The House met at noon and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. CULBERSON).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 17, 2001.

I hereby appoint the Honorable JOHN ABNEY CULBERSON to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

J. DENNIS HASTERT, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel P. Coughlin, offered the following prayer:

Blessed be God forever.

Lord God, king of heaven and earth, we praise You and we thank You for gathering the people of this Nation in prayer during these past days. The prayerful Friday of national remembrance, the Sabbath and the celebration of the Lord’s day have strengthened us in Your spirit.

We are grateful for those around the world who are one with us, as we humbly pay tribute to the thousands whose lives were shattered by the terrorist attack on America.

We unite ourselves through prayer with all those of the Jewish faith who begin their holy days this evening.

May the events of this past week be seared into our common memory and forged into our hearts, ever deepening our spiritual awakening.

May our actions which flow from prayer today be determined forthright and just.

Be present to us, Lord, as we return to some routine, knowing that the times demand of us all alertness, courage and renewed commitment to the American way of life.

As we thank You for the freedom to worship across this land, we beg of You to comfort and to set down a record that is, I believe, necessary to understand the horrible loss that we have suffered.

During these last few days, most of us have experienced a deep and painful sadness. Now that sadness, rightfully, is turning into anger. It is anger, as it should be, at those who perpetrated this monstrous crime against us and those people who committed this crime will feel the wrath of the American people, a wrath that has not so been unleashed since Pearl Harbor.

We must and we will avenge our countrymen. Anyone with a hand or even a finger in this mass slaughter of innocent Americans will pay the ultimate price. We do this because it is our duty, and nothing will deter us.

One note of warning, Mr. Speaker: we must not permit our rage, and there is rage in my soul and the soul of all of our fellow Americans, but we must not let this rage lead to actions that will strengthen the hand of the fanatic terrorists with whom we now do battle. These monsters are counting on us to strike out blindly and to attack people who are our potential allies and friends, thus alienating them and turning them into enemies.

What bin Laden wants is for the United States, us, to turn this into a battle between us, the United States, and every Muslim in the world. He wants to push the world’s Muslims, into his camp. We must not do that, and, in order not to, we must have a restraint and fortitude on our part so that we can guard against that outcome as we seek our retribution against the terrorists who have committed such a crime against us.

Thus, as we proceed to do our duty, we must recognize that there are Muslims throughout the world who are on our side. These people, too, have been victimized by these terrorists and gangsters. We need to reach out and enlist freedom-loving Muslim people in the world to join us; and especially we must recognize that there are Muslims throughout the world who are our potential allies and friends, thus alienating them and turning them into enemies.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER) come forward and lead the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 4 of rule I, the Speaker signed the following enrolled joint resolution on Friday, September 14, 2001:

S.J. Res. 23, to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States.

ADJOURNMENT TO WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2001

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at noon on Wednesday, September 19, 2001.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

CHALLENGE FACING AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker’s announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, it is in deep sadness that I rise today to speak to my colleagues and to set down a record that is, I believe, necessary to understand the horrible loss that we have suffered.

So how is it that this land of liberty, this free and open society, should become the target of such hatred that it led to the slaughter of thousands of helpless, innocent, kind-hearted, working American people? Those folks were
at their desks at work before 9 a.m., so why is it that they and we and America is so hated?

Let us not forget that the Nazis knew that the light of freedom from America was a force which would derail their evil plans. Hitler then declared war on us. Similarly, the Japanese militarists of the 1930s knew full well that the only force in the world that stood in their way of ruling Asia and the Pacific with an iron hand was the United States of America; and they, too, attacked us.

The attack on New York was, of course, worse than Pearl Harbor. Then our Navy, our military personnel and their weapons, were the target. What happened in New York was far more cowardly an attack, a ruthless slaughter of civilians, of unarmed and totally innocent men, women and children. A unit however, is after Pearl Harbor and righteousness struck down those evil forces that threatened the world at that time.

During the years after the Second World War, it was America that stood tall and faced down the last great totalitarian evil that threatened this planet, communism. Communism, like Nazism, was defeated in a Cold War that sometimes was very hot. Victory was assured by our resolve, by our courage, and by tough decisions made by our leaders, America’s leaders.

I worked in the White House during the years when Ronald Reagan brought an end to the Cold War, culminating with the dismantling of the communist dictatorship that controlled Russia and its puppet states. Essential to that great victory was President Reagan’s support for various people who were fighting to free themselves from communist tyranny.

The bravest and most fierce of these anti-Soviet soldiers were in Afghanistan. The American people can be proud that we provided the Afghan people the weapons they needed to win their own freedom and independence. That Cold War battle was a major factor in breaking the will of the communist bosses in Moscow, thus ending the Cold War, making almost everyone on this planet in these last 10 years, especially in the Western democracies, safer and more prosperous.

Third America rose up, we must begin to understand the grotesque crime that has now been committed against us. One of the common errors found in news reports in these last few days has been the suggestion that those who fought the Russians in Afghanistan today are the same people who we supported in the war against Soviet occupation in Afghanistan back in the 1980s. This, by and large, is wrong.

Yes, some of those currently in power in Kabul are the same people. But by and large, we are talking about two different groups, two different sets of people. Those who fought the Soviet occupation were called the Mujahedin. During my time at the White House during the 1980s, I had the opportunity to meet and get to know most of their leaders. The new Taliban leadership does not include any of those wartime leaders.

After I left the White House and was elected to Congress, but before I was sworn into Congress, I knew I had that lead. One day in January to do things that I could never do once I was elected to Congress. I chose to hike into Afghanistan as part of a small Mujahedin unit and to engage in a battle against the Russian and communist forces near and around the city of Jalalabad.

The Mujahedin I marched with were incredibly brave, but they were not senseless killers. Their religious faith was devout, but they were not fanatics. They prayed daily, but I did not see them ever not joining them in prayer. They faced death, but their dreams were of life.

I will never forget one moment as I hiked in from the Khyber Pass and around to the other side of Jalalabad to join this battle. As we marched forth into the night with the Mujahedin unit, the nights were lit up by, and you could hear the thunder, of cannons and see the flash of the cannons in the distance. We knew we were hiking into a battle.

One of the Mujahedin in this unit with which I marched rushed to my side, and he was probably around 16 or 17 years old, with an AK-47 strapped across his back. He talked to me in perfect English saying, I understand that you are in politics in America. I said, yes, I am a political person in America. He said, I need your help. Why do you donkey or are you an elephant?

I will never forget that young person. He knew more about our politics, and certainly none of our young people could know that much about what was going on in that part of the world. As he marched into this battle, he told me of his dream to be an architect so that someday he could help rebuild his country, Afghanistan, into a decent place for families and for people to live, and expressed to me how grateful he was to me and all Americans for the help that we were giving them to throw off the Soviet occupation forces that were so brutal to their countrymen. I do not know if that young man ever survived that war.

It was a year later when the Russians retreated from Afghanistan and the Russians left. The United States, which had been providing $1 billion a year to finance that war, we simply walked away. We walked away and left Afghanistan.

After years of death and destruction, we walked away; we left them with no guidance and no resources to even rebuild. We did not even help them clear the landmines which we had personally given the Mujahedin to help them defeat the Russians, much less clear the tens of thousands of Soviet-laid landmines that were still there. We left these brave heroes who helped us end the Cold War; we left them to sleep in the rubble. Most importantly, we left them with no leadership, except that of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the two countries that had played a shameful role in Afghanistan over these last 10 years.

After the collapse of the Communist regime in Afghanistan, the Mujahedin factions who fought the Russians, but with no direction from the United States, began bickering and fighting among themselves. This went on for several years. Then, in 1996, a new force appeared, seemingly out of nowhere: the Taliban. These were fresh, well-equipped forces who were large. Saudi Arabia was then fighting the war in Pakistan. They had been in Pakistan in what they called schools. “Taliban,” by the way, means student, even though most of these are older men who are totally illiterate. All of the money America provided the Mujahedin during the war had to be sent through: that is, the war against Soviet Union occupation, had to be sent through the equivalent of the Pakistani CIA, which is called the ISI. But apparently, the Pakistanis had shipped off to Kabul to create a third force, and since the war was over and the other factions had been bled white, they could use this third force to dominate Afghanistan.

Also behind the Taliban is and was Saudi Arabia. During the war against the Russians, the Saudis provided the Afghan resistance with hundreds of millions of dollars. For that we can be grateful. They are one of the few countries that stepped up to the plate during the Cold War to confront the Soviet Union aggression. Unfortunately, however, the Saudis were financing anti-western as well as AntiCommunist Muslims, and one of those who they financed was bin Laden.

I cannot forget also as I marched with that Mujahedin unit to the battle of Jalalabad and, by the way, that battle was a long-time siege that had been taking place around the city, we at one point in that march came across a camp of tents. They were white tents and you could see them in the distance, and I was told at that point I must not speak English for at least another 3 hours, because the people in those tents were for a crazy commander named bin Laden, and that bin Laden was so crazy that he wanted to kill Americans as much as he wanted to kill Russians. Thus, I must keep my mouth shut or we would be attacked by those forces, by those forces under bin Laden.

Later, much later, after I had become a Congressman, I met with the head of...
Saudi intelligence, the man responsible for providing that money to the Afghans during the war, the $200 million or so, or whatever it was that the Saudis had left Afghanistan to bring back to Afghanistan the exiled king of Afghanistan. It was King Zahir Shah who was overthrown in 1972. It was that overthrow of this king who had been a very good person and a good man, it was his overthrow that started the bloody cycle of events which eventually led to the Soviet Union invasion of 1979 and the subsequent war against Soviet Union occupation.

I suggested to bring back the king of Afghanistan because he was a wonderful person and beloved by his people. He was a man in common. In his approach and never killed other people. He, in fact, was truly a moderate and, I might say, pro-western or western oriented, although a devout Muslim. But the Saudis wanted nothing to do with bringing back a moderate good-hearted king from exile. They and their Pakistani allies were in the process of creating a secret third force that I did not know anything about: the Taliban. But during my conversation, it was mentioned that a third force was being created, one that could take over Afghanistan and bring stability, but, of course, one that would do the bidding of their Pakistani and Saudi handlers.

One must wonder why the Saudi Arabians and the Pakistanis are even to this day so involved in Afghanistan. This is an important fact of history that we need to understand. Number one, the type of religious fervor they have and the type of Islam they have in Saudi Arabia is very similar to that in Pakistan and is an aberration, with the rest of Islam throughout the world. So that is number one. And let me note that when the Taliban first arrived on the scene, they were carrying pictures of the old exiled king, Zahir Shah, claiming they were going to bring back the king, as I say, a much beloved figure. Well, the people in the northern provinces were not fooled, and the Taliban, they did not want the Taliban to take over their areas; and the Taliban were blocked by local commanders unwilling to permit these unfamiliar troops, as I say, many of whom totally sat out the war against the Russians. They were not going to go home and take over their territory. And all too soon, the people of Afghanistan and the rest of the world were to discover that the Pakistanis and the Saudis had created a monster.

The Taliban were and are medieval in their words, in their world view, and their religious view. They are violent, they are intolerant, they are fanatics that are totally out of sync with Muslims throughout the world, even Muslims in their own country, and they are especially out of sync with Muslims living in the western democracies.

The Taliban are best known for their horrific treatment of women, but they are violators of human rights across Afghanistan. When they were asked, and I challenged them to have an election so the people of Afghanistan could choose their government and if they chose the Taliban, let it be, the Taliban only laughed and stonewalled and refused to even consider permitting the Afghan people to have an election and choose their leaders.

Mr. Speaker, the Taliban are as big an enemy of the United States and, yes, as big an enemy to the Afghan people as they are to the people of the United States. The Taliban believe they have a private line to God, and the rest of us, with our religious restrictions are, according to the Taliban, we are not only wrong, but we are evil. That is why they have been willing to give safe haven to the likes of bin Laden, the Saudi terrorist who has been now in Afghanistan for several years. About 5 years he has been in Afghanistan, we have known he has been there, he has been visible. And while he has been there, he has been clearly training terrorists and planning out his attacks. This is nothing new. We have known about that. And oh, yes, bin Laden has an army of several thousand gunmen who he has brought in from various parts of the world, so they are foreigners to the people of Afghanistan, and this group of gunmen have been running around Afghanistan like a pack of mad dogs killing anyone who is an enemy to Taliban. These foreign religious fanatics have killed thousands of Afghans, so the Taliban and bin Laden are as despised in that country as they are in our country today.

For these last few years, the Taliban, with the support of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, have captured control of all but a small portion of Afghanistan. Only the Panjshir Valley territory in northeastern Afghanistan and the Shamlali Plains north of Kabul are under the control and have been under the control of a legendary and dashing leader named Commander Massoud and they remain free of Taliban domination.

The day before the attack on the world trade towers and the Pentagon, there was an attempt to kill Commander Massoud. Many of us thought he was dead, he was reported dead, but he struggled for life for another 5 days and just died 2 days ago.

However, the attack on Commander Massoud; and I knew him, I had met him, he was a good person and a good man, he was a good person and a good man, I just say that I have been in and out of Afghanistan several times in these last few years.
The last time I went in was to see Commander Massoud. The attack on the commander told me something terrible was about to happen, something terrible was about to happen, because Massoud was someone that bin Laden understood that if he did something that would make the United States or someone else very angry at him, that Massoud was someone that would be turned immediately by our side totally with.

So before the attack on the World Trade Towers and on the Pentagon, bin Laden and his terrorists attacked Commander Massoud and, unfortunately, succeeded in killing him and eliminating Commander Massoud from the equation today.

I was so concerned about this, understanding that this was telling us that something my horrible was going to happen, that I made an appointment to see the top officials in the White House in the National Security Council. My appointment with the National Security Council at the White House was to warn the White House of this pending attack on the Taliban, and obviously meant something big was about to happen. My appointment was for 2:30 that afternoon. Unfortunately, at 8:45 that morning, the first plane slammed into the World Trade Center.

But the Taliban domination of Afghanistan was something that we could have ended long ago. Commander Massoud and the Northern Alliance were fighting the Taliban unsupported, with no help from the outside for years.

As a Member of Congress, for years I pleaded with the previous administration, I pleaded with them at the highest levels to provide some kind of help for the Northern Alliance, which was then fighting almost without bullets and weapons against the Taliban. They could have done something, and no one in that administration was willing to do it. So I believe that in many ways the previous administration was responsible for keeping the Taliban in power, even though during this very same time period, this very same time period, bin Laden was openly declaring war in the United States, planning attacks against us and building a terrorist network.

Every time I suggest that the last administration was in some way acquiescing to the Taliban being in power, there are those who just go ballistic because they believe I am being partisan at a moment when national unity is obviously the order of the day.

Let me emphasize that I am not being partisan. As a senior member of the Committee on International Relations, I officially requested State Department documents that would prove or disprove my suspicion that the last administration was secretly supporting the Taliban, and I was stonewalled in that matter.

Let me make this clear. I am a senior member of the Committee on International Relations. It is my job to oversee the State Department. Other people have other committees, and they oversee those agencies and departments. I wanted the documents pertaining to the development of our government’s policy toward the Taliban. Yet, as an elected official, I had unselected officials, executives at the State Department, refusing to grant me the access to understand what our policy was toward the Taliban. I was instead given meaningless documents.

Members will hear in answer to this charge: “We gave the gentleman from California (Mr. Rohrabacher) documents that had nothing to do with the development of the Taliban strategy. I never saw any of the documents about how we should approach the Taliban.”

The State Department made a joke out of Congress’ right to oversee America’s foreign policy, especially towards Afghanistan. I pleaded on my colleagues to back me up in that demand. I will say that several Democrats did back me up in demanding that the previous administration provide me with that documentation.

But why? Why is it that I was stonewalled? Why is it that they never gave me those documents? I have to believe because those documents would show the previous administration did consciously acquiesce to having the Taliban in power, probably as some kind of agreement with Saudi Arabia and Pakistan that they would be permitted to dominate this country, even though there was a terrorist network was being set up there and that America was the target of that terrorist network. Americans had already been murdered by that time, in Saudi Arabia, with barracks blown up and such.

By the way, in Afghanistan and in that region, it is commonly believed by the people that the United States created the Taliban and that we support the Taliban. There are reasons that they believe that we supported the Taliban.

In 1996, for example, and this is a very poignant example, and I hope people will look at this example very closely, in 1996, the Taliban overthrew a number of government officials in that period, their best fighters were captured in northern Afghanistan. The Taliban regime was vulnerable as never before and never since. It was a tremendous opportunity. The Northern Alliance could easily have dealt a knock-out punch to the Taliban.

At that time, I was in personal contact with the leader of the Northern Alliance, and I recommended to them a quick attack and that they bring back the old king, Zahir Shah, and he is in exile in Rome, and that they bring him back. That will stop some form of a democratic process could be established. Thus, they would have a figurehead government with the old king for a period of time, and then they could establish a democratic process.

That was a turning point. That was doable. It could have been easily accomplished. The Taliban were vulnerable. Who saved the Taliban? Again, please, I am not being partisan when I say this, who saved the Taliban when they were vulnerable? It is my belief that President Bill Clinton saved the Taliban when they were the most vulnerable.

I beg Members, do not dismiss what I say as being partisan. I would never do that, that I would never dissemble even though it was clear that a terrorist network was being set up there.

What happened was at this moment, when the Taliban could have been eliminated, President Clinton dispatched Assistant Secretary of State Richard Inderfurth and Bill Richardson, our United Nations Ambassador, to convince the leader of the Northern Alliance not to go on the offensive. That was when they were the most vulnerable. Our top leaders, our United Nations Ambassador, was dispatched, along with the top leader in the State Department, to go and tell them not to attack the Taliban.

These two high-level American officials were sent by President Clinton to propose a cease-fire and a supposed arms embargo on all sides. Of course, the minute that the cease-fire went into effect, and of course the Northern Alliance agreed to that, because they thought we were being sincere and they could trust the United States, but the Taliban realized that cease-fire went into effect, the Saudis and Pakistanis began a massive rearming and resupply effort to rebuild the Taliban forces in an equivalent to the Berlin airlift, and that was easy to spot.

It was easy to see that tons and tons, airplane after airplane was landing at Kabul Airport with military supplies from Saudi Arabia and from Pakistan. I knew about it. Our intelligence services had to know about it. But guess what? The Northern Alliance was kept in the dark until the Taliban were totally restored to their strength. When they were, the Taliban went on the offensive. They drove the Northern Alliance, which had had an arms embargo during that period, which we enforced, and we convinced people not to give them weapons, they drove the Taliban, drove them out of the country.

For years, I begged the previous administration, our government to support those resisting the Taliban regime, to support the former King Zahir Shah, and to let him head an interim
government until a more democratic process could be put in place. This was an alternative we had. Instead, the only response that I got from the previous administration was stonewalling, stonewalling that and stonewalling my request to find out what the government’s real policies were.

All the while, bin Laden, had killed American military personnel at that time, had declared war on the United States, and was running around Afghanistan openly, using it as a base of operations, a safe haven for terrorists. This man even tried to organize an attack on the Pope in the Philippines. His terrorists are responsible for the kidnapping there in the southern Philippines, and we have given him a safe haven all these years. We did nothing.

We were, in fact, I believe, acquiring, to Talib under control because I believe in the understanding in Afghanistan, between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to let them dominate Afghanistan. This understanding was obviously turning into a nightmare. Even if it made sense in the beginning to have such an understanding, we should have seen what was going on, but our leaders lacked the will to change that situation.

Over and over again, I warned that our policy toward the Taliban would come back to hurt us. I was ignored at times belittled.

Mr. Speaker, I have one example of 7 times, and of the many, by the way, not just 7, not just 4, but many, many more times that I stood either on the House floor or in subcommittee warning that if we did not do something about bin Laden, if he were to come back and dramatically hurt the United States of America. These warnings were ignored over and over again, even while the State Department stonewalled my efforts to get the information.

Mr. Speaker, I include these documents for the RECORD.

The material referred to is as follows:

September 9, 1999—IR Committee Hearing: “I would again alert my fellow members of the Congress to the ongoing covert war against bin Laden for several years. That is, if there is true, then we need to look at that as a possible reason for the lack of interest on the part of the American people in Afghanistan.”

November 9, 1999—House Floor Debate on Afghanistan: “A terrorist trained in Afghanistan, he has sources that you would not think of, be it CIA, the NSA, the FBI. Guess what? They, too, left my friend waiting by his phone and did not follow up.”

After weeks, finally, a second time when the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Goss), the chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence here in the Congress. He set up a meeting with me and the bin Laden task force. There they were, the CIA, the NSA, the FBI. Guess what? They, too, left my friend waiting by his phone and did not follow up.

My friends, the slaughter of these thousands of Afghans, not to mention the fact that the justice of bin Laden was avenged, there is no doubt about it; and we must see to it that such a monstrous crime can never happen again.
To accomplish this, we must be strong and we must be smart. Now, we do not need our troops, the worst thing we could do is just try to send an army into Afghanistan. Yes, people if there are two rules of modern warfare it is you do not march on Moscow and you do not invade Afghanistan. That does not mean, however, that we cannot commit military action. I think this calls for military action.

We should already be dispatching special forces teams and rangers to those countries on the northern border of Afghanistan. Those teams and other military units should establish a system of supply and equip those Afghans friendly to the United States so that they can free themselves, with our help, from Taliban rule. We can then join them. Once Taliban rule has been eliminated in Afghanistan, we can join them in hunting down and killing every member of bin Laden's terrorist gang and hanging their bodies from the gate.

But revenge is not an end in itself. We cannot permit ourselves to strike out blindly, to hurt people who have nothing to do with this. Some people have said, oh, let us bomb Kabul. Kabul is filled with people who hate the Taliban. Afghanistan is filled with people who hate the Taliban. We cannot make enemies out of people who will be our allies.

We must be smart and not just strong. Revenge in itself is not the answer, even though revenge is called for. By killing bin Laden and his gang, it is not just revenge; it is an act also of deterrence, of saving lives. We must keep in mind that our motive is to prevent further terrorist attacks slaughtering our own citizens, and especially by making sure we work with other people in the Muslim world and elsewhere who will join us in this effort, and not just the Muslim world and not just others who are on the periphery.

We need to lead this world, as our President, George W. Bush, is doing, to set a new moral standard. We have to keep to that moral standard as we proceed to seek justice and vengeance for the death of our people. That new moral standard has got to be that noncombatants will not be attacked. We will not kill unarmed innocent people in order to make sure it does not happen again. All of this pounding of our chests and expressing our moral outrage means nothing unless we are willing the Soviet Union and the Taliban.

The new standard should be for this world that we will not tolerate women and children be used as targets or unarmed combatants being used for targets for any reason. First, our dead Americans; yes, they will be avenged; but they will be avenged by establishing this new standard. Hopefully, that will deter at least some of those sworn who contemplate such attacks in the future. And by affirming that the targeting of unarmed combatants anywhere in the world for whatever reason will not be tolerated, we have taken a major step forward.

We will be building a better world even if it is being built on the ashes of the current world. We are going to do it because it is not easy telling someone, I am sorry you're out of your job because you were incompetent.

Those countries, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudia Arabia, they have a price to pay. We will figure out what it is. First and foremost they have to do a reversal on what they are doing to protect the Taliban and protect the terrorists right now. And we will figure out what they have to do to make up for what they have done that led to this crime.

And, finally, the murdering terrorists themselves will pay the ultimate price. They will pay this price. We will have victory over those ghouls who murder the innocent fellow Americans. We will win, because we are united as never before, and because this generation of Americans, as these terrorists will find out, have the courage, the tenacity, and the ideals that have always been America's greatest source of strength.

It is up to us to do this. Past generations of Americans met the challenge. They saved the world time and again. It is up to us to do it again, and we will do it because it is our duty and nothing will deter us.

ON TERRORIST ATTACK OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CULBERSON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from California (Mr. Dreier) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few minutes to talk about a number of very important issues, building in many ways on the remarks of my friend from Huntington Beach, who, as he said very appropriately, was one of the key leaders in our effort to ensure that the Soviet Union was extricated from Afghanistan during the 1980s. It was a very troubling time; but, Mr. Speaker, as you recall, there was a tremendous victory, a victory because forcing the Soviets from Afghanistan was critically important to the demise of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union. So that is why we should celebrate what it is that we were able to do during the 1980s; but at the same time, we need to look at where we are today and what we need to do as a Nation.

It is very true that over the past several years we have seen a crumbling of our relationship with some countries that had been traditional allies of ours during the war between Afghanistan and the Taliban. We will iron out and speak it like this, and we had no warning. It is incompetence on our side. We have to do that; we have to correct this.