

In no way, therefore, can we isolate ourselves from the sufferings, deprivations and tribulations of any nation. We're too interconnected; our power and influence are too great.

I'm proud to be an American . . . in an America that indeed is a light to the nations. An America that rises to the challenge of the requirements of greatness. We are a great nation. And what are the requirements of our greatness.

1. *To be a good listener.* Humility and love demand this of us: to embrace the other life . . . the other tribe . . . the other religion with respect and honor.

2. *To think long-term* in whatever we do. We must be deliberate and wise in our consideration of what kind of a world—what kind of an Afghanistan, what kind of a Pakistan, or any other nation—do we want to see emerge on the other side of whatever action we take.

3. *To respond to evil run amok.* Evil of the proportions of the current global terrorism must be eradicated. Global terrorism must be stopped. Most likely, we cannot avoid some measure of violence and aggression. But how we proceed, and with what level of international support, is of the utmost importance.

#### V

Violence and war must never—too easily, too quickly—become options. Sometimes, when evil and demonic forces are too out-of-control, we may well have no choice. But even then, it is only with great mercy and sorrow in our hearts that we act.

All of which is to suggest that violence, and resolution through violence, are never as easy as we think. It's never just a matter of *going in and taking care of business.* Ethnic and tribal hatreds endure, as we are seeing today, for decades and decades . . . even centuries.

We see that in Northern Ireland. We've seen it in Kosovo and what was Yugoslavia, where ethnic and tribal hatreds have been warning for centuries on end. We see it, now, in Afghanistan: tribal warlords at odds, killing one another and perpetuating the cycle of violence for generations to come. And we see it, too, in the endless hostilities that continue to cast a pall of gloom over Israel and Palestine.

Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke prophetically to us about the problem with violence: *"The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the hater, but you do not murder the hate. In fact, violence merely increases hate, returning violence for violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive hate out; only love can do that."*

We're Christians, friends, children of God, before we are anything else. That does not mean that we should not take care of our own. It means that we understand that taking care of our own is rooted, first, in an impulse of love and respect, understanding and acceptance of all nations, all religions.

I'm proud to be an American in an America that understands that when the international community is strong and healthy—when freedom and hope are finding their way around the earth, when the dreams of people everywhere have hope of realization—then America is strong. And then America is safe.

#### VI

*We're a light to the nations.* I believe that. And I believe it at the foot of the cross.

We must spread the light of God's blessings to all peoples. This is not easy. In fact, it is

very complex and will require great sacrifice on our part, as it has in the past. It will take time, even decades and more.

Yet, to work our way thru the rubble of *September 11th*, we must make international coalitions and networks of understanding our number one priority.

We must improve our sense of geography—our awareness of other cultures and religions. We must lead from a strength that excludes love, charity, compassion and historical understanding. Because then, and only then, will we begin to bring a healing and peace that endure to our fragmented world.

*Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven . . . blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth . . . blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God . . .*

*You are the light of the world . . . let your light shine before all the world . . . that the world may see your faith and give glory to God in heaven . . .*

America, America!

God shed God's grace on thee,  
And crown thy good with brotherhood,  
from sea to shinning sea . . .

How beautiful, two continents,  
and islands in the sea . . .

That dream of peace, non-violence,  
all people living free.

America, America!

God grant that we may be . . .  
A hemisphere, indeed one earth,  
living in harmony.

I'm proud to be an American, O yes; and to be a child of the living God, the God of the heavens and the earth and all that is in it. Amen.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you, Madam President. And to my colleague, Senator TORRICELLI, I say thank you for your forbearance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

#### AIRPORT SECURITY

Mr. TORRICELLI. Madam President, I thank my colleague and friend from Florida. Indeed, it was a pleasure to hear his remarks.

In my service in the Congress through these years, I have rarely—indeed, I have never—witnessed the solidarity of the membership, the focus of purpose that has been evident since the tragedy of September 11. Partisan differences, differences of region and philosophy have been impossible to discern in the debates on the Senate floor.

Tomorrow the Senate resumes debate on legislation to deal with airline and airport security. There may be a slight fissure in this wall of solidarity. I rise to address it this evening.

It is not necessarily a difference of party affiliation or of philosophy, but it does have some regional implications where people of goodwill can differ because of different experiences. It needs to be put in perspective, but it is still important.

This body is right, indeed; the Senate has no choice but to deal with the issue of airport security. Our national economy has taken a terrible toll in the loss of employment and income. Lives

have been lost. Families have been broken. Confidence in the freedom to travel in America has been shaken—all because of the acts of terrorists who hijacked planes and killed our citizens.

To the cynic, our legislation represents closing the barn door. The cynics may be right. But that does not mean the Senate has a choice. Whether it is providing armed marshals on aircraft or federalizing the check-in system, changing cockpit doors, it may be too late for thousands, but it is still not too late for our country. It is a responsibility we owe to the American people. It must be done, and it must be done quickly. We can lament that we did not forecast the problem, but we are left with the reality of dealing with it.

This, however, invites the question of whether the obligation of the Senate is simply to deal with the problem that is now before us, a problem made clear by the terrorists themselves in the means by which they hijacked these planes, their mode of operation, or whether our responsibility is to anticipate.

On September 11, it was the hijacking of aircraft. There was no reason to believe that would be the mode of operation in a future attack.

In some areas of the country, transportation is simply defined. It is either aircraft or it is driving automobiles. In our great metropolitan areas, it is far more complex. More people use trains every day, I suspect, in New York and Boston and Philadelphia and Chicago, perhaps in St. Louis or Miami or Los Angeles, perhaps in these places, but I can assure you certainly in the State of New Jersey more people ride on commuter rail, on Amtrak, than ride on every airliner combined. It is another spot of vulnerability. So are our reservoirs, our powerplants. All these are places of vulnerability that must be addressed.

If the Senate tomorrow is to address safety in transportation, that debate cannot be complete if we secure aircraft without dealing with railroads because they are equally vulnerable.

Indeed, every Metroliner that leaves New York for Boston or Washington potentially can hold up to 2,000 people. Every train represents three 747s with average loads. Under any time in a tunnel along the Northeast corridor where two trains pass, 3,000 or 4,000 people can be vulnerable at an instant.

Indeed, long before this tragedy occurred, the Senate was put on notice by Amtrak that its tunnels were aging and had safety difficulties. Indeed, the six tunnels leading to Penn Station in New York under the Hudson River were built between 1911 and 1920. The Senate has been told they do not have ventilation. They do not have standing firehoses, and they do not have escape routes.

The Senate would like to deal with transportation safety by securing airplanes. If only life were so easy. It is

more complex because transportation in our country is more complex.

Imagine the scenes of people attempting to escape the World Trade Center. You can get a concept of what it would be like for people trying to get from under the Baltimore tunnels or the Hudson River tunnels, if there were a fire or other emergency. Five hundred or 1,000 people under Penn Station alone would have to climb up nine stories of spiral staircases, which is also the only route for firefighters to gain access.

It is not just the New York tunnels. The tunnels in Baltimore were built in 1877. The engineering was done by the Army Corps of Engineers during the Civil War. They still operate. High-speed railroads purchased by this Senate at the cost of billions of dollars, which operate at 150 miles per hour, slow to 30 miles per hour in these tunnels to navigate their Civil War engineering. One hundred sixty trains carrying thousands and thousands of passengers go through each of these tunnels every day in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and, indeed, Washington, DC, itself.

The tunnels to Union Station in Washington that travel alongside the Supreme Court annex building were built in 1907 and service up to 60 trains every single day and have the same difficulties.

This is not a new problem. It has been coming for years. It is a problem in efficiency. It is an economic problem. But what looms most large today is it is an enormous safety problem. All of us must do everything possible to secure air safety, but if this Senate acts upon air safety without dealing with these Amtrak and commuter trains, we have not fully met our responsibility. Closing the barn door is not good enough when we can see open doors all around us that are other invitations for attack.

Amtrak has proposed a \$3.2 billion program to enhance safety: One, a \$471 million security plan to assure that there are police in proximity to trains, bomb-sniffing dogs, and bomb detection equipment for luggage—uncompromisable, logical, and essential—two, a command center and new communications equipment to ensure that the police are in contact with all trains, all police units at all times, including a hazmat detection and response system and fencing to assure that access to stations and trains can be controlled; third, \$1 billion in safety and structural improvements for tunnels in New York, New Jersey, Baltimore, and Washington, as I have outlined, for fire and escape, and a billion dollars in capacity enhancement for rail, bridges, and switching stations along the Northeast corridor to deal with what has been a 40- to 50-percent increase in ridership since the September 11 attacks. This is necessitated

by the need to have 608 additional seats from 18 Metroliners and Acela trains to deal with this demand, and to assure that the Nation has at least a duplicity of service for our major northeastern metropolitan regions, so if air travel is interrupted again, or lost, there is some means of commerce, travel, and communication.

But indeed, while it is much of the Northeast, it is not entirely the Northeast. Amtrak trains, in a national emergency, could be the only communication with the South, great Western cities, and, most obviously, in the Midwest. This is a danger that confronts all Americans. But, frankly, if it only concerns a single city in a single State in a great Union, when our citizens are in danger and the Nation has been attacked, and a program of security and safety is required, we should deal with those safety requirements that affect all States, as with our airliners. But even the least among us should be part of that program—to assure that their unique transportation needs are safe and secure.

This debate will be held tomorrow. I know some people would like to avoid it entirely. It is unpleasant to have any differences. We all want to agree on everything. In this instance, it may not be necessary. But some of us have raised this issue of expanded rail capacity and rail safety not for months but for years. Forgive me, but across my State there are 3,000 families who have lost a son, or a daughter, or a mother, or a father—not to injury but to death. This is not a theoretical problem. Terrorism has struck my State, as it struck Washington and New York—only it may have consumed even more of our lives. While it is every American's loss, you can understand we feel it most acutely. For me, responding to the attack will never be enough. Our responsibility is to forecast the next problem and assure that it never happens. We are grateful for resources for the victims, but our duty is to assure that there are no more victims. That is what Amtrak and rail safety is all about. This debate will be had tomorrow. It is one we dare not lose.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the previous order entered, I be allowed to speak for up to 5 minutes, and then have the Senate adjourn at that point.

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

#### REOPENING NATIONAL AIRPORT

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, I had a longer speech I wanted to give with charts and graphs and items such as that, but I want to take the time this evening to just register my deepest concern about the reopening of National Airport. This goes back a long way with me. I remember when however many billions of dollars was put into modernizing National Airport, and I have been saying for many years that it is just an accident waiting to happen. Quite frankly, we were very lucky when the Air Florida flight crashed into the bridge, in that it didn't get any higher and crash into downtown Georgetown or the Lincoln Memorial or the Jefferson Memorial.

I remember that day as though it were yesterday, when that Air Florida flight took off and crashed into the 14th Street Bridge. I thought at that time—maybe if it had a little bit less ice on the wings, a little bit more power, and a few things were different—about where that plane might have come down. Whatever the reason for having National Airport located where it was in the past, I think those reasons have been shunted aside and overcome, right now at least, by what happened on September 11.

Notwithstanding the act of the terrorists, I still believe National Airport is still an accident waiting to happen. The approaches—I don't care what anybody says—are intricate and hard to fly in the best of conditions. You have an airport where, as one of our briefings told us—I think one of the people who briefed us about National Airport said that if you are in a landing configuration, the time from the airport to the Capitol is less than 30 seconds; from there to the White House is less than 20 seconds, and to the Pentagon it is less than 15 seconds. There is no way you can put a perimeter or fence around Washington, DC, if you have an airport such as National right downtown. You can't do it.

So, therefore, I have thought for a long time that National Airport ought to be moved someplace further out in Virginia. It is true that we need an airport, but it ought to be either down 95 or out west someplace, outside the city, so you can put a 20-mile or so perimeter around this city into which no aircraft is allowed. And then you might have a good perimeter defense of Washington, DC.

But I have the sneaking suspicion that National Airport is being opened because it is convenient—convenient to the higher-ups in Government. It is convenient to us. It is convenient to me; personally, it is convenient. I love National Airport. It is 10, 15 minutes from my house. Otherwise, I have to drive to BWI or Dulles. But I have to put aside my convenience for what I think is the greater interest of this country.