a cyber attack.

VI. Risk and Threat Assessments.—Federal programs to combat domestic terrorism are being initiated and expanded without the benefit of a sound threat and risk assessment process. Although it is not possible to reduce risk for all potential targets of terrorism, a rigorous and continuous assessment of risk can help ensure that we have the right equipment, training, and other safeguards justified. Such programs must be implemented based on the threat level, the threat, the vulnerability to attack, and the criticality of assets.

Because the threat terrorist pose is dynamic and countermasures may become obsolete through new terrorist tactics as reflected in the September 11, 2001, attacks, it is imperative that the risk assessment process be continually updated. A multi-disciplinary team of experts selected by the Co-Coordinators should generate these assessments as well as the separate, regularly scheduled exercises. Regularly scheduled exercises will provide an opportunity to demonstrate and validate the national strategy. This process is crucial to ensuring that initiatives are based on reality and are proportional to the threat.
VII. Research and Development.—The research, development, testing, and evaluation (RDT&E) of technologies to combat domestic terrorism is currently under-exploited, yet holds enormous potential to prevent—mainly through detection—domestic terrorist incidents. The United States will never be able to prevent all domestic terrorist incidents, but we have an obligation to do more. If we fail to prevent, then we must be ready to respond. Our expertise must be more aggressively focused on technologies for detecting and analyzing chemical, biological, explosives, nuclear, and radiological materials.

We recommend that the Co-Coordinators coordinate with all the institutes in this country currently involved in RDT&E of combating terrorism-related technologies. Among these entities should be the first responders, the training centers, the National Laboratories, the National Institute of Justice, the National Institute of Standards and Technology, the National Institutes of Health, the National Academy of Sciences, private universities, and private industry. Terrorism will increasingly be a technological war, with respect to technology, and we must be able to anticipate future capabilities. The Co-Coordinators should therefore be tasked with coordinating these technological efforts for the remainder of the decade. This plan should be based on sound needs and threat assessments and should be set specific goals to be accomplished within a defined time frame.

Mr. ROBERTS. This letter followed 3 days of hearings in which bipartisan Members of Congress asked detailed questions of some 46 Federal agencies. Senators Warner, Inhofe, Gregg, and ROBERTS offered this letter as a blueprint from which to eliminate the current patchwork quilt approach and renew attempts to forge a national strategy to combat terrorism and safeguard our national security.

Let me warn that this act of terrorism may well be just the beginning. We must understand our enemy. In this regard, I quote from a retired Army officer and author, Ralph Peters, who regard, I quote from a retired Army officer, Ralph Peters, who warned several years ago:

"The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order." His book should be required reading for all of my colleagues and those within the national media and all interested in preserving democracy, freedom, and Western values.

I quote Arthur Schlesinger Jr. as stating Europe and America are the unique source of individual liberty, political democracy, and the rule of law, not to mention human rights and also cultural freedom. It is precisely these unique concepts that are now under attack and why we must undertake an international response.

The principal responsibility of Western leaders, especially now, is not to attempt to reshape other civilizations in the image of the West, which is beyond our power, but to preserve, to protect, to renew the unique qualities of Western civilization where they have been nurtured, appreciated, and taken root. That responsibility overwhelmingly fails to the United States of America.

That statement has foreign and national security policy ramifications that deserve a great deal more comment on this floor at a later time. We will add one other thing. Every witness before the Emerging Threats Subcommittee, when we asked about the threat against the United States, said: It is not a matter of if but when.

When is now. The tragedy is now. It will not stand. It will not stand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mr. CANTWELL. Mr. President, yesterday's vicious terrorist attack left an uncounted number of Americans dead and injured, and countless others grieving for friends and loved ones they have lost. We offer our hearts and prayers to those people, who have suffered a pain so deep it is beyond understanding. We support them in their pain and grief, we also share it.

Every American knows exactly what happened in yesterday's attack, because it was an attack on our freedom and fundamental values as a people. Some have called this attack an act of madness, but it was not. It was an act of war—an organised, coordinated, premeditated murder of thousands of Americans, designed and carried out for political advantage. We will not allow it to go unpunished.

We will stand behind our President as he brings our law enforcement, military, and intelligence forces together to find these murderers and their allies. And as he takes the steps necessary to demonstrate clearly to all the world that terrorism against our nation will not stand.

Here at home we must continue to work together to bind up the wounds of this nation and heal the widespread injuries and anxieties that these acts have caused. We are profoundly grateful to the many forward—those efforts and sacrifices made by the relief workers, police, and firefighters—and we deeply grieve for those heroes who lost their lives yesterday in New York trying to save others.

This isn't the first time terrorists have tried to attack the United States—and it won't be the last. An orchestrated terrorist attack was stopped in Washington State when terrorists bringing explosives into the United States from Canada were intercepted. They planned to blow up the New Year's Eve celebration in downtown Seattle and to kill as many people as they could. Fortunately, that plot was uncovered and stopped. This time, we weren't so lucky.

Attacking this country is not enough to defeat it. It never has been. This is something our enemies have discovered again and again. America's history is the story of a Nation, of a people, who have repeatedly overcome what have seemed like insurmountable challenges.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, America began as a nation by overcoming tyranny. We will continue to overcome our enemies and we will do it without sacrificing who we are as Americans. We will do it by supporting those who have been injured and giving sympathy and support to families who have lost loved ones. We will do it by refrocusing our efforts on more security efforts, and we will do it by upholding the principles that we all believe in of "liberty and justice for all."

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho is recognized.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, as our Nation mourns, my prayers—our prayers—are directed to the victims and the families of the victims who died yesterday at the hands of world terrorism.

As many have noted today, America finds itself at war. The question still must be answered: Against whom? And what exactly will be our response? But the fact itself cannot be doubted. At this time, most observers suppose that yesterday's terrorist attacks were perpetrated by a well-known terrorist group. My remarks will be based on that reasonable supposition. It is further supposed that these attacks could not have been mounted without state complicity. There are strong suspicions as to which state has primary culpability. Once that determination is made with reasonable certainty, the U.S. response must include a strategic assessment toward that regime, or possibly regimes, as well as tightening domestic security and reassessing our attitude toward terrorism as war.

In the comments about yesterday's events, it is good to note that most are talking about being at war rather than our usual tendency to look at these acts as exclusively criminal acts. For example, in past U.S. policy toward foreign-instigated terrorist attacks, such as the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, the U.S. Embassy attacks
in Kenya and Tanzania, Khobar Towers, or the U.S.S. Cole, they have been based on the "criminal model." This is the notion that our main task is to identify the criminal model, hind perpetrators, and build a case sufficient to convict them beyond a reasonable doubt in the court.

This criminal model obscures the strategic implications, which should be our main task. To identify the criminal model should be replaced with a warfare model adapted to 21st century conditions in which war no longer means a confrontation along a defined front between armies fielded by industrial states. Instead, under conditions in which the distinction between state and private violence is not relevant, war means determining within a moral certainty the responsible actors—state or nonstate—and delivering a devastating, punitive, and exempt reprisal. Consideration should be given to a congressional declaration of war against such state and nonstate actors.

Based on past experience, it is inevitable that part of the response will involve a further tightening of security procedures right here in this country. These measures, which almost never are removed once they are put in place, have little utility, except to tighten Federal control over Americans, and it really should be minimized. That is not to say we ought not look at them, consider them, and where they are best used, estimate their value—but not overestimate the outcome. More importantly, they are a measure of our failure of strategic vision.

Instead, we should concentrate on identifying the hijackers who flew the airplanes to their targets, and determining how they entered the United States. This is what we ought to be about. Misguided efforts to relax bars to allow security agencies to have derogatory information should be shelved. Border controls should be tightened.

While targeted reprisal is a necessity, it should be accompanied by a comprehensive reexamination of U.S. post-cold war strategy. Currently, that strategy is largely based on cold war inertia, consisting primarily of maintaining, extending, and perpetuating our status as "the world's sole-surviving superpower"—exercising global hegemony, and preventing the emergence of any potential rival, such as China or Russia.

This policy, with its focus on global dominance rather than domestic defense, is not just one that makes the United States more vulnerable to terrorist attack, not less. We have to look at global policy, but clearly we must focus now more than ever on domestic defense.

This policy must be replaced by one that places a priority on the defense of our sovereignty, our people, and our territory. With regard to yesterday's attacks, our global strategy should be reexamined to include undermining the harboring regimes or regimes by diplomatic and possibly military means; advancing a policy toward nearby countries opposed to such regimes; and pressuring countries with which the United States has friendly relations, but that may be supporting the harboring regimes, to cease that support.

These efforts will require a thorough assessment of American policy. No part of it can be left out. We do not stand in a situation of isolation today. Our neighbors will gather around us. Let us examine ourselves into the 21st century. Let us use our ability in that context to shape a new foreign policy and resolve that what happened yesterday in this country shall never happen again.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, the calendar and history rarely perfectly coincide. It was remarked that the 20th century really began in August of 1914 with the commencement of European hostilities. It may, on reflection, prove to be true that the 21st century did not begin when that famous ball fell in Times Square; it began on September 11, 2001.

The world has now been introduced to a new and difficult struggle against terrorism, asymmetrical war, held along the fissure lines of culture, prosperity, and commitment to law.

I regret that the front lines of this new struggle have formed through the communities I represent in northern New Jersey and our neighbors in New York City. Last night, children waited at home for parents who never arrived. Spouses held dinner for husbands and wives who never came home. The battlefield of this new war was Manhattan and Jersey City and Fort Lee and Queens. We are all soldiers.

There is a temptation to accept that this new chapter in the war on terrorism is merely a continuum of the same. Perhaps the scale and the intensity is only different from Lebanon or Saudi Arabia or, indeed, the World Trade Center itself 8 years ago.

By definition, it is fundamentally different. The very scale of this attack and the premeditation of those involved suggest that the organizations or the nations that planned this attack intended to strike at the Government of the United States. They are agents of others. I will find no satisfaction in their indictment, whether or, tragically, even thousands of citizens without explaining the role of the FBI, conducting operations.

I support the President of the United States, but I do believe, with all respect, we are not properly conceiving the magnitude of the moment. A fissure of history was reached yesterday, and in all of our sorrow and our grief, we are not yet seizing the moment.

It is my belief the President of the United States should come to this Congress and ask for a declaration that since September 11, 2001, the U.S. Government is engaged in general hostilities against a series of terrorist organizations; that in these hostilities, we will not respect the sovereignty of those nations that give safe harbor to those who committed acts against our country and our people.

I recognize that it is not possible with precision to identify every organization that was complicitous or involved. I also do not believe that it is necessary. Many of these terrorist organizations previously committed acts against the United States. Others are known to have planned such operations. Many have the intention of committing such acts. They represent a network that is a worthy and legitimate target of our hostilities.

Second, I cannot return to the people of New Jersey who have lost hundreds or, tragically, even thousands of citizens without explaining the role of the U.S. Government in their defense. The scale of what occurred in the last 48 hours may have been unpredictable, but the source and the means and the targets were not.

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The American people have trusted this Government through our intelligence communities to defend our Nation and its people and our varied interests. This has not occurred. It is my belief that the President of the United States should form a board of general inquiry to review the actions of the U.S. intelligence community and the failures which led to this massive loss of life and compromise of national security.

It can never be enough to explain that the unforeseeable happened to the unprotectable because neither is the case.

Only two decades into the 20th century, Winston Churchill remarked: What an extraordinary disappointment the 20th century has been.

Here in our first year of a new century, on behalf of all those at home who suffer, who have dealt with unconscionable acts, let me simply say what a disappointment the 21st century has already been.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, today our entire Nation confronts an evil inflicted upon it by those who resent our values and our way of life. All of us address the Nation as Americans, not partisans. That is as it should be when we are hit by a tragedy of this magnitude.

I first want to join my colleagues in assuring our fellow Americans our Government is carrying on the business of the people. Our Nation has not bowed and will never bow to violence and terror.

Second, I join in expressing our love and concern for the victims of these evil deeds. We will never forget them.

Third, if our words are to have effect, we have to change the way we deal with terrorism. Things have changed. No nation can ever be completely safe from threats to its security, but sadly today our Nation is forced to recognize what many of us have long known: that America is vulnerable to attack. But there are steps we can take to make it safer.

As members of the Intelligence Committee, and as chairman and ranking member of the Senate Judiciary’s Subcommittee on Terrorism, respectively, Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN and I have held a series of hearings on recommendations about how to deal with terrorist threats. Things have changed. No nation can ever be completely safe from threats to its security, but sadly today our Nation is forced to recognize what many of us have long known: that America is vulnerable to attack. But there are steps we can take to make it safer.

We must now assess how we ascertain what information is credible about attacks from abroad and how we might have to adapt our contribution to intelligence-gathering activities worldwide and devote appropriate resources.

The Nation had no warning of this attack, though it was clearly long planned and very well coordinated. I join my colleagues in calling for prompt hearings to examine this failure of our intelligence network.

The legal authority to do that could be in a new form of declaration of war, as a war on the terrorists who engaged in this evil activity. And we have to identify those who harbor them. In the end, the greatest way for us, as leaders, to confirm our commitment to the victims of this evil is to dedicate ourselves to a real and forceful battle against this terrorism. Action not words, that is the challenge before us.

As Prime Minister Winston Churchill said in 1940, “Let us brace ourselves to our duties.”

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, we owe yesterday to a much different world than the world we are required to accept today. On the most basic and fundamental level, we have lost the lives of heroes and victims, and we know that behind the devastating numbers we have all been seeing are real people, with real families, with real lives, with real accomplishments, and real hopes. We also know sadly for all of us that we can never, ever reclaim those lives.

We can honor them and remember them, and in their names we can devote ourselves to take every action to assure that no other Americans have to make this supreme sacrifice.

My Scripture teaches us to weep with those that weep and be of the same mind one toward another.

I speak now to the families of those who have been taken. We in this Chamber cannot erase yesterday, although we wish with everything inside us that we could. In the difficult days and years to come, we will keep their lives and their names and their sacrifices in our hearts, and we will translate our grief and our anger into a determination to prevent this tragedy from ever being repeated.

I know this is little solace for their extraordinary loss, but it is an important commitment that I truly believe every one of them would wish us to make. We will not forget, and we will act.

For 225 years now, America has been more than a nation—state, more than a set of borders, more than a piece of land. America is an idea, and that idea is freedom: Freedom of thought, freedom of movement, freedom to shape our lives and our society the way we choose.

Yesterday morning, it was not just America that came under attack. It was the hopes and aspirations of freedom-loving people all over this world. There is a reason America does not bow to terrorism. There is a reason we live by the rule of law and not the rule of the jungle. There is a reason we return to our homes and offices and reclaim our skies and our pride. There is a reason we will marshal our resources, all our resolve and the awesome strength of our military to catch these death mongers, to punish them, to make them pay for what they have done to us and our people because we surrender our freedom to anyone. I commend President Bush for his leadership in this extraordinarily difficult time. I urge all my colleagues on
both sides of the aisle to stand with him.

From time to time, from issue to issue, the votes in this Chamber are divided. Yet, it comes to defeating terrorism and hate, the Senate will not be divided.

Some have wondered, in the aftermath of this tragedy, whether our country will ever be the same. We need to make our airports safer, and we will. We need to make our flights more secure and their flight patterns more invariable, and we will. We need to do more to root out terrorism in the countries where it is tolerated, funded, and harbored, and the world can rest assured that we will.

The strength of our Nation is measured not in airport scanners or in flight controls; it is measured in the grit and the will of our people when it is needed the most. By that standard, America is the strongest, toughest, most resilient Nation on the face of the Earth.

Scripture also tells us “whoever shall be great among you, let him be your servant.”

Mr. President, we glimpsed that greatness yesterday in the rescue efforts in New York City and at the Pentagon—policemen, firemen, military personnel, and so many brave volunteers putting themselves and their lives in harm’s way to help others. Too many of them paid the ultimate price for their acts of courage.

My Senate office was flooded yesterday with calls from concerned people in North Carolina, people who wanted to give blood, to donate clothes and blankets, to open their hearts in this time of solidarity. I am especially proud that a group of Marines from Camp LeJeune in Jacksonville, NC, is preparing to leave for New York now to assist as they can.

Today, we can’t help but think how fragile is the safety and security we have been taking for granted. But throughout our history, we have weathered war and pestilence; we have met every kind of disaster, both natural and manmade; we have mastered every challenge and conquered every foe.

The spirit of America is strong. The power of freedom will overcome. And by reaffirming that freedom through strength, justice, and compassion, we will honor the memory of those who have departed and give renewed purpose to those of us who must now carry on.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON). The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLARD. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Five minutes.

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, President Bush last night did what many of us do in times of trouble: He prayed.

When we prayed last night, we did so not only for those who were injured or killed yesterday, but for what our nation and people are still to face. After all, yesterday, there are still other horrors to come. One of those horrors will be the casualty figures. The disaster is so large we don’t even yet know how large it is. Some time, in the next few weeks, we are going to have a number of the dead and permanently missing. It will probably be in the thousands.

I would like to take a moment to mention Capt. Jason M. Dahl, the pilot of United Airlines Flight 93. This 43-year-old Ken-Caryl Ranch, CO, father spent most of his workdays training others to fly Boeing 757’s and 767’s. That way, according to newspaper reports, he got to spend more time with his wife and teenage son, Matthew. But training was just part of his job, and Dahl apparently scheduled himself on Flight 93. He died yesterday morning when the plane slammed down into a Pennsylvania field. This is one name, one short background, and there will be thousands more.

But America is strong. No terrorist can undermine our country. There is no casualty figure that could come from this that will make us lose our fundamental purpose as a nation and a people. Anyone who doubts this only needs to look at the flags popping up on streets, the lines outside blood donation centers, the supplies being gathered for the survivors. America has long exported compassion by responding to African droughts and Central American hurricanes and European earthquakes. Now we have to deal with a massive tragedy in our own land, and I am sure we will do so strongly.

I was in a meeting yesterday dealing with Middle East security when my assistant called to say that the building was being evacuated. It occurs to me that aspects of life in the Middle East—terrorist attacks, public fear and public mourning, heavy domestic security, checkpoints, rigid airline safeguards—could quite possibly be incorporated into the American way of life as well. Things that we have seen before only on TV broadcasts from foreign lands could be brought home to us, right here in America.

I trust the Nation will understand that these new measures might change our lives, but not our way of life. Increased security might, for instance, add to travel time, but not effect our ability to travel. Just as we learned to live with the inconvenience of airport scanners, we bought items and metal detectors in public buildings, we are going to have to learn with new airport and border security.

Our Nation, once again, learned that we have to be prepared for the potential of nuclear war. Some of the old Cold War defenses we incorporated into our lives were even able to assist us in this new war we face. The North American Aerospace Defense center—NORAD—in Colorado Springs was monitoring the highjacked airplanes yesterday.

We in the Government are going to have to answer “What next?” The Senate has already approved supporting increased resources in the war to eradi-cate terrorism, and supporting the President in punishing the perpetrators of the attacks.

The phrase “war on terrorism” has been used lightly before. This is a war. And this war cannot be fought by, as I have heard it mentioned, by just using cruise missiles to blow up tents in a desert.

I thank again the thousands of person-who have responded, in New York, Pennsylvania and Washington, to the crisis. Especially those whose response only meant that they them-selves became victims of this hostile tragedy.

This morning New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani said “we are better than they are.” A simple statement, but it accurately reflects a truth. America is better than evil terrorists. America is better than sneaky attacks on innocent civilians. America is better than fanatics, and America will prevail in this crisis.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, today we know our duty as Americans. We will bury our dead, we will comfort our wounded, we will honor our heroes, and we will protect and defend our Nation. We will stand as one against the treachery visited on America on Tuesday, September 11, in the year 2001.

We invite our friends and allies among the civilized nations to not only share our grief but also to share our de-termination to end the scourge of ter-rorism. The enemies of America, the enemies of freedom, unleashed their fury yesterday in New York and at the Pentagon in an effort to destroy our re-solve. Our enemies have failed.

Today our hearts are heavy for all of the innocent lives lost and scarred by these barbaric terrorists. But our re-solve has not been shaken. We stand as one, committed to freedom. We stand as one, committed to tolerance. We stand as one against those who kill the innocent in the name of righteousness. We stand as one against those who in the name of God perpetrated godless acts.

In the days ahead, we will undoubtedly learn of unparalleled, selfless, selfless courage by so many, the firefighters and police, who awakened yesterday as they did every day of their professional lives, pinned their badges and shields over their hearts, and risked their lives. The names of those who never knew, of the hundreds of firefighters who streamed into that inferno at the World Trade Center while every human
instinct told them to flee the overwhelming danger. We will never know the details of their many courageous acts nor about the battles waged on the airliners hijacked by the terrorists. But we owe the deepest debt of gratitude to all of those Americans who demonstrated remarkable heroism at America’s time of testing.

Of course, the sayings of those fallen heroes and to all of those who suffered a loss from this violence: This Nation will stand by you as you rebuild your community and your life.

I say to our friends in Israel: This attack on America was an attack on our alliance and our common values.

The terrorists set out to bring America to its knees. Instead, they have brought America to its feet, stronger than ever in our alliance with Israel and more understanding of the price terrorism exacts from the heart and soul of people.

A word of caution to all of us: As we identify the sources of terrorism, it is possible to identify an Arab person, or a group of Arab people, or those of the Muslim faith. We should never allow those facts, if they turn out to be true, to cloud our judgment when it comes to our fellow Arab Americans and those who believe and practice the Muslim faith. Many of them share with us the pain and sorrow of yesterday’s tragedy.

Let me bring this tragedy very close to home. During the course of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln came to Washington as the new President. The States began to divide into the Confederacy and the Union. When he arrived, this Capitol dome which you see outside was a reconstruction. Many people went to the President and said: Mr. President, we can’t afford to wage a war and build this Capitol dome. He said: Yes, we can, because that Capitol dome represents the unity of this country and the strength and resilience of this country. During the Civil War, he continued the construction of that great dome we see today. And Lincoln was right.

We should take a lesson from that. As we talk about security in America, we should understand that one of the prime targets is the building I speak from—this Nation’s Capitol, which attracts millions of visitors every single year. We owe those visitors, their families, and the thousands of people who work for the security and peace of mind of knowing that we have done everything we can to protect them in this age of terrorism. That means building a national visitors center, one which provides the security they deserve. This building, I say, must have the security and peace of mind of knowing that we have done everything we can to protect them in this age of terrorism. That means building a national visitors center, one which provides the security they deserve.

This vividness has affected the young people of our country much more than Pearl Harbor affected us. We had been acclimated to the fact that we were going to war. We had watched in the newsreels in 1939, in 1940, and 1941 the Germans marching across Europe and the Japanese raping Nanking. Such newsreels had been dramatic. We had watched the big buildings collapse, of people jumping from those buildings, of the knowledge of how many people were killed and injured, of seeing our Pentagon struck.

This vividness has affected the young people of our country much more than Pearl Harbor affected us. We had been acclimated to the fact that we were going to war. We had watched in the newsreels in 1939, in 1940, and 1941 the Germans marching across Europe and the Japanese raping Nanking. Such things came at us in a small bite, as we might call it today, with a little exposure here and there.

If our generation truly is the greatest generation, it is because of our parents and our guardians and our teachers. They prepared us for what we knew would be our duty to fight a war to restore freedom in the world.

Our young people yesterday saw just this total exposure to death and the effects of terrorism. I think we have to be aware of that. They have not been prepared as young people in this period of time when they allow these freedoms to the exposure through so many means of communication and acquisition and knowledge. I believe our young people are in a state of shock. It is time we thought about that and what it means to America to have this sudden awareness by so many people, particularly young children and the younger generation, becoming exposed to the visible impact of terrorist activity.

We don’t live in a country like Israel where they have been attacked on the streets and they have seen bombing every day. We have really been living the life of luxury in terms of not being exposed to this type of activity. But it is time now. We will have to talk to all of you yesterday. I don’t think it is over.

I call on the Senate and the Congress and the President. I hope we think about the young people. I hope we take the time to explain to them why we are going to retaliate. I hope we take the time to explain to them why we are going to change some of the security procedures of our country in terms of getting on and off interstate and even local transportation. I hope we explain to them why there are no people in the gallery here today—which I object to, by the way.

But I think it is incumbent on those of us who are mature to try to guide these people toward the goal that I hope they will pursue with us; that is, the goal of pursuing the perpetrators of these vicious terrorist attacks against the United States, and to support us in whatever we have to do. We should take time to understand the challenge we face.

I think it is important that we have mature people to guide these young people, who are in a state of shock. It is time we thought about that and what it means to America to have this sudden awareness by so many people, particularly young children and the younger generation, becoming exposed to the visible impact of terrorist activity.

I had calls from all over the country yesterday. I don’t know if everyone else did. I assume so. I certainly had an enormous number of calls from home. They were asking if I was safe and if my family and my staff were safe. And the totality of the experience they had, people traveling around the country, in viewing what went on—I have to say myself. I was totally shocked when I saw that first tower come down. And then when the second one came down. I just felt a lump in my stomach.

This point is, I hope we act in terms of understanding that we have a job to lead the country, to have people understand what we are going to do in the future. If I have anything to do with it, we will finish our work here very quickly. I think we should bury our differences, find a way to move the appropriations bills, deal with the subjects
we have to deal with, and go back to our homes to try to assist people in understanding why we are going to act as we must act; that is, we must deliver the most fierce retaliation against these people that the world has ever seen, because if we do not—if we do not—we are going to have some copycats around the world who think they, too, can take a crack at this country. That is something I would not like to see.

But I hope we all keep in mind and think of the young people, think of the children, and try to explain to them what they saw and why we are going to do what we must do.

Mr. President, II Corinthians, 4:8–9, states:

We are hard pressed on every side, but not crushed;
Perplexed, but not despairing;
Struck down, but not destroyed.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, yesterday’s terrorist atrocities against innocent Americans were vicious and horrifying. They were acts of unspeakable cruelty unleashed against the American people in a shameful attempt to spread chaos throughout our nation and instill fear in the hearts of our citizens. But such acts will not succeed, they never will succeed.

No American will ever forget watching a hijacked civilian aircraft crash into the towers of the World Trade Center, or seeing the plume of smoke rise from the Pentagon in the aftermath of the terrorist attack. No American will ever forget the sense of anger and vulnerability that swept our nation yesterday, when thousands of innocent lives were suddenly, and senselessly ended by the vicious acts.

My heart goes out to the victims of this attack and their families. We reach out to them. They are American citizens. But such acts will not succeed, they never will succeed.

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Thank you, Mr. President.
Finally, I hope at this time we will not look for scapegoats. I hope that we are going to be careful, particularly with regard to our Arab-American friends. I hope that we will free ourselves from scapegoating and from the kind of conduct which would be helpful to terrorists who are interested in divesting this Nation in so many different ways.

We reject that. We must stick with the facts and follow them where they lead us and not involve ourselves in that kind of activity.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I think all of us who have an election certificate and who have been called upon to represent the citizens of our State feel an obligation today to come together as Americans, not as Republicans and Democrats but to come together in a way that says symbolically and in reality to our constituents that our ship of state is still on course.

Yesterday was called to endure yet another day of infamy. And in times of infamy, in times of tragedy, I find it helpful for us to refocus on the fundamentals that make us a great nation and a great people.

So I say to my friends, my constituents of the great State of Oregon, that this is a time to come together as a country the way the U.S. Senate today is showing it can.

Indeed, it is this time, as individuals, to reach out to our neighbors, to love them better, to hold our families closer, and to serve our country with more determination than ever in the way we live our lives.

Yesterday I was, like all, shaken beyond words at this tragedy and was soon hustled into a room—a secure room—where I was in the presence of Senator DASCHLE, Senator LOTT, Senator Nickles, Senator Reid, Senator DeLay of the House, and a number of others.

It was not a large group, but it was a group that normally has daily differences melted away, and what remained were Americans determined to seek the greatest good of our country. That is the kind of unity that has preserved America through days of infamy of which we can sustain us yet again today and in the future.

When I spoke about focusing on fundamentals, this morning I got out my little copy of the Constitution. The preamble is worth reading, as we, Members of this body, consider our responsibilities:

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

That preamble, that set of values, brought people of diverse interests together to make of States united States and the United States the leader of the free world. Freedom is not free. America knows that now in a renewed fashion.

Our duty in this Senate, in this Congress, and in this country is now to rescue what victims remain alive and to comfort the families of those victims who have perished. It is to restore our institutions and to restore the shaken confidence many feel.

Then it is to seek retribution that is careful but certain and as swift as possible. When I say that freedom is not free, I believe the American people will expect of us a heightened sense of security, but the balance, we must remember, is that as we seek security we not trample on liberty.

The great test of our time in this tragedy, as one who supports without reservation the State of Israel, is how we treat our Arab brothers and sisters who are citizens of this land. We must not repeat the mistakes of the past. We must be careful.

We are the leader of the free world. We must not trample on freedom, as we continue to lead. We are the leader of the civilized world. Our retribution must not target in any way innocent civilians. They are the leaders of the uncivilized world, and we saw their work yesterday. America is called to lead in a different way. We are called to lead the civilized and the free.

I say, God bless our fellow citizens who perished yesterday. I say, God bless America.

I take this opportunity to recognize some Oregonians who are doing their part to respond to this tragedy. The Oregon Disaster Medical Assistance Team has assembled and is prepared for immediate deployment by the Office of Emergency Preparedness. Many of their colleagues have already been deployed; the Oregon team is still on the ground awaiting the arrival of the air transport. Their courage and willingness to serve is one of many bright lights that have brightened this dark day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise to support this resolution.

Yesterday was a terrible day of terror. Today to me seems even worse. Yesterday, perhaps because the acts of war that were carried out against our people were so horrific, we responded. We moved forward. But it all seemed unreal. Today when I woke, it seemed painfully real. It reminded me of terrible days in my personal life when I have been faced with the pain of loss.

You cope, and then you wake up with the reality and the pain is deeper.

We all feel that today, and we can only imagine, therefore, how deep and pervasive the pain is of those many families whose lives have been devastating by the acts of terror that were carried out yesterday.

I pray that God will be with them and the souls of their loved ones who are gone, that they will find comfort in good memories and strength from their faith in God.

I have been very proud to be a Member of the Senate over these last few days. And it continues today, as I listen to the statements we have heard in this Chamber which should leave no doubt of our resolve nor our unity in holding accountable those who attacked us yesterday and sought to destroy our Nation.

Today we are filled with the deepest feelings of anger and outrage. We want retaliation, and we will have it. We will not rest until we know who perpetrated these evils, and we will then respond with the full force of the righteous might that President Roosevelt summoned in 1941.

We must be careful not to mistake swift punishment for lasting peace. We are at war. That is true. But this war is dramatically different from the one we engaged in after Pearl Harbor. In that struggle, vengeance was our goal. Retaliation for yesterday's atrocities is only the end of the beginning of what should be our response, not the beginning of the end of that response.

In fact, as this resolution says, we are acknowledging that we are in a war against terrorism, and I must understand that this war is not against a single known enemy but a broad and elusive threat from the forces of terror.

And if we are to win this war, if we are to protect our security and freedom, we must adapt both offensively and defensively to the true nature of this threat and commit ourselves to a long and difficult struggle.

We have several challenges ahead of us. First, of course, we must identify and punish the perpetrators. We must also honestly then assess our vulnerability here at home and then take swift, strong action to protect the security of our critical national infrastructure from attack and to improve the ability of national and State and local authorities to respond to such attacks.

We must consider with renewed purpose the proposals that have been made to create a new agency with responsibility for defense of our homeland, for the decades of security that our two oceans have given us are over. Our enemies can strike at us with terrorism, with cyberattacks, or with ballistic missiles. We must raise our guard here at home to those attacks.

We have been warned by many experts that the threats we will face in the 21st century would be different and more diffuse than those we had faced over the last half century. That is why we have embarked on a path of transforming our military and other Government agencies to better prepare to wage and defend this new warfare.

We must now move, after yesterday, with far greater urgency, for our enemies will not wait. They will not
We must match and exceed their focus and determination. In doing so, we must not work and fight alone. This is not just our war. This is a war against democracy itself. In defending against those attacks, the world's other democratic nations must join together with us.

I am grateful for the decision by the North Atlantic Council today to find the acts of yesterday essentially acts, under article 5, acts of war against us which are acts of war against all of them.

If we are truly involved in a war against terrorism, then our allies in Europe and elsewhere must come to our side as we came to theirs in World War II. Let's tolerate and deal with and maintain normal relations of commerce or diplomacy with nations that harbor terrorists. We must convince them that they will either be allies of allies or allies of our enemies.

History rarely offers respite to victors. We won a magnificent triumph in the cold war. After World War II, we were once again at the pinnacle of power. But, once again, we face a new form of tyranny. I am confident that we can and will rise to defeat this new challenge just as we defeated the communism that rose to face us after World War II. Our love of liberty has not diminished, nor has our common sense of purpose in protecting it.

Succeed we can and succeed we must. The lives of our people, the security of our society, and the strength of our democracy depend on it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. President, yesterday was a day of great darkness, the likes of which we have never seen before. Yesterday we saw the face of evil in a cowardly and reprehensible act against the United States. The tragic events were a grave reminder of our Nation's vulnerability.

Sadly, the light of a new day has continued to show us that the horror of yesterday was all too real. Our worst nightmare has come true. We all now tolerate the fear of tomorrow, something very precious and something very real. I don't think we will ever again look at the footage of terrorist activities overseas quite the same way again. The comforting thought that protected us in the past. "It can't happen here" is no longer comforting, because it has been shown to us in very real and stark terms—it can happen here.

President Bush has stated his resolve to find those responsible for the attacks or subsequent rescue efforts.

Yesterday threatens to increase the anger we already feel in our hearts and make us cry out for revenge against someone, anyone. We will not allow that to happen. We all know the real goal of terrorism is to turn neighbor against neighbor to make us fear and mistrust the people of our communities. With God's strength and support, and our faith and trust in Him, we can show that we are bigger and stronger than that.

Our strength as a nation comes from the different backgrounds, cultures, talents and abilities of our people. E Pluribus Unum, One out of many, is the path we are on. Yesterday we saw people of every race, religion and creed working together as Americans to help those affected by yesterday's attacks.

We will continue that work in the coming weeks, and, as we do, we will do something we have not had to do for many, many years. The task of cleaning up, repairing and building that looms before us is great, even for the greatest nation on earth.

Yesterday's events will raise a lot of questions that will need to be answered as we do our work. How did it happen? Why did it happen? What can we do to ensure it does not happen again?

They are all good questions and they will be investigated and answered. Vice President Cheney has already been working on ways to improve and increase our intelligence gathering efforts. Now these improvements must be given the highest priority. As the Ranking Member of the International Operations and Terrorism Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, I pledge my time and my efforts to work with Members on both sides of the aisle and the Administration to address all the issues raised by these cowardly attacks.

As do most Americans, I find it difficult to understand how someone could plan and carry out an attack such as the one we witnessed yesterday. Part of our work will be to review our Nation's posture for a policy and to increase our awareness and sensitivity to the fact that our actions abroad are not always supported by some members of the international community. We need to be aware that we are not alone. The United States for whom we are and what we represent in the world. There are those who view our nation and the freedom we represent as a threat to themselves and their way of life.

We will honor their cities, we will re-fresh our spirit, and we will renew our commitment to the principles upon which our country was founded. As Mayor Giuliani said this morning, as we roll up our sleeves and get to work, we will emerge stronger than ever and face the future with a renewed spirit, more strongly under God than we have ever been before.

It is time for us to reassure each other, to reach out to our neighbors, and to console our children that the world isn't a bad place, although there are bad people who live in it to be sure.

As we prepared to go to bed last night, I thought about the days years ago when I, as a father, would listen to my children say their prayers before they went to sleep at night. "And now I lay me down to sleep. I pray the Lord my soul to keep. If I should die before I wake, I pray the Lord my soul to take."

I thought about our children all over the Americas, not just as they acted without regard for our freedoms or our way of life.

There is a price that will be paid for their actions. Maybe not today or tomorrow, but we will soon know who is responsible for these terrible acts of violence and they will be held accountable.

There will be a time for that, someday in the future. As the Bible tells us, there is a time for everything and a season for all things. The time to find the facts, develop a plan and make sure that every step we take in these next few days is warranted and necessary. For we are the most powerful nation on earth, and that brings with it a certain responsibility. The world looks to us now to see what we will do next, how we will handle the leadership the world has seen us exercise so well for so many years.

Now is also a time for healing and rebirth—for coming together in pride and strength. No one has to renew our commitment to freedom and the principles upon which we are founded. Now is the time to reach out in prayer to God and to each other.

But for those who hear the sound of our voice and think we may falter in our commitment to America and our way of life, make no mistake. The light of freedom may flicker from time to time, but it always returns to a brilliance and luster just like the torch held proudly aloft by the Statue of Liberty.

One thing the terrorists never understood is that we are a nation of more
than just symbols, and landmarks and monuments, though they are all important and beloved by us all. We are a nation of strength and spirit and freedom and we will be holding prayer vigils, attending Church services, and reaching out to one another in an embrace of faith, hope and love. That is how we will continue, one people, one step at a time, to assure each other of our support for each other and to ensure that this terrible tragedy never happens again.

We also join in prayer for the victims of this tragedy, for their families, friends and loved ones. We proudly recognize the efforts of our heroes. These police and rescue workers who risked their lives to help those in need. Your efforts were greatly appreciated. You will never be forgotten.

Yesterday we witnessed both chambers of this great Congress come together as one, united in plan, purpose and resolve. May we continue to work together to make our nation stronger and the world a better place for us all. It won't be easy, but that never has not and never will stop us. May God bless and keep us all firm in our resolve.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today not as a Democrat or as a Republican, but as an American. The vicious, premeditated terrorist attack on our country cannot stand. We are joined in common purpose to defend our Nation and to strike back against those who have committed these crimes against humanity. Operating under the cloak of secrecy, they destroyed the lives of thousands of men, women, and children who were completely innocent.

Those innocents were not combatants in any cause. They were merely attacked America.

Let the word go out that we will not be deterred, we will not be defeated, we will not be humiliated. The evil perpetrators of mindless violence will be pursued and found, and they will be held to account.

Let these adversaries understand that they have aroused the awful wrath of a man and a people who are determined, we are committed, and we will prevail. God bless America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, let me, on behalf of the State of Wisconsin, express our condolences to all those who have lost loved ones and, of course, offer our expressions of concern to those who are injured, and all the family members and friends who are suffering today from this tremendous tragedy.

I want to join with others who have thanked the courageous individuals in New York and Washington and elsewhere who are helping to try to save whomever they can. And, of course, I share the intense feeling of rage and determination when it comes to these acts of terrorism.

I had the same reaction a lot of other people did when I heard the news. It happened when, for the first time in my life, during the recess I had a chance to visit Pearl Harbor and tour with the admiral there and get a sense of just how terrible and surprising that attack was.

For many of us, that is why this action yesterday was so reminiscent of Pearl Harbor. It was an attack on our country. So, too, when some of us make the comparison, that is not to suggest which situation was more dangerous or what was a greater sacrifice. Really, what it is about is an expression of gratitude and love across the generations but at different times in our history. Whether it be Pearl Harbor or yesterday's attack, the American people are asked to do extraordinary things—to defend our freedom.

In that context, I want to mention two elements of resolve and two cautions. The first resolve is that, obviously, this situation is almost certain to require military action. As a number of people have said today, this is not about simply bringing people to trial or finding a legal standard. I agree with those who say that these were "acts of war."

As one who has frequently questioned our military intervention and the wisdom—for example, our intervention in Bosnia, whether we really went about it the right way—this situation is different. It requires a strong and aggressive military response when we are able to determine exactly who we should be going after, and I understand we are pretty close to being certain of that.

One reporter already asked me if what we did today constituted something similar to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Of course not. It is not a blank check.

We as Americans are all united on this issue. We can respect article I of the Constitution if we are talking about a declaration of war. We can respect the War Powers Act. We can act together and as a Congress to be sure we are unified, not just emotionally, but as a government and a country when the necessary acts have to be taken to retaliate against those who have committed these deeds.

The suggestion by some that perhaps the American people will grow weary of our involvement in the Middle East and our concern about the Middle East. We will not retreat from our commitment to peace in the Middle East and, more specifically, we will not reward these terrorists by reducing our support for the State of Israel, which is the only democracy in the Middle East, which is our steadfast ally militarily and otherwise. If those who committed these deeds believe this is going to be a way to destroy the link between our two nations, they have just made a very large mistake.

Let me also mention two cautions, and others have already done this today, but it is important to express this. One is, as we look for answers and we are responding for solutions and we look for the things we must do, domestically as well as externally, we must continue to respect our Constitution and our civil liberties in this country. I am the chairman of the Constitution Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. I recognize this is a different world with different technologies, different issues, and different threats, but we must examine every item that is proposed in response to these events to be sure we are not rewarding these terrorists by giving up our cherished freedoms that they do not believe in and that they would like to destroy.

Finally, the other caution, which has been mentioned by so many, particularly prominently by Senator Schumer, the senior Senator from New York, this should not be an occasion for ill-treatment of Arab Americans, Muslim Americans, South Asians, or others in this country. It is wrong. They are as patriotic as any other Americans and are feeling extremely stressed as a result of this situation. I have already heard some reports of some acts, and I roundly condemn them. We must stand together, all Americans of all backgrounds, to condemn these actions.

I would finally say this: is it the middle of this enormous sadness, I can already see our country responding. I can already feel from the contacts we have had back home and the comments and actions of our colleagues here that we are responding in the best possible way to this unprecedented challenge.

I thank all my colleagues for the way in which things have been handled in the last day, and I look forward to working with them to meet this unprecedented challenge.

I yield the floor to the Presiding Officer.
the loss and tragedy our Nation has suffered, the shock of which still stuns us today.

I also express the complete unity of all of us—the Congress in our absolute determination to respond to this atrocity quickly, wisely, and forcefully. We will rescue survivors, bury our dead, rebuild our centers of commerce, and find the killers. Already there is order; soon there will be justice.

Kansans and Americans must be assured that our country will remain strong and will become stronger through this trial. Every hour I hear of new reports of Americans volunteering their time, their medical experience, their resources, and their blood to help their fellow citizens. We are responding to the evil of terrorism with the best of human nature, and I thank everyone who has helped those in need in Washington and New York. The unsung heroes and untold stories are the bright lights in this dark sky.

We will not only help the hurting, but we will seek out and find those killers. To terrorists and the nations that harbor them, we have this to say: We will find you, and we will deal with you as you deserve. Justice will be done.

If there are rogue nations or terrorist groups that think they can intimidate our country, they are mistaken. I have spoken with Jordan’s King Abdullah, who is vigorously assisting our country, they are mistaken. I have spoken with Jordan’s King Abdullah, who is vigorously assisting our country, and we will find out who conducted these heinous acts. We are going to need much help from many people in several countries and spoken with them about their need to help us and found their quick statements of willingness to help us in support.

I have spoken with Jordan’s King Abdullah, who is vigorously assisting the United States, and also there are other Arab countries, to encourage calm and reason in the Middle East and to support us in finding those who have conducted these heinous acts. We appreciate the efforts of Jordan and thank her people and her King.

There is another point that needs to be made. The culprits are terrorists, not the Arab people or those of the Muslim faith generally or any other group. We will not go after the peaceful, not the classes of people. In this instance, as always, we should reject unfair characterizations or generalizations targeted at groups of people.

We had already been investigating reports of greater in the States associated with gasoline price gouging. We are confident that the problems will be resolved in short order. Oil supply channels remain open. Measures are being taken to ensure the uninterrupted flow of oil, and anyone who does engage in the disgusting practice of price gouging in a time of tragedy will be prosecuted.

I encourage my fellow citizens to contact offices in their States and public authorities if there is any way we can be of assistance in dealing with this matter.

The Congress will be convening in both joint and special sessions throughout the remainder of this week. That is an important statement of our resolve to continue to conduct business, even though it is not business as usual. I certainly intend to be at every session and meeting that involves our current national crisis.

I assure every American, particularly Kansans back home, that we are resolved, and we will seek justice to be done, swift and sure. I ask for your prayers for all the victims and their families and offer my deepest condolences to the families and appreciation for the many prayers that have been offered and the help that has already flowed so richly to those who need it.

I finally note, in the weeks and months ensuing, we will be a changed nation. There are many things with which we will need to deal. We will need to deal with this battle, this war that we are in with terrorism, and we are going to have to fight it more aggressively. It is an insidious conflict. We are going to have to get at it at its roots around the world, and we are going to need much help from many corridors. We will seek that, and we will fight and win this battle even though it is different from any other we have fought. We will pull together as a nation and do it. This will not be a Republican or a Democrat issue; this will be an American issue, as wars have been in the past, and we will wage it successfully.

I pray we will continue and we will grow from this experience. May God keep the souls of those who have lost their lives. May God save those who at this hour await rescue. May God lift the weighted hearts of the families of the missing and the dead. May God preserve all those who love freedom in this world. May God bless the United States of America.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized.

MR. JOHNSON. Madam President, not since December 7, 1941, has the United States suffered such a damaging blow on our own soil as the cowardly and hateful terrorist attack our Nation sustained on what will become, I am certain, a new day of infamy: September 11, 2001.

While our enemy may not be another nation in the traditional sense, the strike against America was, in fact, an act of war. Our Nation now needs to demonstrate the same kind of moral clarity and courage that characterized the World War II generation. Three immediate steps need to be taken.

First, of course, is that our Nation extends its prayers and its assistance to the victims of this monstrous and shameful attack. I am proud that South Dakotans have overwhelmingly responded with offers of blood and other assistance.

While our Dakota homes may not often be at direct risk from attacks of this nature, we fully understand the strike against New York and Washington was a strike against all Americans, wherever we might live.

The numbers are staggering, but we recognize in those numbers are real lives and real people, real children who have lost their parents, real parents who have lost their children. The people of South Dakota are grateful to the heroes who did so much to save so many, many of whom gave their own lives in the course of that effort. We share the sorrow of the rest of the Nation for those lives that were lost, those families who have forever been devastated by this hateful and shameful attack.

Second, we recognize we must respond in a spirit not of revenge but of justice. Our enemies, however, must understand that justice can be severe indeed. We must make careful but swift determinations about the guilt of our enemies and make it very clear we will not distinguish between terrorists and those who attempt to provide a safe harbor for terrorists.

Anything short of the capture and punishment of these people will only serve to encourage more terrorism against the United States and against all other liberty-loving nations throughout the world.

Third, the United States, in conjunction with its democratic allies all over the world, needs to make substantial improvements in our antiterrorist strategies. That means far better intelligence gathering and infiltration of terrorist cells so that plans for violence against innocent people, wherever they may be, can be intercepted before they are carried out. It means far better air transportation security of those anything, frankly, that has yet been developed.

As a new member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I vow I will do all I can to work with this administration to make certain that adequate funding is made available for all of these efforts.

Make no mistake, the recent attack against the United States of America was intended as an attack against the principles of democracy, of personal liberty, and of religious tolerance. Our security is at stake, but even more importantly our fundamental values are under siege.
American citizens, Christian, Jewish, Muslim, have denounced this terrible violence. It is important we condemn the guilty but recognize that our American principles, the principles of our Constitution, keep us from unfairly stereotyping any ethnic or religious group. We need now, more than ever, to remain united as Americans, to put aside partisan politics, in this new war against the evil forces of hatred, intolerance, and barbarism.

God bless our Nation, and on this very difficult day, God bless the families who have lost so much. God bless our effort for renewed vigor in maintaining the principles of our democracy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. INHOFE. Madam President, I have heard speeches today, and I say by Members of the House and Members of the Senate, and I have heard a lot of redundancy. We certainly have the resolve to do all we can to go after those who were responsible.

The one question I have heard over and over again is: Did we receive a warning? Were we warned this was going to happen? I look at this in a little different context in that this should serve as a warning to us. It is time to get something on the record in the Senate as to what this means and what it really could mean in the future.

Ironically, at the time this happened I was on the ninth floor of the Hart Building in the Nation's Capitol complex, and I was looking out the window as I was speaking to a group. The last phrase of my speech was the same as it has been since 1995, and that is: We in the United States are in the most vulnerable and threatened position now as we have ever been in this Nation. I have heard said that it happened to be right at 9:30 and I saw this billowing smoke come up from the area of the Pentagon, to find out later the tragedy really took place.

We are vulnerable, and we are vulnerable in three areas, certainly in conventional forces being one-half the force strength we were in 1991. We have to understand this; the American people have to understand this: We deployed our very rare resources to places where we should never have sent an American, such as Bosnia or such as Kosovo.

More than any other reason our vulnerability is that we had the opportunity to have a missile defense system in place. They should have never sent an American, such as Bosnia or such as Kosovo.

But in the early 1990s, I was criticizing the previous administration because they did not realize the threat was out there, the threat was real. We have veto messages from President Clinton that said: I will veto any bill that goes in it. That is an operational missile defense system because the threat is not there. In fact, a threat is there. So in looking back at what happened yesterday, I think we should have that as a warning to us of what could be even more devastating than what we witnessed yesterday.

I mention what I consider to be six incontrovertible facts. First of all, we are facing enemies who have the weapons and the skills and the mentality to strike without warning. We know that.

No. 2, they are willing and able to target innocent civilians within our borders.

No. 3, virtually all countries have weapons of mass destruction today, biological or chemical or nuclear.

No. 4, at least three countries—I say at least because we know North Korea, Russia, and China have ICBMs that will reach the United States from anywhere in the world, but we do not know for sure that they are the only three countries because we do know China has been trading technology with these countries such as Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Pakistan. So we do not really know how many there are, but we know at least they exist out there.

No. 5, we have absolutely no defense. I hope Americans understand that if a missile came over from anywhere in the world, we would be totally naked. We have no defense against an incoming ICBM.

No. 6, the will is out there. No one can question that the will is there. We can remember even China saying back during the Taiwan Straits demonstration: We are not concerned about America coming to the aid of Taiwan because they would rather defend Los Angeles than Taipei. Then we remember what Saddam Hussein said in 1991: If we had waited just 10 years to go into Kuwait, the Americans would not have come because we would have had the ability to launch a missile. And here it is 10 years later.

I hope no one has any doubt, there should not be one Member of the Senate that has any doubt—of the fact that if someone is willing to drive an airplane into those towers, they would deploy a missile to the United States of America.

I, like everybody else, watched TV. I watched that skyline and the devastation in New York. I saw the skyline of New York City and the two towers im- pinged by that weapon had been hung. Instead of an airplane, a nuclear warhead, we would be looking at a cinder. It would not be 10,000, 20,000 or 30,000 people who lost their lives; it would be everybody in that area. We would be looking at a cinder.

We will be looking at a cinder. We will be looking at a real threat. The ultimate weapon of a terrorist is a missile with a nuclear warhead. We now know that. We have been warned.

We should make our No. 1 priority to try to set in place an operational system and our conventional forces but to immediately get busy on being able to deploy a system at least to defend America against a limited missile attack. This should be our No. 1 priority. We are now warned. The ultimate weapon of a terrorist could become a reality very soon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, no words can ever convey our regrets, our sadness, our shock, our great tragedy of September 11, 2001. The newness of the century, of a millennium, has been tarnished forever by the blood of innocent victims shed by anonymous assassins, terrorists whose only motivation is an evil hatred.

All our prayers are with the victims and their families and friends. When the final list of casualties is known, I am certain that every state, and perhaps every nation in the world, will have been touched by this calamity. Our prayers will be with them forever. We will remember each and everyone as long as we live and then our descendants will remember them too. It will be their memories that guide us in the difficult days ahead.

Their deaths have reminded us of our common humanity, that what we share is greater than what separates us, and that the fabric of beliefs which makes us Americans is strong enough to resist any cowardly act by terrorists. Where one American falls, another will stand. Each of us shine as a beacon of our shared beliefs in freedom, liberty and justice. In the dawn after this dark day we will all shine. Those who expect us to be weakened will be sadly mistaken.

Those who think Americans are soft and fearful will be astonished by our strength and determination. I was a young man when Pearl Harbor was attacked. I witnessed the bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japanese torpedo and bomber planes from my dormitory in the hills above Pearl Harbor. Then we knew our enemy and we thought our world would be shattered. It was a day of disaster. Instead our enemies in Europe and the Pacific learned that where we had been broken, we healed and became stronger.

Today we begin to become stronger. We begin by mourning our dead brothers and sisters. We begin by comforting the survivors. And as we pick up the bricks and the steel and sweep away the glass and dust, we begin to identify our enemies and design the strategy for defeating them.

There will be no place that our enemies can hide, no sanctuary for them to cower in. We will seek them out and justice will be done. It will be a long process but it will be thorough. We have come brutally to understand that terrorism is an evil beyond our borders that still threatens our homeland. We have come to understand that our enemies want to extinguish the light of freedom which shines from America.

We have come to understand that the only way to resist the darkness of hatred is to spread that beacon of light.
even farther from our shores. From this battle we hope will come not just a stronger, safer America, but a better, more secure, freer world.

May God bless America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. GRAMM. Madam President, yesterday, terrorists attacked the temple of American capitalism and the center of American democracy. With all of their terrible sophistication, they naïvely have seemed to believe, by destroying buildings and killing our people, that they can kill an idea. Capitalism and democracy are the most powerful ideas in the world. They are the crowning achievement of mankind on this Earth and they are not going to be destroyed by terrorists.

Our task today is to find out with certainty who did these terrible deeds, and why, who watched police officers and war on them. I am not talking about criminal justice. We are not going to be reading anybody their rights. No one is covered by Miranda. Any country, any city, any region, and any person who makes common cause with those who make war against America is making war against America, and the wages of sin is death. I believe these people have a hate that we cannot comprehend or understand. We are only going to be safe when these people are captured or killed.

We are hearing a lot of talk today about what we can do to be safer. I want to be safe. But let me make it clear: I don’t want to change our way of life. I want to change their way of life. If we start infringing on our own freedom, if we start limiting our own freedom to move about our country and engage in our business and live our lives, then we are giving up what this war is about. We want to change their lives. We want to hunt them down in any dark corner, in any hiding place on this Earth.

We want to be relentless, and we don’t want to be constrained.

I believe it is important that the people who did this terrible thing pay for it. I think if they pay for it, then we can be destroyed by terrorists.

Finally, let me say that any American who watched the bravery of ordinary citizens in New York and in Washington. It is our obligation to make firemen risk their lives, had to be proud of what Americans did yesterday. I have never been more proud to be a citizen of America than I was yesterday—ordinary people doing extraordinary things under terrible circumstances.

I know when we start getting the names of people, especially in New York and here at the Pentagon, who were killed, there are going to be many people that I, who we know, knew Barbara Olson who was killed on the airliner that crashed into the Pentagon. She was a staffer here—a dedicated, brilliant woman. She called her husband, Ted Olson, our Solicitor General, and even facing death was talking about what she could do to try to resist. I am not surprised that she was brave because I knew her. My heart goes out to her and to everyone else who suffered.

We cannot tolerate this act. We cannot simply go through the motions. We must hunt them down and kill them. They deserve it. They made war against America.

I want people to stop talking about bringing them to justice. This is not about justice. This is about war. These people brought war to the mainland of America and killed thousands of our citizens. They have no rights. I think we have to hunt them down wherever they are and use whatever power we have because they don’t do this again, and that no one else ever has the courage to do it again.

Thank you, Madam President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina. Mr. MILLER. Madam President, I am pleased to have been on the floor to hear that speech from the senior Senator from Texas. The Senator is a great patriot, and his forthrightness is going to be missed.

The victims and the loved ones of this horrible act of war should be in our prayers. The perpetrators and those who give them shelter should be in our bombings.

After Pearl Harbor, the Japanese remarked that the “sleeping giant has been awakened.” I pray that the “sleeping giant” has again been awakened, and that we are ready to change the way we do things... For too long, after terrorist attacks have happened, it seems America’s first and foremost interest has been to please our friends, and then, if permitted, punish our enemies.

After yesterday, from here on out, that must be reversed. America’s first and foremost interest must be to punish our enemies, and then, if possible, please our friends.

Our response should not only be swift but it must be sustained. As I said yesterday, our will as a country has been tested. Too often in the past terrorist attacks have not been answered as forcefully as they should have been. Oh, yes, there has been indignation, even outrage. There has been wringing of hands and sad talk. We have shaken our collective heads in dismay, sighed over our cocktails, then have gone home, had a nice dinner and got into a comfortable bed, feeling safe and secure. We have forgotten that it is not going to happen to us.

Well, it has happened to us. It has happened here. Our world has been turned upside down. It will never be the same again, and it shouldn’t.

We must strike the viper’s nest—even if the viper is not there. We know that the Taliban and the Government of Afghanistan have nurtured Osama bin Laden for years. The diabolical plot was probably hatched there. Certainly many of the plots have been there. And it is time for us to respond.

I say, bomb the hell out of them. If there is collateral damage, so be it. They certainly found our American citizens to be expendable.

I also believe that we could immediately turn our attention to the security of our airlines. There is a large pool of willing ex-military personnel out there who possess the rudimentary skills to be effective, temporary air marshals if given a crash training course on the basic requirements of that job. Another option may be to have active duty military personnel do that job.

We should also install “communications hardware” aboard each aircraft that would let pilots make emergency transmissions to air traffic controllers.

With today’s “star wars” capability, I believe it is possible to outfit each aircraft with an emergency transponder combined with an “open mike” type system that would be strictly for one-way communication from aircraft to air traffic control. The pilot or crew member could push a button, much similar to a silent panic alarm, that would instantly alert authorities. It could also serve as a hidden microphone in the cockpit or in the passenger cabins.

Those are some of my thoughts today for whatever they are worth at this terrible time.

To paraphrase President Roosevelt, this Nation will endure as it has endured, but we must change the way we do business drastically.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam President, I am honored to have the opportunity to stand today after the most terrible tragedy that we suffered yesterday. It was a dastardly attack on our Nation that has occasioned the greatest loss of life domestically I suppose in our Nation’s history—men, women, and children, police, firemen, soldiers, and all of the families and friends will be with us on this Earth no more. Our hearts go out to those who suffered pain and injury. Our hearts go out to the families and friends who are grieving tonight. All over America, this great Nation hurts.

My own church, just for example, the Ashland Place United Methodist Church, had a time of prayer yesterday for our families, our Nation, and its people. That is happening all over this country. As President Bush said, prayer is an important factor in providing this Nation strength.

We must ask ourselves: Now what can we do? What are our possibilities? I believe we can do a better job of preventing these events. Our techniques work for some time, but after a
And they raised an army. And they developed a plan. They set about to execute that plan, and it was a brilliant plan. They killed 10,000 of the pirates, those who attacked the United States, they will pay cost far more than their gain. Those individuals and groups must be hounded to their lairs and destroyed. We simply cannot tolerate this kind of activity in the future. Only in this way can we ensure that the lives lost yesterday will be given their full meaning. And only in this way can we prevent further attacks on this Nation. Because to fail to act effectively we will everywhere encourage more groups to attack this great Nation. And a great Nation never encourages attacks upon itself but discourages attacks upon itself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. SESSIONS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. REID. For the information of Members, we have a prayer service tonight, as has been previously announced. It starts at 7:30. We are going to have to end business today at about 7:15 so Senators have an opportunity to gather here to move over there.

I yield the floor to the PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

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Mr. REID. For the information of Members, we have a prayer service tonight, as has been previously announced. It starts at 7:30. We are going to have to end business today at about 7:15 so Senators have an opportunity to gather here to move over there.
We will rebuild New York and the Pentagon. And although we can never replace the lives that were lost, we will give them their meaning. Let our foes everywhere know that our love and faith will continue to sustain each of us during this tragedy.

We also were devastated to hear of the loss of Barbara Olson, who perished on the plane hijacked to the Pentagon. Barbara was one of the bright lights among our legislative commentators and legal experts, and her passing will most certainly leave a void not easily filled. My deepest condolences go to her husband, Ted, our Solicitor General, at this terrible, terrible time. I called him yesterday. He was devastated. This is a terrible time for him and all of us.

Many of us were equally grief-struck to learn that Lisa Raines, was on board the plane hijacked to the Pentagon. She was seen a key leader in the biotechnology industry and one of the most effective biotechnology leaders among conservative commentators and legal experts, and her passing will most certainly leave a void not easily filled. My deepest condolences go to her husband, Ted, our Solicitor General, at this terrible, terrible time. I called him yesterday. He was devastated. This is a terrible time for him and all of us.

We mourn for the victims and families of this senseless violence.

Mary Alice’s husband of 52 years, Norman, described Mary Alice as the “happiest lady you’ll meet.” As one of the “kids,” she joined with her only daughter to help her twin 18-year old granddaughters settle in at art school on the East Coast. In this time of grief, we join Norman, her four sons, and eighteen grandchildren in hoping that our love and faith will continue to sustain each of us during this tragedy.

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We are to face a common foe, nor are they in a race against collapse—a race that they lost. I hope that every American who sees a firefighter or a policeman today thinks of the sacrifice that these everyday individuals are prepared to make for the good of our society, for the good of ourselves every day.

There is no calamity America will wither, overwhelmed by, the decency, courage and selflessness of Americans coming to the aid of their own. It will be years before we can collect all of these stories and I expect, we never will, because it is impossible to measure the courage and bravery of Americans. As John says in the Bible, “Greater love hath no man than this; that a man lay down his life for his friends.”

I also commend my colleagues for their unanimous support for the administration of President George W. Bush. Americans are not partisan and when we are to face a common foe, nor are their representatives.

We will face this foe together, and together we will prevail.

At this moment, we do not know definitely or definitively who is the perpetrator of this calculated, coordinated and devastating attack on American’s citizens, symbols, economy and government. And it is up to the administration to determine when they will announce the perpetrator. I suspect that when that announcement comes, our retaliation will already be underway. The administration knows that they have the complete, unwavering support of this Senator, as the resolution we passed this afternoon will record the support of this body for the administration as it prepares its response to this act of war.

President Bush was absolutely correct last night when he said that we would make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these attacks and the countries that harbor them. We have reached the end of ambivalence when it comes to dealing with terrorism.

And while we may have a difficult battle before us, the United States will prevail, and the world of freedom-loving people will benefit.

My colleagues know that I have focused a great deal of time on the Osama bin Laden through the years, who is widely believed to be the major perpetrator of this attack. While the United States government has made no official determination over the mastermind behind yesterday’s barbarisms, we have previously determined that bin Laden is an armed and active threat against this country and its interests—and he has been for over a decade.

We will have plenty of time to discuss policy in the coming days and weeks, but I say today that the threat of Osama bin Laden and his cohorts must be eliminated. And his protectors—the Taliban regime of Afghanistan, which has become a front for the violent, anti-American internationalist jihad movement that the vast majority of the Afghan people reject—must be removed from power. The government of Pakistan, a country with whom we have had many constructive relations in the past, must fully cooperate with us on these goals from this day on.

I am very grateful for the expressions of support that we have heard from around the world. But I am extremely troubled by the reports I have read and watched of some communities celebrating this attack against the U.S. The United States was attacked yesterday and thousands of our citizens perished. Now is the time that we raise the rest of the world stands, and I assure you that I will forever appreciate all of the support we receive from our allies and friends around the world—as I believe American policymakers must take note of all of those who offer rhetorical or other support for the attackers on America.

The U.S. Congress will, I know, provide all of the support and resources the administration needs to respond to this act of war, so that we can pursue the perpetrators, wherever we need to and bring them to justice where we can.

I commend my colleagues for this resolution. Elaine and I offer our prayers for the victims and their families, as well as the thousands of brave rescue workers, including Utah’s Urban Search and Rescue team. The team consists of fire department personnel from Salt Lake City and County. Our prayers go to the members of our armed forces—the greatest defenders of freedom a nation has ever known. And our prayers go to President Bush and his administration, who are dedicated to peace and must now respond to war. May God bless America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri is recognized.

Mrs. CARNAHAN. Madam President, today—all across America and the world—hearts are heavy with grief.

We mourn for the victims and families of this senseless violence. We are to face a common foe, nor are they in a race against collapse—a race that they lost. I hope that every American who sees a firefighter or a policeman today thinks of the sacrifice that these everyday individuals are prepared to make for the good of our society, for the good of ourselves every day.

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Like all Missourians, I am deeply grateful to the rescue workers and volunteers whose heroism saved thousands of lives. Tragically, many of those heroes are now among the victims. Their sacrificial deeds stand in sharp contrast to the barbaric acts we witnessed during yesterday's air attacks on peaceful people. The terrorists wanted to do more than destroy our buildings. They wanted to destroy our influence in the world, the core of who we are as a people, and the beliefs we stand for as a democracy. They will not succeed.

I can remember as a young girl the shock and sadness we felt with the sneak attack on Peal Harbor. But I also recall the undaunted spirit of America and our resolve to win a victory over tyranny. We dropped everything we were doing and devoted our full energy and resources to eradicating the threat to our freedoms. That resolve is as firm today as it ever was. The pursuit of freedom is our destiny as a people. We will not now, or ever, flinch in the face of any aggressor or threat to our homeland.

Let those who practice terrorism or harbor terrorists have no doubt about America's resolve. There is no hiding place. We will find you. And you will pay a heavy price for your acts against mankind.

We have withstood worse enemies than you. We conquered the evil of fascism in Europe and Asia, we rescued democracy, and we built a better world. We defied communism for decades and we have withstood worse enemies than you. We have withstood worse enemies than you.

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Admittedly, today's foes are different. They are faceless fanatics with no clear address or even purpose. They target innocent people, sitting in offices and airplanes. But they are sophisticated and well-funded.

Their days are numbered. We will stand united against their aggression, and we will do so in a manner that is consistent with the Constitution that is the foundation of our greatness.

During this time of national tragedy, we stand behind our President and our national leaders.

We will make the necessary sacrifices, direct the necessary resources, and use American might, technology, and ingenuity to secure our homeland. But most of all, we will rely on America's courage and faith, knowing that our country has been a source of progress for humankind for over two centuries; knowing that peace-loving people around the world will join with us to eliminate this evil that plagues us all.

To the families who grieve and the victims who suffer, I say we mourn with you this day.

But there will be a dawn tomorrow and many tomorrows after that.

There will be many dawns for America.

We will prove again what the poet Carl Sandburg once said: "We are Americans. Nothing like us ever was."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. FRIST. Madam President, I join my colleagues in support of today's resolution condemning those who perpetrated these barbaric and godless acts against our country. Our hearts ache for those whose loved ones have lost lives or loved ones; even as our minds struggle just to comprehend this unspeakable horror.

The scope of these evil acts is breathtaking. The economic losses are staggering, but they pale in comparison to the loss of life that touches so many. The greatest and most immediate losses, of course, have been suffered by the tens of thousands of Americans who have lost family members, who have lost loved ones. Those are wounds that time will never heal.

As a nation, we have not faced a sterner test in modern times. So I want to say to those responsible: Do not doubt our resolve. We will not stop until we find you and destroy you.

Our country is united. I have never before seen the unity that is everywhere in this country. In Tennessee, all across the country, Americans are joined together in their commitment to the destruction of this evil. We invite freedom-loving people from around the world to join our cause. The American spirit is alive. Americans are also united in our desire and willingness to help. Blood banks are overwhelmed with donors. Special response teams from around the country are organizing to help. A medical group just arrived from Tennessee to assist at the Pentagon.

In the coming days, those of us in Government will be making decisions intended to help restore the protections and hope people have lost that all too often we take for granted.

This is no simple task, and I realize that America will never be the same after the events of September 11. As an open society with enormous respect for civil liberties, we are vulnerable to terrorism. We must not let that vulnerability cause us to fear and to question the values that we stand for and which define us as Americans.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MILER). I recognize the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, for so many Americans the day began with a bright, sunny morning, with beautiful, clear skies. It ended with darkness and a profound sense of vulnerability and a profound sense of being Americans. It will certainly be a day that we as Americans should, and I argue will, never forget. Our greatest sympathies go out to those who have suffered the greatest of losses, the death of members of their families, their loved ones. Especially our thoughts today are with those people from the New York area and also for the people from the greater Washington area who are most directly touched by this travesty.

Indeed, all of us have been touched in our own ways by what happened yesterday. My own office has been working with a Louisiana constituent who is trying to find out the status of her husband who was attending a meeting yesterday at the World Trade Center. She talked with him after the first plane struck the first tower, but she has not been able to hear from him ever since.

Mr. President, the American people want to know what we expect of this Congress, this President, this country. We expect of this country that even though our challenges are great, our commitment is greater. As the President said just this morning, this is a monumental struggle between good and evil, and good will prevail—the good of the American people and civilized people everywhere.

I yield the floor.

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I yield the floor.
I urge our Government to proceed carefully but also to proceed not as if we were preparing for an indictment to be followed by a trial in which we must prove our case beyond the shadow of a doubt. What they did to us was to physically invade our country and slaughter innocent people in the process. What they did was to declare war on the United States of America and the people of our country.

We must respond in kind. Our military must be fully utilized. The world is watching our Nation and what we do should be remembered for longer than what they did. After they are removed as a cancer in this world, we must also address our own internal security. People in our country must know that they can fly without fear, that we can gather in large numbers and celebrate and be entertained without worry, and that our loved ones can live in a country in which we are all safe and also secure.

That is our goal. That is our challenge. We will meet that challenge.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, this has been quite a day for all of us. I have the very sad duty in the State of Florida to call the loved ones of a number of people who were on the respective flights. Indeed, I have the sad duty that I will be calling the widower and the daughter of a mother from Boston, who also lived in Miami, who was on the flight from Boston to Los Angeles. And it just brings all the more home the poignant tragedy for all of us and for this Nation.

Mr. President, we need to go get the perpetrators. The resolve of this Nation and of this Congress is clearly there. We need to find these people. We need to bring them to justice, and we need to let the message go forth that no terrorist act such as this will ever be tolerated in this country again. That goes for the terrorists and that goes for the people who are harboring the terrorists.

We have experienced all too personally a new kind of warfare, and in the process of us exacting this justice—I say justice; I did not say revenge—we will protect the constitutional rights of all people; we will respect them.

It is important for people in this country to rise above ethnic or religious prejudice because we are a nation of all peoples and all faiths. But we are going to get the perpetrators in the cross-hairs of the bull’s eye, and we are going after them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, we have all experienced a daunting national tragedy. It touches every single one of us. As Americans, we stand united behind our President, speaking with one voice as we move forward in the wake of this tragedy, and move forward as a nation we will.

This is the moment to bearing all of our country’s formidable resources of heart and mind. We must reach out to those families who have suffered grievous loss and to the communities torn apart by this savage act.

The challenge of the new face will not be surmounted overnight. We must seek out the facts which will be the basis for our response. We must have a binding determination, a steely resolve to see that those responsible for these heinous acts will be held accountable.

We should not fool ourselves that we will find a quick or simple answer, but we will persevere, and we will work in concert with democratic forces the world over to see that this terrible scourge, which has just had such devasting consequences, is eliminated altogether.

I thank and praise the heroic efforts, the courage, and the sacrifice of our police, our firefighters, our emergency medical personnel—all of the rescue workers who have been involved in addressing this tragic situation in New York, in Pennsylvania, and here in Washington.

In fact, numerous firefighters and emergency medical service personnel from my own State have responded to the attack upon the Pentagon, and my thanks go out to all of them for their prompt efforts.

This morning, the Baltimore Sun ran a very strong editorial entitled “Answer Terror with Resolution.”

Answer terror with resolution. It went on in the course of that editorial to say:

The Nation needs unity, clarity, purpose.

Courage and steadfastness of an unremarkable, everyday persevering kind, are required. A well-directed and effective response from government is required. Resolution is required to continue on our path to do what is right. These are the ways the terrorist lose.

We are resolved and determined that they shall lose.

I ask unanimous consent that the full editorial from this morning’s Baltimore Sun be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From The Sun, Sept. 12, 2001]

ANSWER TERROR WITH RESOLUTION

ATTACKS ON U.S.: NATION NEEDS UNITY, CLARITY, PURPOSE TO THwart TERRORISTS’ OBJECTIVES

The American people will rise to the challenge of the most depraved terrorist atrocity in history. We were all attacked. We are all in it together, sharing shock, fear and grief. The恐怖ists should see the anger and suffering amid the carnage in New York and Washington were too many to be noticed, honored and rewarded. The nation’s heart goes out to the victims, the paws, the innocent chosen at random and their loved ones.

Terrorism is war. It is also publicity stunt. Its purpose is to be noticed, to spread fear, to undermine confidence and to provoke wrong responses so as to alienate more people. Terrorism has little function if the cause is not known. Usually the perpetrators seek recognition, as well.

This plot showed extreme sophistication in coordinating four plane hijackings, apparently inserting suicide pilots, and going for targets that could be hit with propads that were not the ones against which the United States was conspicuously guarding.

All that suggests a large and well-funded not-for-profit enterprise. The goal of thought went into the terrorism. A great deal of cool rational thought should go into the responses.

A civil and open society is vulnerable. But this attack brought the nation and much of the world’s business to a standstill. Clearly, airport security for all its nuisance to passengers is not as good as U.S. experts thought, and the terrorists must have experimented and known how to penetrate it.

The President has vowed to find and punish the terrorists, as indeed he should. Virtually all Americans must want that. In this kind of war, it is important to get the identifies right. To hit the wrong people suffer who did not do it or even help those who did, only archives what the terrorists want.

Most suspicion points to Osama bin Laden and the network of affinity groups linked to him. The Saudi-born, Yemenite-descended exile in Afghanistan has orchestrated a great deal of terrorism, including the bombings of the New York World Trade Center in 1993, of two U.S. embassies in Africa in 1998, for which he has been indicted, and of the USS Cole in port in Yemen last October.

Vows to get bin Laden have only fueled his mystique. Yet knee-jerk assumptions he was made foolish by the home-grown terrorist Timothy McVeigh.

Attacks at wrong targets would only help harden the notion of a war between Islam and the United States of America and the United States is his. The United States has no quarrel with Islam. Most of the world’s Muslims have no quarrel with the United States.

The attacks produced all sorts of precautions across Maryland and the nation. A review must examine which were sensible and which were not. Certainly transportation was needed to get school children and commuters home, whether from Washington or the Baltimore suburbs.

Panic, chaos, confusion and unnecessary shutdown all reward the terrorist.

Terrorism must be fought with steely resolve, but also with common sense and precision.

The United States is supposed to be the only superpower, in an era of peace. Clearly the very good things about American society make it vulnerable. But we are not the first people to endure terrorism.

Now Americans understand better what Iraqis have been living through, what British people lived through before the IRA cease-fire, what ordinary law-abiding Colombians are living through from FARC.

Life, the nation’s business and civil society go on. Otherwise, the terrorists win.

The policies of the nation, including the search for a just peace in the Middle East, go on. Otherwise, the terror of terrorism, the terrorists’ objective, the terrorists’ success, the terrorists’ victory will go on. Otherwise, the terrorists’ success will go on. Otherwise, the terrorists will win.

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do what is right. These are the ways the terrorists lose.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, yesterday’s horrific and tragic events were more than a carefully planned terrorist attack against the United States. The slaughter of innocent civilians, the total destruction of the World Trade Center, and the significant damage to the Pentagon by hijacked commercial airplanes were a brutal and outright assault on America, and all humanity.

Make no mistake, our country is at war, and this Congress should consider a formal declaration. The world must understand that America will respond with the overwhelming force and conviction that her citizens demand and expect. Let me be clear: America will identify those responsible for yesterday’s violence, and they will be destroyed no matter where they are.

America is at war against fanatics who appear threatened by our freedoms, prosperity, and respect for the rule of law. In the past, this war was undeclared, but undeniable. The American lives lost in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, the terrorist attacks against U.S. facilities in Kenya and Tanzania, and the more recent assault against the U.S.S. Cole serve as concrete evidence of the ongoing and escalating battle.

As we sift through the rubble of buildings and comfort those whose lives have been shattered, America stands as a strong and united Nation. The shocking events of yesterday did not weaken or undermine the foundations of our democracy, foundations that were forged over two hundred years ago and have been continuously strengthened throughout our history. We fought for our freedoms then, and we will continue to defend them now. Whatever the political objectives of yesterday’s terrorists, they have failed. And the extent of their failure will become abundantly clear in the coming days.

America did not seek this conflict, but we will not shy away from our responsibility to protect life and liberty. Nations that harbor or shelter terrorists must also be treated as terrorists themselves. A declaration of war would make clear to the world that the United States will be no less stand firm against violence against innocent men, women, and children be they in midtown Manhattan or Murray, Kentucky.

As the world’s sole superpower, we bear an awesome responsibility to assist those with shared values and interests. These nations, in turn, bear a responsibility to support the United States in times of emergency. Israel, a nation long at war against some of the very radicals who may now hand a brutal and cowardly act of terrorism to the world, has already pledged to join arms with the U.S. in the struggle against fanaticism. We should embrace Israel’s offer, and enlist the assistance of other democracies in what may be a long and difficult war.

In the days, weeks, and years to come, America, alone, or with her allies will take action to prevent and lessen the opportunities for such carnage to occur in the future. These measures should include: (1) reassessing and improving airport security and the integrity of aircraft cockpits; (2) enhancing security and emergency response procedures for America’s most vulnerable targets, including major transport systems of historic or symbolic significance; (3) increasing citizen awareness of suspicious activities; (4) restricting assistance and imposing sanctions against those countries harboring terrorists; and, (7) investing in the promotion of democracy and the rule of law abroad.

Once before in our history, America was the target of a surprise and deadly attack. As with Pearl Harbor, violence has been met with resolve and common purpose to defeat the enemies of our Nation. As in December 1941, our Nation is led by capable and dedicated leaders who are up to the task of responding to terrorist attacks, both foreign and domestic. President Bush and the Administration know full well that they have the support and backing of the American people.

On December 8, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the Nation on “America’s Answers to Japan’s Challenge.” His words ring true nearly seventy years later:

“Our country is at war. As with Pearl Harbor, violence has met with resolve and common purpose to defeat the enemies of our Nation. As in December 1941, our Nation is led by capable and dedicated leaders who are up to the task of responding to terrorist attacks, both foreign and domestic. President Bush and the Administration know full well that they have the support and backing of the American people.”

Mr. ROCHEFELLER. Mr. President, a brutal and cowardly act of terrorism has taken thousands of lives, destroyed great swaths of U.S. towns and cities, and stolen from every one of us a measure of the joy and confidence that Americans take as our birthright. As the poet Yeats once wrote, “everything is changed, and changed utterly.”

In this dark hour we all stand with President Bush and the military and intelligence leadership of this Nation in the search for the propagators of this great evil, and for an appropriate and strong response.

America must respond to this crime, this war, rapidly and decisively, with an intensity and determination that reflect the outrage every American and I feel. A response whose violence and magnitude makes it clear to every terrorist that their lives are in danger, and makes it clear to every nation that the cost of supporting terrorism is too high to bear. We will not hesitate to put the strongest military on earth to use as it was intended: to protect the lives, safety and property of American citizens, everywhere in the world.

But we must also respond with a definite embrace of our way of living.

The United States must continue to make military and foreign policy declarations that are clear: what is right and what is wrong, and what is in the best interest of the American people and allies with whom we are proud to stand.

This Nation must remain a free and open society, people of every race and background must be accepted and embraced without fear and without prejudice.

And America must continue to prove to the world the worth of our beliefs and of the society we have created by remaining the most dynamic force for growth, creativity and opportunity this earth has ever seen.

For all that must and will change, for all that has changed already, some things must remain constant: America must remain a moral, open and vital society embarked on a new era of triumph.

Franklin Roosevelt said that “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.” Fear is the terrorists’ greatest weapon, and if we allow ourselves to succumb, we will lose the battle. Looking confidently ahead, we can disarm this cowardly and elusive foe.

The Senate will be searching for the reasons behind this tragedy and for strategies that will prevent another, similar disaster. I will report to the people of West Virginia regularly, consistent with national security.

Mr. NELSON of Nebraska. Mr. President, I would normally express that ‘it’s at a moment like this’ when words cannot suffice to express the anguish of yesterday’s attack, but there has never been a moment quite ‘like this’ in our history as a sovereign nation.

The magnitude of the events that transpired yesterday will be measured by an infinite number of ways for years to come. We will mourn with words and photographs and stories as we try to wrap our arms around this tragedy and try to make sense out of that which seems so senseless.

The Nation Under God—a God who is bigger than terrorism, who is bigger than hate, and who cannot be destroyed by acts against humanity.
As I have listened to my colleagues today, I have been deeply moved by their compassion and I share their grief and sense of loss. I join with them in expressing our unshakable solidarity to hold those who are responsible accountable—to the fullest extent possible.

In an effort to find hope in the midst of this pain, I have focused on the truth that terrorism cannot expunge the virtues on which this country was built. Yes, the landscape has been irrevocably changed and lives on Earth tragically and abruptly ended, but our composition, our principles and our freedom remain the same.

We Americans are a people whose spirit of freedom and democracy will not be defiled by those who choose terrorism over the lives of our mothers and brothers and sisters and fathers. America’s freedom and democracy—the real, the spirit of America—will never be compromised. Ever.

Yes, those virtues can be challenged. And they have been to a most unconscionable degree. Make no mistake. We are at war. But this is not a conventional war fought by conventional means, rather this is an invisible war where the targets are uncertain and the attacks are unpredictable. There are no tanks, no troops, and no clear military objectives in this new war. We have worked to define and confine these invisible operations by the enemy—has managed to take us by surprise. But yesterday those new threats, which we have sought to define, were made real.

But just as those threats were made real, the spirit of America was renewed. Firefighters and policemen in Pennsylvania and New York and Washington have worked—and continue to work—selflessly to salvage lives, as well as clues from the wreckage. These men and women are heroes—every one of them. They have made the ultimate sacrifice. This display of courage has been an important first step toward healing.

As we survey the emotional and physical damage, we will not brush aside the implications of the attack. The world is on notice. America is more than bricks and mortar. Her citizens are strong. I am convinced we will see the outrage builds in our national soul to the heart of terrorist organizations and those nations granting them safe harbor.

America will forever be changed. As with Pearl Harbor, our very way of life has been threatened. We must look at whatever shortcomings in either intelligence or security procedures allowed this tragedy to happen. But we must not relax the freedoms that make us Americans. If we abandon the liberties we cherish, the terrorists will have won.

America will stand together, as we always have when our Nation is threatened. We will defeat this enemy.

As President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said on December 8, 1941:

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this preposterous American people, in their righteous might, will drive back the shadows of fear.

As I arrived at the Capitol early Wednesday morning, I was greeted by the sounds of fighter jets and military helicopters in the air above Washington. But I heard something else as well, a clear sound that pierced the morning air, a lone trumpeter nearby played the National Anthem.

As I have listened to my colleagues today, I have been deeply moved by their compassion and I share their grief and sense of loss. I join with them in expressing our unshakable solidarity to hold those who are responsible accountable—to the fullest extent possible.

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years trying to come to grips with the magnitude of yesterday's attack on our freedom.

We are left with searing images of a horror that could not be contained, acts of terrorism that unfolded before our eyes, gripping this Nation and the world in raw and vivid devastation, touching all of us with feelings expressed in public and in private: from panic to fear; helplessness to anger; and anger to loss.

This morning we stand in this capital as one to condemn these attacks, comfort the victims and their families and commit our full support to bring those responsible to justice. Our heartfelt thoughts and fervent prayers go out to those who have been lost.

Our response in the days ahead to the mass murder which was carried out the attack and to any nation or nations that gave them aid must be as decisive as was our steadfast determination to defend our homeland and punish the aggressors in the immediate aftermath of a day that we will remember as one of the worst in American history.

The challenge ahead will require strengthening U.S. defenses and intelligence at home in ways consistent with American values. Embassies and military bases must be better defended along with domestic airports and other civilian targets.

But this does not mean that we can allow terrorists to alter the fundamental openness of U.S. society or the government's respect for civil liberties. If we do so, they will have won.

Some have rightfully declared that yesterday's attacks amount to an all out declaration of war against America. If so, then we will have to make sacrifices by accepting greater inconvenience in public places and perhaps developing and cultivating a heightened sense of awareness common in other countries that have come to accept terrorist activity as a price for openness and democracy.

But above all, a state of war means a national bipartisan commitment to attack and defeat our Nation's enemies. There can be no greater purpose to our foreign and defense policy in the years ahead.

This means that we must embark on an unprecedented effort that will take us beyond arresting individual suspects or engaging in isolated attacks as has been done in response to previous incidents such as the attack on U.S. military in the 1996 Khobar towers bombing in Saudi Arabia, or the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania by the bin Laden's network to name a few.

In the past, the United States has failed to fully confront those linked to terrorist attacks against Americans. Yesterday, it was made clear that we can no longer afford to do so.

The United States must now seek to assemble an international alliance to identify and eliminate all sources of support for the terrorist networks that would wage war on our nation including the identification and destruction of the larger networks behind these attacks.

So many have drawn a comparison between September 11 and December 7, 1941. And while there are differences, what President Franklin D. Roosevelt said after Dec. 7 in Pearl Harbor, "a date which will live in infamy," applies to yesterday just as well. "Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us," Mr. Roosevelt said. "No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory. I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again."

Yesterday the world changed for every American. What those responsible for these barbaric acts will come to learn is that our resolve has not.

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, as a Nation we mourn the loss of so many Americans whose lives were tragically ended by these vicious attacks, the folks on the airplanes, the soldiers and civilians at the Pentagon, the office workers at the World Trade Center and the rescue workers who tried to save them. Each one of them had family, friends, and loved ones, and plans for the future. We cannot begin to fathom the incomparable grief their deaths have produced—of mothers who lost sons, husbands who lost wives, children who lost parents.

While we bow our heads in prayer for those whose lives were taken, we remain unbowed in the face of this heinous assault on our Nation. The terrorists who perpetrated this crime may have succeeded in striking the symbols of American power, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, but they cannot destroy the American people or our commitment to defend our liberty, our democracy and our way of life.

I have full confidence that the United States has the will and ability to determine who is responsible for this assault on our homeland, as well as those states that are giving them refuge, and those entities that are providing them aid and financial support.

We must deliver a punishing blow to those terrorists and those who aid and abet them, because terrorists only understand one language, the language of force.

Anything less than a full response to those who carried out the recent attacks will be a challenge to our borders would be appeasement. And history shows that appeasement against a determined enemy only encourages more attacks. The terrorists who came to our country to kill and maim its citizens, along with those who protect them, must be made to pay a price. And the United States will rise to the challenge to act with a clear conscience in its self-defense.

Let there be no doubt: We are at war. It is not a war we choose to fight, but one that we will finish and win.

The last time an act of war was committed against the U.S. on our soil, at Pearl Harbor, our military and economic power combined to form the greatest fighting force the world had ever seen. Admiral Yamamoto had called us a "sleeping enemy." He woke us to his great regret. The terrorists who committed these crimes have made a similar mistake, they have awakened a sleeping giant. Americans are slow to anger, but once roused we are formidable. Today, the men and women in this great chamber are not Democrats or Republicans, but Americans. And as Americans, we in Congress stand united in support of our Nation's leader, the President of the United States. You will not hear partisan bickering. You will not see members trying to lead from Capitol Hill. The United States must speak with one voice and act in concert for the good of our nation.

We will stand united, because Americans always unite in the face of adversity. We cannot allow these acts of terrorism to divide Americans by race, ethnicity, or religion. If we start fighting, neighbor against neighbor, then the terrorists have won. We will have destroyed the very foundation of our country's greatness, the fact that people of all backgrounds can join together in the great American experiment.

As our Nation prepares to confront the threat of terrorism, we must be careful not to destroy the freedom which makes this country great. We must not abandon civil liberties within our borders or our ability to act unilaterally outside our borders if we want to be safe. As Thomas Jefferson warned us, "Those who desire to give up Freedom in order to gain Security, will not have, nor do they deserve either one."

Nevada is proud of our slogan, that we were "Battle Born." It is on our State flag. It reflects the firmness of purpose and the willingness to fight for what is right that is so much a part of the character of the Nevadan people.

This is as true today as it was when we declared war on the U.S. during the Civil War. The nature of the challenges may have changed over the years, but not the nature of the Nevadans fighting to overcome them.

I know that Nevadans—and, indeed, all Americans—will rise to the challenge before us. We can give blood and donate to charities that are helping the victims like the Salvation Army and the Red...
Cross. We can go out to our front yards and proudly fly the American flag to send a signal across oceans that we will not be cowed by terrorists.

The Nevadans in our Armed Forces stand ready to fight and die to defend their Nation. Let us pray for them, for all our men and women in uniform. Let us pray for President Bush our military leaders, and for all the rescue workers and victims. And most importantly, let us pray that, in this struggle between good and evil, the righteous will prevail.

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, today, I join with my Senate colleagues in united support for this joint resolution. I share their horror and outrage at the terrible atrocities committed yesterday against our country and our citizens. Those criminal acts will not be forgotten, and they will be avenged, at the right time, against their evil perpetrators.

One hundred years ago, at our Minnesota State Fair, Theodore Roosevelt spoke his famous words: "Speak softly, and carry a big stick." Today is a day to speak softly and briefly. Words can barely describe our reactions, our revulsion, and our resolve.

Let there be no doubt: our Nation will recover from these despicable acts. We will learn the painful lessons necessary to strengthen our domestic and foreign intelligence capabilities, our air traffic emergency system, and our guarantee to our citizens of their safety wherever they live, travel and work.

We will support our President and his associates as they identify those responsible for these vicious assaults and retaliate against them. We will move forward and we will move ahead. No one anywhere should doubt our national strength and resolve; our private and public actions in the days and months ahead will prove it.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, Americans woke up this morning a sadder and angrier people. It is very difficult to wrap one's mind around the terrible tragedy this country suffered yesterday, and still harder to comprehend what must have been in the hearts of the people willing to commit such atrocities against their fellow human beings. It is very hard even to find the words to speak about it.

But speaking about it is something that we must do. The American people and the government of the United States of America must today speak with crystalline clarity. The families and friends of those killed or wounded in this terrorist attack must know that the prayers of every American, and of millions upon millions of people around the world, are with them this day. The heroic firefighters, police officers, rescue workers, National Guardsmen, and volunteers who are even now struggling to find and save the lives of surviving victims must know that our hearts and deepest gratitude are with them in their vital work. Our commander-in-chief and all the men and women of our armed forces, our law enforcement community, and our intelligence agencies must know that we stand behind them as perhaps never before in my lifetime, as they set about with grim resolution to ensure that justice is done to those responsible.

As we rescue survivors and comfort the bereaved, we also will set about finding those responsible. We must respond to these horrors in ways befitting our values that make our system of government worth protecting even as these values draw the murderous ire of twisted souls whose only answer to the discourse of liberty is a vocabulary of violence, terror, and death.

As we rescue survivors and comfort the bereaved, we also will set about finding those responsible. We must respond to these horrors in ways befitting our voice as a free and united people. But let there be no doubt. Respond we must, and respond we shall.

Yesterday we were attacked, but today, we stand united. As our work resumes, we will work together to plug the security holes that this attack has uncovered.

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I want to thank all of the emergency personnel who responded with such courage: including the brave men and women of our armed forces, police, firefighters and medical personnel. And I want everyone to know that our country is unified behind the President. We will help the injured. We will protect our citizens. And will punish those who committed these cowardly acts.

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Out citizens have a right to feel secure in their home, at work, at school, and on our Nation's transportation network.

We are clearly not as separate, nor as safe, as once we thought. But no one should doubt our resolve and our resilience. It is in moments like this that the special character of our great Republic can and should shine through with particular brilliance. It shines through in our sacrifices in helping our fellow citizens in terribly trying times. It shines through in our commitment, even in adversity, to find the bedrock values that make our system of government worth protecting even as these values draw the murderous ire of twisted souls whose only answer to the discourse of liberty is a vocabulary of violence, terror, and death.

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Yesterday's horrific images are fixed in our minds forever.

But today, we see something else. We see a country that's come together. We see a government that speaks with one voice to denounce terrorism. And we see people who have volunteered—to search the rubble, to help the injured, and to donate blood.

These acts of terror were meant to divide us. But the truth is they've brought us all closer together.

This afternoon, I want to extend my prayers to all the victims, their families and friends. I want to thank all of the emergency personnel who responded with such courage: including the brave men and women of our armed forces, police, firefighters and medical personnel.

Yesterday, terrorists attacked our country, our financial center, our military headquarters, and our sense of security. Yesterday's horrific pictures are fixed in our minds forever.

There are no words to describe this tragedy. There are no words to describe this tragedy.

As difficult as it is to find a voice to denounce terrorism. And we see a government that speaks with one voice to denounce terrorism. And we see people who have volunteered—to search the rubble, to help the injured, and to donate blood.

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Yesterday, terrorists attacked our country, our financial center, our military headquarters, and our sense of security. Yesterday's horrific pictures are fixed in our minds forever.
As one who has lost a child, I know this is especially true for the families of those who were the victims of this act of war and of those who laid down their lives to save them. My thoughts and prayers are with them.

As Members of Congress, our first responsibility, working with the President on a bipartisan basis, is to secure the support that the victims and their families have encouraged us by silence, as- to maximize our ability to stop and local governments and law enforce- such as CIA, FBI, NSA, etc.; coordina- prevent terrorism; coordination of ef- tional security policy.

Our determination to winning the con- ditions—struggling to answer the ques- gling to understand our own emo- flict. Our actions must be ongoing and world’s entry into the Persian Gulf

September 12, 2001

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE 16913

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felt he needed to prove his love for his country. We want people to fly Amer-
ican flags out of pride, not out of fear.

The Koran, just as the Bible, is a book of peace and tolerance. There are those who have outrageously perverted that message. It reminds me of the Ku Klux Klan that took the sym-

bol of the cross and the words of Chris-
tianity and perverted them to lash out with hate and violence against other Americans. There are those in the world who are extremists who are doing the same thing with the religion of Islam.

I know Arab Americans, as all Amer-
icans, grieve and have anger and out-

rage about what has happened, and they want justice for Americans.

I stand here today urging all of us to come together as Americans and not allow the terrorists to have another victory of terror and take steps to turn us on each other. Arab Americans, as all Ameri-
cans, have lost loved ones. They are part of the rescue crews, and they are the nurses and the doctors working around the clock to save lives. We, all of us, have been attacked and assaulted as Americans of all faiths, of all back-
grounds. We stand as Americans to take on those who threaten us and to respond and hold them accountable. It is important in our grief and in our anger that we not allow the terrorists to turn us on each other.

This is a time of testing our Amer-
ican values, our beliefs, and our will. It is an opportunity for all of us to stand together and make a statement about who we are and what we believe. I know that in the great State of Michi-
gan, all that I represent, everyone I represent, stand together arm in arm to make sure the victims and the fami-

lies have what they need and that justi-
tice is served in this outrageous attack on American soil.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, on Sep-

tember 11, 2001, the United States suf-

fered the worst combined acts of do-

mestic terrorism in our Nation’s his-
tory. The world stood shocked and out-

raged at unprovoked acts of violence committed upon thousands of innocent Americans.

President George W. Bush has or-
dered the Federal Government to assist the victims of violence, investigate these acts of terror, and take on those who are responsible. As Ameri-
cans, we are a strong and resilient people. We will emerge stronger than ever. Our strength and spirit of democracy will shine through. We will not simply en-
dure, we shall prevail. And we will send a sharp message to those cowards, showing that terrorist acts will not be tolerated. They will never be able to destroy our freedom and our way of life.

My heartfelt thoughts and prayers go out to those who so tragically lost their lives and those friends and fami-

lies who lost their loved ones. This was far more than a tragedy—it was an outrage-

ous act of terrorism that killed and injured so many innocent and de-
cent citizens of our country. Nothing I can say to express my sympathy for those suffering is enough. My outrage toward this cowardice act remains un-
wavering. For now, we must mourn those who have passed on and care for those injured.

We must let the President, law en-

forcement, military and the intel-

ligence community do their work. As a law-abiding Nation, we must be sure to place blame on the guilty. Taking inde-

pendent action against the innocent and guests in our country is wrong. Many like me are filled with anger and an unyielding desire for revenge, but we must remain calm and focused. In the heat of passion fired by the out-

rageous and despicable acts of those who are guilty, our leadership must be calm and dispassionate in determining who is responsible and how we must deal with them. Have no doubt: we will find those responsible. I say to those responsible, “You have no where to hide.” Justice will be served swiftly and harshly.

September 11, 2001, is another day that will forever live in infamy. Yester-
day’s acts represented a well-planned, well-financed attack on our freedom by a faceless and gutless enemy. Make no mistake, we are at war. Our military is on highest alert. Our armed forces are ready.

I stand firmly behind our Com-

mander-in-Chief, President Bush. There is no doubt of our unity and resolve to track down, root out and relentlessly pursue terrorists and the states that have sponsored them. I stand by to support our military and intel-

ligence community and fight for any and all of the resources they need to ensure our national security. Let us not forget this as we consider our fund-
ing bills.

This is a great Nation with a strong and brave history. Americans have come together and triumphed through difficult times like these. We will again, and we will punish those respon-

sible for this act. We are united and strong. Our military might remains unchal-

lenged. America remains resolved in its efforts to find those who so cowardly committed these horrific acts.

To quote a few words from out Battle Hymn of the Republic: “Ours is the continent for- tune able will soon understand the true meaning of the line, ‘he hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword’ as America will indeed march on.”

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, first and foremost, my thoughts and prayers are with the families and the families of the lost. Words cannot fully describe what happened to these victims yesterday. But our actions in the days and months ahead must do them justice as we honor their ulti-

mate sacrifices.

I also extend my gratitude to the scores of emergency service providers, police, firefighters, medical personnel who rushed to the World Trade Center and the Pentagon to save lives, only to lose their own. And we remember the many military and federal law enforce-

ment personnel who were working in those buildings at the time of the att-
acks who also lost their lives.

As we sort through the details of the savaged terrorist attacks yesterday, and the wreckage left in their wake, we begin to comprehend more fully the scope of this tragedy in our history. On December 7, 1941, more than 2100 lives were lost at Pearl Harbor. And, during the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862 the day with the highest death toll on American soil—approximately 22,000 lives were lost. No matter what the final count will be of lives lost yes-
terday, what distinguishes us from the terrorists is the value we place on those lives as we learn more about the enormously sad events of this newly written chapter in our nation’s history.

This morning all Americans woke up to a different world. The horrific ter-

rorist attacks yesterday on our eco-
nomic and military institutions were a frontal assault not only on America, but on freedom and democracy enjoyed by millions of people around the world.

We Americans learned again that our freedom comes with a cost, and the battlefields are not on foreign soils or far away beaches. While we must always seek peace we, as a na-

tion, will always defend ourselves from any enemy.

America has been challenged before, and now America once again will rise to meet this challenge head-on.

The terrorists who perpetrated yest-

day’s carnage will be held account-

able for their senseless acts of violence. Towards that end, I strongly support the statement President Bush made last night to the nation and his com-

mitment that “we will make no dis-


identifiable and found. For this Senator, that time can’t come soon enough.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I rise to add my voice in our united support for the Joint Resolution we are adopting today.

American citizens. American aircraft, American buildings have been brought down by barbaric terrorist attacks. Yet the American people, as they are elected representatives, and our free and open society stand, unbound and united.

America’s spirit and resolve remain strong.

Today, we express condolences to those who suffered unspeakable loss. The victims and their families are in our thoughts and prayers.

We commend the rescuers, working even now to save lives, the brave firemen and police, doctors and nurses and generous volunteers helping others and giving blood.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency, which my Appropriations subcommittee funds and oversees, is coordinating Federal assistance. Director Albaugh and FEMA have mobilized urban search and rescue teams. A top-notch team from Montgomery County and 7 others from around the country are hard at work at the Pentagon and in New York. All 20 other teams are ready to go. FEMA has also mobilized Army medical support, the Army Corps of Engineers to help debris removal, and Army mortuary teams.

We are cooperating to confront this tragedy with President Bush and the Administration, within Congress, and with allies around the world.

We condemn these barbaric attacks.

We are committed to tracking down the terrorists, punishing them and those who harbor them, and preventing future attacks.

America is being tested by terrorism. America is rising to the challenge. I am proud of the American people, who are responding not only with shock and grief, but with unity, resolve, and generosity.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise in support of the resolution condemning yesterday’s terrorist attacks. These assaults were a strike not only against America, but against freedom itself.

My deepest condolences go out to those who lost loved ones during this tragedy, and to those rescue workers who risked, and many times lost, their lives in an effort to save the victims of this horrific event. Even as we pause to grieve for the victims and their families, we promise to be unwavering in our pursuit of the cowards responsible for these acts. It is a day we will never forget, but a day that only strengthens our resolve to protect the freedoms that are the cornerstone of our society.

Watching this tragedy unfold, I recalled the day when our sovereign country was violated by the attack on Pearl Harbor. Over the years, I hoped and prayed that our hallowed lands would never again be defiled, and now that dream has again been attacked. This time, however, our enemies remain nameless. These cowardly acts of terrorism will not be tolerated, and those who are responsible for these atrocities will suffer the consequences of their actions. We stand united and prepared to use whatever means necessary to respond and destroy those responsible.

The acts of heroism and generosity by Americans in New York City, Washington, D.C., and across the Nation has been extraordinary, but not surprising. It is in difficult times that we are fortified by unity, and this will be no exception.

On December 8, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed Congress in response to Pearl Harbor. His words then inspired our Nation to victory. Once again, his words ring true, ‘With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounding determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.’

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, much has been said on the Senate floor about the events of the last 24 hours. I, too, want to express deep sadness and remorse for those that lost family and loved ones. I, too, share your loss. The free world shares your grief. This was an attack on liberty, an attack on freedom, we are all victims.

As a veteran of the last World War, I know personally the horrors of war. Pearl Harbor woke us from the dream that we would not be dragged into World War II. Many commentators have made the parallel between yesterday’s attack and the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. We were compelled to act to defend our country from an unprovoked attack.

The events of yesterday, like those during Pearl Harbor, shattered our innocence and exposed our vulnerabilities as a Nation. In my view, yesterday’s attacks was worse than an act of war because, unlike Pearl Harbor, the enemy preyed upon unsuspecting, defenseless civilians to maximize the loss of innocent human life and spread terror. Our freedom and the decency, the openness and the virtues that define us as a Nation, were exploited to inflict terror upon our society. These were coordinated, well-organized attacks on our Nation. Unlike the wars of the past, today we face an enemy we cannot immediately identify and whose exact location is unknown. That President and his national security team have committed all the resources possible to find those who are responsible. I stand with the President and the American people, we must seek those who are responsible and respond with overwhelming force.

While this is still an emotionally charged time, we must begin the process of looking forward and addressing our security vulnerabilities exposed by yesterday’s attacks. It is important to note that as the events were unfolding, the Senate was debating the appropriations bill for the Departments of Commerce, Justice and State, the funding legislation that directly addresses counter-terrorism. And while it may not provide immediate relief for the situation that we’re faced with today, it is one of the legislative vehicles through which we can impact the Nation’s ability to address counter-terrorism.

We must have better organization and coordination of our counter-terrorism efforts. Sen. JUDD GREGG and I have worked to organize an Office of Counter-terrorism under the Attorney General and provide adequate funding for the Department of Justice. As we have argued, we must redouble our national commitment and sustained effort to address counter-terrorism. It begins with a coordinated effort organized in the Department of Justice, it is enhanced by improved security standards, and it is sustained through adequate funding.

This attack has highlighted the need for a new national security paradigm. It has showed us that the tools of our economic strength, such as civilian aircraft, can be used as instruments of destruction. Therefore, we must analyze the security threats associated with all modes of commerce. Obviously, we must take immediate action to review and enhance the security at our Nation’s airports. Moreover, we know that current, inadequate security at our national ports makes us vulnerable to future attacks. With this knowledge, Senator GRAHAM and I introduced a bill to address security at our ports. The legislation seeks to enhance security at U.S. seaports through better interagency coordination and more sufficient resources.

Seaports are international borders that currently are not subject to any security guidelines enforced by the federal government. Drug smuggling, illegal smuggling, human smuggling, and other crimes are prevalent crimes along the Nation’s seaports, and the lax security measures make terrorist activity an imminent threat as well.

Terrorism affects us all. We as a nation must stand together and state resolutely that we will not tolerate terrorism, in the United States or abroad.
We will work in Congress to put in place the protections necessary to defend our country from future terrorist activity and uphold the liberties and freedoms we hold dear. As stated by the Commander-in-Chief, the United States and its allies will stand firm and take decisive action.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, yesterday a cowardly act of terrorism was committed against this Nation. But today, this Nation stands strong and unified—a Nation of freedom and of hope, a Nation hurting, but resolute in our determination to stamp out terrorism, now even on our own shores.

We can no longer ignore the threat that international terrorist groups present to other nations. Yesterday, we faced the reality of that threat. Until yesterday, we had rested in the belief that such an atrocity by foreign hand could not occur on U.S. soil, but now it has, and we must respond. We must safeguard our shores from further acts of violence. We are at war with an enemy of rogues and cowards and they must be crushed. We have received a rude awakening, and now we must act. There is a lot for us to do. More than a year ago, I was critical of the diversion of funds from human intelligence to high tech counter-terrorism efforts. Tomorrow, we will resume that debate, but today is a day for national mourning.

My prayers go out to all the victims and their families. I pray that God will grant a comfort and peace that is unyielding in its depth to those who are hurting and for the families of the victims. I cannot adequately express my sympathy to those who lost loved ones in these tragedies, and across America we share in their grief.

Outside of Union Station, a block from the Capitol, fly the flags of all 50 States that these 50 States now fly at half mast, for this is a day that will directly touch millions of families across this Nation. We have already learned that at least one Iowan, Karen Kincaid, a native of Waverly, IA, was aboard the hijacked plane that struck the Pentagon on Tuesday morning. Our prayers go out to Karen’s family and her loved ones. I fear that in the days to come we may learn of other Iowans whose lives have been destroyed by these tragedies. We all, but I think, must look for ways to help. We can pray for peace. We can give blood.

In the face of all of yesterday’s evil, thousands of courageous Americans rose to the challenge. Men and women, filled with the basic decency and goodness that embodies all that is America, rushed to the rescue of the injured and the dying. Firefighters, police, EMTs, doctors and other volunteers have been working around the clock, and we thank them. We also learned that many of these brave men and women have given that last full measure of devotion. We mourn for them and honor their sacrifice. The greatness of our people stands in sharp contrast to the unnamed cowards who have perpetrated this evil.

I also want to recognize and thank Secretary Thompson for his effort to bring 7000 doctors, nurses, and health-care professionals to New York.

Now, we must go on, unified behind President Bush’s leadership. Today’s resolution demonstrates the unity of Congress and the President. We must work in the effort to bring the perpetrators to justice. We must commit ourselves to the task of preventing tragedies such as this from ever again happening on our shores. We are a Nation strong and dogged in our commitment to seek out and crush the men who committed these acts of violence against our country.

Terrorism is our national enemy and we must fight it as a Nation. These great tragedies were perpetrated not against a particular race, color, religion, or creed. Yesterday’s violence was born in a hatred of America and what it stands for. It was an open attack on all our people and our values. Freedom itself was under assault. Truly this was an act of war on America, and we must act accordingly.

Our friends in the International community, we now ask you to work by our side to quash those who have engaged in these heinous acts. We will need your assistance to identify and punish those who are behind these acts.

State sponsored terrorism is an enemy to all democracies. To see victory over terrorism, we must not just retaliate against the terrorist, but as President Bush said last night, we must also punish those countries who harbor and assist them. Justice must be brought to the terrorists and to the States from which they plan and wage their evil schemes.

We must all be unified in this effort to combat terrorism. I am proud to be an American.

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to a period for morning business. With Senators allowed to speak for a period of 5 minutes each.

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

HONORING JAMES L. VOSS, DVM

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, I rise to day to pay tribute to a man who has had a profound impact on Colorado State University, the City of Ft. Collins, CO and the veterinary community nationwide. According to US News and World Report, Colorado State University boasts the second best veterinary medicine program in the nation. One of the reasons CSU is so nationally renowned is because of its Veterinary Teaching Hospital. And one of the reasons that hospital exists is because of Dr. James L. Voss.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise today to honor a distinguished constituent of mine, Hugh C. Graham, upon the occasion of his retirement from the American Legion Department of Connecticut. As a member of the American Legion for 57 years, Hugh served as an Adjutant for 32 years, the longest-serving Adjutant in the country. During his tenure within this revered national organization, Hugh admirably dedicated himself to promoting the health and well-being of our veterans, both in Connecticut and beyond.

Hugh himself served his country with distinction during World War II. Having enlisted with the United States Army in New Haven on February 16, 1942, he served as a rifleman in the 45th Infantry “Thunderbird” Division of the 180th Infantry Regiment. For 511 days, he fought bravely in the European theater, facing Germany, and participated in five amphibious assault landings. For his valor and wounds received at Anzio Beach, Hugh was awarded the Purple Heart Medal. He was also awarded the European-African Theater Medal with five campaign stars, the World War II Victory Medal, and the Combat Infantryman’s Badge. Hugh received an honorable discharge from the Army on September 5, 1945.

Over the years, Hugh’s work with and for veterans has received well-deserved recognition from numerous organizations. He has received various service and achievement awards from the Forty and Eight Society, the Veterans Administration, and the American Legion Department of Rhode Island.

Although Hugh is retiring from active duty in the American Legion, I know that he will continue to promote veterans affairs and that his legacy will live on within the organization. Once again, I would like to congratulate Hugh upon the occasion of his retirement and I sincerely thank him for all of the service he has given to both Connecticut and our nation. I wish him all my best in his future endeavors. 