withdrawing the United States from an international treaty. Nor did it prohibit the Department of Defense from undertaking any activity in violation of the treaty. Rather, it simply enabled the Congress to exercise its rightful power of the purse to approve or disapprove the use of funds for any DoD activity barred by a major U.S. treaty.

I believe that the President has the constitutional authority to withdraw from a treaty in the face of congressional silence. I also believe, however, that Congress must exercise its appropriate responsibility. That is why it was also a mistake, in my view, to delete the missile defense transparency provisions in this bill.

Finally, in my view, there is no question how marginal dollars must be spent. The terrorist threats and unconfirmed attacks of September 11, 2001, have thrust upon us a war that we absolutely must win, not only for our own sake, but for all civilized nations. The wisdom of any element of defense spending must be evaluated in that light.

As President Bush has made clear, this war will be complex. The battle to dry up terrorist funding will be as crucial as any military offensive. Both battles may hinge on the support we receive from other countries.

President Bush has done a wonderful job of turning world reaction into positive and specific support for an effective campaign against international terrorism and those who aid and abet it. That is precisely what is needed.

Today, that international support is broad and strong, at least in words. It extends from NATO to Russia, Pakistan, and even North Korea. We must maintain and strengthen that international coalition, however, in the months, and years, to come.

Russia may very well play a crucial role in any military action against Osama bin Laden or those who aid him in Afghanistan. By virtue of both geography and its involvement in the region, Russia can do much to aid or hinder our operations. Already, some of its military leaders are cautioning against military action that we may find essential to the defeat of terrorism.

What will happen, if the President chooses this time to walk away from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in the face of Russian objections? Russia's official stance is that anti-terrorism is a separate issue, and that cooperation will continue. But I fear that both military and public opinion in Russia could shift substantially against co-operation with the United States.

Neither can we take our European allies for granted. Their governments overwhelmingly oppose any unilateral abandonment of the ABM Treaty. Even Prime Minister Tony Blair, the leader of our staunchest ally, warned that Great Britain's support was not a "blank check."

Alliance cohesion requires our willingness, too, to cooperate with other nations in pursuit of a common aim. Our leadership role in the battle against terrorism is clear today, but will be maintained in this conflict only by convincing others of both our wisdom and our care to take their concerns into account. That is why precipitate actions to deploy a missile defense, an unilateral withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, could undermine our vital war efforts.

A defense against ICBM's will have little impact on international terrorism. Terrorists are not likely to develop or acquire such weapons and the complex launch facilities that they require. Rather, terrorists are likely to seek to attack the United States through infiltration, smuggling in a nuclear weapon in a ship into a city's harbor or carrying lethal pathogens in a backpack.

A national missile defense would do nothing to defend against these more likely threats. Indeed, too much investment in it now could drain needed resources from the war effort, not just in money, but also in technical manpower and production capability.

Let me give some examples of how $1.3 billion could be used to further the war on terrorism: The greatest threat of a nuclear weapons attack on the United States is from a weapon smuggled into the United States. Terrorists cannot build such a weapon, but they could hope to buy one. According to the bipartisan Baker-Cutler task force report issued earlier this year, Russia has tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, sensitive nuclear materials and components. Some are secure, but others are not. Some nuclear facilities don't even have barbed wire fences to keep out potential terrorists. The task force called for spending $30 billion over the next 8 to 10 years, to address not what it called "the most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today."

Biological terrorism is a real threat to both our military personnel and our civilian population. It is a challenge we can sensibly face, but only if we invest in the necessary preparation today. For instance, the Department of Defense should produce or acquire the necessary vaccines and antibiotics to protect our armed forces against a range of pathogens. It should assist civilian agencies in procuring and stockpiling similar medicines for emergency use. According to Dr. Fred Ikle, who testified at a Foreign Relations Committee hearing earlier this month, $900 million would be needed just to ramp up our vaccine stockpile. This is a common-sense response to an otherwise frightening threat.

The Department of Defense should also test and procure inexpensive biohazard masks that could save lives both in the event of a terrorist attack and through everyday use in military hospitals. By conducting the necessary testing and creating an initial market for such masks, the Defense Department will pave the way for use of these masks in our civilian health care system.

A more immediate step to help our armed forces would be to improve the security of our domestic military bases and installations. Many of them lack the basic anti-terrorism protections that our overseas bases have.

Another war-related need is to speed up the Large Aircraft Infra-Red Counter-Measures program that gives our military transport aircraft increased protection against surface-to-air missiles. We gave Afghan groups hundreds of Stinger missiles in the 1980's, and scores of them could be in the Taliban's inventory today. We owe it to our fighting men and women to give them maximum protection as they move into combat or potentially hostile staging areas.

Winning the war on terrorism, a war that we face here and now, is infinitely more important than pouring concrete in Alaska or an extra $1.3 billion into combating the least likely of threats.

We can take the time to perfect our technology and to reach understandings with Russia and China that will minimize the side-effects of missile defense. But we have precious little time to do what is essential: to win the war against terrorism, to dry up the supply of Russian materials or technology, or to prepare our military, our intelligence community, our health care system, and our first responders to deal with a chemical or biological weapons attack by the terrorists of tomorrow.

In the fury of the moment, Congress will let the President have the final say on the use of these funds. So be it. It will be up to the President to take the right course.

In the midst of a war, let us not be diverted by the least likely threat. Let us turn our attention, our energies, and our resources to winning the war that is upon us, and to building our defenses against terrorism of all sorts.
because—and I am not putting words in anybody's mouth; and I do not do damage to the truth; I have too much respect for people, even when we disagree. People with whom I have spoken back in Minnesota have said a couple things.

First of all, they have said we need to do a better job of defending ourselves. Who can disagree with that? Second of all, they have said—have they have not been jingoistic; and they have not said we need to bomb now—we need to do this the right away. Many of them have expressed concern that we not let terrorists define our morality and that we should take every step possible to minimize the loss of life of innocent civilians in Afghanistan, or any other country, starting with innocent children. I am proud of people in Minnesota for saying that.

People in Minnesota have also said they disagree and this is not going to be one military action. They know this is going to be a long struggle. They know we are going to need a lot of cooperation from a lot of other countries. They think it should be international.

Above and beyond the way people come together to support each other, I am so impressed with the way I think people are really thinking deeply about this and want us to stay consistent with our own values as a nation. I just want to say that. That is my view.

I find myself kind of on two ends of the continuum. I had a discussion with some friends who were telling me that I should speak out more about the underlying conditions and causes of this violence, this hatred and violence. I told them there is a divide between us because I cannot do that because there are no conditions or explanations or justification for the mass murder of innocent people. I do not even like to talk about war because I do not think war is a solution. Warriors are not involved in the slaughters of innocent people; criminals are.

A second point, which now gets closer to the defense authorization bill: On economic recovery, we have to focus on economic security. I believe, and will always believe, we should have included assistance for employees in the package we passed last Friday.

I say to the Senator from Massachusetts, when I went home to Minnesota, I heard about that. People were not bitterly angry, but they said: How could that happen to us and our families who are out of work? That has to be a priority, along with safety, to get help to employees.

I would argue, maybe it is a sequence error. Everything at one time. It is easier to give a speech than to actually do it. But above and beyond help for employees and employment benefits and making sure people can afford health care needs and making sure there is job training and dislocated worker funding and, I would argue, having to deal with some child care expenses, I want to say one other thing. The truth is, I think we have to also think about an economic recovery package. And that should include, I say to the Senator from New Jersey, a workforce recovery package because not only are we going to need to extend the lifeline to people by way of helping them—when people are flat on their back, Government helps them; that is not the answer. It is also true that that is part of an economic stimulus because you do not want to have a lot of people—people who work in hotels and restaurants and small businesses, all of whom now are really hurting—you do not want to have a whole lot of people shut down and not able to consume at all.

So we need to think about this package in broader terms as well. Finally, on the defense authorization bill, if I had my own way, there are at least a couple provisions I wish were in it. One of them Senator Levin worked so hard on, and other colleagues support it. It made it clear that if President Bush requested funding for missile defense tests that violated the ABM Treaty, he would need congressional approval to spend those funds. I wanted that language in this bill in the worst way. If I had time, I would argue over and over again, but I don’t want to impose my own agenda on what our country is facing right now. But we need to reorder some of our priorities, and clearly more of the money—some of the money in this bill that I don’t think we need for certain items I would put into homeland defense and helping families with economic security.

I think there are a lot of threats our country is faced with that come way before a rogue nation sending missiles our way by suitcase, by boat, by plane. Chemical, biological—there are lots of other threats with a much higher priority. I understand that language. I understand that the majority leader and Senator Levin and others made a commitment that we will come back to that language and that provision.

I believe missile defense does not make the world more secure; it makes it less secure for our children, grandchildren, and for all God’s children. I could argue that for the next 5 hours. I don’t have 5 hours.

I congratulate Senators on both sides of the aisle for the way in which we have worked together. We probably need each other as never before. There will be some sharp disagreement on policy issues—some of the issues that deal with education and health care, tax issues, etc. Frankly, I am sure there will be questions many of us have as we go forward. But for right now, I want to just dissent on missile defense and say to my colleagues we need to get back to that debate. I think we are going to have to see more of an emphasis on priorities, including some of the money from some weapons systems that are not necessary to what we are talking about now by way of our own national security and homeland defense.

To Senator Levin and others, I appreciate the additional support for the armed services, especially when they are about to go into harm’s way. I want to say to every Senator that we did not do well for too many people in the package for the industry, which was necessary. I don’t think the companies and CEOs were crying wolf, but we didn’t help the employees, and the economic security of these working families has to be the next step, along with safety. That has to happen soon.

Finally, I believe we are going to have to have a broader workforce recovery bill as part of economic recovery legislation, as a part of how we deal with this recession in hard economic times, because there are a lot of people who are hurting right now. The Government should be there to help people when they are flat on their backs through no fault of their own. That is going to be a big part of our work as well.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I was unable to be here for an earlier vote today. I was at the funeral of a brave young American. Aerographer’s Mate Second Class Matthew Michael Flocco, whose life was one of those so tragically ended at the Pentagon on September 11. I believed it was important to be there with the family, to make sure they knew that America shares in their grief and stands ready to assist them in any way we can.

CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE INFORMATION SECURITY ACT

Mr. BENNETT. Madam President, yesterday Senator Kyl and I introduced the Critical Infrastructure Information Security Act, CIIA, which is designed to minimize a dangerous national security blind spot by: one, protecting voluntarily shared critical infrastructure information; two, providing critical infrastructure threat analysis; and three, encouraging proactive industry cooperation.

Critical infrastructures are those key sectors such as financial services, telecommunications, transportation, energy, emergency services, and government essential services, whose disruption or destruction would impact our economic or national security. On September 11, 2001, America suffered a senseless strike, where America’s commercial air space was “weaponized” and turned viciously against its financial and defense establishments in an infrastructure attack that resulted in staggering losses.

About 85 percent of the United States’ critical infrastructures, telecommunications, energy, finance,