



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 108th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 149

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 2003

No. 125

Senate

The Senate met at 8:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable JOHN E. SUNUNU, a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Eternal Lord God, who has blessed this great land, September 11, 2001, changed the way so many view life, liberty, and love. We learned that life is fragile and the future must never be taken for granted. You reminded us that freedom is not free and that liberty is a precious gift. As we remember the courage and sacrifices of the many heroes and heroines, teach us to live our lives for others. Remind us to devote ourselves to causes that will live beyond our years. Lead our Senators today, that they will be Your instruments. Watch over our land and help us not to put our trust in human might but in the unfolding of Your loving providence. We pray this in Your strong Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable JOHN E. SUNUNU led 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.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. STEVENS).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,

Washington, DC, September 11, 2003.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby

appoint the Honorable JOHN E. SUNUNU, a Senator from the State of New Hampshire, to perform the duties of the Chair.

TED STEVENS,
President pro tempore.

Mr. SUNUNU thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, today we will remember the second anniversary of the September 11 tragedy with a series of moments of silence. These times will be announced by the ringing of a bell of remembrance just outside these Chamber doors.

In a moment, at a time that corresponds with the initial attack on the World Trade Center, the Democratic leader will join me in ringing that bell just off the floor.

EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES ON SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Mr. FRIST. Before we begin, on behalf of myself, the Democrat leader, and all of my colleagues, I send a resolution to the desk and ask for its consideration.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will read the resolution.

The legislative clerk read as follows:
A resolution (S. Res. 224) expressing the sense of the Senate on the second anniversary of the terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001:

S. RES. 224

Whereas on the morning of September 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked and destroyed four

civilian aircraft, crashing two of them into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, and a third into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia;

Whereas the valor of the passengers and crew on the fourth aircraft, which crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, prevented it from also being used as a weapon against America;

Whereas thousands were killed and injured as a result of these attacks, including the passengers and crew of the four aircraft, workers in the World Trade Center and in the Pentagon, rescue workers, and bystanders;

Whereas September 11, 2001 stands as the deadliest terrorist attacks ever perpetrated against the United States;

Whereas by targeting symbols of American strength and success, these attacks were intended to assail the principles, values, and freedoms of the United States and the American people, to intimidate the Nation and all who stand with us, to weaken the national resolve; and bend our will to their grotesque cause;

Whereas in the darkest moments after the attacks, American men and women demonstrated extraordinary courage and compassion;

Whereas local, State, and Federal leaders set aside differences and worked together to provide for those who were attacked and to protect those who remained;

Whereas nations around the world provided material support and moral support to the United States as it recovered from the terrorist attacks; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United States Senate—
(1) recognizes September 11 as both a day to remember those taken so suddenly and so ruthlessly, and a day for Americans to recommit themselves to our great national purpose;

(2) extends its deepest sympathies to the countless innocent victims of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, their families, friends, and loved ones;

(3) honors the heroic actions of first responders, law enforcement personnel, State and local officials, volunteers, and others who aided the innocent victims and, in so doing, bravely risked their own lives and long-term health;

(4) extends its deepest gratitude to the members of the Armed Forces serving both at home and abroad who are defending the United States from future attack;

(5) praises the people of the United States for their patriotism, compassion, prayers,

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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and generosity in donating time and money to support the innocent victims of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, their families, friends, and loved ones;

(6) expresses thanks and gratitude to the foreign leaders and citizens of all nations who have assisted and continue to stand in solidarity with the United States against terrorism in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks; and

(7) reaffirms that the United States Senate will honor the memory of those who lost their lives as a result of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and will act to defend the citizens of the United States in the face of all future challenges.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, today we honor the memory of the victims of the September 11 attacks. Many Americans will bow their heads in silence. Many will kneel before the Almighty in prayer. Others will take time from the regular course of their day to reflect in their own personal way upon the terrible events of 2 years ago.

Regardless of how we pay tribute to those who perished, we all share a profound sense of sadness for their families and sincere hope that the wounds of those who still hurt may heal.

We press on—we press on—because it is our nature to do so. Life is a precious gift. As long as God wills us to have it, we have a purpose. And as long as God wills this Nation to exist, we have the liberty to realize that purpose and make of our lives what we wish.

Mr. President, at this time, I will ask the Democratic leader to join me at the bell of remembrance for the first moment of silence.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the hour of 8:46 a.m. having arrived, the Senate will observe a moment of silence in honor of the victims of the tragedy on September 11, 2001.

(Moment of Silence.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, it is a day to honor the memory of the victims of September 11, 2001. The essence of September 11 was and remains apparent to us all. The victims were innocent. They were simply going about their everyday lives—working at the desk, coming into work, answering the telephones, maybe answering an emergency call, checking on the children to make sure they got off to school, traveling on business, or possibly on vacation. All had families who loved them and all had futures yet to be lived. And now there is emptiness, not only for those 3,000 women and men and children affected on that day but for what they could have and would have become if that event had not occurred.

There is little one can do to fill the immense void that is created by such a loss. We can remember. We must remember. But even the fondest and most vivid memory is but a whisper. Simply nothing—nothing—can replace

a loved one's absence from the very special moments in life and, above all, the simple everyday pleasures.

I recall the story of a woman whose husband was killed in the collapse of the World Trade Center Tower One. In the months after September 11, she did what so many of us would understand—she contemplated suicide.

She said:

When I lost my husband, I had no bottom, no basis to get up in the morning. I knew I was going to do something terrible if I didn't define a reason.

Now she is an advocate for other families who lost loved ones in the September 11 attacks. She has found not only new strength but she has become the source of strength for others.

In a recent interview, she said:

The best legacy for all of the people who died is that something better comes out of all of this, even with the pain.

The crumbling of the World Trade Center's towers into a massive cloud of black dust still haunts us. The explosive thunder of a plane slamming into the side of the Pentagon still haunts us. The image of a crater filled with the debris of embattled flight 93 in Shanksville, PA, still haunts us.

All of these, and other horrific memories, will continue to haunt us for decades to come. They have become an inescapable part of our national conscience. But so must be the love, so must be the charity, so must be the caring, so must be the compassion, so must be the unity, and so must be the grace that poured and continues to pour from the American people in the aftermath of September 11.

Remember the thousands of volunteers who rushed into lower Manhattan from all across America to help with those rescue and recovery efforts? Remember when we gathered just several yards from here on the steps of the Capitol to sing in unity with our colleagues from the House "God bless America"? Remember the flood of letters and drawings schoolchildren sent and continue to send out of feelings and out of sympathy for the victims, out of love and patriotism for their country?

I brought with me this picture drawn by Sara Deatherage who is a third grader from Knoxville, TN. She wrote:

I chose the American Flag because I love America.

Those of us who have the opportunity to serve in public office received scores, hundreds, thousands, and continue to receive scores, hundreds, and thousands of these signs, these signals of patriotism.

Did September 11 change our lives and the course of our Nation forever? It, of course, did. It most assuredly did, and it did it in a horrific and still painful way. But it also brought forth the very best in the American people—an abundance of kindness, an abundance of caring, an abundance of compassion that is really unparalleled in our history.

So let us fittingly and appropriately honor the memory of the victims of the

September 11 attacks. Let us, again, express our deepest regrets to the families who lost loved ones. But let us also hew from the pain of that horrific day, September 11, 2001, a lasting and a better America.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The minority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, last night, family members and friends of those who perished in the World Trade Center held a candlelight vigil at Ground Zero, creating what they called a "circle of hope" around that hallowed ground. Tonight, twin towers of lights will stretch once again from the ruins of the Trade Center up to the heavens. In a few moments, here in the U.S. Senate, we will observe the first of four moments of silence marking the exact moments, 2 years ago today, that the four hijacked airliners crashed into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and that lonely field in Shanksville.

Later this afternoon, a new playground will open at Leckie Elementary School, here in the Nation's capital—a memorial to three bright sixth-graders from Washington, D.C. and four district teachers—all lost when American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon. This evening, in Mitchell, SD, people will gather to honor the firefighters and other emergency workers who perished on September 11, and those who toiled in the rubble for months after the attacks to try to bring order out of chaos. In countless other ways, in communities across our Nation and throughout the world—in churches, parks, town halls, and in the privacy of their own thoughts—people will pause to remember, to mourn and to honor the victims, the survivors and the heroes of September 11.

Two years later, the enormity of the tragedy remains nearly incomprehensible. Just 3 days ago, a vial holding the blood of a young Brooklyn firefighter who died at Ground Zero was placed in a coffin, along with his uniform, at a Mass, making him the last of the 343 firefighters killed at the World Trade Center to receive a memorial. A year ago, on the first anniversary of September 11, the names of all those who died at the World Trade Center were read aloud. It took 2½ hours just to recite the names. First on the list was Gordy Aamoth, a 32-year-old investment banker who grew up in Minneapolis and always knew that he wanted to work on Wall Street. The last name on the list belonged to Igor Zukelman, a 29-year-old naturalized American who moved to this country from the Ukraine. The day he became an American, he called his mother and told her, "You can congratulate me now, I'm a citizen." The terrorists of September 11 meant to strike at the heart of America. Yet their crime was more than an attack on America. It was an attack against humanity. Ninety-one nations lost citizens in the attack on the World Trade Center. Today, we remember and honor all of them.

We also pray for those who were injured, especially the many who still suffer, and for the families and friends who lost loved ones, particularly the children who lost parents. We pray for ourselves and our Nation, that we may seek justice for the victims of September 11 with wisdom. And we are also filled today with an abiding sense of gratitude for the heroes of September 11, especially the courageous firefighters and other rescue workers. In the countless acts of heroism and compassion, they inspired a stunned and wounded nation and showed us how to go on.

This morning, the sky bears an eerie and almost disconcerting resemblance to that cloudless blue sky on this morning 24 months ago. Pilots have a term for visibility conditions like that. They call it "severe clear." In our memories, we all see with severe clarity the horrific images of September 11. Today and always, let us strive to remember, with equal clarity, the many acts of sacrifice and compassion we witnessed that day. Let us remember the unshakable unity we felt as a nation in the aftermath of that terrible day. Even more than that, let us resolve to continue to demonstrate that same commitment to our nation and to each other as we saw that day. In that way, we can defy the terrorists. We can honor those we lost. And we can keep their spirits alive.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will observe a moment of silence.

(Moment of Silence.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will come to order.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, on this day, 2003, September 11, we remember the horrific events of September 11, 2001. We mourn the victims. We pray with the families who lost loved ones and we focus on redoubling our efforts to make sure that September 11, 2001, never occurs again, and to redouble our efforts to fight terrorism.

We all recall the horrors of watching those planes crash into the trade centers, the plane which crashed into the Pentagon, and then the plane which struck my State, Pennsylvania, going down in Shanksville, Somerset County, a rural setting. No one will ever know for sure whether the plane which went down in Shanksville, PA, was headed for this Capitol. My own personal view is that it was, and this Capitol was spared because of the heroic efforts of the passengers who took matters into their own hands and saw to it that the terrorists were overwhelmed and the plane crashed.

We remember those who perished and we console, to the extent we can, the families and loved ones of those who perished. On this day, we ought to focus on our responsibilities as Members of Congress to see to it that we do not have a repetition of 9/11. In my view, had we put all of the dots on the so-called board we might well have pre-

vented September 11. Whether that is so or not, we ought to be absolutely sure that our intelligence agencies are working coordinately to do their utmost to prevent any recurrence.

Then there is the fight against al-Qaida. I believe we are waging a successful worldwide fight in attacking al-Qaida and in bringing key operatives to justice. I believe the time is not too far away when we will find Osama bin Laden. As President Bush said, he will bring Osama bin Laden to justice or bring justice to Osama bin Laden.

There is more we can do to fight terrorism, where Americans are still being killed—for example, in Israel by Hamas. We ought to reintensify our efforts to bring back the Palestinian terrorists to the United States and try them in our courts since we have an extraterritorial jurisdiction to do so, and to impose the death penalty.

These are only a few of the thoughts which ought to be focused upon today as we pay solemn tribute to the victims of September 11 and dedicate ourselves to fighting terrorism and to prevent any further recurrence in the future.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I was struck when we took this moment of silence to remember the second plane slamming into the World Trade Center. Thinking back to that day and recalling the events when the first plane crashed, there was confusion and no one knew what was going on. No one understood. It was an accident. Who knows. But with the second plane came understanding. We knew this was not a plane that got off course, an accident, but there was a stunning realization that the world had changed. It was that second crash.

In the next half hour now, there will be another moment of silence, and then another roughly a half hour after that. Within that hour's time of that realization, America mobilized. America did not fall back on its heels. We obviously saw the response of the firefighters and the police, of the average citizen in New York. We quickly would see that reaction at the Pentagon. Then we will have forever etched in our minds the realization that came over the passengers of flight 93 that America was under attack and they were in a position to do something about it.

They did not hesitate. They were ordinary people, as all of the heroes of September 11 were, ordinary people who did not sign up to fight a war, who did not even know until the moment they were pressed into service that a war was about to happen. Virtually without hesitation, at the moment they realized that what they loved so much, so much that they without flinching were willing to commit everything—everything, to a mission for which the only preparation was living in this country, was experiencing the freedom, was recognizing the privilege of being in America. And that privi-

lege, that honor, and that freedom were worth that sacrifice.

That is what they had been taught in their history courses. But more important, that is what they had seen in their common, ordinary American experience: That which we cherish so dearly in this country is worth sacrifice; if, by some odd set of circumstances, you are placed in a position to respond to protect that freedom, that you have an obligation to do so.

That is really remarkable. It is really remarkable to think of these ordinary people, as Senator FRIST said, going about their jobs, traveling on a plane, going on a vacation, riding to work, sitting in their offices answering the phone, responding to an emergency call—going about their typical American lives—that within an instant they were able to put on the armor of defending this country.

We are a blessed nation, and the people who represented us that day, the heroes that day, we can thankfully say were like us. That is the great pride I think all of us can take from the events of that day because they were not any different from the rest of us, and these ordinary people did extraordinary things to protect us.

God bless them. We thank them.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Texas.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I think the words of the two leaders of the Senate and the two Senators from Pennsylvania have been poignant reminders of the day, 2 years ago, that rained terror on our country, and the different perspectives, just like the different perspectives all over our country, about that tragedy.

This morning, the Senators who had constituents who were most affected in their States will have priority, speaking on the floor of the Senate, to talk about the effect on their constituents and their States, so the two Senators from Pennsylvania started our day of remembrance in a beautiful way.

It is one of those days that you will always remember where you were and what you were doing. When the bell rang at 9:03, I remembered vividly that I was in my office, getting ready to go into a meeting. Someone told me there had been a plane going into one of the World Trade Center towers, so I turned on the television thinking it must be a pilot in trouble, maybe a small plane, maybe even a pilot in training makes a mistake. And as I watched the recap, I saw the second plane hit the tower, and the realization just chilled me to the bone because it was clear this was intended, which means, of course, that it was a terrorist.

But even in that horrible moment of realization, none of us ever expected that those two towers would eventually crumble under the heat of the fire. None of us would have anticipated the next 5 hours of horror and then, in the thousands of hours following, what

would happen to our country, because in fact 9/11/2001 will forever recall the worst that could happen to our country but, also, the best. The stories of hope and heroism that emerged from the rubble of Ground Zero, the Pentagon, and that Pennsylvania field continue to serve as reminders of all that is good and true in the human spirit.

Mr. President, 9/11 evoked the pride and patriotism we felt as police, firefighters, and airplane passengers gave their lives to save countless others. It inspires us. It drives us. And it continues to guide our actions today.

Our Nation is embroiled right now in a global war on terror, starting with 9/11/2001. We are fighting to ensure that no such attack is again visited on us or any other nation. This war is a direct, decisive response to the attacks that murdered nearly 3,000 innocent people 2 years ago today.

Our mission is clear. We must choke the life out of the terrorist networks that seek to promote extremism and derail democracy. We have taken the battle to the mountains of Afghanistan, the sand dunes of Iraq, and to Main Streets in the United States of America and abroad where terrorists have burrowed in. We know we must destroy them where they breed their hatred before they ever again visit terror on our homeland.

Today, Iraq is the central front in that war. It is in that country where the enemies of freedom are making their stand. They have congregated in Iraq to thwart our efforts to bring a taste of democracy to an oppressed and battered people. They think they can shake the will of the civilized world. They are mistaken. Once again they have underestimated the American people and our allies.

Last month, I visited with our men and women in uniform who are on the front lines in Iraq and Afghanistan. Day in and day out, they battle the enemies of freedom. Danger lurks around every corner, but for every ambush and every threat they face, they also see the liberty that is beginning to take root. They see the hope they are bringing to the Iraqi people.

Our soldiers are committed, determined, and proud. Our country has called them to duty, and they have bravely answered the call. And they know their daily sacrifices are helping to build a safer world and a safer America—an America that is free of tyrants and terrorists. They deserve our unwavering support.

As Congress contemplates the cost of our efforts on the war on terror, we must not be shortsighted. The financial cost of 9/11 has been estimated at a staggering \$300 billion. But that pales in comparison to the immeasurable toll of human lives lost that day. This war, our just response to 9/11, has not and will not be fought on a shoestring budget. Failure is not an option. Success in rebuilding Iraq and Afghanistan is essential to eliminate terrorism and the threat it poses to our freedom and our way of life.

We cannot do it alone. The nations of the world must join this fight. Their support financially and militarily is critical to eradicating terrorism from our society. This is not an American war. We have led the charge, but the cause of liberty does not benefit us alone. I am committed to working with my colleagues and the President to get the necessary funding up front and secure contributions from other countries that benefit from the campaign to root out terrorism.

The victims of 9/11 from 86 nations around the world deserve no less.

Today, as we honor the memory of those lost on September 11, know that our Nation is indeed more secure. Our vulnerability was exposed, but we responded with a steely resolve that has made us stronger, richer, and better. We will never be the same. But the Americans we have become will be the shining example of liberty and democracy for all the world to see.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, the terrorists who attacked us 2 years ago were not only lashing out at people and buildings, they were attacking who we are as Americans. And since that day we have had an extraordinary amount of attention paid in this country to just that question. I know in my Senate campaign when I said I thought it was time to put the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children could grow up learning what it is to be an American, people responded to that. There was a hunger for thinking more about what makes this country special. Why were we attacked? What were the terrorists attacking?

There are many ways to remind ourselves of what it means to be an American. One way is discussions like this. One is the speeches of our President, who has done a beautiful job of that. But another way is our schools.

The late Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, once was asked: What is the rationale for a public school? Mr. Shanker's answer was that public schools were created—the common school—to teach the three R's, and what it means to be an American to immigrant children with the hope they would go home and teach their parents.

Earlier this year, this body, by a vote of 90 to 0, passed a piece of legislation to create Presidential academies for teachers and students of American history and civics. I know that across America last night there were thousands of teachers who were thinking about this morning and what would they say to their students today about what happened 2 years ago.

If I were teaching today in school in America, these are four or five of the questions that I would ask my students.

I would ask them: Is 9/11 the worst thing that ever happened to the United

States? Of course, the answer to that is no. It helps to know American history to answer the question.

Many of the Pilgrims died in the first winter. Soldiers walked barefooted across the Delaware River in our Revolutionary War. African slaves were thrown into the bellies of slave ships and brought in the most horrible conditions to this country. Those were really bad things. The Civil War saw families killing one another. Our World Wars say millions killed. Twenty percent of Americans stood in line for a job in the 1930s.

When I was a boy in our hometown in eastern Tennessee, we had an airbase nearby with jets there to defend us from missile attacks which could be launched by the Soviet Union, and those missiles could arrive in 45 minutes.

So 9/11 wasn't the worst thing that ever happened to the U.S. It was a terrible, challenging thing. It was a tragic thing, but we can recover from it. The fact that we have done what we have over the last 2 years reminds us of that.

I would ask my students today: What makes America exceptional?

I taught a course in American character at Harvard University during the last couple of years. I began the course by asking the student to list 100 ways our country is exceptional. They are not all good. We lock up more people in prison than any other country. We have more divorces and broken families. But many of the things are extraordinarily good. That has been recognized all throughout our history.

One of the greatest—perhaps the greatest—is the fact that we have taken all of this variety and diversity and turned it into one country. No other country is able to do that. Diversity is magnificent. But Jerusalem is diverse. What is different about the United States of America is that we have united all of that diversity into one country.

That needs to be taught as well.

I would ask my students: Why is it if you move to Japan or France, you cannot become Japanese or French; but if you come to the United States and want to be a citizen you have to become an American? It is because our identity is not based on our race or ethnicity or religion or background.

The historian, Richard Hofstadter, wrote: "It is our fate as a nation not to have ideologies, but to be one."

I would ask our students: What are the principles that unite us as a country? If it is not our race, and if it is not our religion, what is it? *E pluribus unum*, equal opportunity and liberty usually comes first; individualism, rule of law, free exercise of religion, no state church, *laissez faire*, and a belief in progress.

Someone needs to teach these principles. Our schools can do it.

We agree on these principles.

I would ask our students: Why, if you were watching CSPAN last night, were

Senators arguing so much with each other? Why wasn't it unanimous?

It is because most of our politics is about applying principles we agree on in ways that conflict. We believe, for example, in God we trust. But on the other hand, we don't trust government with God. We have an argument when we put Federal money into faith-based institutions.

I would suggest that the schools across America might consider an idea called "Pledge Plus Three." Why not start each school day with the Pledge of Allegiance, as we do in the Senate, followed by a teacher or student sharing for 3 minutes their own idea about what it means to be an American?

In the course I taught at Harvard, the student who best understood American identity was the student from the Ukraine. She had the best idea about what it meant to be an American.

Finally, I would invite those students in my class today to go with me down to the Federal courthouse—say in Nashville, but it could be in any city in America where there is a Federal court—and watch, as I did 2 years ago, 77 students from all over the world raise their right hand and take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States. It is quite a weighty thing to see them say that they "absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty." That is the first part of the oath.

It reminds us who we are as Americans.

September 11 was a tragic day, but it brought out the best in us. One of the great lessons is that it helps us remember to teach one another what is exceptional about our country, and what it means to be an American.

Thank you.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, today we mark the second anniversary of one of the darkest days in our Nation's history from the initial attack on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, to the forced plane crash in Pennsylvania. Each moment of September 11, 2001, is forever etched on our minds.

Although our wounds are still too fresh for us to view the date from the perspective of history, the last 2 years have given it a certain distance.

When terrorists attacked the symbols of our Nation's unity and strength, they failed to realize that they are just symbols of our strengths. The real strength of our Nation comes from our people—not our buildings. By attacking us on our own soil, they served not to weaken but to strengthen our resolve that this and other acts of terror would not stand, and we would answer with great and awesome strength.

On this September 11, 2 years after, we remember those who died on those three battlefields, as well as the brave soldiers from Wyoming and across the Nation who have given their lives since

then to end the threat of terrorism wherever it is found.

We will all continue to remember September 11 in our own way. Some will join family and friends at public memorials to pray for peace. Others will honor this day by remembering it in the silence of their hearts. However we remember this fateful day, we will never forget the lessons learned and their terrible cost. For me, it was the realization that we are truly one nation, under God, indivisible, and that we must remain so in the face of any threat to ensure our country remains strong, united, and free.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, there are moments in our lives in the Senate that we shall never forget. This morning is one I am privileged to share with my beloved colleagues in this Chamber on both sides of the aisle a few moments to draw from our hearts and from our memory and reflect upon September 11, 2 years ago.

We were here that day, prepared to go into our regular routine, when we were told to evacuate. We did that in an orderly and calm way. Wherever we could gather, we tried to follow the situation as best we could.

Several hours later, after the plane had crashed into the Department of Defense, I called the Secretary of Defense. I spent over 5 years of my life in that building. I wanted to come over and join him and the men and women in uniform of our country to do what little I might be able to do to bring about a reassurance not only to those on site at the Pentagon but around the world. I did that, joining the Secretary and then-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Shelton, in the command and control center deep into the basement of the Pentagon. We talked to the President on two occasions. I remember so well he had a firm hand on the situation, as did those in the Department of Defense.

We observed firemen, policemen, Red Cross workers and all doing the best they could to remove the bodies and care for the wounded. Military and civilian alike in that building showed extraordinary heroism that day. I was deeply humbled to stand there and observe that.

Later, the Secretary and the Chairman of the JCS went in to address a very large gathering of press. As they concluded their remarks, they invited me to say a word. I had nothing prepared but simply spoke from the heart. As I go back over the written text of what I said, I am reminded of how this has come true.

I said:

This is indeed the most tragic hour in American history, and yet I think it can be its finest hour, as our President and those with him, most notably our Secretary of Defense, our Chairman, and the men and women of the Armed Forces all over the world stand ready not only to defend this Nation and our allies against further attack but to take such actions as directed in the future in retaliation for this terrorist act—a series of terrorist acts, unprecedented in world history.

We call upon the entire world to step up and help, because terrorism is a common enemy to all, and we're in it all together. The United States has borne the brunt, but who can be next? Step forward and let us hold accountable and punish those who have perpetrated this attack.

I believe those words have proven to be true. Certainly great leadership from our President and the men and women of the Armed Forces, indeed, the world, has gathered to join us on the battlefields of Afghanistan, where I and many Members have visited, as well as the battlefields of Iraq where just weeks ago I accompanied Members of this Chamber to be with our men and women of the Armed Forces.

Our Nation stands tall. It has been and will continue to be our finest hour.

Now, Mr. President, we observe a moment of silence in reverence for those men and women, civilian and military, who lost their lives at the Department of Defense in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the hour of 9:38 a.m. having arrived, the Senate will observe a moment of silence in honor of the victims of the tragedy on September 11, 2001.

(Moment of Silence.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will come to order.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, may I at this time yield the floor to my distinguished colleague, Senator ALLEN.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that I have been on the floor waiting. I will follow the instructions of the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Virginia had the floor.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Virginia, Senator WARNER, for yielding.

I wish to share my views, my sentiments 2 years after these events. The fact is, we are 2 years exactly to the minute after American Airlines flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon.

I keep the remembrance with me of Captain Chic Burlingame, who was the captain, who fought the terrorists on that plane. I think of him. I think of the passengers. One of the passengers was the father of a young boy who lived in our neighborhood and played with our kids.

This is a tragic and vile act that hit the World Trade Center, that hit Virginia at the Pentagon, 2 years ago to this moment. Also, at this very time, there was another plane coming from the north that was undoubtedly going

to be hitting either this Capitol Building right here, maybe the CIA, maybe the White House, and there was great bravery on that plane to avert further loss of life.

I heard my good colleague, Senator WARNER, who has had such a life experience in a variety of conflicts, and everyone was talking about, How does this fit into history? When he says this is a moment, dire moment in our history, it means a great deal. It struck us all that this was like Pearl Harbor; and it was. Pearl Harbor brought the United States into World War II. The attacks on New York City, on the World Trade Center, on the Pentagon in Virginia brought the United States of America into the War on Terrorism.

We reflect back on these fresh memories, but it has been a long 2 years. We reflect back on the bravery, on the courage, and on what has transpired. We work to make sure we are more secure here at home as well as abroad.

If you look at the legislation we have passed in this body for the last 2 years, on issue after issue, we have worked to make Americans more secure, whether it is port security, whether it is securing greater communications in the DC area, with the Northern Virginia communities and Maryland and DC working together so the first responders have better communication, as they position themselves in a situation that hopefully will never occur again, such as at the Pentagon.

We worry about procurement matters and making sure the technologies that are available in the private sector are made available and utilized by our Federal and State and local agencies to analyze the volumes of data.

We care about our port security. We care about our pilots. We care about our airports, Metro, and so forth. All of those things do matter.

Indeed, in this war we, of course, appreciate things we once took for granted on September 10, 2001, the concepts that have propelled this country, of individual rights, of life, of a strong national defense to meet the ever-changing dangerous world threats.

We have appreciated them now more than ever. And it is not just in New York City and in this area, but everywhere. You can be in Independence, VA, you can be in Jackson, WY, you can be in Sioux City, IA, and you know people appreciate the firefighters, volunteer firefighters, rescue squad people, because of the inspiration of those not just at the Pentagon but particularly the thousands who went in to save thousands of lives in New York City.

In fact, you see the letters "NYPD" or "NYFD," and that means something to everyone, no matter where you are in the country, for those courageous acts.

It does remind me of what the Bible tells us, that:

Greater love hath no man than this, that he would lay down his life for his friends.

That is what those firefighters and rescue personnel were doing in New York City in those Twin Towers. That is why there is an appreciation for those wonderful people whom we salute and remember today and forever with their bravery. Those acts of heroism are always on our minds.

We have made our country more secure. We are taking the war to the terrorists abroad. We still have work to do. We have to persevere in many ways in securing and sustaining our country.

We have also seen in the days following September 11, 2001, a redefinition of this country and a respect for what makes this country great while we also track down the terrorists.

We also are a compassionate country, caring for the families who lost loved ones in these tragic attacks. Here on the Senate floor, Louise Kurtz is an individual whom I have brought up. Senator WARNER brought up those working at the Pentagon.

Louise Kurtz is a woman from the Fredricksburg area of Virginia. She was severely burned. Her ears were burned off. Most of her fingers were burned off. Last year at this time we were at the Phoenix Project of the rebuilding of the Pentagon. She was there. She is recuperating. She wants to get back to work. Because of Federal laws, though, she gets diminished retirement benefits.

So working with Kay James at the Office of Personnel Management, we crafted a bill last year. The Senate passed it. The House didn't take it up. We passed it again this year, with the help of my colleague, Senator WARNER, and particularly Senator COLLINS of Maine. We passed it again, and I am happy to say, finally, the House took it up yesterday and passed that bill to help out folks like Louise Kurtz and others who are serving our country. If they are injured in the line of duty, while they are recuperating they should not have their retirement benefits diminished. I am hopeful some time today this measure will get to the President's desk, to get it finally acted upon in a way that, on the second anniversary, those brave civilians will be properly treated.

More importantly, the thing that has really inspired, I think, all Americans is the great American spirit that has guided our Nation through this time of terror and tragedy. We now, of course, are so appreciative of the men and women in uniform who are in dangerous, precarious places in Iraq and Afghanistan taking the war for our security to the terrorists overseas.

We are grateful for those who are active, those who are in the Guard, those who are in the Reserve, and their families and their employers back here at home, who are all patriots, as they send their sons and their daughters abroad to protect us.

One of Virginia's most prominent sons, George Washington, our Nation's first President, knew the strength of America's spirit and ordered his Army to be encouraged by saying:

Let us therefore rely upon the goodness of the Cause, and the aid of the supreme Being, in whose hands Victory is; to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions.

We saw great and noble actions on September 11, 2001, and we have seen great and noble actions over the past two years.

We must be mindful, appreciative, and grateful for those patriots who lost their lives on September 11, 2001, and we must be equally grateful and appreciative for those who are serving us now.

So I thank my colleague, Senator WARNER, for his sage and steady advice. We have worked together. This is a day that actually brings all Americans together, regardless of which region, which State, or which political party you come from, in remembering what is good and wholesome about this country and uniting us for the benefit of the people.

As we remember those whom we lost on September 11, I urge my colleagues to join me in saluting those heroes, the family members, and the survivors who remain. And let us be encouraged, as was President Washington, to higher goals, "to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions."

Let's be encouraged to those greater actions because we will always remember, and we will always stand strong for freedom. Because together we must make sure liberty and justice not only endure but prevail.

I thank you, Mr. President, and yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The senior Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank my distinguished colleague. How privileged, how humble we are to stand here in these 200-plus years of this Senate, and to be here on behalf of the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia. It is a great privilege.

I thank my colleague and I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I commend my colleagues from Virginia for their comments and for the recall of their memories regarding that terrible day.

Today we commemorate the second anniversary of the terrorist attacks we now refer to as 9/11. It is a day heavy with sadness for me personally. Before I became a Senator, I was a commissioner on the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, and had offices on the 67th floor in the Trade Tower. The Port Authority lost 84 of its people on 9/11, including 37 brave police officers who gave their lives as they tried to save the lives of others.

Fifty-one of those Port Authority employees lived in the State of New Jersey. I knew many Port Authority employees and others who died on this date 2 years ago. And I know many more families who lost a loved one. One of my oldest daughter's dearest friends perished that day. They had worked together on Wall Street before she went

to Cantor Fitzgerald. That firm lost nearly 700 people out of the 1,000 who worked for it on the morning of 9/11. The husband of my daughter's friend searched hospitals for 3 weeks looking for a sign that perhaps his wife had escaped death in that terrible calamity.

Because of its proximity to New York, my home State of New Jersey suffered catastrophically. Of the 3,025 innocent people who lost their lives on 9/11, nearly a quarter of them—700 in all—came from my home State.

Thirty-seven of them came from a single town, Middletown, NJ. Yesterday, a 2-acre memorial garden next to the train station was dedicated in a private ceremony for the victims' families.

The author Gail Sheehy just published a book entitled "Middletown, America: One Town's Passage from Trauma to Hope." For the past 2 years, she has followed the lives of survivors and widows, of parents who lost children and children who lost parents. She has spoken with the town's religious leaders, with mental health professionals, and others in the community. I have not had a chance yet to read her book, but it is described as a wonderful testament to individual acts of heroism and kindness and to the courage and hope and resilience of people who have suffered a terrible loss and grieve but who, somehow, are soldiering on.

As we remember 9/11, we remember people such as Fire Department Chaplain Mychal Judge, who was killed by falling debris in the lobby of Tower 1. Father Judge was the first official casualty at the World Trade Center and one of 343 New York City Fire Department casualties.

We remember people such as a fellow named Abe Zelmanowitz, a computer programmer who might have been able to escape from the 27th floor of the north tower, where he worked for Blue Cross/Blue Shield, but he refused to abandon his friend, Ed Beyea, a quadriplegic confined to a wheelchair, who could not make it down the stairs. Abe stood by his side until the end came.

We remember people such as Todd Beamer, Tom Burnett, and Jeremy Glick, and the other passengers and crew of United Flight 93, who crashed their airplane in a field near Shanksville, PA, rather than allow the hijackers to crash it in Washington—perhaps into this very building where we now stand.

So 9/11 revealed the very best in people. But, of course, we have to remember what caused it also. And that reveals the very worst in people—19 of whom had the insane belief that their suicidal/homicide actions would send them straight to paradise.

Mr. President, 9/11 did more than that; 9/11 shocked us to our very core. We suffered terrorist attacks before 9/11, including one on the World Trade Center itself. But not since Pearl Harbor has the collective psyche of our country been so shocked out of its complacency.

The results of that shock are plainly visible. Terrorism has scarred America—permanently. People are mourning their loved ones, and they will do that for the rest of their lives. We endure long lines at the airports. Washington looks like a fortress. Our civil liberties have taken a beating reminiscent of the Palmer Raids after World War I, Japanese-American internment during World War II, and McCarthyism during the Cold War. And tens of thousands of our young men and women are in harm's way in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Mr. President, 9/11 shocked us into learning that our "invincibility" had been pierced. We crave the sense of security we enjoyed before 9/11, but deep down we know we are not likely to get it back soon.

We now know to take our security more seriously. There are terrorists who glory in the maiming and killing of innocent men, women, and children. They hate everything about us—our families, our country, our way of life—so much that they would deprive their own families of their presence as a beloved son, brother, or father, so they can act on their murderous desire.

9/11 shattered illusions we had about our safety. But being stripped of our illusions, we have the opportunity now to forge ahead truly knowing that the war against terrorism will be long and tough. We have the opportunity now to forge ahead truly knowing that the struggle here at home to preserve our civil liberties, the very things we are defending, will be a challenge.

For the better part of the last century, we fought against fascism and totalitarianism. I had the privilege of serving in Europe during World War II. I was so young that I didn't understand the big picture. But I understood very clearly my obligation and my role.

When the Berlin Wall came down and the Soviet Union was dissolved, many Americans thought the conflict was over; they thought we had won. That was an illusion. The conflict is not over. It has simply shifted to a new front.

We now know we are fighting a new enemy—an utterly ruthless enemy—that wants to make our home front the front lines, an enemy that deliberately targets noncombatants, and an enemy that has absolutely no sense of propriety or decency while it wages war against innocent people.

It is important to fight this enemy without any illusions if we want to win. That means no premature declaration of "mission accomplished." That means a full accounting of what the cost of the war is going to be. That means an honest acknowledgment of the limits of our power and the humility to enlist our allies in our cause.

What we experienced on 9/11 is a permanent wound on our society. People struggling to face the future will never stop mourning the past. Our daily lives have been forever altered. But we are survivors. It takes courage to survive. Armed with that courage, we endure

the pain and look beyond the smoke, rubble, and grief to rebuild—rebuild something that is stronger than what went before.

We will defend ourselves, our country, and our liberties—the things that terrorists despise. Despite the difficulties, despite the casualties, despite the setbacks that we will suffer, this war against terrorism must be fought and is worth the fight.

Even though he wrote in an earlier age, the poet Archibald MacLeish summed up what is at stake when he said:

There are those who will say that the liberation of humanity, the freedom of man and mind, is nothing but a dream. They are right. It is the American dream.

America is the last, best hope for mankind. That is the dream. It is up to all of us to make sure it is not an illusion. This is the best way to honor the memory of those who perished 2 years ago and assuage the grief we feel when we reflect on that terrible day.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I know we have a moment of silence to be observed at 10:06. I will make a few remarks preceding that and, if necessary, I will complete those following the moment of silence.

Mr. President, I wish to say a few words to supplement the eloquent comments made by the Senator from New Jersey, the two Senators from Virginia, and the others who have spoken today on the second anniversary of the tragedy of September 11.

I was not serving here in Washington at that time, as many were, but as were so many Americans, I was at home in Texas preparing for work when I heard the terrible news and then saw the terrible images—the clouds of flame from a plane that ripped a hole in the bright, blue sky and took down the World Trade Center in New York. I will never forget that site as long as I live, nor should any of us forget it.

I know many of my friends and colleagues who were here on that horrific day feel a very deep and personal debt to the heroes of September 11, particularly those on Flight 93. As was noted, the brave passengers on that flight did more than just save the lives of their fellow citizens. Absent their courageous sacrifice, it is likely that Flight 93 would have reached its final destination in this very building, an attack that would have virtually eliminated an entire branch of the United States Government.

Even as we dedicate ourselves to fighting terror at home and abroad, even as we hope and pray that the tragedy of September 11 will not be repeated, we must always remain conscious of our oath as Senators, as representatives of the people, to support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States, and make sure the Constitution has representatives

here arguing for laws and appropriations and defense that is needed on behalf of the American people.

In the aftermath of September 11, it is clear that our current system of providing for the continuity of our Government in the event of a disaster is inadequate to address the reality of a post-9/11 world. As unthinkable as another attack of that magnitude might seem, we in this branch must be ready for the worst. We must provide for the stable continuance and function of Government, despite all possible calamities.

Even if we in this body fall, we should not leave our Nation's citizens without representation, without order, without defense. We owe it to the American people to ensure that our Government remains strong, even in the face of disaster.

Two years ago, our Nation was attacked by evil men who wanted to leave us weak, vulnerable, and divided. Instead, they saw a world strong, determined, and united. They gravely underestimated America's resolve. America will never surrender to tyrants or terrorists. We will not cut and run in the face of danger.

Instead, we are taking the fight to freedom's enemies, fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq and wherever else necessary so that terrorists can no longer export their evil to our streets or those of our allies. Many challenges lie ahead, but now is not the time to stop or show a lack of confidence or resolve.

While we mourn our dead and wounded in the war on terror, we must remain dedicated to finishing the job in Iraq and Afghanistan and wherever terrorists or their allies spread their doctrine of hate. Here at home, we must support our brave men and women in uniform who put their lives on the line every day for the cause of security and freedom.

Two years later, it is clearer now how the world grew so much smaller on September 11. We can no longer allow for the evildoers to plot and scheme in nations on the other side of the globe. We cannot wait to be attacked again. We cannot allow for another tragedy.

We must hunt down the enemies of freedom wherever we find them, or we risk the spilling of blood again on our own soil. Like the passengers on Flight 93, we must not sit back and allow our destiny to be determined by freedom's enemies. No, we must take the fight to them. The minions of terror have shown their capability for inhumanity, and we cannot underestimate their desire to do so again.

In July, Prime Minister Blair, speaking before a joint meeting of Congress, reminded us of our duty as a powerful nation to take great care regarding what kind of world we leave for our children. I believe that task falls to us at this moment in history to continue spreading the blessings of liberty.

Mr. President, I understand in 1 minute we will observe a moment of silence, and certainly I will pause in my

remarks to do so. But I will say before then that I believe now that the task falls to us at this moment in history to continue making sure that others may enjoy the blessings of liberty that we in this country even on occasion take for granted.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the hour of 10:06 a.m. having arrived, the Senate will observe a moment of silence.

(Moment of silence.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in our own streets and cities, we must labor on undeterred, always confident in pursuit of our ultimate goal. We seek not domination, not occupation; we seek a just, free, and peaceful world for ourselves, for our allies, and for future generations, no matter where they may be found on this planet.

The passengers on Flight 93 were everyday Americans, men and women with jobs, with families and dreams. Like all of us, they made promises to their loved ones before they boarded that plane; perhaps promises of vacations and baseball games, of presents and anniversaries, birthdays—small promises and big ones.

We know that some promises don't come cheap. Some cost us nothing. Others require that we risk all, even our very lives.

The crash site of Flight 93 in the quiet hills of Pennsylvania is filled with memories of the promises those heroes made and will, sadly, never keep. But we have made a promise that we are dutybound to keep—we, the living—a promise to the Nation we love and to all our countrymen and to the loved ones these heroes left behind: a promise that says the story of freedom will not end here in the violent acts of evil men. It will persist, it will endure, and it will not be destroyed.

Those of us left behind must fulfill that promise. We must prepare for all contingencies as we continue to hunt the agents of terror and dedicate ourselves, once again, to ensuring that the promise of freedom shall not perish from this Earth.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TALENT. Mr. President, I really do appreciate the opportunity to come this morning and say a few words about this momentous event that is in the minds and hearts of every American today. I thought rather a lot about what I ought to say. I certainly do not

want to be guilty of presumption to lecture to the American people about what they ought to reflect upon as we all remember this attack upon our Nation that today is 2 years old.

We are going to talk about it tonight at our dinner table. I have three children. We are going to spend a few minutes—which is about all that young children spend thinking about anything, I guess—talking about this. I think it is important, and I thought maybe what I could do and would be appropriate to do is to share what our family is going to talk about tonight, at least if the dad in that family has anything to say about it.

I think this is a good opportunity for us to reflect upon what a nation is and what America is as a nation. We are not just a place where 250 million people happen to live together. We are not like a big apartment complex, where the only thing people have in common is the proximity of their living arrangements. Any nation, especially America, which, as rich as we are in cultural and ethnic diversity and different traditions that have added to our national life, is also a nation that is held together by some common beliefs. We don't have a monarchy here, thank God. We don't have an established religion that defines us as a nation. We do have a commitment to certain shared values, certain transcendent codes about how people should live in a decent and civilized country.

Those codes have a claim, by common recognition, on our actions. Each of us, even if we don't realize it, makes hundreds of decisions every day in response to those shared beliefs. Maybe at the core of those beliefs is a common recognition on the part of the people of this country that human beings have an inherent dignity. As the Framers of the Declaration of Independence said: They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Inalienable means you can't give it away, you can't sell it, and it can't be taken from you. The rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—we are equal in the possession and the enjoyment of these rights. Pursuit of happiness is just the right to participate in an orderly fashion in the institutions of private, social, and economic life, and in the political activities of the day.

One thing Americans recognize is that we as a people, and indeed people all over the world, are, by virtue of our humanity, in possession of these rights and they cannot be taken away.

I believe very strongly that we were attacked 2 years ago precisely because that is what we believe. It was an attack upon this common heritage and because we stand for that in this world. It is because we stand for that, that hundreds of millions of people around the world look to this Nation as a beacon of hope—what Lincoln called the last and best hope of all mankind. I

certainly agree with that, in the secular sense of it anyway. That is the reason we were attacked.

I want our family tonight to reflect upon three things. First, I want us to take satisfaction as Americans—and I hope all Americans will take satisfaction—in what we as a nation have achieved in the war against terrorism this last year. We are safer than we were 2 years ago—not in the sense that attack is impossible; that is not true. But in the sense that it is less likely to succeed than it was 2 years ago. That is because of the resolution of the American people which has motivated this Congress, in a bipartisan way, and the President of the United States to conduct this war against terrorism with vigor.

We have put thousands of these terrorists in places where they cannot hurt us and our families anymore. We have built a great international coalition, in which we are at the center, that is every hour of every day organizing its intelligence and its police forces with the utmost vigor to track these people down and put them away. We have taken the fight to the enemy in Afghanistan and now in Iraq, where our men and women are heroically defending this Nation.

It is hard to plan an attack on us here at home when you never know when the 101st Airborne may be descending on you in Iraq or the FBI may be descending on one of your cells or one of our Allied Nations with our police forces may be chasing you around the corner.

I want us as a nation, and we will as a family, to resolve to continue this fight until we win. I believe we are winning. I believe we will win. I do not believe this Nation is going to quit.

We are going to have our squabbles about how we ought to conduct it. Other people are going to look at us and wonder how we can continue with all this in-fighting. There are many people around the world who consider us to be, as Winston Churchill quoted somebody referring to us, as “a numerous, remote, and talkative people.”

We certainly are numerous, sometimes we are remote, and we are often talkative. But no one should mistake the resolve of every American, and every Member of this body, to continue this fight until the end, until we remove the shadow of this tyranny, this ruthlessness, and this evil not just from this country but from the lives of everybody around the world who loves freedom.

The third thing I want our family to do, and I hope America will do, is reflect on the sacrifice of those who are fighting this war on the front line. There is a sense in which we are all fighting this war. I was asked by the press a couple of days ago how it has affected the lives of people on a day-to-day basis. I said, you know, in your personal lives it has, to some extent, every time we go into a Federal building or fly on an airline. But in people's

business or trade or jobs, it has affected it a lot. Almost everybody's job has been affected to some degree, if you stop to think about it. The computer system is different because you or your employer may be cooperating with Federal authorities in some way, or tightening up security.

There are just all kinds of ways in which our lives are different. There is a sense in which we are all fighting this. But I want us to think about the sacrifices of the people on the front line and especially to reflect upon those who gave the ultimate sacrifice, those who gave everything they had to give: the firefighters who fell in the towers, the men and women who have given their lives in the battle against terrorism in Afghanistan and now in Iraq.

I often—not often, but too often, I guess, in the sense it happens too much—have occasion to communicate with somebody from Missouri who has lost a loved one in that struggle. I think a lot about what to say to them. In a sense, there is no way in which words can possibly begin to assuage the grief they feel. But one of the things I do try to remind them is to take comfort from what this sacrifice of their loved one says about the things their loved one held dear. These men and women who have died in this fight knew when they went into it that they were putting their lives on the line. I am not saying they talk about it all the time. I don't think they do. They are not the kind of people who wear their feelings on their sleeves. But they know why they are doing what they are doing. They know the risks. They know the potential cost. And they know, and have resolved in their hearts, why it is worth it.

In conclusion, I hope that those who are close to those who died—and, indeed, all of us—will reflect today that the sacrifice of those who have fallen is a measure of the love they have for their families and the value they place on the freedom of their country.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mrs. DOLE. Mr. President, today we remember the thousands of people who so tragically lost their lives in the September 11 attacks. It was just 2 years ago today that terrorists launched an assault on America and everything she stands for—her freedom, her liberty, her democracy. Our hearts were broken, our lives were ever changed and left with the jarring memories of that day, those moments which seemed to last through eternity. We will never forget.

Because these tragedies, those centered in New York, Pennsylvania, the Pentagon, touched the hearts of each and every American across the country, together we mourn. In our collective grief we became the embodiment of an American family, from New York to California to Mississippi to my home State of North Carolina, where we struggled to come to grips with the deaths of several of our own.

Today we pause to remember these men, women, and children and honor their lives—the mothers and fathers, the sons and daughters. I recall something that was said shortly after the attacks by Fred Cranford, of Drexel, NC. He and his wife lost their 32-year-old son, LCDR Eric Cranford, at the Pentagon. Yet even in the midst of a grief most of us cannot even imagine, Fred Cranford said: Even out of evil, God can bring good things.

Two years ago, the very personification of evil sought to tear us apart, but today the United States stands strong, dedicated, committed, and more than ever we are a nation united against terrorism.

We are the most powerful country on the face of the Earth, but 2 years ago our lives changed forever. September 11 and its aftermath have demonstrated that America cannot ignore events in far-flung places such as Afghanistan and Iraq. We can and must act when our security is threatened. Our leadership was decisive and our leadership will continue to be necessary as the war on terror proceeds.

This Nation dedicated itself to winning the global war on terror. We must remain dedicated. And that means continuing to work with the international community to help the Iraqi citizens stabilize their country and establish their government.

Recently, in an editorial in the Washington Post, Ambassador Paul Bremer outlined a clear and well-defined course of action in Iraq. As he noted, there will be bumps along the way, but it is critical for us to stay the course—stay the course. One particular paragraph stood out to me, and his poignant words bear repeating:

Gone are Saddam Hussein's torture chambers. Gone are his mass killings and rape rooms. And gone is his threat to America and the international community.

As we go forward, it is this that we should keep in mind. Certainly the operation in Iraq is proving to be a dangerous and more grinding conflict. The President addressed the fact candidly and resolutely in his address to the Nation Sunday night. But eliminating terror is more than removing the leaders of an evil regime from power. Terrorism must be torn out by its roots, ensuring that there is no toehold for its sponsors to reestablish their violent ways.

More than words, more than negotiations, the President's supplemental spending request sent an unmistakable signal to these sponsors of terror, to the liberated Iraqi citizens, and to the world that the United States of America is staying the course. Attacks on United States troops and other targets in Iraq are aimed at undermining the efforts of democracy. But these will not cause us to shy away from our commitment because we know that failure to follow through in our mission could leave a lethal void, a void that would rapidly be filled by terror and its supporters.

A routine criticism, even from the start of actions in Iraq, is that inadequate resources were dedicated to the Iraqi theater. The supplemental requested by the President not only gives our men and women in uniform the resources they need to succeed in their mission in Iraq and in Afghanistan and elsewhere in the war on terror, it also targets funds to help build safe, stable, and self-governing societies in nations that have been torn apart by the self-serving regimes of rogue leaders such as Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden.

For our soldiers engaged in these military operations, the supplemental must equate to equipment that will ensure their safety, supplies that will make their mission achievable, and something else which is essentially priceless—time, even if only 2 weeks, to get away from the tireless effort necessary to maintain peace in Iraq.

These men and women in uniform deserve our highest respect and admiration for the often difficult and dangerous jobs they do. Our troops deserve the very best—the best equipment, the best training, the best housing, and the best leadership.

I have a great deal of confidence in our current leaders—President Bush, Vice President CHENEY, National Security Adviser Rice, General Myers, and my old colleagues Secretary Rumsfeld and Secretary Powell. They understand how and when to ask our military to go into action. But our men and women in uniform must be given the tools to do the jobs we ask of them. To them I say, Congress will not let you down.

Also, it is clear we cannot transform Iraq without more help from the Iraqi people themselves. That is why it is so important that sufficient funds are dedicated to training and equipping an Iraqi police force and helping the Iraqis establish a strong judicial system.

I look forward to hearing how the State Department plans to work with the United Nations to jointly provide assistance and further these and other goals. The evolving Iraqi Government needs the support of the entire international community to gain a credible foothold. While it is important in the near term for the United States to retain control over the military forces to ensure this fledgling government can grow strong without the fear of terrorist sabotage, it is just as important for the long term that a sound structure is put in place so that the Iraqis can govern themselves and ensure their citizens' security when coalition forces leave.

While it has fallen off the front pages of the daily news, Afghanistan remains a key component to peace in this region. In the most recent military operations, United States troops engaged fighters in the southern part of the country who were suspected of being Taliban. Members of this military operation are part of a campaign to combat a major Taliban regrouping effort.

Again, we cannot afford to leave a void for terror—not for a lack of pa-

tience or a lack of resources. The war against terror continues in Afghanistan and Iraq, and it will require a sustained commitment of time and resources similar to our commitment in rebuilding Germany and Japan after World War II—a commitment that resulted in the hard lessons learned after World War I.

This effort will be difficult and costly, but it is critical to our national security here at home. We must continue fighting the war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan lest the fight return again to American soil.

Two years ago, more than 3,000 innocent lives were lost in a terrible strike against America. We must vow in their honor that our spirit will continue to triumph and ensure those families that America will not shrink from those who seek to destroy our values. We will continue to be a good and great Nation, because we are a good and great people.

God bless this great land of the free—America.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I rise today in remembrance of the victims of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on our country. On this second anniversary of that fateful day, many of the emotions we felt are still very real. We continue to feel grief for those who were lost. We continue to feel admiration for the bravery of our policemen and firefighters. And we continue to feel shock over that day's inconceivable violence. The reality is that these emotions may be at the front of America's conscience for years to come, but it is my hope today that for those families who lost loved ones, each passing day brings with it some measure of healing.

In addition to the emotional impact of the attacks, September 11, 2001 also had a profound effect on U.S. national security policy. The use of asymmetrical means by terrorists to inflict mass casualties altered our traditional view of who terrorists are and how we must confront them.

No longer do we view terrorist acts as isolated events committed by a few extremists. Rather, 21st century terrorists have shown themselves to be organized, well-financed, and deeply committed to a doctrine of violence. We know this doctrine is aimed at undermining our economy, our infrastructure, and our sense of personal security. We also know it is based upon a willingness to employ weapons of mass destruction against civilian targets.

This reality has forced both our political leaders and military planners to rethink the American premise about where and how to use armed force. And the result is that the specter of another WMD attack against our population means we can no longer subscribe to the long-held principle that the United States will attack only after being attacked. Instead, we must act preemptively to best protect innocent Americans from a replay of the 9/11 tragedy.

Preemption means taking the offensive. It means taking the battle to the

terrorists before they attack us. It requires good intelligence and cooperation from our friends and allies from around the world. And immediately after the terrorist attacks of September 11, many nations pledged such cooperation and actively supported our actions in Afghanistan.

For example, President Chirac of France was the first head-of-state to visit the United States after the attacks, pledging to join in the fight to defend civilization from the scourge of terrorism. Indeed, no country showed a greater outpouring of sympathy for the United States in the immediate aftermath of the attacks than did France. Similarly, a poll conducted in Germany in the autumn of 2001 showed that after the attacks in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania, an increased number of Germans, 58 percent, saw the U.S. as Germany's most important partner. To be sure, this solidarity was greatly appreciated during our dark time of September 2001.

The tragedy that America experienced, and that elicited such international sympathy, was the same tragedy that prompted us to adopt this preemptive military doctrine. It was the tragedy of September 11 that made us say to governments who would sponsor terrorism and supply terrorists with weapons of mass destruction, "disarm or we will act to disarm you before your weapons can hurt our people." And this is what led us to act against Saddam Hussein, a proven killer who steadfastly refused to prove he no longer had WMDs that the world knew he had after the Gulf War.

Many of our coalition partners understood the imperative of acting against a thug like Saddam Hussein in a post 9/11 world. They remembered the pain we endured and knew our actions in Iraq were a direct response to preventing a similar tragedy. But other nations did not recognize a link between illegitimate regimes like Iraq's and the terrorist threat facing the civilized world. The war on terror will continue to be difficult and will require tough decisions like those faced in deposing Saddam Hussein. It is my hope that all of our allies will join in a unified front in this war both in good times, and in bad.

I want to say in closing how proud I am of many of the contributions that my home State has made in executing the war on terror. It was our F-117 stealth aircraft pilots who answered the President's call to take the first action against Saddam Hussein's regime. Furthermore, New Mexicans have fought and died heroically in both Afghanistan and Iraq. For that, we owe our deepest gratitude and respect.

Our national laboratories have also made immense contributions to the war against terrorism, both ahead of 9/11 and with increasing emphasis post-9/11. They provided critical support in identifying strains of anthrax, and a biothreat detection system that was fielded at the Olympics as well as locations around the District of Columbia.

Sandia invented the material that was heavily used in ridding the Hart building of anthrax concerns. Both labs have led the national efforts to control materials suitable for weapons of mass destruction. From weapons grade materials to materials suitable for dirty bombs, the labs have developed detectors and technologies to help secure and dispose of these materials. The systems used in monitoring international trade for any radioactive materials that could become weapons against us are largely from the New Mexico labs. They are providing computing resources through the National Infrastructure and Analysis Center of NISAC to model complex events that could threaten our Nation and develop mitigation strategies.

I close by again remembering all the brothers and sisters we lost on September 11, 2001, and all those who have sacrificed in the ensuing war. Let our enemies not doubt that we will continue to pursue them wherever they may hide and will not stop until our victory is complete. God bless our soldiers and their families, and may God bless America.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, the images of September 11, 2001, remain etched in our minds and our hearts. On this second anniversary of the attack, we commemorate those who died in the attacks and the unwavering spirit of those who survived. We remember the true heroism that emerged out of tragedy, how strong and united we can be, how we can set aside differences for the greater good and work together.

Californians were part of each tragic moment of that day. Some were trapped in the World Trade Center. Some were at work in the Pentagon. And the fates of others were sealed as they boarded planes bound for San Francisco or Los Angeles. All four planes used by the terrorists on September 11 were headed for my State of California.

I want to remember the more than 50 Californians who were victims of the September 11 attacks. Their memories will live on and their legacies will live on, as will the memories and legacies of every innocent victim who we lost on that tragic September day.

The people of California join the Nation in mourning the loss of these Americans:

David Angell; Lynn Angell; David Aoyama; Melissa Barnes; Alan Beaven; Berry Berenson; Dr. Yen Betru; Carol Beug; Mark Bingham; Deora Bodley; Touri Bolourchi; Daniel Brandworst; David Brandhorst; Ronald Gamboa; Charles "Chic" Burlingame; Thomas Burnett; Suzanne Calley; Jeffrey Collman; Dorothy DeAraujo; Lisa Frost; Andrew Garcia; Edmund Glazer; Lauren Grandcolas; Andrew Curry Green; Richard Guadagno; Stanley Hall; Gerald Hardacre; John Hart; John Hofer; Melissa Hughes; Barbara Keating; Chad Keller; Christopher Larrabee; Daniel Lee; Dong Lee; Joe Lopez; Hilda Marcin; Dean Mattson;

Dora Menchaca; Nicole Miller; Laurie Neira; Ruben Ornedo; Marie Pappalardo; Jerrold Paskins; Thomas Pecorelli; Robin Penninger; Marie-Rae Sopper; Xavier Suarez; Alicia Titus; Otis Tolbert; Pandyala Vamsikrashna; Timothy Ward; Christopher Wemmers; and John Wenckus.

As we reflect on the horror and the pain of September 11, we embrace our Nation and our freedom. We must continue to work together to strengthen democracy in the world, and we must redouble our efforts to erase terrorism's shadow from our lives.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, two years ago today, our world changed forever. At 8:45 a.m., EST, on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, the first World Trade Center was attacked. Shortly thereafter I remember seeing the chaos on the streets in Washington after the Pentagon was hit. I will never forget the sights and sounds from that day.

On that day, we lost a feeling of security. And we felt a little exposed. We lost mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, grandparents and grandchildren. But as we united as a nation, we gained strength. What terrorists sought to destroy, what they thought they could topple, is the unbreakable American spirit.

"September 11" will never again just be a date on the calendar. It is a day that marks the largest attack on American soil in our Nation's history. It was a day of confusion, a day of fear, a day of loss. But it was also a day of heroism—a day of standing together.

On the 2-year anniversary, it is important to remember the events and emotions of September 11. As Americans, we are still living in uncertain terms. As Montanans and Americans, we must continue to be determined and steadfast in our dedication to win the fight against terrorism. We must lead an unprecedented effort to eliminate the terrorist networks that threaten our Nation. We must remain committed to defending the rights and freedoms that make us proud to be Americans. From our freedom to express our thoughts and determine our religious beliefs—to our right to openly vote for and elect our political leaders.

Today we stand as one to pay respect and express our gratitude to our Nation's heroes: the countless firefighters, the policemen and women, the emergency medical technicians, doctors, nurses, as well as everyday citizens who risked their lives to save others on September 11.

I remain dedicated to working together with Congress and the administration to protect America and the principles this Nation stands for and to bring those responsible for the September 11 attacks to justice.

On the two-year anniversary of September 11, and in the weeks, months, and years that follow, I call on every Montanan to remember the lessons learned on that fateful day. Remember the solidarity. Remember the countless America flags that flew across the

State and the Nation. Remember the generosity with which people donated to charities and volunteered in their communities. Remember the support we received from the international community.

While September 11 is a horrific day in our Nation's history, it taught us a tremendous amount about ourselves, as Montanans, as Americans, and as a Nation. We must never forget these lessons.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I rise today to share my thoughts on the second anniversary of the September 11 terrorist attacks.

None of us will ever be able to forget where we were when we first heard the terrible news of that day. As the day went on, we were riveted to our television sets and saw incomprehensible images of destruction at the World Trade Center, the serious damage at the Pentagon, and the crash site of Flight 93 in rural Pennsylvania. Yet beyond the destruction we also saw remarkable demonstrations of heroism. From the first responders who unhesitatingly rushed into the World Trade Center and Pentagon to rescue survivors, to the passengers and crew of Flight 93 who chose to crash their plane rather than allow the terrorists to complete their plan, September 11 showed us the strength of our country.

The terrorists had hoped to paralyze us with fear, but the American people were somber and resolute in their commitment to honor those who had died, to rebuild from the destruction, and to ensure that we would lessen our vulnerability to future terrorist attacks. Bearing in mind the example provided by the heroes of September 11, people throughout the country began to look for ways that they could contribute to the relief and recovery effort.

I am particularly proud of the contributions made by thousands of South Dakotans in the days following the attacks. Schoolchildren led drives to collect clothing and blankets for those left homeless. Students from Augustana College spent their 2002 spring break in New York serving food to Ground Zero workers. Experts from the Disaster Mental Health Institute at the University of South Dakota went to New York to help counsel family members and relief workers and to assist in the recovery process. Ranchers from my State sold cattle so they could make donations to the victims and their families. And countless South Dakotans lined up at the Red Cross to donate blood. Each of these people, in large and small ways, was doing their part to help our Nation.

As we take this time to look back on how our country responded to the attacks, I want to say a special word about the men and women of our Armed Forces. The members of our military have made extraordinary sacrifices over the last 2 years in the war on terrorism to make our Nation safer. We can never forget the debt of gratitude we owe to those who have fought

and to those who have died in defense of our freedoms.

South Dakota is privileged to be the home of Ellsworth Air Force Base, and on behalf of all South Dakotans I would like to thank the men and women of Ellsworth Air Force Base for their dedicated service and decisive contributions to both Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom. I also acknowledge the important work of the members of the South Dakota National Guard and Reserves, many of whom are still in the middle of lengthy deployments away from their families and friends.

The National Guard is the oldest component of our Armed Forces. Since its earliest days, the Guard has served a dual, Federal-State role. Following the September 11 attacks, members of the National Guard and Reserves were called on to provide additional security at our Nation's airports, to assist at critical U.S. border checkpoints, to fly protective missions over U.S. cities, and to maintain disaster preparedness in the States. In addition, National Guard units have played a crucial role in the war on terrorism; several units from South Dakota continue to serve in Iraq and Kuwait. I know my colleagues join with me in thanking all of our Armed forces, both Active Duty and Reserve, for their continuing service to our Nation.

Rather than defeating us, the September 11 attacks demonstrated our strength and resiliency. In New York, planning and design for a memorial and the future use of the World Trade Center site is well underway. In Somerset County, PA, there are ongoing efforts to erect a permanent memorial to the crew and passengers of Flight 93. And at the Pentagon, reconstruction has been completed for several months.

While our Nation has moved forward, September 11 will always be a day for quiet reflection and an opportunity to honor those who were lost.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, this September 11, we pause once again to remember those we so tragically lost in the horrific attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and those aboard United Flight 93 2 years ago.

For people in all of our States, there are individual connections that bind us to that terrible day. In my home State of Maine, families will again mark a tragic anniversary for the victims they knew and loved: Anna Allison, Carol Flyzik, Robert Jalbert, Jacqueline and Robert Norton, James Roux, Robert Schlegel, and Stephen Ward. Today, the greatest tribute we can offer is to remember their names, their lives, and their contributions. They are indelibly branded upon our national consciousness.

We feel a pain that will never fade, withstanding even the tempering nature of time. But as we gather around the country on this second anniversary of the attacks, we can see we have been changed permanently, in ways that stand in shining testament to who we are as a nation.

More than 150,000 Americans—from my home State of Maine and across the Nation—continue their brave service overseas, on a mission to ensure the freedom of the people of Iraq and Afghanistan, and to reduce the threat of future terrorist attacks worldwide. In Maine and elsewhere, thousands more are working countless hours to enhance our physical security. That vital work continues to this day. Indeed, we are safer than we were 2 years ago because of those efforts—and we must remain ever vigilant, always identifying ways we can do more.

But 9/11 has had an impact on our society that is perhaps less obvious, yet equally powerful.

Quite simply, we have witnessed the full force of the indomitable spirit with which this Nation has been blessed. The evidence exists in every town and city in America. We all know countless stories of bravery and of quieter but no less significant acts of kindness and compassion—all the more beautiful when viewed through the prism of such incomprehensible inhumanity as was visited upon us.

I cannot help but think of New York City and how her people reacted to the recent blackout. In echoes of 2 year's past, New Yorkers pulled together to face the adversity, relying on each other and looking out for a city that will be forever scared, but also forever proud—and strong. They are changed—not because they were broken but because they are now more united than ever before in the cause of defending that which they love.

It is the same for our entire Nation. America's indomitable spirit shines at events in my home State as it does in all of yours. It shines in Portland and Bangor, Lewiston, and Augusta. It shines in many smaller ways. In the town of Freeport, two women began a simple tribute right after 9/11. They would wave flags each morning, and their fellow citizens would acknowledge—honking their horns and waving. Last year on this date, that simple tribute blossomed into a parade of patriotism down Main Street. And this year, they are organizing a weekend-long event, "The Freeport Freedom Festival."

Our spirit will shine in innumerable other small but heartfelt gestures we make on this second anniversary, just as it shined when people in Maine and across the country lined up at blood banks and donated millions of dollars and tons of food and equipment in the days after the attacks. It is a spirit fueled by freedom, polished with compassion and burnished by pride in our country and the men and women who are risking their lives to protect ours, both here and abroad.

Clearly, even as we have achieved successes, our mission to eradicate terror at its roots—and to secure our homeland—will continue. And just as we did not foresee the tragedies of September 11, 2001, we cannot foretell what will happen next. But we can and must

work together to remember those who have come before us, to maintain our collective vigilance in the face of continued threats, and to remind each other of the principles and people in which we believe.

By working together to help change the world, we are paying the highest possible honor to the more than 3,000 people who lost their lives on September 11, and to those who have made the ultimate sacrifice in the fight against terror in the following days and years. It is a tribute that will resonate throughout the freedom-loving world as we remember. And there should be no mistake—we will always remember.

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, today I rise, as I did 2 years ago, to ponder the terrible events that had occurred only a day before. I rose to express my anger and my sadness, my disbelief, and my disdain for the situation. I rose, as did most of my fellow Senators from both sides of the aisle.

I spoke of the strength and resolve of this great Nation. I spoke of the sad reality that thousands of families were directly affected and would never be the same; that some fathers and some mothers would never be coming home again; that some young sons and daughters would grow up to pictures of parents and grandparents lost in New York, Pennsylvania and across the Potomac at the Pentagon.

I also spoke of the horror yet to be seen and I spoke of our determination, as a country, to face whatever challenges lay ahead and I spoke of our President and the strength of character he would need to withstand such an attack and keep this Nation strong.

I rise today and speak of the same issues and my respect and admiration for the men and women of our military, proud of our President's resolve to stand up to such a challenge and leadership during these 2 years of conflict and proud of our country to rally around the cause of liberty and the defeat of terrorism. I am also proud of this body's dedication to support the ongoing war on terrorism.

It was popular and "good press" to support the initial tide of patriotism and rise against the actions of September 11, 2001. We all stood and swore to the world we would not be bowed or broken. We rallied to the cause and professed dedication to righting this most egregious wrong.

Two years have passed and some among us are starting to lose focus and the resolve necessary to wage this battle—and yes this is a battle. I can understand how that could happen. The more time passes the easier it is to allow other challenges, others programs, and other agendas to take center stage and we get back to the daily business at hand. But we, like our President and our military, must do our part to conquer this foe. We must remember the War on Terrorism does not have one lone face or name attached to it nor is it contained to the field of battle.

This war is being waged in Iraq and Afghanistan as we try to wage peace and raise those countries to when they can stand on their own with self-leadership and rule of law by their own people. The war on terrorism is being waged through the financial institutions, diplomatic arena, and the fields of conflict.

What this country and this Senate needs is the same kind of resolve to continue to support the efforts of this administration in Iraq and Afghanistan and whatever lands this fight takes us. Let us not be confused, the cost of freedom is high but the loss of our freedom and freedom of all nations is a much greater cost. Our only choice is to wage this battle and wage it fully. Our only choice is to wage this battle no matter where it takes us. Our only choice is to wage this battle through the courts and the banks, through the intelligence agencies and the embassies, through our combat capability and the United Nations.

In 2001 I spoke of our President and how he prayed the evening of September 11, 2001. As I close, I offer a suggestion to each of my distinguished colleagues. This evening before bed I will take time to pray. I will pray for all of the victims of September 11, 2001 and their affected families. I will pray for all of the victims of terrorism throughout the world whether by the hands of organized terrorism or random acts perpetrated by despicable men with warped ideas. I will pray for all of the men and women of our military especially those that have paid the ultimate sacrifice in defense of this Nation. I will also pray that our military is successful in defeating our foes in this war. I will pray for our President that he continue to lead this country during these trying times as he has done so honorably. Lastly I will pray for this body to continue to have the strength of character and fortitude to continue to support this cause through to completion no matter how long it may be.

Let this day be a day of remembering and a day of pride as well as sadness. Let this day be the day that we gain renewed resolve, clarity of thought and strength of purpose. May God bless this day and may God bless the United States of America.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, in the morning hours of September 11, 2001, our Nation endured a terrible tragedy. In the wake of that tragedy, the response from our "Last Frontier" was overwhelming. Two years ago, Alaskans volunteered their time and their resources to assist the victims of the attacks. One year ago, the people of our State found unique ways to commemorate our Nation's loss. This year we join the Nation once again in mourning and remembrance.

Since the September 11 attacks, the United States has led the campaign to wipe out terrorism and those who support it. John F. Kennedy once warned the world ". . . that we shall pay any

price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty." The bravery and courage our troops demonstrated on battlefields in Afghanistan and Iraq confirmed that Americans will make the ultimate sacrifice to preserve freedom.

Here at home we are a safer Nation. We have established the Homeland Security Department, changed our laws so that agencies can share information, ensured better communication between State and Federal law enforcement, and provided better protection for ports and other points of entry. But the war on terror requires more and we must stay the course.

In his speech on Sunday night, President Bush reaffirmed our commitment to this cause and called upon the Congress and the Nation to once again prove our resolve. I urge all Americans to support the President. History has taught us that freedom always comes at a cost; we must pay the price. New coalitions have formed among terrorists. Those who wish us ill present us with an almost world-wide burden. Nevertheless, we cannot neglect our responsibilities.

I hope all Alaskans will remember the victims of September 11 today by attending a memorial service or prominently displaying an American flag. The victims of September 11 and the volunteer soldiers who gave their lives in the campaign against terror gave what Lincoln called the "last full measure of devotion." Today, we honor their memory and their sacrifice.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I wish to speak about this day 2 years ago and what it signifies to our country. There is not a soul in this country who does not remember exactly where they were and what they were doing on that fateful day that was so much of a watershed point in our country.

I will tell you where I was. I was with the Senator from North Dakota and a number of others in a leadership meeting about 30 yards from here on the west front of the Capitol. We had broken up our meeting and were watching the television, watching the World Trade Center, when someone burst in the door and said, "The Pentagon has been hit." We immediately looked to the window looking out across The Mall and saw the black smoke rising.

In times such as that, it is interesting how you react. Since my wife and I had just moved into an apartment overlooking the southwest corner of the Pentagon, my instinctive reaction was to leap to a telephone and to try to get word to her to get out of the apartment and get to the basement garage. Of course, I did not know what was happening on that side of the Potomac River.

I went back to the meeting room, and it was vacant. I walked into the hallway and saw everyone pouring down the stairs. I will never forget what I heard at the bottom of the stairs. I

heard the Capitol Police shouting at the top of their lungs: "Get out of the building. Get out of the building."

The memories of that day are seared in the minds of so many of us. And here we are 2 years later still confronting the terrorists and still conducting the war against terrorism.

I am going to close with this because still people come up to me in my State of Florida, as they did so frequently in the aftermath of that fateful day 2 years ago, and they say: "Bill, what can we do?"

Let me tell you what my advice is, and it is the same now as it was then. Loyal, hard-working Americans, what can you do? You can go on about your lives being faithful and hard-working and productive citizens of this country because in defense of this country and our values and our way of life, it is not only that we need military strength for that, we need to continue our moral strength, and we need to continue our economic strength.

It is the strength of that and many other values, if we continue in our normal everyday productive selves that we will overcome. I particularly use that word "overcome" because that is what America is. Our character as a people is that we are overcomers to the obstacles that are put in front of us, to the setbacks with which we are faced. We are overcomers, and our history shows that time and time again. Likewise, this time it will be also.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, on September 11, 2001, our Nation experienced a daunting tragedy. It touched every single one of us. Our people came together and we spoke with one voice as we mourned the terrible loss of family, friends, neighbors and fellow Americans, and as we paid tribute to the heroes who sacrificed their own lives to save others. We found a new and rich meaning in the phrase, "I am an American."

At the same time, we resolved to move forward, to bring the perpetrators of those terrible attacks to account and to put an end to the scourge of terrorism, so that our people remain free to live rewarding and productive lives. We made a major and fundamental commitment to our homeland security.

Now, however, our rapidly expanding commitment in Iraq threatens to overshadow our commitment here at home.

Earlier this year, I supported a series of amendments to the Department of Homeland Security appropriations bill to increase funding for homeland security needs. These included firefighter and first-responder assistance grants, port security, transit security, border security and chemical security protections. Regrettably, these amendments were all defeated, primarily on party-line votes.

If this administration is prepared to ask for nearly \$90 billion in additional funding for our operations in Iraq, it should and must be prepared to provide

the funds we must have to strengthen the security of America's shores and protect the American public.

The terrible losses of 2 years ago will never be forgotten. But the most enduring memorial we can raise to those we lost is a future of freedom and opportunity, a future without fear. Our response to the events of September 11, 2001, is a demonstration of the great and abiding strength of America. We must be prepared to pledge our resources as well as our words.

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, 2 years have past since the tragedy of September 11, 2001, but the visions of smoke rising out of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and the pain and terror on the faces of those who lost family members, friends and colleagues remain vivid in our minds. Within seconds, America realized that it was not invincible.

More than a thousand of miles away from Manhattan's ground zero, the Pentagon, and the field in Shanksville, PA, Arkansans felt the vibrations of this tragedy. Families in Batesville, Pine Bluff, Jonesboro and throughout the State learned about the deaths of friends and family members. Just a few months later, thousands of families would celebrate Thanksgiving and Christmas without the moms, dads, sons and daughters who had been deployed in the fight against terrorism. Soldiers began to guard the Little Rock National Airport and Arkansas Nuclear One. And we all began to care for our neighbors a little bit more. On September 11, 2001, life for Americans changed forever.

September 11 is made bearable only by the true heroism displayed on that day and everyday thereafter. We will never forget the selfless acts demonstrated by our firefighters who ran into burning buildings; police officers who went the extra mile to help the frightened and frail; EMTs, doctors and nurses who cared for the injured; and everyday individuals who raised money for the victims of this tragedy.

Along with these heroes, we have hundreds of thousands of servicemen and women who continue to risk life and limb in places such as Afghanistan, Turkey and Iraq in the name of democracy and all it embodies. They put themselves in harm's way not for personal aggrandizement or advancement but for immense love of country, liberty, and family. I ask all Arkansans to join me with continued support for our men and women in uniform.

I ask also that Arkansans pray for the families who lost their loved ones in the tragic terrorist attacks. The healing process is a long and difficult road, and these families need our support and compassion.

Finally, we must ensure that the more than 3,000 innocent Americans did not die in vain on September 11. We must continue taking those steps necessary to protect our homeland. This means ensuring that our first responders have the tools they need to con-

front terrorism at home. It means ensuring that our servicemen and women have cutting-edge equipment, training and technology they need to complete their mission. It means working together by placing our safety and our children's safety above politics.

Americans have endured great hardship and heartbreak as a result of the terrorist attacks, but this has not broken our faith, courage and an unshakable commitment to freedom, democracy and each other. Today, we remember the tragedy of September 11, and we honor its victims. We will never forget them.

Mr. GRAHAM of South Carolina. Mr. President, 2 years ago, our world changed forever. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centers and Pentagon were a painful wakeup call to our Nation that we must remain ever vigilant in protecting our freedom. We must confront evil where it exists and defeat it. We must battle the terrorists where they live before they are able to carry out their missions of death and destruction on our homeland. Our hearts still grieve for those who lost loved ones in the terrorist attacks, and we must never forget the painful lessons learned on September 11.

September 11 was a dark day in America history.

While the terrorists were carrying out their evil our national character as a strong, proud people showed through as it produced a new generation of American heroes. The memory of the firefighters who rushed into the Trade Centers before their collapse to save their fellow citizens showed us the best in our Nation, as did the passengers on Flight 93 who decided to storm the cockpit and sacrifice their own lives to prevent the terrorists from carrying out their deadly mission. September 11 was a stark contrast between the best and worst of mankind.

On this September 11, may God continue to protect and bless the United States of America.

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to those in New York, at the Pentagon, and in the skies over Pennsylvania who lost their lives 2 years ago today.

None of us in the Senate will ever forget the events of that terrible morning, nor will we forget the courage and compassion displayed by Americans everywhere in response to the attacks.

Today my thoughts and prayers are with the victims, their families, and all of those who risked their lives to save others on that awful day.

We faced the worst terrorist attack in our Nation's history on that day and we told ourselves that we would not let our guard down. We have not let our guard down and we will not let our guard down.

The world has changed dramatically over the past 2 years. Under the President's leadership, we have taken on our enemies abroad so that Americans can live in peace at home. With the help of

our allies abroad, our brave soldiers have dismantled the Taliban in Afghanistan and defeated Saddam Hussein's evil regime in Iraq.

We have killed or taken into custody nearly two-thirds of senior al-Qaida leaders. We have chosen to take on al-Qaida on its battlefield to prevent terrorists from choosing the time and place of battle.

Terrorists across the world have been given notice that the U.S. will do whatever it takes to prevent another terrorist attack.

America will triumph and those who want nothing less than to destroy our way of life will fail.

They will fail because of the American spirit. They will fail because of our faith in freedom and democracy. They will fail because of the strength and character of the American people.

I believe that Americans have emerged from the attacks of September 11, 2001, even stronger and more dedicated to our beliefs and to our Nation.

We are safer now than we were 2 years ago, but the enemy will undoubtedly try again and we must be ready. And we will be ready.

It has been said many times before, but it bears repeating again—it might not seem like it, but we are at war. Al-Qaida and its terrorist allies may be on the run, but they are still plotting against peace-loving people across the world.

It's a different kind of struggle than we have fought before. The war on terror will not end next month or even next year. It will take patience and it will take perseverance. But let the world know that this is a war that we will win. This is a war that Americans and our freedom-loving allies will not allow us to lose.

The President has done a superb job leading our country in the war on terror. And we have done our best in Congress to provide him the resources necessary to prosecute and to win that war.

People often ask me how things have changed in Washington since 9/11.

Some things on the surface certainly have changed. There are more concrete barriers, roadblocks, and security precautions. But looking beneath the surface I think the better question is to ask what did September 11, 2001, reveal about us.

It showed that we are still a good and compassion people. And it showed that we have many friends around the world that also love freedom.

It showed that under the worst of circumstances we will come to the aid of not only our friends and neighbors but complete strangers.

It showed that America is still the greatest nation on Earth. And it showed that in the war on terror, we will prevail.

I thank the Chair. May God grant strength to those that mourn the loss of their loved ones in this war on terror and may God continue to bless this great Nation.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, 2 years ago, our Nation was brutally attacked by terrorists. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children lost their lives on September 11, 2001, in New York, the Washington, DC, area, and Pennsylvania. This week, we honor the memories of those lost, and remember the mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, and other loved ones who will never return to their families.

Yet in the midst of that tragedy, we were reminded about what makes America strong. Firefighters raced into the doomed towers of the World Trade Center, saving thousands of lives, although they would be unable to reach safety themselves. At the Pentagon, even as part of their building burned, the men and women of the military command stayed at their desks to help coordinate information and keep the country's armed forces on high alert. Over Pennsylvania, a group of strangers joined together to fight back against their attackers and saved countless lives by giving their own.

Our strength has always come from the capacity of average Americans to rise to acts of heroism to protect neighbor and stranger alike. Now, our security derives from regular people in a wide range of jobs, in addition to the brave men and women of the armed forces. From Customs agents, to cops on the beat, to baggage screeners, million of U.S. citizens have important roles to play in keeping our country safe.

Today, the fight against terror continues. We face an elusive enemy, willing and eager to take any measure and to murder innocent civilians. To them, the freedoms we enjoy represent opportunities to attack our society and way of life.

This week we remember why we have been drawn into this fight—so that no more families must mourn the loss of loved ones to terror attacks. As we continue this struggle, it is imperative that we do so in a manner befitting a nation of laws. By doing so, we will send a powerful message to the rest of the world: America will not yield to terrorists, and the principles of freedom and democracy will not be bowed by their cowardly tactics. Together, we will prevail.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, Barbara G. Edwards of Las Vegas, NV, Wilson "Buddy" Flagg, a part-time resident of Las Vegas, Lieutenant Colonel Karen Wagner, a 1982 graduate of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, where she was in the Army ROTC—these three people were killed in the terrorist attacks 2 years ago. Mrs. Edwards and Mr. Flagg were passengers on the American Airlines flight that crashed into the Pentagon and LT Wagner worked in the Pentagon. They were the first three heroes from Nevada to die in the war on terrorism, but sadly they were not the last.

Private First Class Matthew Commons, Boulder City, Staff Sergeant Kerry Frith of Las Vegas, Army Spe-

cialist Jason Disney of Fallon, First Lieutenant Fred Pokorney of Tonopah, Marine Corps Lance Corporal Michael Williams, who lived in Phoenix but had extended family in Reno, Marine Corps Lance Corporal Donald Cline, Jr., of Sparks, Army Captain Josh Byers, Sparks, Staff Sergeant Bryan Sarno, Las Vegas—these eight brave soldiers have also given their lives in the war on terrorism. The most recent was 10 days ago. Sergeant Sarno was killed in Iraq on September 1. Most of these Nevadans died wearing the uniform of our country. Others were simply going about their every-day lives.

We have a duty as Americans to remember every one of them, not just for their sake but also for our own, because, as painful as those memories might be, they will always remind us of important truths. Remembering September 11 reminds us we have the greatest system of government on Earth. For more than 2 centuries, no nation has held the flame of freedom higher or opened the doors of opportunity wider than the United States of America. The cowards who struck America on September 11 understand this. That is why they chose targets that symbolize our free economy and our strong Armed Forces. Those cowards had no reason to hate the people they murdered. They didn't even know these people. But they hated America because we stand for freedom, tolerance, and opportunity. That is why we must never let time cloud our memory of what happened and why we must never forget those who gave their lives in the war against terror.

In this body we are privileged to freely debate the important issues facing our Nation. That means we often disagree with one another. But we have no disagreement today on these issues regarding September 11. Today we stand as one to honor our fallen heroes and to pledge that we will never stop fighting until we have won the war against terrorism.

Mr. GRAHAM of South Carolina. Mr. President, I rise today in honor of the men, women, and children who lost their lives in the terrorist attacks on our country on September 11, 2001.

The morning of September 11, 2001 will forever be remembered as the day America came face to face with the forces of evil and prevailed. Innocent men, women, and children lost their lives and families suffered. Police officers, firefighters, rescue personnel, and Americans from every walk of life rose to the occasion to save others, in many instances losing their own lives in the process. That day, we learned about a new kind of American hero.

In the aftermath of these attacks, our country put aside our differences and came together as one nation to mourn our loss, celebrate our liberty, and demonstrate to the world the strength and compassion of a free people. We united behind a single cause: to root out and destroy those responsible for terrorism around the world.

Two years later, America is still leading that fight. The men and women of our Armed Forces stationed throughout the world are defending our way of life, our principles, and our freedom. They do so because we will never forget the loss to America on September 11, 2001.

Today, I ask all Americans to pray for those who lost their lives, pray for their families, and pray for those who have given their lives in the war on terrorism. I also ask that you not forget our uniformed men and women still stationed overseas in harm's way.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I compliment the distinguished Senator REID for his brief remarks regarding this day, and for myself merely say I am among those Americans who never thought it could happen to us. While I sat in my den with my wife on the morning it happened, I was about as incredulous as anyone could be. After I heard more about it, and they told me it was real, I was still disbelieving. I was still incredulous.

But now we look back and we know we are no longer invulnerable. We are no longer so powerful that we can say anything of danger to us will be fought far away. We know the kind of enemy that confronts us is very different than the enemies we have confronted during the lifetime of our Nation.

This is a tough one. This is a unique one. This is one run by crazy men, by people who do not understand or reason as we do.

So I am very pleased, with all the politics at home, that I can stand here and say I feel pretty confident we are doing better, that we are better off than the day this happened, that we are safer than the day it happened, that our big cities are safer. Certainly we are not totally safe. But I wonder whether anybody will ever be able to tell us we have done everything, we have spent every nickel, we have done every program, and we are totally safe from terrorists. I doubt that very much.

In some regards we are lacking. Let us hope we have the wisdom so on the third anniversary we can stand here and say we have even done better, and it is more farfetched that they would succeed. Let's hope we can do that.

For now, I am very proud of an open and free society that made changes to accommodate to this scourge of venom. We had to change a few things, but we did it. We had to spend some extra dollars, but we did. We had to make some cities much safer, but we helped them do it. And then we fought a war for it.

Clearly, when you look back at it all, we did pretty well. For a free nation, we did pretty well. It is pretty easy to mobilize when you are not free. It is pretty easy to fight when you are a dictator. It is pretty difficult to fight against terrorism when you are a democracy and you have to do it openly, in public, and fight them openly, in public, and be criticized openly and in public. It is very hard, but we have done it.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution is agreed to, the preamble is agreed to, and the motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.

The resolution (S. Res. 224) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

Mrs. DOLE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, we mourn the many lives lost 2 years ago today, both the victims of terrorist attack and the heroes, the first responders who rushed to try to save them. In various ceremonies around the country today people are contemplating once again what the war on terrorism involves.

Mr. President, only two years ago, we awoke to the threat that global terrorists posed to the security of the American people and, for that matter, freedom-loving people around the globe, and Americans resolved to fight back against these enemies of freedom.

Our Nation committed to fighting terrorism knowing full well it would require risks, and sacrifice, and time, and, yes, money. We committed to fighting terrorism because the terrorists had already committed to fighting us.

Fortunately, America does not stand alone, because the same terrorists who target the United States also plotted and carried out attacks against European, Asian, and moderate Arab governments who do not share their violent ideology or rationalized interpretation of Islam.

We are now only 24 months into a global war against terrorism and that fact alone is worthy of some reflection.

For 53 months, between June 1914 and November 1919, World War I engulfed Europe. More than 110,000 Americans lost their lives in defense of global security.

For 72 months, between September 1939 and September 1945, World War II raged across the globe, and required years of peacekeeping and reconstruction efforts afterwards. During this tragic conflict nearly half a million American troops gave their lives not only to bring security to America but also to liberate millions of innocent victims suffering under the jackboot of totalitarianism.

For 37 months, between June 1950 and July 1953, American troops battled Communist forces on the Korean Peninsula. American troops remain in South Korea today to maintain a sometimes fragile cease-fire and defend a democratic ally in a war that has yet to end. More than 30,000 Americans

were killed while defending against North Korean and Chinese Communist aggression.

And for nearly 50 years of cold war conflict, American troops were deployed to the edges of the Earth in support of our country's efforts to protect free societies from the threat posed by Soviet totalitarianism. During these tense and difficult decades of cold war, America did not shirk its responsibility to defend its people and the rights of all freedom-loving people. Nor did American politicians put price tags on the defense of democracy and liberty.

The global war against terrorism requires, like the Cold War, a sustained level of commitment by the United States that is equal to our moral commitment in all of these previous conflicts—perhaps even more so—because the terrorists who now confront America do not seek merely territory in a far-off land but are dedicated to the destruction of the United States and the elimination of free societies wherever they may exist. We are fighting an enemy which seeks weapons of mass destruction, not to blackmail democracies but to destroy them.

Under the leadership of President Bush, America has made tremendous progress over the last 24 months. We have jailed or otherwise dealt with nearly two-thirds of al-Qaida's leadership and have dismantled terrorist sleeper cells, severely curtailing al-Qaida's ability to plan and carry out terrorist attacks.

We have cooperated with international police organizations to arrest thousands of terrorists throughout the world, to freeze terrorist assets, to increase surveillance of terrorist organizations, and to keep terrorists on the run.

We routed al-Qaida from Afghanistan and destroyed its many terrorist training camps. Under the Taliban government in Afghanistan, terrorists freely plotted the destruction of our cities and the mass murder of our citizens, while an evil government tortured, raped, and killed those who dared to oppose its misrule. The Afghan people are now building a democratic government and terrorists are no longer welcome in Afghanistan.

In addition, we ended the regime of Saddam Hussein, a long-time sponsor of terrorism and a potential terrorist clearinghouse of weapons of mass destruction. We liberated nearly 25 million Iraqis, who for generations had suffered under Hussein's brutal regime. Now we are helping the Iraqis build for themselves a multiethnic and moderate democracy in the heart of the Middle East.

All these efforts have helped to prevent another terrorist attack on American soil despite al-Qaida's unremitting desire to carry out such an attack.

However, despite our successes, more challenges lie ahead. The terrorists are making a desperate stand in Iraq and Afghanistan and we must be firm in

our resolve to defeat them. As President Bush said to the Nation this very week:

The terrorists have a strategic goal. They want us to leave Iraq before our work is done. They want to shake the will of the civilized world. In the past, the terrorists have the examples of Beirut and of Somalia, claiming that if you inflict harm on Americans, we will run from the challenge. They are mistaken.

For 24 months we have fought to keep America safe from terrorists, and with Osama bin Laden calling for American troops to return home, we must not shrink from our responsibilities now.

We must confront the terrorists where they live and train; otherwise, they will face us in the streets of our cities. We must continue to bring the fight to the enemy or surely he will bring it to us.

I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will be a period for the transaction of morning business until the hour of 11:45 am.

The Senator from Nebraska.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, today is a day for remembrance and reflection. The attacks of September 11, 2001, affected all Americans as individuals, as families, and as a Nation. On that day, 2 years ago, I told the Omaha World Herald: "America is forever changed."

We remember today those who died 2 years ago in New York, at the Pentagon, and in Pennsylvania, as well as those who have since lost their lives to terrorism in Iraq, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Jordan, Pakistan, the Philippines, Yemen, and elsewhere. Their sacrifices and service should reinforce our commitment to defeating this new scourge of mankind.

History has allowed America no quarter from the heavy burdens of leadership. The post-cold-war era of the 1990s now seems like an interlude between two epoch challenges: the cold war and the war on terrorism. Just as previous American generations defeated Nazi tyranny and contained Soviet expansion, today's war on terrorism requires new thinking, commitments, sacrifices, and responsibilities by a new generation of Americans.

Americans can take pride in the courage and determination we have shown over the last 2 years. Our young men and women have participated in the liberation of Iraq and Afghanistan from brutal tyrannies, and we continue