

Murtha	Rogers (AL)	Sullivan
Musgrave	Rogers (KY)	Tancredo
Myrick	Rogers (MI)	Tauscher
Neugebauer	Rohrabacher	Taylor (MS)
Northup	Ross	Taylor (NC)
Norwood	Royce	Terry
Nunes	Ryan (WI)	Thomas
Ortiz	Ryun (KS)	Thompson (CA)
Osborne	Saxton	Thompson (MS)
Otter	Schmidt	Thornberry
Oxley	Schwartz (PA)	Tiahrt
Pearce	Schwarz (MI)	Tiberi
Pence	Sensenbrenner	Turner
Peterson (PA)	Sessions	Upton
Petri	Shadegg	Walden (OR)
Pitts	Shaw	Wamp
Platts	Shays	Weldon (FL)
Poe	Sherwood	Weldon (PA)
Pombo	Shimkus	Weller
Porter	Shuster	Westmoreland
Price (GA)	Simmons	Whitfield
Pryce (OH)	Simpson	Wicker
Putnam	Smith (NJ)	Wilson (NM)
Radanovich	Smith (TX)	Wilson (SC)
Rahall	Sodrel	Wolf
Ramstad	Solis	Young (AK)
Regula	Souder	Young (FL)
Rehberg	Spratt	
Reichert	Stearns	

□ 1423

Mr. MCHUGH and Mrs. KELLY changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Mr. MCINTYRE and Mr. FOSSELLA changed their vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So (two-thirds of those voting having not responded in the affirmative) the motion was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I was absent from Washington on Wednesday morning, September 13, 2006. As a result, I was not recorded for rollcall votes Nos. 438 and 439. Had I been present, I would have voted “aye” on rollcall Nos. 438 and 439.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF TERRORIST ATTACKS LAUNCHED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES ON SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, as the designee of the majority leader and pursuant to H. Res. 996, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 994) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives on the fifth anniversary of the terrorist attacks launched against the United States on September 11, 2001, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 994

Whereas on the morning of September 11, 2001, while Americans were attending to their daily routines, terrorists hijacked four civilian aircraft, crashing two of them into the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and a third into the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C.;

Whereas the heroic actions of the passengers and crew aboard United Flight 93 prevented it from being used as a weapon against America and ultimately led the terrorists to crash the aircraft into a rural field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, killing all those aboard;

Whereas nearly 3,000 innocent people were murdered in these attacks;

Whereas the terrorist attacks were an act of war by al-Qaeda, its leadership and affiliates against the United States and the many peaceful, democratic nations of the world;

Whereas by targeting symbols of American strength and prosperity, the attacks were intended to assail the principles, values and freedoms of the American people and to intimidate the Nation and its allies;

Whereas when the gravest moments came that day, first responders and many ordinary citizens, relying on courage, instinct, and concern for their fellow man, rushed toward the flaming buildings in order to rescue the victims of the attacks;

Whereas in the days subsequent to the brutal attacks on the Nation, the Government vowed never to be caught off guard again, to take the fight to the terrorists, and to take immediate measures to prepare and protect

the Nation against a new type of faceless, inhuman, and amorphous enemy committed to the death and destruction of the American way of life;

Whereas Congress passed, and the President signed, numerous laws to assist victims, combat the forces of terrorism, protect the Homeland and support the members of the Armed Forces who defend American interests at home and abroad, including the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 and its 2006 reauthorization, the Homeland Security Act of 2002, the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002, the Maritime Transportation Security Act of 2002, and the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004;

Whereas the House of Representatives in the 109th Congress passed the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, the SAFE Port Act of 2006, and the 21st Century Emergency Communications Act of 2006;

Whereas terrorist attacks that have occurred since September 11, 2001, in Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Spain, the United Kingdom and elsewhere, remind all Americans of the brutal intentions of the terrorists and the ever-present threat they pose to the principles of freedom;

Whereas British authorities, in cooperation with United States and Pakistani officials, recently disrupted an airline terror plot to commit mass murder by blowing up civilian aircraft bound for the United States;

Whereas Federal agencies, including those within the Intelligence Community, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Homeland Security, worked effectively with American allies to investigate and disrupt the airline terror plot and to implement appropriate security procedures in response to the plot;

Whereas United States law enforcement and intelligence agencies and allies of the United States around the world have worked together to detect and disrupt terrorist networks and numerous terror plots since September 11, 2001, including a plan to attack targets on the west coast of the United States using hijacked aircraft in 2002, a plan to attack targets on the east coast of the United States using hijacked civilian aircraft in 2003, a plan to blow up apartment buildings in the United States in 2002, a plan to attack urban targets in the United Kingdom using explosives in 2004, a plan to attack Westerners in Karachi, Pakistan, in 2003, a plan to attack Heathrow Airport using hijacked aircraft in 2003, a plan to conduct large-scale bombings in the United Kingdom in 2004, a plan to attack ships in the Arabian Gulf in 2002, a plan to attack ships in the Straits of Hormuz in 2002, a plan to attack a United States tourist site outside the United States in 2003, a plan to attack Queen Alia Airport in Jordan in 2006, a plan to attack high-profile buildings in Ontario, Canada, in 2006, and a plan to attack an El Al aircraft in 2006;

Whereas the Nation is indebted to the brave military, intelligence, and law enforcement personnel serving in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere who are on the front lines of the global war on terrorism;

Whereas the Nation is safer than it was on September 11, 2001, but more must always be done because the terrorist threat is latently entrenched, nimble, resourceful, and dedicated to the murder of Americans and the destruction of freedom; and

Whereas the passage of five years has not diminished the pain caused by the senseless loss of nearly 3,000 persons killed on September 11, 2001: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the House of Representatives—

NAYS—171

Allen	Hinchev	Oberstar
Baird	Hinojosa	Obey
Baldwin	Holden	Olver
Becerra	Holt	Pallone
Berman	Honda	Pascrell
Bishop (GA)	Hooley	Pastor
Bishop (NY)	Hoyer	Paul
Blumenauer	Inslee	Payne
Boehler	Jackson (IL)	Pelosi
Boren	Jackson-Lee	Peterson (MN)
Boswell	(TX)	Pickering
Boyd	Jefferson	Pomeroy
Brady (PA)	Johnson, E. B.	Price (NC)
Brown (OH)	Jones (OH)	Rangel
Brown, Corrine	Kanjorski	Renzi
Butterfield	Kaptur	Reyes
Camp (MI)	Kelly	Reynolds
Capps	Kennedy (RI)	Rothman
Capuano	Kildee	Roybal-Allard
Carson	Kilpatrick (MI)	Rush
Case	Kind	Ryan (OH)
Chandler	King (NY)	Salazar
Clay	Kucinich	Sánchez, Linda
Cleaver	Kuhl (NY)	T.
Clyburn	Lantos	Sanchez, Loretta
Cole (OK)	Larsen (WA)	Sanders
Conyers	Larson (CT)	Schakowsky
Cooper	Lee	Schiff
Cuellar	Levin	Scott (GA)
Cummings	Lewis (GA)	Scott (VA)
Davis (IL)	Lofgren, Zoe	Serrano
Davis (TN)	Matsui	Lowey
DeGette	McCarthy	Sherman
Delahunt	McCollum (MN)	Skelton
DeLauro	McDermott	Slaughter
Diaz-Balart, L.	McGovern	Smith (WA)
Diaz-Balart, M.	McHugh	Snyder
Dicks	McKinney	Stark
Dingell	McNulty	Stupak
Doggett	Meehan	Sweeney
Doyle	Meek (FL)	Tanner
Emanuel	Meeks (NY)	Tierney
Eshoo	Melancon	Towns
Etheridge	Michaud	Udall (CO)
Farr	Millender	Udall (NM)
Fattah	Millender	Van Hollen
Filner	McDonald	Velázquez
Ford	Miller (NC)	Visclosky
Frank (MA)	Miller, George	Walsh
Gonzalez	Moore (KS)	Wasserman
Gordon	Moore (WI)	Schultz
Green, Al	Moran (VA)	Waters
Green, Gene	Nadler	Watt
Grijalva	Napolitano	Waxman
Gutierrez	Neal (MA)	Weiner
Harman		Wexler
Hastings (FL)		Woolsey
Hayworth		Wu
Herseth		

NOT VOTING—15

Davis (FL)	Keller	Ruppersberger
Engel	Ney	Sabo
Green (WI)	Nussle	Strickland
Harris	Owens	Watson
Johnson, Sam	Ros-Lehtinen	Wynn

(1) continues to recognize September 11 as a day to remember and mourn those who lost their lives that fateful day;

(2) encourages Americans to make September 11 a day of national service;

(3) extends its deepest sympathies to the spouses, children, mothers, fathers, and other loved ones of the victims of September 11, 2001;

(4) honors the heroic actions of first responders, law enforcement personnel, State and local officials, volunteers, and others who aided the innocent victims and bravely risked their own lives and health following the September 11, 2001 attacks;

(5) extends its deepest gratitude to military, intelligence and law enforcement personnel serving both at home and abroad in the global war on terrorism and for the sacrifices of their families and loved ones;

(6) expresses its gratitude to all foreign nations and their citizens who have assisted and continue to assist the United States in the global war on terrorism;

(7) vows that it will remain vigilant in efforts to provide the Federal Government with all the tools necessary to fight and win the global war on terrorism; and

(8) reaffirms that the American people will never forget the tragedy of September 11, 2001, and the loss of innocent lives that day, will continue to fight the war on terrorism in their memory, and will never succumb to the cause of the terrorists.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOLBE). Pursuant to House Resolution 996, the gentleman from New York (Mr. KING) and the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON) each will control 2 hours.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H. Res. 994.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to yield 1 minute to the Speaker of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT).

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, it was a day, September 11, 2001, of unforgettable horror and unforgettable heroes. It was the day our buildings fell, the day our people rose. The fear and anguish that we felt that bright blue morning 5 years ago will never leave us, but the courage and the iron resolve that carried us through the hours and days that followed must also remain.

The war on terror, today being fought here in our homeland, and around the world, must be won. Five years after 9/11, America is safer and much more alert to the dangers that lurk in the darker corners of our world.

Those dangers yet exist in Afghanistan and Iraq and Iran and Syria, Lebanon and elsewhere. They call themselves al Qaeda and Hamas and Hezbollah and many other names.

Mr. Speaker, their differences of names and nationality neither erase

nor even obscure the menacing ideology that binds them together as a single indistinguishable enemy of freedom and justice and peace.

This ideology of evil seeks not simply to dominate, but to destroy the will of all mankind, to control at the tip of a sword our very thought, word and deed. Their ultimatum is simple: submit or die.

Beginning on the morning of September 11, 2001, aboard United Flight 93 in the skies over Pennsylvania, America decided to take a third option. We decided to fight back. Despite the overwhelming odds, despite circumstances that no other nation and no other military could hope to overcome, our resolve has not broken.

In the 5 years since 9/11, our military and our intelligence services have thwarted dozens of attacks, large and small. Their efforts have saved countless lives. Along with our coalition partners, we have overthrown dangerous dictatorships in Afghanistan and Iraq and started to free people of those nations on a road to democracy.

These facts are all laid out in the resolution before us. But as important as it is to recite what we have done, it is more important for this House to assert what it intends to do.

Let me quote from it. The House of Representatives "reaffirms that the American people will never forget the tragedy of September 11, 2001, and the loss of innocent lives that day, and will continue to fight the war on terrorism in their memory, and will never succumb to the cause of the terrorists."

To me, and I think to most Americans, after 5 years of security and success, a lapse in our resolve is unthinkable. Victory is not yet assured, and victory without resolve is impossible.

Adoption of this resolution today will be a signal to our Nation, to our troops, to our allies around the world, and especially to our enemies, that we will never forget and we will never surrender.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor of all those whose lives were affected by September 11, 2001. I rise in memory of those who lost their lives that fateful day. I rise in support of the families and friends who lost loved ones and exhibited courage and strength in the face of adversity, and I rise in support of the firemen, police, EMTs, soldiers and others who put lives at risk every day to protect our Nation against terrorism.

□ 1430

Five years ago, every town, small and large, was jolted by 9/11. In the days and months that followed, Members of this very body vowed to do whatever it took to ensure that an attack like 9/11 never repeated itself. We joined hands and crossed party lines to stand up against an enemy that did not see us as Democrats or Republicans,

but only as Americans. We made promises and swore that we would do everything we could to secure America.

Five years later, we are still making promises and America is still not as safe as it should be. And five years later, Mr. Speaker, the bipartisanship we had after 9/11 is mostly gone.

Indeed, just yesterday, I was disappointed to read that my colleagues across the aisle called Democrats "clueless" on national security. Meanwhile, the House majority leader had the audacity to question whether Democrats were "more interested in safeguarding the rights of accused terrorists than protecting Americans."

All I can say is, shame on you all for putting politics and partisanship above the security of our communities. Shame on you for using the memory of 9/11 during a charged political season as a coverup for Congress' do-nothing approach to homeland security.

There is nothing wrong with drafting a bipartisan resolution to honor our Nation and respect the memory of 9/11, but there is something wrong when this body takes upon itself to pat itself on the back about a few past deeds when we have left the bulk of the work of homeland security unfinished.

I ask anyone in this room to tell me whether this resolution gives first responders effective interoperability so that they have the tools and funding to talk to one another, or provide for a sufficient number of Border Patrol or ICE agents as well as equipment and technology so we don't have to tax an overworked National Guard to defend the border, or whether or not this resolution provides adequate funding for protecting our skies, our subways and our ports, or whether or not this resolution reverses the ongoing trend of wasting homeland security funds on bloated Beltway contractors that are making out with taxpayer dollars while security is left along the wayside. I think not, Mr. Speaker.

Eleanor Roosevelt once said, "What you don't do can be a destructive force," and that is what I fear. What this Congress does not do today will leave us less secure tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, last Friday I sent a letter to you urging that the House act on a number of proposed homeland security measures that have been offered in this Congress, some dating back as early as 2005. My letter details 21 specific bills that have been written by Members of Congress to protect our country and close security gaps plaguing our Nation's rail and mass transit security, emergency communications, chemical facilities security, cargo container security and much more. I have not yet heard back on my letter. These bills deserve an up or down vote or consideration as stand alone measures by this House.

The leaders of the 9/11 Commission said earlier this week that our Nation is still not as safe or prepared as it can be because we have failed to fulfill their "most elementary" recommendations. 9/11 Commission Chairman Kean

added that “If everybody in Congress is for recommendations, what happened? How come they’re not passed?”

Mr. Speaker, Democrats have already offered to fulfill the Commission’s recommendations through these measures listed in my letter. Now is the time for action.

That said, Mr. Speaker, I am aware that the Republican leadership may push through a number of security measures in the House in the next 2 weeks to address certain vulnerabilities in an attempt to show that this body cares about security. While I am happy that we are finally seeing some action on some critical homeland security issues, I am concerned that what will come before this body are shell bills that claim to secure our Nation without allocating the funding, manpower or technology necessary.

Indeed, debate is ongoing right now to include FEMA reorganization in the Homeland Security appropriations bill, and my colleagues across the aisle have said that they won’t provide funding for improving interoperability of first responder communication systems. Certainly we all remember the failures of 9/11, when many first responders lost their lives because communications didn’t work. Yet my colleagues across the aisle are refusing to include interoperability funding in the proposed FEMA reorganization, because the White House doesn’t want it.

“Security on the cheap” is no way to legislate our Nation’s future. Americans are tired of Congress giving itself accolades while the Nation’s business goes unfinished. America wants Congress to keep its promises and give all our citizens a country as secure as it needs to be.

Despite my Republican colleagues saying we Democrats don’t have a clue about how to make our country safer, here it is: Join us and pass these 21 measures that provide real security to our Nation. Let’s finally listen to the true bipartisan experts on this issue, the 9/11 Commission, and move forward with legislation to implement the 9/11 Commission recommendations.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, 9/11, September 11, 2001, was a day unlike any in our history. It was a day which saw the worst tragedy befall our Nation. It was a day and the days thereafter which demonstrated the very best in America, the heroism, the courage, the willingness to fight back, the determination never again to allow ourselves to be attacked the way we were on that day.

Since that time, Congress has achieved a lot. The purpose of this resolution today was to show that we are not just going to lament what happened on September 11, we are not just going to mourn what happened on September 11, but we are going to lay the record out as to what has been done

and what should be done. And, quite frankly, as the prime author of this resolution, we did not in any way attempt to make it contentious.

For instance, I really wonder why at this stage on the fifth anniversary of September 11 my friends in the opposition have chosen to draw the line on this resolution, when 2 years ago, in a bipartisan resolution which was overwhelmingly adopted, there were far more, if you want to call them, partisan matters included. I don’t consider them partisan. But if they are applying the standard they are applying today to the 2004 resolution, where it went through so many items, as the war in Iraq, the war in Afghanistan, Libya, port security, border security, Terrorist Threat Information Center, going after financial assets, all of those matters, very few of which are mentioned in our resolution today.

But for some reason, I guess with election day less than 60 days away, they have chosen to say what was non-partisan 2 years ago is extremely partisan today.

I regret that, because there is a lot that we still have to do as a Congress, but there is much we achieved, and I believe it is important for us not to just talk about the horror of September 11, but to chronicle for history what we have done, what we intend to do and let history be our judge.

That is why we included the PATRIOT Act, that is why we included the Maritime Security Act, the intelligence reform and port security legislation, because we do believe they are significant achievements by Congress.

Now, maybe history will show it was not right to break down the wall between the FBI and CIA, or it was not right to have to have intelligence reform, but I am content and I think we have an obligation to lay that out and let the American people decide and let history decide.

If we wanted to make this partisan, we could have certainly put in about the NSA electronic surveillance, which the overwhelming majority of Americans support because they believe it makes common sense to listen to the conversations of foreign terrorists. But because of the controversy of that, it was not put in. Nor was the SWIFT Plan, which was illegally disclosed by the New York Times. Did we include that in our resolution, even though that has also been extraordinarily effective?

As far as the issue of whether or not we are safer today than on September 11, both the chairman and cochairman of the 9/11 Commission say we are, the junior Senator from New York says we are, any number of people say we are. We can debate that. But I think it is certainly fair comment to put that in this 9/11 resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I will end on this before I finish my remarks. But I just want to say no one has any monopoly on grief in this Chamber. I lost well over 150 friends, neighbors and constituents on

September 11, 2001. I spent all day Monday at cemeteries and commemorations and meeting with families.

I think it is really wrong to somehow attack this resolution as our attempt to be partisan. We could have found much more ways to be partisan if we wanted to. It was an attempt to come together. For whatever reason, the opposition has chosen to draw the line today on the fifth anniversary, when they could have done it 2 years ago. For whatever reason they decided now is the time. I think history will show they are wrong.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I am proud at this time to yield such time as he may consume to the chairman of the Democratic Caucus, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN).

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank my friend Mr. THOMPSON for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, 5 years after 9/11, we have still failed to capture or kill Osama bin Laden. We have not destroyed al Qaeda. A new Pentagon report shows that the situation in Iraq is worsening, with the number of attacks against Americans and Iraqis climbing to the highest average per week since the war began; 2,700 United States soldiers have died in Iraq, over 20,000 have been wounded; and United States taxpayers have paid more than \$300 billion for the Iraq war. Yet we are spending 4 hours debating a partisan resolution about one of the most tragic days in American history.

Mr. Speaker, now is not the time to divide the country. Slogans and partisanship will not bring us victory. “Stay the course” and “you are either with us or against us” are not military strategies.

Five years after 9/11, we must be clear: The war in Iraq has distracted us from finding Osama bin Laden, dismantling al Qaeda and fighting the war on terrorism. We must put the future of Iraq in the hands of the Iraqis so we can focus on our primary goal, winning the war on terrorism. We must end the stonewalling and pass the 9/11 Commission recommendations.

But the Republican leadership keeps fighting the wrong battles. They announced yesterday a war against Democrats on security.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation is engaged in a war against a real and brutal enemy who finds pleasure in taking innocent life and who works every day to undermine the freedom and democracy we hold dear. I suggest the Republican leadership focus its energy on fighting that enemy, not their fellow Americans.

As this Nation faces the greatest challenge of our generation, defeating terrorism, our leaders must preach strength and unity, not partisanship and divisiveness.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to yield 2 minutes to

the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. PRYCE).

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for the time.

Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago this week our Nation suffered an unspeakable terrorist attack that resulted in the deaths of almost 3,000 Americans. This resolution is to honor them.

No American will ever forget the horror of that day, but neither will we forget what else we saw in the days that followed: The courage, the generosity, the selflessness of ordinary Americans who raced in to help in any way they possibly could.

One of those heroes lives in my own backyard. Sergeant Jason Thomas, a former marine who upon learning of the hit on Tower 1, raced to Ground Zero, donning his marine uniform which was in the trunk of his car, to join the search for survivors.

His seemingly illogical instinct to race into that danger saved the lives of two Port Authority police officers who were trapped beneath 20 feet of debris when the towers collapsed. Yet he asked for no notice, no thanks, no praise. No one even knew of his bravery.

As remarkable as Sergeant Thomas' story is, it is just one of the hundreds and thousands of stories of courage and compassion that came out of that day. Mr. Speaker, the hijackers hoped to terrorize and demoralize our Nation. Instead, they brought out the very best that is in us.

□ 1445

Inspired by the heroes of 9/11, today we reaffirm our commitment to defending our liberty from every threat and combating the evil of terrorism wherever it is found. And it is sad that there are so many "shame on you's" and finger-shakings going on. And I say shame on those who continue the constant drumbeat to dampen this country's spirit and to demoralize those men and women who are so bravely defending us from the terror that could strike again.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL).

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, there is no Democratic or Republican way to honor America. Let's get that straight.

This legislation minimizes the hurt of the families of 9/11. I make that contention. This is not acceptable. I don't say this as a Democrat. I am proud of that fact. I say this as an American who believes in God.

My friend, the gentleman from New York, is absolutely wrong when he says this is the same legislation as 2 years ago. I can agree with all of the "resolves" in this legislation, but when you look back into the "whereases," to be very specific, the legislation 2 years ago had nothing in there about immigration when your party does not even agree on a position nor does ours. Why do we put in such a politically contentious issue when basically what we are

saying here is we feel your hurt, families, and we want you to know we honor this?

Today I harbor great disappointment. I really do. The possibility for reaching true bipartisanship, which was done in the Senate, has been thwarted. A long list of shameful acts on this floor continues. We could have honored the lives lost during the terrorist attacks 5 years ago by voting on a truly bipartisan bill. When there is an opportunity for crass, in many ways cynical, politics in regard to security, these gentlemen and ladies have taken it. For shame.

Placing a commendation for this immigration security bill that barely passed the House last year within this resolution is from left field. We all know that the bill we are lauding here is one of the most divisive, mean-spirited pieces of legislation we have seen in recent years. So it is the "resolved" in this resolution that we agree with, but the "whereases" leave much to be desired. Inserting this in this 9/11 anniversary resolution is simply wrong. It is so typical of what we have come to expect.

We should be concerned about what the 9/11 Commission Public Discourse Project has given Congress for its efforts on homeland security. We should try in a bipartisan fashion to correct the D's and the F's, and many of us on both sides of the aisle have attempted to do that. Maybe we could actually improve how we screen baggage and cargo. Maybe we could address the vulnerabilities presented to our rail and our mass transit problems. Maybe, just maybe, we should finally give out grants to States and locals based on risk.

So I say, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I think we could have done better, particularly on this hurtful incident in our country's history. And that is my point today.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would remind the gentleman from New Jersey that the resolution he voted for 2 years, the 9/11 commemoration resolution, specifically said that Iraq was part of the war on terrorism, that the capture of Saddam Hussein was part of the war against terrorism, all in the "whereases" clauses. It also cited the fact of port security achievements we had made there. It mentioned the Terrorist Threat Integration Center, all of which was there in that resolution 2 years ago, which for whatever reason they did not object to then.

And I would say one of the reasons we didn't put the immigration bill in the legislation 2 years ago, it was not passed until last year, and the 9/11 Commission specifically stated that addressing border security is a major element of homeland security.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from California, the chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. LUNGREN.

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, like many, I was affected by 9/11. As a matter of fact, that is the reason I decided to return to public service and sought an opportunity to serve in this body after a 16-year absence. I have spent a considerable amount of time with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle attempting to fulfill my obligation in that regard. And I am reminded, basically because of my service as attorney general of California, that oftentimes we not only need to mark something that has happened in the past but we need to also talk about the things that we have effectively done to respond to whatever challenges occurred out of that event, because if we do not, we fail to help lead the people, that is, we fail to tell our constituents that those sacrifices that they have made, the programs that they have enacted through us, have had merit. Because if you do not do that, after a while those you seek to represent have no sense that we are actually doing something effective.

So it seems to me very much appropriate, not shameful, that the chairman of my committee would construct this resolution that not only cites the tragedy of 9/11 but talks about the efforts we have made in this Congress, with the executive branch, to respond to the challenges that came out of that tragedy.

Earlier this year the House overwhelmingly passed the SAFE Port Act on a bipartisan basis, 421-2. This act addresses port security defenses within and beyond U.S. ports. As a matter of fact, as we are now speaking, the United States Senate is dealing with that.

We have taken steps to prevent our own facilities from being used against us as weapons of mass destruction and to protect our critical infrastructure. A few months ago our committee passed legislation to guard against terrorist attacks on our chemical facilities on a bipartisan basis.

Finally, we have taken steps, as importantly, to respond to the suggestion by the 9/11 Commission to do something about securing our country by preventing terrorists and their weapons from being smuggled across the borders. So that is the reason why, in fact, we have this included in this resolution.

So, Mr. Speaker, rather than taking exception to this resolution, I would hope that we would join together on a bipartisan basis to say certainly the journey has not ended, but we have done a lot. And anyone who stands here and says that we are not safer today than we were on 9/11 either is tragically uninformed or is intentionally misinforming the American people.

Yes, we have more to do. But we should look back on those things that we have joined together to do successfully.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL) for a response.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, there is a difference between what the Senate passed unanimously and what we are discussing today.

You will admit that.

And you did not mention the specific item that I mentioned and my problem with the legislation "whereases" is on the immigration legislation, which was passed last year. You know quite well it is a contentious subject on your side as well as in the entire Congress.

I have mentioned nothing about the other things and have no problems with the other things that you mentioned, but I think that is enough for me to express myself, and I want to just correct the gentleman.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I now yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY).

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, the Republican Party has taken an opportunity to make a positive contribution to the commemoration of the 9/11 anniversary and turned it into a partisan ploy that divides our country and this Congress. What a huge missed opportunity and disservice to our Nation.

At the same time, they have undertaken a coordinated, cynical, political campaign to impugn the patriotism of any Democrat who dares to question, dares to criticize, dares to suggest that there may be a better, safer way of protecting our country.

The Republicans include in this resolution legislation that divides our country, not just Democrats and Republicans in Congress; but they include in this resolution the Republican border security bill, the PATRIOT Act, other bills that they know divide Democrats from Republicans and Americans from other Americans.

If they want to go down the path, there are other issues that divide Democrats from Republicans. Democrats want to implement all of the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. They want to make sure that every one of them is put on the books. The Republicans oppose implementing all of the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission.

In other areas they oppose having full security built around chemical plants in the United States. There are nightclubs in New York City that are harder to get into than chemical plants in our country.

Nuclear power plants, they oppose the hardening of the spent fuel facilities next to nuclear power plants in our country. They nickel and dime security for public transit. They refuse to support the requirement that hazardous materials, where possible, are shipped around densely populated areas instead of through them in our country.

In aviation they still oppose screening of the cargo which goes on to passenger planes in our country. Each one

of us has to take off our shoes, has to put our bag through security, and then nearly 6 billion pounds of cargo are placed under the feet of passengers on planes across our country.

And then, unbelievably, rejecting the recommendation of the 9/11 Commission, knowing that al Qaeda puts at the top of their terrorist target list putting a nuclear bomb on a cargo container in a ship and bringing it into port in the United States, the Republicans object to the requirement that all of these containers be screened in ports overseas before they are ever allowed to leave for the United States. They say it is too expensive. Well, the price we will pay in security for the Republicans objecting to the screening for a nuclear bomb is that when a nuclear bomb goes off in an American city, as Vice President CHENEY said, more deaths will occur than all the lives that were lost in all the battles that the United States fought all the way back to the Revolutionary War. They refuse to impose this mandate for screening of nuclear bombs in cargo container ships. They want to screen it after it gets to a port in the United States. By then it is too late. The 9/11 Commission says screen for nuclear bombs as they are being put into containers overseas before they take off for the ports of the United States.

This resolution is just a complete and total undermining of the solidarity which we should have on this occasion of the fifth anniversary of that loss of life.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would remind my friend from Massachusetts, or at least suggest to him, that you don't have to agree with every word of every resolution to vote for it.

For instance, the overwhelming majority of Democrats voted for the 9/11 resolution 2 years ago, which specifically cited the war in Iraq as being an effective part of the war against terrorism. It also cited the arrest of Saddam Hussein and also cited the many accomplishments that had been made by Congress, and they voted for that then. For some reason they have now chosen to make this a very partisan issue.

Also, the gentleman said that Democrats have supported every recommendation of the 9/11 Commission. In fact, 152 Democrats voted against the REAL ID Act, which was supported by the 9/11 Commission.

And as far as the whole issue of the nuclear screening, even the Washington Post said that is nothing but a grandstand.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL).

□ 1500

Mr. MCCAUL of Texas. Mr. Speaker, we stand here today not as Republicans or Democrats, but united as Americans to remember the events of September 11, as it should be.

I find this debate should not fall into election year politics. It is fitting the resolution contains border security in it, as the 9/11 Commission recommended border security. It is an issue of national security.

Five years ago this week, our generation was defined by the heroic actions of the hundreds of first responders, brave Americans, and innocent victims who gave their lives on 9/11. That day, 19 al Qaeda hijackers murdered nearly 3,000 Americans. Those terrorists had a simple cause, inflict the highest loss of life and the most damage they could to our Nation. They may have succeeded in murdering thousands of people going about their daily lives, but they failed miserably to defeat the patriotic spirit of America and of freedom everywhere.

When we remember the events of September 11, we must also remember the police officers and firefighters that responded to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon who went in to save lives but gave their own lives in the process. We must remember the first responders from every corner of our Nation who came to Ground Zero in the days after to lend their strength, their skills, and their support. And we must remember the innocent people, the husbands and wives, the parents and children, and the entire families who were ripped apart that fateful day that the Towers fell. We must always remember. We will never forget and we will never surrender. That is our duty as Americans, and that is our charge as patriots.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

(Mr. LANGEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANGEVIN. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to join my colleagues and millions of Americans in mourning and honoring those who bravely lost their lives on September 11, 5 years ago. Their memories must be honored and they must not be forgotten, and we must ensure that they did not die in vain. It is our job as elected officials to learn from those vulnerabilities that terrorists were able to exploit to ensure that similar tragedies never happen again.

Unfortunately, the resolution before us today places politics ahead of honoring our fallen heroes, and it does nothing to ensure that our Nation becomes safer. It is nothing but a divisive and partisan measure that allows Republicans to pat themselves on the back and give them peace of mind. Well, I refuse to be complacent. There is simply too much that remains to be done to secure our homeland. We need to get back on track in implementing the 9/11 Commission's recommendations. Our borders, ports, and virtually every entry into our country remain unsecured, and the 9/11 Public Disclosure Project has given the administration a D on their efforts to protect against weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. Speaker, one of the worst case scenarios experts fear is that terrorists

would be able to smuggle nuclear material across our borders or through our ports. This is an unacceptable reality. As the lead Democrat on the Subcommittee for the Prevention of Nuclear and Biological Attack, I have called for the installation of radiation portal monitors at designated ports of entry to screen all inbound cargo for radiological and nuclear materials in and at our border crossings. Mr. Speaker, we need to significantly strengthen our radiation detection technology, and we need to do it now. Five years after the terrorists attacked our country, we still lack the capability to identify exactly what comes through our ports.

I urge my colleagues to refocus our efforts on implementing the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission, as this is truly the way to honor the heroes who lost their lives on that devastating day 5 years ago.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, again I would remind my friends on the Democratic side that the resolution that the overwhelming majority of them voted for 2 years ago, for instance, on the issue of port security, in the whereas clauses specifically cited the innovative programs which have done so much to make our ports more secure and to screen cargo. And, again, we don't have to agree with every aspect of every bill, but if it was good enough 2 years ago for them to cite it, I don't know why it suddenly now becomes such an extreme partisan issue.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut, who I must say is an extremely strong and very independent voice and advocate for Homeland Security.

Mr. SHAYS. I thank my chairman of the Homeland Security Committee for yielding to me, I thank him for his sincerity, I thank him for his good work, and I thank him for reaching out to the other side of the aisle on every occasion. I am sorry he is having to deal with the criticism that he is now having to deal with. But this is close, I guess, to an election time.

As chairman of the 9/11 Caucus and chairman of the National Security Emerging Threats and International Relations Subcommittee, I rise to salute and honor the 2,976 individuals who lost their lives on this fateful day, 81 who were residents of the 17 towns I am privileged to represent. I salute the first responders who did what first responders do, run into danger while those they seek to protect run out. I salute as well all who labored after the buildings imploded to first save lives and then ultimately find the body parts of those who perished.

Many of these individuals, particularly those who labored on this site during the first few weeks and months breathing highly toxic air, now find their own lives at risk. May God bless them, may God bless those who perished on September 11, and may God bless this great and enduring county. I thank you very much.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Los Angeles (Mr. BECERRA).

Mr. BECERRA. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 994 was our opportunity in this House for the Members of the House of Representatives to speak, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, not as conservatives or liberals, but as proud Americans, one Nation commemorating the events of 9/11.

That is in fact what the 100 Members of the other body, the Senate, did when they unanimously, 100 Members, passed their resolution commemorating America's faith, its determination, and certainly our response to the vicious attacks perpetrated on 9/11.

We could have demonstrated our faith in our country by acknowledging the heroes, all of them, the men and women who gave their lives on 9/11. We could have acknowledged the families who have suffered tremendous loss. We could have acknowledged our law enforcement and military personnel, our safety servicemembers, those who work every day to protect us. Instead, cloaked within this resolution in this House is language that is controversial, that is not supported by many Members in this House, that indeed is not supported by many people in the public, and it is cloaked within the words to commemorate the events and the people that make us proud about how we responded on September 11, 2001.

Many believe in this country that we are not as safe as we should be. Many of us believe that we have a right to be tough today as we respond to those who wish to harm us. Many of us believe we must act smartly as we respond to those who wish to harm us. But many of us believe we need to have a great deal more hope that we can do things in a better way. And, unfortunately, today we must report to the world, as did the 9/11 Commission that explored the events after 9/11 and our response, that indeed today we have failed our people in responding adequately with the government that we have with us today.

Five years after 9/11, the members of the 10-member bipartisan Commission on 9/11 issued a report card on how the Federal Government has responded to their recommendations. Their report card included five Fs, 12 Ds, and two incompletes. It is irresponsible for this resolution today to say the Nation is safer than it was on September 11, 2001, when there is still so much work ahead of us and so much that is preoccupying our time outside of our own domestic borders.

Our failures are critical. Today, only one in every 16 cargo containers that come into all of our ports throughout our Nation are ever inspected before they enter into our territories. Today in America we talk about our broken immigration system, and yet today we

stand some 11 days before we are closing this 2-year legislative session without having addressed comprehensive immigration reform the way the American public has demanded, and today we know that there are some 10 to 20 million people who live in the shadows of America working every day in this country, not able to come out because they don't have documents to be here but still working, and we go on and do nothing to address the fact that there are some 12 million people who live in our shadows. We don't know what they are doing, we don't know how they are doing. And today we have a resolution that doesn't treat all of these different issues that are coming before us.

Mr. Speaker, we could do this much differently. If you talk to America's troops in Iraq and throughout the world, they could give you some answers of what we should be doing. If you talk to the American families who suffered from 9/11, they could tell you what we could be doing. I believe we should be not speaking politics, and I urge my colleagues to let's move forward together bipartisanly to move forward commemorations that really do have the support of all Americans.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would just again remind my friends on the other side that we are definitely safer than we were on September 11. It is not just me saying that or the Republican majority saying that. It is the chairman and cochairman of the 9/11 Commission, people such as the junior Senator from New York who was saying that.

As far as our resolution, it certainly goes out of its way, and appropriately so, to extend the deepest sympathies to all those who lost their lives, to their family members and friends. It honors the heroic actions of the first responders.

If we made a mistake in drafting this resolution, it was I guess laboring under the misconception that the people on the other side would adhere to the same standards and principles that we set for ourselves 2 years ago when we adopted the 9/11 resolution at that time, which again goes into far more detail than anything we mentioned at all today.

And I would also mention to the gentleman from California who said that we should speak to the families of those who lost relatives on September 11. I spent Monday morning to night with those families, and I can tell you, after speaking with them, I am more proud than ever to have introduced and sponsored this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE), a member of the committee.

Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the committee who has worked very, very hard on these issues and trying to put together bipartisan agreement on many of the issues that come before our committee.

Five years later, the terrible events of September 11 are still fresh in the minds of Americans. On the same day we saw heroism and sorrow of so many, we saw the hatred and evil of a few. These events served as notice to our Nation that we were not as secure as we had thought.

In response, our country has made substantial progress towards securing our borders, infrastructure, and airlines. There is still a ways to go, but we are safer today than we were on September 10.

Despite chaos surrounding the events of September 11, America showed great, great strength. We witnessed an outpouring of goodwill, patriotism, and togetherness all across the country. In the face of such adversity, Americans came together under a unified front. Republicans and Democrats worked side by side to address the critical needs of those people devastated by terrorist attacks.

Listen up, America. Today, 5 years later, partisanship and political bickering have replaced the solidarity the entire world once witnessed.

□ 1515

This is the last thing that our country needs.

This past Monday, many of us were back in our districts attending events relating to the tragic events of 9/11. There are many first responders who previously, I admit, probably lived in the chairman's district and other areas around New York City who have since moved to Florida. Many of them retired after seeing the tragic events of 9/11, after working hard, very, very hard at the site of the World Trade Center. They moved to other States. Many of them also moved because they lost loved ones in 9/11, and they could not be there every single day to see the hole where the World Trade Center once was.

Those are the people who gave so much, who lost their family members, that we should be consoling today, and certainly, this resolution does exactly that.

Mr. Speaker, in these trying times it is important that we remember that all Americans are in this fight against terrorism together. I ask that my colleagues find it within themselves to put aside their political differences and do what is best for the United States of America, and that is to vote for this resolution.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, like many of my colleagues, I spent Monday commemorating the horrific attacks on our Nation 5 years ago. It was a day to reflect on the courage and the compassion demonstrated on September 11, 2001, by police officers, firefighters, medical personnel and average, ordinary citizens.

It was also a day to remember those who could not be saved and to say a prayer for the families, especially the young children, who were left behind.

But with this resolution, the Republican leadership has chosen to exploit a national day of mourning to again justify the occupation of Iraq, a disastrous policy and a failure that has led to untold death and destruction, a policy which has been rejected by the American people.

Again, the Republican leadership is trying to blur the distinction between Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein, even though it has been well-established that one had nothing to do with the other.

The fact is, we never honored the memory of the victims of 9/11 by finishing the job in Afghanistan. Bin Laden remains on the run, even though we had him surrounded in Tora Bora nearly 5 years ago.

Far from some paragon of freedom, much of Afghanistan is still dominated by Taliban rebels and warlords, with the opium trade remaining the country's dominant economic force.

From 9/11 on, the President and the Republican leadership have used that day of terror to run roughshod over the Constitution; wiretapping American citizens without a warrant and setting up secret gulags around the world.

This 5-year anniversary cried out for genuine bipartisan leadership to comfort the Nation while acting intelligently, rather than impulsively, in the face of new security threats.

To this day, however, the Republicans use 9/11 as a talking point to make a dishonest argument.

It is shameful that some are taking one of the gravest moments in our Nation's history to pursue their own political agendas. It is with great sadness that I rise in opposition to this bill.

This Congress owes it to those who gave their lives on the hallowed ground in New York, in Washington and in Pennsylvania to consider a balanced bill, a bill which truly honors their memories.

How dare anyone try to capitalize on the heartbreaking events of September 11.

Shame on this Congress if this bill passes and shame on those who let politics get in the way of a solemn opportunity in order to honor the very innocent victims of September 11.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would just urge my friends on the other side to perhaps read the resolution instead of just reading Democratic talking points.

The fact is there was nothing in this resolution at all that talks about the war in Iraq other than to commend the soldiers who are fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan, but the overwhelming majority of Democrats 2 years ago did vote for the resolution which said Iraq was an integral part of the war against terrorism. Again, I wonder why this disconnect between 2004 and 2006.

Also, the gentlewoman from California seems very concerned about the fact that bin Laden has not been captured. Yet, the leader of her party yesterday said that capturing bin Laden would have no impact on the security of the United States.

Also, talking of the families, as far as the impact this would have on the families, this resolution, I have talked to the families in my district, the Boyle family, the Haskell family, the Cain family, the Vigiano family, or the Howard family, or any of them, who I can assure you strongly stand behind this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, it is truly fitting and proper that we pause to recognize the fifth anniversary of the tragic and cowardly acts of 9/11, and it is important for a number of reasons. It is important for reasons of memory and of gratitude and of resolve.

For we must remember and celebrate the lives of those unmercifully taken from us on 9/11. Their deaths must always bring focus to the challenge and the enemy that our Nation faces. This is a real war. Not recognizing that fact presents grave peril to our Nation. Yes, we must remember.

We must also be forever grateful to those who ran toward danger to help those in need, to be forever grateful to the heroes of Flight 93 whose collective action resulted in the first victory in what is truly the war for the free world, and to be forever grateful to our fellow citizens, men and women in our military, first responders, intelligence communities and communities large and small across this Nation, who courageously labor to keep us safe and free.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we must resolve to recognize the gravity of the challenge and the enemy that we face, and with unity as a Nation, continually gather the will, the strength and the courage to defeat our enemy at every single turn. This is not a war we desired. However, it is a war in which we must prevail.

May we always remember, may we always give thanks, and may we always be resolved so that generations of Americans yet born may know the opportunity, the responsibility, the freedom and the liberty that we so cherish.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and for him to be the manager.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from California will be recognized to control the remainder of the time of the gentleman from Mississippi.

There was no objection.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. GARRETT).

Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, from the day of America's birth, our story in this country has been one of heroism. Our movies, our literature, our music paint a colorful panorama of the dreams and inspirations of the men and women who built our Nation up with their own blood and sweat, ingenuity and spirit, courage and perseverance. Ours is a rich and proud history.

The efforts and actions following the tragic events of September 11 have magnified our sense of heroism. The men and women who perished that day have left an indelible mark on the American psyche. The men and women who were helpless victims of the attacks and the brave first responders who rushed into those burning buildings to save them have redefined heroism.

This week, as we mark the fifth anniversary of their last day, we ask God's continued blessing on their souls. We also ask that God continue to shed grace on the families that were left behind. Those families who stood watch by makeshift memorials to their children, their spouses, their parents and the loved ones, they are also heroes. They were the rock, the foundation upon which America rose to even greater heights than ever before. And now we should come together to be their strength.

To those spouses and children who patiently awaited word that their firefighter would emerge from the rubble, to those parents who painfully watched those towering buildings crumble down knowing that your child worked on one of those floors, you are strangers to us no longer. You are family to us all.

September 11 was a day of great tragedy in America and to the world, but in true American spirit it has become a day of great inspiration as well. The lives that were lost shall not have been lost in vain. Let them be what motivates us to live better, to dream bigger and to believe in our own destiny.

Let the angels who carried all those who are lost to peace that fateful day, who cried tears of pain for the lost here on Earth, they also cry tears of joy for heaven's gain.

May we work together on this floor and this House so that someday no child will have to ask again is my daddy coming home.

May God bless the victims of September 11, both those still with us today and those who have moved to a better place. May God bless the men and women fighting overseas, both here and abroad, and may God bless the United States of America.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. MILLER).

Mrs. MILLER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, on September 11, 2001, terrorists murdered nearly 3,000 of our fellow Americans who were simply going about their everyday, daily lives.

Their goal: to attack our freedom and change our way of life.

They believed America to be decadent and weak. They believed that we would not forcefully respond. They believed that America would recoil or retreat, and they could not have been more wrong.

That horrible day broke our hearts, but out of our collective broken heart came everything that is great about this great Nation, America.

Police officers and firefighters ran into burning buildings, risking their lives to save people they did not know. The passengers aboard United Flight 93 who, knowing the intention of the terrorists, built the resolve that they would not allow the terrorists to determine their fate, they fought back to give America our first victory in the war on terror.

This resolution shows that we in this House share that resolve to defeat terror. This resolution honors the victims of 9/11 and the sacrifice of so many who have fought for our freedom since that day.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all our colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, quite frankly I have been both shocked and disappointed by the reaction we have seen on the House floor today. Not that we cannot have honest differences over the resolution, not that we cannot have honest differences about various whereas clauses. I have certainly voted for many resolutions where I did not agree with everything that was in there. I have also opposed certain resolutions because there was too much in there that I could not support, without questioning the motives and impugning the character of those who drafted the resolution.

Quite frankly, in working on this resolution and working with the Speaker and working with Members on the other side, the model that we tried to use in putting this resolution together was the resolution which was adopted 2 years ago which did have some contentious language in it, but quite frankly listed far more achievements, if you will, or far more actions taken by the Congress than ours did today.

What we did today was try to strike the balance by commemorating the memories of those who died, by honoring those who gave their lives, by expressing our deep sorrow and support and solidarity with the families who lost relatives on September 11 and lost friends on September 11.

□ 1530

And then also, not just rely on words but also to show actions, and lay out how we in Congress have tried to deal with the issues that involve homeland security and fighting terrorism.

We did avoid any reference to the war in Iraq, other than to say we support the men and women who are fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. No mention at

all of Iraq being part of the war against terrorism. No mention at all of the NSA electronic surveillance program. No mention at all of the swift program.

What we did was try to lay out exactly what Congress has done so it would be out there for history to see what we have done, what we have tried to do, where we have succeeded, perhaps where we haven't. I am content to let history be our judge.

But to somehow say this is part of some conspiracy or campaign, to me, it really does cheapen the memory of September 11. As I said before, no one has a monopoly on grief. I certainly lost many, many friends and neighbors and constituents on September 11, as did other Members of this body. And probably everyone here at least knows someone who died that day, or knows someone who knows someone who died that day or suffered from the horrific events of September 11.

I really thought on September 11 and September 12, 2001 that we would try to work together. This resolution is an attempt to do that, an honest attempt from the heart to do it. I am proud of this resolution. I urge the adoption of this resolution so we can send a message not just to those who died on September 11, to the families of those who died on September 11, but indeed a message to the world that we are united against Islamic terrorism. We are united as one to prevent another attack from ever occurring in this country. And there has not been an attack for 5 years.

And, yes, there is much more that must be done, that has to be done. We are safer than we were on September 11, but not as safe as we should be. There is so much more that we can do, but we have made this start. Let us stand behind what we have done together. Those honest differences that we have, let us treat them as honest differences and not try to make shameful partisan attacks.

So with that, Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of the resolution, and I pray to God that we will find a way to come together and not resort to the type of cheap demagoguery that I think characterized the debate on the floor today.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 28 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman of the International Relations Committee, who will do so much to elevate the level of rhetoric on our side than what we have seen in the last half hour from me; 28 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA), the chairman of the Intelligence Committee; and the balance of the time to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. COBLE); and I ask unanimous consent that each Member be allowed to control that time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from Illinois will be recognized for 28 minutes of the time controlled by the gentleman from New York; the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA) will be recognized

for 28 minutes; and the gentleman from North Carolina will be recognized for 35 minutes, to control the remaining time.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

It has been 5 years since the world watched the impossible happen, and yet it is difficult to believe that the days and months have passed so quickly. The calendar's relentless progress gradually consigns all mortal events to the past, whether tragedies or triumphs. But we would deceive ourselves were we to believe that the consequences of those events will fade as well, for we will continue to live with them all of our lives.

Modern communications have brought us many new and wonderful things, but they have also made possible the communal experience of tragedy. In this new age, distance will no longer spare us, nor can an absence of personal ties insulate us from sorrow. All who witnessed the events of September 11 still bear the scars of seeing inconceivable images and impossible events unfold in real time. But our own experiences, however painful, can't compare with those of the innocents who bore the horror directly, nor with those of their families and friends who were suddenly and violently severed from their former lives and from the touch of those deeply loved.

We Americans are practical. Instead of resigning ourselves to the difficulties of life, we instinctively seek to identify problems in order to focus our efforts and move towards solutions. And over the past 5 years we have done so. We have come to know our enemies and direct our determination and resources to uncovering their hiding places and their plans. We are deeply engaged in designing and implementing measures to destroy their ability to harm us. The challenge is an entirely new one for us, but one which gains in clarity with each day. I hope all of us now are aware that in addition to our successes, we must prepare for the likelihood of failures in a struggle that may have no end.

By infusing purpose, action can thus fill many voids. But the need remains to understand what happened and to comprehend the meaning of the events of that day. Here, words give way to silence, for reflection is the predicate to understanding.

Our modern rational world once promised, in time, to reveal all secrets to us. But can we still cling to that belief now that we have been confronted with things we thought long past, vanquished and erased from the world by reason and light?

The modern world has seen many efforts to eliminate God from our lives, but we have not been able to eliminate evil. The last century was unparalleled in human history in its celebration of the savagery that human beings can wreak upon one another. We had hoped

that we might escape that fate in this century, but now we know that we will not. We have been forcibly awakened from our dreams of an earthly heaven by the bitter knowledge that evil still roams freely in our world.

We can't allow ourselves to be paralyzed with despair or fear, but neither can we permit our natural optimism to shield us from the realities of the world. If there is any useful thing to be drawn from this terrible experience, it is that we have been given an unmistakable warning that in this new century unknown and fearsome challenges await us, challenges that will impose the severest tests on our national character.

Knowing this, we have a duty to prepare ourselves to defend not only lives and those of our children, not only our beloved country, not even our freedoms, but civilization itself.

We are Rome, beset by new barbarians who are driven and sustained by their savage hatred of us, of our happiness and our success of the promise America represents for the world. For our enemies have no aim but destruction. Nothing to offer but a forced march back to a bleak and dismal past. There is a world without light, their all-encompassing hatred a repudiation of any saving grace. Their victory would impose a new Dark Age. But this time, perhaps an endless one. They are enemies of the future itself.

As we resolve ourselves to our task, as we grieve for all those linked to us by tragedy, we may also see ourselves more truly and thereby understand that our great strengths are interwoven with many fragile things. The threats we face have given us a greater sense of how rare and wonderful is the world we have made, and of our responsibility to protect it from the storms outside. For we need but shield our eyes, lay down our burden, and it will vanish into air, a world in which those we remember today were once allowed to be innocents.

It is for these reasons that we remember our 3,000 fellow citizens who, asking nothing other than to live their lives in peace, were brutally murdered by men without conscience or mercy. We remember because, in Lincoln's phrase, "the mystic chords of memory" forever bind us to the victims and the heroes of September 11 and to all Americans, from the honored past to the living present. We remember because to forget them would be to betray our own selves and our duty to the generations to come.

May those who died in the attacks of September 11, 2001, rest in the mercy of God. May those of us who remain be steadfast, courageous, and live lives worthy of their great sacrifice.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and let me first commend my dear friend from Illinois, the distinguished chairman of our committee, on his powerful and eloquent statement.

Mr. Speaker, on the fifth anniversary of the September 11 attacks, our colleagues in the other Chamber unanimously passed the resolution calling for a day of remembrance throughout this great Nation. Their beautifully crafted and clearly heartfelt statement expressed condolences to the families of those who were lost, respect for those who lived through the ordeal, and the renewed commitment to support whatever steps are needed to defeat terrorists who plot against the people of this country.

And here we are in this House, 2 days later, some may say 2 days late, deliberating over a document that mocks the concept of commemoration. The resolution before us includes claims known to be divisive, not among congressional Democrats but among the American people. And we should all recognize that certain legislation referenced in this resolution was not the product of a proud bipartisan majority, but the object of deep and great controversy that remains with us today.

Mr. Speaker, this should be a time for solemnity, not self-congratulation, and most certainly not political tactics cooked up in the back rooms of the RNC or the bowels of the White House. We must all agree to that.

The focus today should be on the victims and heroes of the 9/11 attack and the families they left behind. We commit to memory the thousands who died or were injured 5 years ago. They included firemen, who voluntarily rushed with their heavy gear up the stairs of the Twin Towers and into the flames, all the while urging the people they served to move faster to safety below.

We remember the police officers who put their lives on the line every single day and lost them all at once when the towers collapsed.

We think of the people at the Pentagon, just across the river from here, military as well as civilian, who were on duty when their fortress was breached and their world, and ours, imploded.

We recall the passengers and the crew trapped on airplanes turned into missiles, helpless and hurting as they used whatever means that were available to them to get word to their families or to affect some sort of rescue. And in this House in particular, Mr. Speaker, we ought never to forget the brave souls on United Flight 93, which was on a path toward Washington and may well have been headed for our Capitol. Among their number were those who overcame panic, said good-bye to their loved ones, and gave their lives to remove a threat to our Nation from the skies.

□ 1545

Our hearts go out to all of these heroes and victims and survivors, along with their families, who have suffered at the hands of thugs who wish nothing but harm to us all.

We also take time to remember those Americans in our Armed Services who

choose to risk everything to ensure our safety, our peace, and our liberty, and to the U.S. diplomats and intelligence officers who face countless dangers to protect our Nation.

The greatest honor we can pay to all those currently serving our Nation in battle, to those who perished on that fateful day 5 years ago, is to recommit ourselves to providing true security to the American people.

Progress has been made to protect our homeland, Mr. Speaker, but much more needs to be done. We must ensure that our first responders are well prepared, that funds for homeland security are distributed on the basis of risk, not on a per capita or on a political basis. Our ports are still not visually examining 95 percent of the cargo that passes through, and the administration has yet to implement the many excellent and considered recommendations of the bipartisan 9/11 Commission.

If we are serious about making our country safer, these and many other issues must be addressed.

Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago we all met on this spot as our Nation came to recognize the magnitude of the struggle we were starting in earnest against the enemies of tolerance and progress and peace and freedom. We engaged in the most sobering and moving debate that I have ever witnessed on the floor of this House in the more than a quarter century that I have had the privilege to serve here as a Member.

With this fifth anniversary of the terrorist mass murder of September 11, it is only right that we remember the victims, we honor the heroes, and we contemplate the lessons. We are still engaged in the battle against terrorism, and we are a long way from victory.

I deeply regret that the resolution before the House goes needlessly beyond the necessary and appropriate sentiments for such an occasion and includes pointless boasts about the actions taken by a narrow majority of our Members, along with rhetoric that has been crafted deliberately to divide us.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN).

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I am so pleased to share this same floor with our distinguished chairman of the House International Relations Committee. Today we had what probably would be the last markup of the session and the last markup of his incredible tenure as chairman of our committee and great statesman of our country.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this resolution to reaffirm our country's commitment to freedom, to democracy and to the right to live without fear, free from the threat of Islamic jihadists.

I rise to pay homage to those at the forefront against this insidious enemy. And more importantly, I rise today to

honor the victims and the heroes of this deplorable attack against our Nation on that fateful day 5 years ago. Those who died working in the towers, spent their days helping our country grow financially and globally, while those in the Pentagon worked to defend it. The brave men and women on Flight 93 and the first responders sacrificed themselves for others, sending a strong message to the jihadists worldwide that America would not be intimidated.

The resolution before us recognizes the threat that we face today against Islamic terrorism. It is essential that not only Americans but indeed citizens from all countries acknowledge the imminent threat of these radical ideologies that are manipulating Islam for their own selfish destructive ends. These jihadists didn't just declare war on the United States, but on the West as a whole. Lady Thatcher recently said in a statement released during her visit when she was accompanying President Bush and the First Lady at the 9/11 remembrance ceremony, "That heinous attack on America was an attack on us all."

Ultimately it will be our strength of character and our moral fiber, our unity of purpose which will help freedom prevail over tyranny and help us triumph over evil. As Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1811: "It is impossible to subdue a people acting with an undivided will."

We must never forget the sacrifices of all who died on September 11. They were not just victims, they were the first warriors in the new struggle of our survival.

With today's discussion taking place in the shadow of this sad fifth anniversary of the September 11 attack, it will help us to remember the brutal nature of these extremists. It will provide us greater insight into their nature in order to refine our policies and defeat them.

We must never, never forget. We must remain vigilant. The enemy is just waiting for us to flinch, before its agents descend like vultures to prey on our weakness.

Some are prepared to murder in what they feel are their religious duty. Others are supportive or protective of these jihadists. Still others do not embrace the tactics employed by the jihadists, but share the convictions and the perceptions of these extremists. We must remain vigilant and I hope that all of our colleagues support this strong resolution before us today.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 4 minutes to my good friend, our distinguished colleague from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH).

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. HYDE and Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.

I want to present a different perspective here because I think it is possible to address 9/11 in a way that is not particularly partisan, and maybe it is time that we do that as a Nation.

As jarring as 9/11 was to all of us, what is even more jarring is that many of us have forgotten who we were on 9/10, what our dreams and aspirations were for America before 9/11.

I ask you to think about this because if we are going to create for America a new direction, it is really imperative that we reconnect with the high aspirations that we had for ourselves, for our community, our Nation and the world. 9/11 caused a truncation of that kind of thinking, and it really detached us from our higher aspirations.

It was many years ago on September 13, 1814, that Francis Scott Key was inspired by the American defense of Fort McHenry to write the Star-Spangled Banner. We should remember that the Star-Spangled Banner is a map to our future, it is not just about the past because Francis Scott Key raised the question: "O say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

In that he made a connection between freedom and bravery, between freedom and courage.

We have a moment in this country's history that challenged us to our core on September 11; but we should never let it be a point at which we cause ourselves to be so fixed that we forget who we were on September 10.

For that reason, Mr. Chairman, my wife came up with this idea that I want to share with you right now. It is to create what is called a 9/10 Forum, discussions all over the country, Republicans, Democrats, whatever your politics, so we can reconnect with the deeper truths of who we are. In a 9/10 Forum, we would talk about who we are as Americans. It goes way beyond Republicans and Democrats, to create new possibilities and a new future for America.

The 9/10 Forum is born of this idea that there is something more essential in all of us than the partisan politics that has racked this Nation for the last few years. We need to find a way to transform this tragedy, but we can do it in a way that remembers the strength of who we are and who we were. So we are having discussions like this around the country, but it is important that we bring it into this forum. We can find our way. We can become secure again. We need to remember those times in our lives when we felt the most secure, felt courage and felt a deep love of our country.

I think that Lincoln, who looked at a Nation that had been racked by a Civil War, at his second inaugural Lincoln said "with malice towards none and charity towards all." I think that could be a guiding principle for America as we seek to heal our Nation in the face of this great tragedy of 9/11.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE).

(Mr. PENCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, on September 11 I saw things I never thought I would live to see and pray I will never see again. I was here on Capitol Hill standing under a tree at 10 in the morning as I saw columns of smoke billow out of the Pentagon in what was the first attack on this Nation's capital since 1812. People were running in every direction. Jet fighter aircraft were at virtually treetop level. It was the sight and sounds of war.

And then 10 days later I accompanied more than 100 of my colleagues as we walked through the ashes of Ground Zero and saw the horror of what for all the world was the front door of hell in the ashes of the World Trade Center.

I saw the firefighters launching themselves into a scene there and at the Pentagon that was still aflame. I have seen Americans launch themselves into recruiting stations to respond in the last 5 years. And I also saw one unusual and extraordinary sight which has shaped my career since, and that is on that day, September 11, 2001, I saw Republicans and Democrats completely set aside their differences and work in the national interest, to pray together, to sing together, to set aside whatever might be contentious among us and do that which is necessary to heal our Nation and to launch a counter strike against our enemies. For that day truly, there were no Republicans in Washington, there were no Democrats in Washington, there were just Americans. I live to see that, and it gives me hope as we go into the contentious debates of our time.

In my four trips to Afghanistan and Iraq, I have also seen the extraordinary bravery and commitment of the American soldier. I am convinced that we are winning the war on terror because of the courage and valor of the men and women in uniform, both home and abroad. It is to them that I will close my remarks today.

When I went home that afternoon on September 11 and sat down with my three small children and wife to tell them what was happening, that we were likely going to war, Audrey, my 6-year-old daughter, grabbed me by the leg and said, "Daddy, if we have to make a war, do you have to go?"

I buckled down on my knee and I gave her a hug and I told her, "No, daddy's too old." But not a day has gone by in the last 5 years, Mr. Speaker, that I haven't thought about all of the daddies and moms and sons and daughters who answered that with a "yes," and some of them with a "yes" that rings into eternity.

And so we remember those that fell on 9/11, the victims. We remember the brave soldiers who have fought the war since, and we commend them this day as we remember 9/11.

□ 1600

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 6 minutes to the distinguished Democratic whip, my good

friend from the State of Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, our commemoration of September 11 is a solemn occasion. It is a day of remembrance and a day of resolve. We remember those, Mr. Speaker, who perished or were injured 5 years ago in New York, Virginia at the Pentagon, and Pennsylvania due to the evil acts of men consumed by a murderous ideology filled with hate.

We mourn the loss of the innocent, and we pray for their loved ones. We also recall with pride, yes, with sorrow as well, though, the heroism of our first responder, and in many cases civilians turned rescuers, who put their own lives in harm's way as they sought to help others. Their selflessness on a day of fire, destruction and death reminds us of the courageous American spirit, and it renews our faith in humankind.

The commemoration of 9/11 also is a time for this Congress to express our collective national resolve. We resolved to protect the American people and our beloved homeland and to combat and defeat the perpetrators of terrorism and tyranny, and to fight for freedom, for democracy, for respect for human rights, and for the rule of law.

Now, the resolution before us today in many respects is not objectionable. Indeed, I will vote for this resolution. I do not quarrel, for example, with the propriety or the sentiments expressed in any of the resolved clauses in this measure. This resolution commemorating the worst terrorist attack on American soil in our history, a wound that has not yet healed, ought to be a unifying document that virtually every single Member of this House can support without reservation.

I regret, therefore, that in my discussions with the majority leader, and in Ms. PELOSI's discussion with the Speaker, that the Republicans did not see fit to make this a fully bipartisan resolution.

While I will support it, I lament the continuing partisanship which seeks to divide this House in sentiments that ought to see a unified House. I lament the fact that in the face of a Nation at war that we are not working to bring us together. But that effort was not made; and it is a failure of leadership, in my opinion.

Despite the fact that the Senate passed a 9/11 resolution this year by unanimous consent, and despite the fact that this body passed a 9/11 resolution last year by a vote of 402-6, the Republican leadership still attempts to gain political advantage through this measure. I think that is unfortunate.

I am going to support this measure, but there are conclusions in the "whereas" clauses with which I do not agree and which were not necessary for expressing our remembrance and our resolve. The majority presents a resolution that includes extraneous and inappropriate, divisive, self-serving and, in my opinion, politically motivated

language. How sad that you would do that in a resolution that seeks to express the unanimous opinion of the representatives of the American people.

I ask my Republican friends what is the point of including a reference in this resolution to controversial legislation that has not even become law.

Specifically, I refer to the mention in the House Republicans' immigration reform bill. That bill was controversial in this House. That bill has not passed the Senate. That bill has been rejected, essentially, by the Senate. They have come together with a compromise with which the House has not agreed. Yet we reference in this resolution that which seeks to express our united opinion. How sad.

The reference to this bill, which is opposed by even many Republicans, has no place in a resolution commemorating this solemn occasion, not withstanding the importance of that particular issue.

It is deeply regrettable, Mr. Speaker, that on this, the fifth anniversary of the worst terrorist attack in our history, that the Republican leadership has made political expedience a priority. I lament that, but I will vote for this because I do not want any confusion among those whom we confront.

I want no confusion on those we confront. I want no confusion by terrorists who wish us ill. I want no confusion that we are not united, not just as a Congress but as a American people, and a resolve to defeat and deter terrorists and protect our people and our great country.

Like the Senate, we should be voting on a resolution designed to inspire and demonstrate unity, not division.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. BARRETT).

Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Res. 994. This week we solemnly remember those Americans who lost their lives 5 years ago when our Nation came under attack by enemies of freedom. Their families and loved ones will always remain in our prayers.

The terrorists underestimated our country on that fateful day, Mr. Speaker. They thought our spirit could be broken and our Nation divided. While our hearts continue to break for those we lost, our American spirit is strong. While we may disagree on some issues, we stand united in the desire to protect our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, on September 11, 2001, America witnessed horrifying, cowardly acts of evil and responded with heroism and courage. The passengers aboard United 93 were the first to fight back in this war on terror.

Over the past 5 years, we have taken the fight to the terrorists. We are fighting them in the streets of Afghanistan and in Iraq so we will never have to witness the evil in our city streets again.

As we remember the innocent victims of September 11, we also remember all of those brave souls who have

lost their lives in defense of this country. America will never retreat in the face of adversity, Mr. Speaker. We will answer the call of history, and we will prevail in this war on terror.

I ask my colleagues to unanimously support H. Res. 994.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 1½ minutes to my good friend and neighbor, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Mr. LANTOS for yielding and for your leadership and for your commitment to global peace and security.

Today we should be reflecting on the fifth anniversary of the terrible terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. It should be a time when we come together as a Nation to grieve and to remember the men, women and children who lost their lives that day. It should also be a time to honor the courage and the heroism of our first responders and those who put themselves in harm's way to help and to save others.

Instead, we have before us a resolution that simply politicizes the somber occasion. What is glaring today is that the Bush administration's complete failure in apprehending Osama bin Laden, once again, is before us. Even worse, the Bush administration pulled our troops out of Afghanistan to put them into Iraq, which had nothing to do with the tragic attacks of 9/11. Even the President acknowledged this.

Unfortunately, our country is less safe today than it was 5 years ago. Iraq has become a haven for terrorists. It was not before 9/11. This Congress and this administration gets Ds and Fs in implementing the 9/11 Commission's recommendations.

Yet the Republican majority hasn't received the message. It chooses willfully to ignore it. By politicizing this resolution, the Republican majority seeks to detract from their utter complicity in this failed war and their utter failure to demand accountability for this war. The memories of those who lost their lives in New York and the Pentagon and Shanksville, Pennsylvania, deserve better.

We should be united as a country in commemorating those who paid the supreme price on that day 5 years ago. Yet today, once again, because of this resolution and the divisiveness of it, we are divided.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE).

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution marking the fifth anniversary of the al Qaeda terrorist attacks on the United States, and, inevitably, Americans are asking are we safer today. Yes, we are.

But the unfortunate reality is that this threat to our country continues. Last week, my terrorism subcommittee held a hearing on this threat. We heard the point made that to fight terrorism effectively, we must identify the enemy. As reported by the 9/11 Commission, the catastrophic threat of this

moment in history, they say, is Islamist terrorism, especially al Qaeda and its organization. This threat, mounted for years, going largely ignored.

Many witnesses observed that al Qaeda, now under attack by the United States and others, has had to reconfigure. But just as the terrorists have evolved, we must evolve too. The desperate need today is to find out who the terrorists are.

To do this, we need powerful tools, and they have included the USA PATRIOT Act and other programs we passed.

With WMD proliferating, such efforts are all the more important. One area where we did receive a good grade from the 9/11 Commission was on our legislation for a REAL ID Act, to make certain that the next Mohammed Atta and his team of 15 couldn't obtain 60 phony driver's licenses. We established those Federal standards for State driver's licenses to make sure that again they couldn't use something like that to plan and attack and then board jetliners to attack the United States.

We made certain also that we passed the PATRIOT Act. Frankly, I believe that most Americans are glad that we have the PATRIOT Act to break down barriers between intelligence and law enforcement officials that hampered their efforts before 9/11.

Before the PATRIOT Act, these same tools were already being used to go after drug traffickers. Now, with the PATRIOT Act, we have applied those approaches to terrorists, and Americans are safer for it.

I believe we need border security, like the House-passed legislation. Frankly, if that legislation were taken up in the Senate, we would get better grades from the 9/11 Commission. Why? Because the 9/11 Commission understood that border security has become national security.

This resolution remembers those who lost their lives on 9/11. That was 3,000 people. Countless more were scarred on that day. But September 11 is also a call to action for our country and a day to recognize those who are in the field taking on Islamist terrorism, including law enforcement officers, Border Patrol officers, and our Armed Forces.

We saw many acts of heroism on September 11. We had acts of heroism on September 11, 2006, also, many in far-away lands, and we will see more acts of terrorism in the days and years ahead.

Mr. Speaker, as summed up recently by a top British official, the threat from Islamist terrorists is real. It is here. It is deadly. And, as he said, it is enduring.

□ 1615

That it is. But it is not as enduring as the spirit of our Nation so evident on 9/11. We will prevail.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 3 minutes to my good friend, our distinguished colleague from Florida (Ms. CORRINE BROWN).

Ms. CORRINE BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor those who lost their lives on September 11, 2001, and those who risked their lives in the fight on terrorism. I also rise today to discuss the slow pace, or rather the lack of pace, in the reforms called for by the 9/11 Commission.

The 9/11 Commission was chartered by Congress to examine and report on the facts and causes relating to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. What of those recommendations have we enacted? Every time the polls go down for the Bush administration a new threat is discovered.

Since September 11, in fact, I have been lobbying the Bush administration for additional security funding for our Nation's ports and other areas of our Nation's infrastructure, such as freight and passenger rail, our subway system, busses, tunnels and bridges. There are other areas of vulnerability that are outside of aviation security.

The Bush administration has been telling the American people that they are checking only 3 to 4 percent of all cargo that comes into our ports, but in reality all they are checking is the manifest that lists the inventories of the ship.

Now, I think the American people are smart enough to know that if reading a piece of paper provided by the shipper is what passes for port security, then we are all in trouble.

We spent \$4.4 billion alone on aviation security, while only \$36 million is being spent on all surface transportation security programs. And with respect to our Nation's ports, which serve as the main economic engine for many of the areas in which they are found, an attack would not only be extremely dangerous to the local citizens, but economically disastrous as well.

The Bush administration and the Republicans talk a great talk about security, but they do not, and I repeat, do not walk the walk.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. MCHENRY).

Mr. MCHENRY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman.

As Manhattan's skyline fell down, Americans stood up. We took to our feet and raised the flag, pledging solidarity to our Nation and our fellow countrymen and our values. But foremost, we pledged solidarity with our fellow Americans.

On that day we confirmed what we had long known: Being an American is more than simply a title; it is a duty. And the images of first responders risking their lives, their safety, rushing headlong into crumbling towers, affirm that courage, that honor, that privilege that we have to call ourselves Americans.

The events of that day didn't begin, but certainly brought to the forefront the war we have with Islamic extremists, an enemy that despises the very idea of America. History shows that every American generation is tasked

with defending the ideals of America. And, make no mistake about it, this challenge, this fight, is our generational challenge.

These events, now woven into the fabric of America, the fabric of human history, will not be remembered for the destruction that occurred 5 years ago. It will not be remembered for the destruction that transpired on that sad day. It will be remembered for the compassion that followed and the unity which we have as Americans. And the world will know for generations to come that as Manhattan's skyline fell down, Americans stood up.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from California (Ms. HARMAN) be permitted to control the balance of the time of the minority leader.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. HARMAN) will control the balance of the time, which is 1 hour and 14 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER).

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman HYDE for the time. I hope my colleagues will all join in support of H. Res. 994.

Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago I stood on the House floor and proclaimed that I was not without hope for America's ability to eliminate the scourge of terrorism. I was convinced that the people of this great Nation would, much like they did on December 8, 1941, come together to defeat a common enemy rooted in intolerance and fear.

To be sure, much is left to be accomplished. We cannot, we must not, ever forget the prayers we said that day, the tears we shed, and the memories of those who now belong to the ages.

Yes, Osama bin Laden has yet to personally receive justice, but over the course of the last 5 years, the international communications, financing, state sponsorship and success that al Qaeda enjoyed on September 11 has been significantly degraded. The world now knows that America will not bow to the forces of evil, but will instead fight until evil has been eradicated.

Congress has, as this resolution indicates, provided many of the necessary tools, but the people themselves also deserve most of the credit for this Nation's progress. While the threat of terrorism continues to loom in the distance, I believe we are safer as a nation because the people of this country are paying attention. They are the soldiers, they are the intelligence gatherers and they are the first line of defense. They are the personnel who were given a responsibility on September 11, 2001, to finally take the fight to terrorism, and they are succeeding.

Five years later I have seen an America that has exceeded our expectations. Rather than cowering to those who blackened the beautiful New York skyline on that day, the American people

are emboldened in their resolve to live free and prosperous lives. They have renewed their faith and our faith in the hope of democracy. Freedom, as I stated then, continues to work.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished leader for yielding the time. I rise in support of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I was at the site of 9/11, but the first time I was there in 1993, and I went because that was the first time bin Laden hit us. Representing all the first responders in America, I go to where they are, not with the cameras and the TV lights blaring, but as one of them.

I went in 1993 when Howard Safer, the Fire Commissioner for New York, asked me to go down to Ground Zero to see the damage caused by the first hit of the terrorists against us. And the young firefighter who took me through that complex was a man by the name of Ray Downey. Ray Downey became one of my best friends. He didn't live in my district, he lived in New York.

But Ray Downey was an active firefighter, a former marine, who told me the lessons that we should learn because he said, "Curt, you have to understand, bin Laden is going to hit us again and again and again," and, boy, was he right. They hit us at the Khobar Towers, they hit us at the African embassies. They bombed the USS *Cole*. And what was our response? Nothing. We shook our head in disbelief.

So it was with a great deal of sadness on September 11 that I was called while walking out of the Capitol building and I was told that Ray Downey had been killed. You see, Mr. Speaker, on September 11, Ray Downey was the Chief of all rescue for the New York City Fire Department. He was the guy at the base of the tower that was overseeing the largest and most successful rescue in the history of mankind. 70,000 people were brought out alive. Ray Downey was killed.

I went to New York the next day. I did not wait again for the cameras and the suits. I went up as a member of the first responder community and at Ground Zero I spent the whole day.

As they took me around the back of these two seven-story piles of rubble, after being briefed by Joe Allbaugh, the head of FEMA, I saw two firefighters on their knees sifting through the debris with their hands. As I got closer I could read their turnout gear, and there were the names Downey and Downey.

You see, Mr. Speaker, two of Ray Downey's five kids are also firefighters, today they are battalion chiefs in New

York, and there they were looking for their father. In fact, I brought Ray's family and his widow down to my district one month after 9/11 and we honored them as American heroes.

I tell you all of this, Mr. Speaker, because the passion that I have for the first responders is the reason I come to the floor today to honor the memory of those who paid the ultimate price.

The last thing we should be doing is playing politics with this. After all, it was in 1995, I think there was a different President back then, when the Public Safety Wireless Advisory Committee said that we didn't have an interoperable communications system, and we did nothing about it. In fact, it wasn't until Jane Harman and I introduced legislation that passed last December that in fact corrected that problem and put \$1 billion on the table.

It was in 1999 that I sat in my office on November 4 with the Deputy Head of the CIA and the Deputy Director of the FBI and the Deputy Secretary of Defense to convince them to have an interoperable capability linking all 33 classified systems together. And you know what the CIA said, Mr. Speaker? They said, "Congressman, we don't need that. Even though there are emerging transnational terrorist threats, we don't need that capability." It was the single biggest failure on 9/11 not to have that interoperable capability to link together 33 classified systems.

Mr. Speaker, all of us could have done a better job. When my colleagues on the other side were in charge, they didn't fund a dime for the first responders, not one dime of money. We did that in 2000, one year before 9/11, when working with Republicans and Democrats we put into place both the Assistance to Firefighter Grant Program and the SAFER Program.

I couldn't believe the rhetoric last night I heard on the House floor, because it was Democrats and Republicans together who did that. But it was Republican leadership who made it happen.

I am proud of our record. I am proud of the fact that today we have linked up the 33 classified systems. First of all it was the TTIC, the Terrorism Threat Integration Center. Today it is the NCTC, the National Counterterrorism Center.

I am proud of the fact that we have put together almost \$4 billion to 24,000 of our 32,000 fire and EMS departments around the country. I am proud of the fact that Democrats and Republicans finally have solved the problem of putting money with interoperable communications together.

I am also a little frustrated. We hear our colleagues on the other side. The Gilmore Commission, which Ray Downey encouraged me to put into law, which I did, made three reports before 9/11, most of them in the previous administration. Forty percent of the 9/11 recommendations had already been made by the Gilmore Commission before 9/11 ever happened. But we don't

hear that today on the House floor, that there were recommendations that we could have put into place before 9/11 and we didn't do it.

So stop the blame. This is not fair to Ray Downey and his family. It is not fair to my constituent Michael Horrocks, who left behind two kids and a wife. What was his mistake on 9/11? He climbed in the front seat of one of United's planes and he had his throat slit as the plane traveled into the Trade Center towers.

This resolution needs our support in a bipartisan way. That is the only way we can protect America.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I reserve my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA) will control the next block of time for the majority leader.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward to roughly the next hour of time that we will spend here on the floor, myself and our ranking member and the members of the Intelligence Committee, to remember those who died, those who served on 9/11, the tremendous work of hundreds of thousands of people in our military forces and the folks who are working in the intelligence community that have helped keep this country safe over the last 5 years.

I know that there are disagreements about some of the strategy, some of the particulars, some of the execution and those types of things, but much as in my home district on Monday, I hope that that spirit can continue through the next hour.

□ 1630

Monday was kind of one of those days where we recognized that in many ways it was kind of a sacred day. People took the day off from partisan politics, and we reflected back on what happened 5 years earlier when we were so brutally attacked, where almost 3,000 Americans lost their lives. Many of us recounted the places where we were, the things that we were doing, and how in comparison those things were so minor to what happened and how that transformed America.

And perhaps for so ever a brief moment, or briefer than what we would have hoped or envisioned, it brought America together and focused us on who we are and focused us on the threat that we had faced, that we now face, a threat that we had all witnessed and experienced maybe as early as 1979 when the embassy in Iran was seized. Perhaps it was when Hezbollah attacked our Marine barracks in 1983. But regardless of the times leading up to 2001, we recognized that that was history, 9/11 is today, and that we were going to be facing some serious challenges in the future. And this is very, very hard.

It is a different kind of enemy than we had ever faced before. It is an enemy that does not wear uniforms. It

is an enemy that does not have a government as we know it. It is an enemy that does not represent a specific geographic territory. It does not have a capital. It does not have bureaucracies. It has not signed on to any international agreements, as ironic as it may sound, international agreements as to how we will fight and conduct wars. It is an organization that celebrates the deaths of its suicide bombers. It is in sharp contrast to who we are and what we have done.

We responded. The ranking member and I, along with Senator LIEBERMAN and Senator COLLINS, worked on a project that many said could not be done, on a project that for almost 50 years had never been done, which was the reform of an intelligence community, an intelligence community that needed to respond to the threats that radical Islam posed. We have made much progress in that area. But as we both had said in a report that was issued in a bipartisan way from our committee, there is still much work to be done.

The bottom line is we continue to be a Nation at war. We continue to be a Nation at risk. We continue to, I believe, be a Nation that is united in a desire to win this war, recognizing that there are real differences about how we will fight this war to be successful and to be consistent with American ideals. Because the biggest tribute that we can leave to the victims of 9/11 is to make sure that we win this war but also to make sure that we do not change how we are as we go about winning that war.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, nothing we say today can erase the pain that America felt on September 11, 2001. No resolution we pass, no speech we make can bring back the loved ones we lost or repay the heroes who rushed to their rescue.

As I stood at Ground Zero again on Monday amidst the anguished faces, the shopworn photos of loved ones lost, the sad music, the reading of names, flags everywhere, the memories of 5 years ago came rushing back. The frantic calls to my children in New York and Washington. The disbelief that we could be so vulnerable. And as the day wore on, the immense sadness for 3,000 innocent victims and the resolve to demonstrate that this Congress would not bow to terror.

This resolution, however, contains more than memories. It makes a statement about how much progress we have made in this House.

The sad, unalterable fact is that 5 years after 9/11 we have not made as much progress as this resolution claims. We have not brought to justice the most senior leaders responsible for the attacks. We have not plugged some gaping holes in our homeland defense, and we have not shared the sacrifice or stayed united as a Nation in the face of grave danger.

As ranking member on the Intelligence Committee, I want to focus my remarks on how this House has responded to the major intelligence failures of our time, the tragic failure to connect the dots of the 9/11 plot; the inexcusable failure to recognize that Saddam Hussein did not have WMD; and the catastrophic failure to predict the violence insurgency that would follow our military action in Iraq, and take the prudent steps necessary to prevent it.

The news, Mr. Speaker, is uneven. I believe our committee did a good job of assessing the performance of the FBI, CIA, and NSA leading up to 9/11; and so did the Congressional Joint Inquiry into 9/11, which held 24 days of hearings, including 9 days of open hearings, provided an excellent, bipartisan report with legislative recommendations, and was the basis for the 9/11 Commission's final report.

Over major opposition from some in this body, Congress acted on some of those recommendations and, as our chairman just said, created a Director of National Intelligence and a National Counterterrorism Center, thanks to the courageous lobbying of the 9/11 family members. Our current chairman and I helped lead that effort, and I am very proud of what we did.

As for WMD failures, our committee was the first to document that clandestine sources in Iraq were thin and that the analysis was poor. But then our former chairman shut down the House's inquiry into Iraq WMD. And again in this Congress, our current chairman ceded jurisdiction on this critically important issue to our counterparts in the other body.

Just last Friday that committee released a compelling report showing that our sources were unreliable and that facts claimed by this administration are not supported by the intelligence. According to that report and other available sources, there were no links between al Qaeda and Iraq before 9/11. Yet as recently as last Sunday, the Vice President said "we don't know" whether Mohammed Atta ever met with an Iraqi intelligence officer in Prague. Mr. Speaker, we do know. We know the meeting never took place, and yet the Vice President refuses to acknowledge the facts.

It is one thing to have inadequate intelligence. In an intelligence war, you are never going to have pristine intelligence. But it is another thing to ignore professional intelligence assessments, make end-runs around intelligence agencies, issue hyped statements about intelligence, and use intelligence for partisan gain.

The third failure, the failure to predict and prevent the insurgency, has been in some ways the most painful. More than 2,500 U.S. personnel have been killed since President Bush declared "Mission Accomplished" in May 2003, nearly as many as died on 9/11.

Our committee has conducted virtually no oversight over this particular

failure. We have not examined whether the intelligence on the insurgency was flawed or whether policymakers deliberately ignored warnings and professional assessments.

Press reports indicate that the administration may still be trying to paint a rosy picture of the situation in Iraq. The August casualty reporting excluded statistics on people killed by bombs, mortars, rockets, and other mass attacks. The result is that the August statistics for murder rates in Baghdad appear 52 percent lower than the daily rate for July. Mr. Speaker, I do not think policymakers should engage in creative accounting when it comes to the lives of our sons and daughters or the lives of innocent Iraqis.

According to some reports, a draft "National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq," which reportedly paints a very negative picture of the situation there now, is being held by the administration until after the November election. If that reporting is true, it is deeply troubling and could needlessly endanger the lives of our military and intelligence professionals in the field. And, Mr. Speaker, it would also keep Congress in the dark one more time.

Mr. Speaker, I often say that the point of looking back is to look forward to avoid making the same mistakes again. North Korea is test-firing missiles. Iran is defying the world community on its nuclear program. Yet we do not have solid intelligence on either target. Mr. Speaker, good intelligence leads to good policy.

But instead of insisting on better intelligence, our committee may rush through dangerous legislation on warrantless surveillance without any testimony from administration witnesses. We are issuing staff-written "brochures" hyping the threats posed by al Qaeda, Iran, and North Korea that do little to explain how little we truly know. It is no wonder that the 9/11 Commission gave Congress a D for intelligence oversight reform.

Mr. Speaker, I will conclude where I began. 9/11 forged our Nation into common purpose. It brought out a common humanity and engendered a common resolve to protect America. Our response to 9/11 has been and will continue to be a measure of us. Mr. Speaker, what we should really resolve to do today is to do better together.

At Ground Zero on Monday, the survivors shared something so precious: the hope that their grief and suffering would inspire a Nation to prevent another attack. They were all ages, all colors, all religions, and all backgrounds. The one thing they were not was partisan.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield 2 minutes to our colleague, Mrs. DAVIS.

Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Resolution 994.

The terrorist attacks upon our country changed the way that we live forever and provided us with a cruel reminder that freedom and liberty have a price. The attacks reminded us there are extremists in this world that would do anything, including sacrificing their own lives to destroy ours and our way of life. The attacks reminded us that democracy and the benefits of a free government cannot be taken for granted and must continually be fought for.

Mr. Speaker, we are safer than we were 5 years ago. But until we can say with confidence that we are safe, the constant fight for freedom can never end. Until families can go to bed at night feeling secure, we cannot stop the fight for freedom. Until our young people can know without a doubt that America holds a safe, prosperous future for them, our battle can never cease.

We in Congress are tasked by the Constitution to defend the homeland, and we take this task very seriously. Our men and women in uniform are getting the job done, and our first responders have answered the call. Our intelligence forces have played a vast role in protecting America. And together we are safer today.

However, we must remain vigilant and prepare to fight these radical Islamic terrorists whenever and wherever they may strike. Retreat has never made us stronger and, by Osama bin Laden's own words, is a sign of America's weakness.

□ 1645

There is no room for halfway approaches here. We must do what is needed to protect our country. We are using and must continue to use both diplomatic and military measures and tools available to protect America.

As we look back 5 years ago this week, we must remember the horrors of that time. But more importantly, we must remember the resolve adopted by all of us to defend freedom and fight with all our might to combat the forces that look to destroy us. It is through vigilance and the passion for freedom that we will win this war and truly make America safe.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to yield to a dear friend, the ranking member on the Armed Services Committee, Mr. SKELTON, 4 minutes.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman, my good friend from California.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize September 11 as a national day of mourning, to commemorate and honor America's 5-year-long national sacrifice, and to warn of clear and present danger in the days ahead.

Our Nation will never forget the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Nearly 3,000 innocent Americans perished in that day, and the lives of many thousands more were forever changed. The tools and the national power were mobilized to bring justice to those responsible.

To each and all experiencing personal loss, we honor and we pay respect. To each and all responding to the call of duty, we extend a note of appreciation. Their sacrifice in our Nation's initial response led to a successful military strike against terror strongholds in Afghanistan. As we all agreed, it was an impressive operational display of technological might. It was swift and it was right, and it enjoyed widespread support among the world's family and nations. In short, it was a step toward a more safe and secure environment for Americans.

Mr. Speaker, in the past 5 years, much of the initial gain has been squandered. We have failed to implement the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. We found ourselves bogged down in a costly war in Iraq that detracts from our pursuit of those responsible for attacking American soil. We are also facing a resurgence in Afghanistan.

Our Nation is engaged in two wars, the first against terrorism; and the second, a war of choice to effect a regime change in Iraq, has dragged us into a sectarian clash on the verge of civil war. The war on terrorism rightfully continues, and by all account remains a war of necessity. In contrast, the war in Iraq was initiated with faulty intelligence, without proper planning and aftermath, that is, after the initial strike planning has created for our Nation a strategic risk.

More than 40 percent of Army and Marine Corps ground equipment is committed to the combat theater. That equipment is wearing out, according to experts, nine times faster than the normal rate. Not one Army combat brigade in the continental United States is fully ready for its wartime mission.

Simply put, the war in Iraq has sapped our strategic base and threatens to break our Army. Regrettably, our Nation is not safer than it was on September 10, 5 years ago. Because this war of choice has tapped our resources, our Nation's ability to confront future security challenges, it is less than it was only 5 years ago. That is a sad commentary, but sadly true.

As we commemorate the heroes of September 11 and beyond, let us not forget the solemn oath to protect and defend this Nation and to protect and defend our Constitution. Let us not forget our responsibility to take every step necessary to make America stronger, not weaker, than before. And let us never forget our duty to prevent the occurrence of another similar tragedy. We must have the best, we must have the most capable military to meet any threat that faces this wonderful Nation. If we fail in this endeavor, then we will surely have failed to honor the memory of those who have fallen.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the majority whip, Mr. BLUNT.

Mr. BLUNT. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, today we live in a country of great opportunity, we live in a country of great freedom, but we live in a dangerous world. We came face to face with that danger 5 years ago, we came face to face with the evil in the world 5 years ago, and today we commemorate what we have done in the last minutes and hours and what we have done in the last years to try to prevent that evil from replicating itself again.

For years before 9/11, we pretended that evil somehow didn't exist; or if it did exist, it couldn't touch us. A series of events that government after government after government in our country chose to minimize or ignore led to 9/11. The bombing of the barracks at Beirut, the bombing of the barracks at Khobar Towers, the attack on the USS *Cole*, the attack on two of our embassies, the first attack on the World Trade Center were all part of a concentrated effort of a narrow sliver of totalitarian activists that don't like the way we live and don't like who we are, who have vowed to destroy our very way of life.

Now, it is nice, whether it is at work or whether it is at home or in your neighborhood, to pretend you don't have enemies in the world. But we do have enemies in the world. As the Prime Minister of Iraq said when he spoke to this body just weeks ago: this is not Islam, it is a perverted view, I think he said specifically as was translated, a false view or a fake view of Islam. But there are people who believe it. There are people who believe that we, because of who we are, are their sworn enemies.

And this resolution today just commemorates the great work of those individuals that we recognize, those individuals that we recognize who defend our country, who defend our freedom, who defend our flag; those individuals we recognize who take chances every day to find out the information that we need to find out on a human level, from those people every day who analyze the things that need to be analyzed and those resources we have given them to be able to make those choices, whether it was the PATRIOT Act or the other things that we have done since 9/11 that bring terrorism to the level of other crimes, even though the danger of terrorism may be much more dangerous than those crimes that various investigative arms of our government and the tools that they had available to them were given after 9/11.

We need to continue to move forward and we need to continue to be committed somewhat, and many people have said that someone had to be the first person that said we have to be right every single time, the terrorists only have to be right once.

Nobody will stand here today in good conscience and say a terrorist attack can't happen again. But we can say in good conscience that we will do everything we possibly can to prevent that attack from happening again. We will

do everything we can possibly do, from naively looking at the present and assuming that we won't have enemies in the future. We need to address our enemies; we need to address the world the way we find it. Thank goodness for the many American men and women and our allies overseas who joined us in trying to prevent the cowardly terrorist attacks that happened in this country 5 years ago and other countries since then.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to a great member of our committee, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. TIERNEY) for 3 minutes.

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from California.

Mr. Speaker, many Members recently voted against the previous question on the rule. We did so because we wanted a substitute, a resolution that mirrored Senate Resolution 565, which was a measure which was bipartisan and which was designed to unite this Congress and the country. That is the way in fact that we wish to remember and honor those 9/11 victims.

Unfortunately, the Speaker and the majority of the House have chosen division and partisanship. The gentleman from Michigan mentioned a moment ago that on Monday, September 11, the Nation took off a day from partisanship. We only wish that the Speaker had joined in that. But by proposing a resolution referring to issues that are partisan and divisive, once again, a chance for unity has been missed not in the Senate but here in the House.

New York Times columnist Frank Rich this past Sunday recalled FDR's use of the phrase "the warm courage of national unity in a time of challenge." That is exactly what we need in these times of challenge.

FDR mentioned his realization of our interdependence on each other, that we cannot merely, take but that we must give as well; and that if we are going to move forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline.

Since September 11, this Nation has not been called to that higher unity and shared sacrifice. Instead, we have seen divisive legislation and tax cuts favoring the few. We should instead honor the fallen victims of 9/11 and their families' sacrifices and the responders and our military and our intelligence communities for their bipartisan efforts. We should resolve to implement the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission.

Now, Chairmen Kean and Hamilton wrote on September 11, 2006, that their commission's December report card on limitation garnered 10 C's, 12 D's, and 4 F's. And they listed there still remain to be done at least 10 things, the acceptance of which and the completion of which would in fact honor the September 11 people.

We should allocate our homeland security dollars wisely, because now they are being spread around like revenue

sharing. States have to be held to create and practice emergency response plans. Congress shouldn't wait until 2009, three years from now, to give first responders a slice of the broadest spectrum for emergency communication.

We still need to do a better job with information sharing among government agencies, particularly those at the State and local levels. The FBI reform needs to speed up even as it moves in the right direction. The privacy and civil liberties oversight board must be empowered as a strong voice on behalf of individual and civil liberties, especially as the executive gets stronger authorities. We need to better screen passengers against a comprehensive terrorist watch list before they board craft. We need to do a better job of reaching out to the Muslim world so that America can be seen as a source of hope and opportunity and not despair.

Congress needs to reform itself. The oversight committees need stronger powers over budgets and jurisdictions. And the prevention of terrorists' access to nuclear weapons must be elevated above all other problems of national security. To do all this, we need the warm courage of unity, not partisanship, not divisive resolutions.

Mr. Speaker, this would be an excellent time for the leadership of this House to match rhetoric with unifying actions.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I would like to yield 2 minutes to my colleague, a member of the committee, Mr. MCHUGH.

Mr. MCHUGH. Mr. Speaker, as a New Yorker, this past Monday had a particular impact on me and on my fellow New Yorkers. It is obviously a time of great sorrow and sadness and reflection for each and every American. But of the 2,997 who perished that day, a large number and obviously the main focus of the attack was in our State.

There is little we can do to rewind that as a day and as the circumstances that led up to it. I noted my good friend, the gentlewoman from California's remarks about intelligence failures, and she is right. They are real and they were longstanding. You heard the majority whip of the House speak of the attacks that were levied against this country that, frankly, the intelligence systems were not up to providing long before this particular era, long before we were in Iraq: the USS *Cole*, the attack on our two embassies, the first World Trade Center attack, Khobar Towers, and on and on and on.

□ 1700

If 9/11 teaches us anything, it is that as Americans, and particularly as ones who have the great honor and great responsibility of representing the people of this Nation, we must continue as we did on that day, September 11, to work together to make us safe.

We are safer. We can never be safe. This land is too free, too open, too many opportunities that we enjoy and our basic liberties to ever be fully safe, but we can be, as I would argue we are today, safer.

I would hope we would be even safer tomorrow and the day after that, but to do that, we are going to have to continue our joint initiatives.

We have come a long way. We have instilled leadership and coordination of multiple agencies. We have addressed how terrorism information gets to the analysts and the policymakers who need that information most. We have had to change the culture of the FBI from one of being single-minded in a criminal investigation agency to one that pursues those who wish to harm us through proactive intelligence investigations.

We have done these things. We need to continue. We must make 9/11 a rallying cry for a safer tomorrow.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas for a unanimous consent request.

(Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I will place a statement in the RECORD on H. Res. 994 on the 9/11 5-year anniversary at this point.

Mr. Speaker, on Monday, this Nation took time to remember the events of five years earlier on September 11, 2001—events that changed the way we viewed the world and our own Nation. Our prayers are with the families of those that lost their lives that day. We never imagined that something like that could happen on American soil and it is still hard to comprehend the number of innocent lives lost that day.

The five year anniversary brought back memories of planes crashing into the World Trade Center Building, the Pentagon, and Flight 93 going down in Pennsylvania, but more importantly, we remembered the images of the brave Americans—fire fighters, law enforcement, medical personnel, and everyday citizens—that rushed to help their fellow Americans that were injured or trapped in the rubble of the fallen buildings.

The courage these individuals showed is the reason the terrorists were not successful in weakening our Nation. They took innocent American lives and destroyed our buildings that day, but they did not destroy our Nation's resolve because Americans will always answer the call and the first responders that day did so selflessly in an environment of chaos and uncertainty.

Over the past five years we have seen this country grow stronger in the face of the new threat that became apparent that day. As citizens we are more vigilant and as a Nation we have committed to a new war to fight terrorism across the globe.

The attacks in Spain, Jordan, Britain and elsewhere since 9/11 demonstrate that we are not alone in this fight and that we have not deterred the terrorists' intentions or will to carry out attacks against innocent people. We will continue to hunt down terrorists and terrorist cells where they are and we will lead the world in defeating their ideology.

We all have different ideas about how to do this. Over the past five years, we have seen heated debates in this House, throughout our government, and across the Nation over how to best protect our country, secure our borders, patrol our ports, and carry out the war

against these extremists while protecting the American way of life and our individual liberties. But this tragedy reminded us that we are all Americans first and foremost. We may not always agree on how best to do this, but the goal of every person here is the same: to succeed in protecting our country, our way of life, and preventing another 9/11.

No one will forget where they were, or what they were doing when they learned of the attacks. This anniversary marks one of the gravest days in our Nation's history, but it also reminds us of the bravery displayed by those that reacted to the tragedy with unwavering courage and heroism.

Mr. Speaker, September 11, 2001 is five years behind us, but it will guide us for the foreseeable future. I pray for the families that lost loved ones that day and I thank those that served bravely. God be with those that are not here because of 9/11 and God bless America.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES).

Mr. REYES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the victims of 9/11 al Qaeda attacks, as well as the family members who mourn them, the first responders who helped their communities recover, and the brave men and women in the armed services who are risking their lives to make us safer.

Honoring the memories of those who gave their lives on September 11 should not, however, be a once-a-year endeavor. This should not be an occasion for speeches and ceremonies. Talk is cheap, but our actions, what we do in the war on terror, that is what speaks volumes. Through our actions, we honor our dead. I would like to talk about a couple of ways in which we could better honor their memories, ways in which we can actually act.

After September 11, we began a war of necessity, the war on terror. The whole world was with us. We made enormous strides quickly in Afghanistan in that war, but then we began another war, a war of choice, in Iraq. Now, because more than 130,000 of our troops are bogged down in Iraq, we have punted the ball in Afghanistan.

Let me be clear. Today, we are in danger in Afghanistan, the original breeding ground for al Qaeda. The Taliban is gaining ground and inflicting casualties on coalition forces. If we need reinforcements, will we have them? The major victory in the war of necessity, the war on terror, that was so close now appears to be fading because we are bogged down in a war of choice in Iraq.

The best way to honor our departed heroes and friends is by winning that war of necessity. The terrorists started the war on September 11, but if we set our priorities right we can finish it.

The men and women who died on September 11 deserve victory in the war on terror, our war of necessity. They deserve more than empty rhetoric. They deserve more than talking points and slogans. They deserve more than chicken hawk mud slinging. They also deserve more than insulting those as unpatriotic or weak anyone who

dares to say that we need to make some changes in the way we are fighting the war of necessity. And finally, they deserve more than siphoning off resources from the war of necessity by a war of choice.

Yes, talk is cheap. If we want to remember those who died on September 11, let us give them a victory.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to my colleague from the great State of Michigan (Mr. ROGERS).

Mr. ROGERS of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, today is really an important day because what we celebrate today are those people who sacrificed of themselves and gave of their all to save the lives of someone else, and that is the real difference between us and our enemy. We celebrate those who save lives. They celebrate those who take lives. That is the difference to remember.

Al Qaeda has a very radical plan, and this attack was not just to poke America in the eye and to kill our civilians. It was to obtain a goal, a goal that they had publicly stated, a tale of faith that ranges from all of the Mideast, northern Africa, southern parts of Europe, including Spain and Indonesia.

This is a war not only of ideology but about a political geography that they believe they own and they are willing to kill Jews and Christians and men and women and Muslims to get it.

Amrullah Saleh visited the United States. He is now head of the intelligence services in Afghanistan, and he said when he was visiting here, "Only we in Afghanistan have seen what happens when Osama bin Laden is king or prime minister or commander-in-chief of a nation. Our freedom, our culture, our way of life was completely taken from us."

Under the Taliban, it was against the law to teach women to read or to drive. They could not go outside unless they were escorted by a male relative. They had burned buses because they were a modern necessity. They could not listen to music, watch movies or television, shave or use the Internet.

Osama bin Laden said, "The war is for you or for us to win. If we win, it means your defeat and your disgrace forever."

Strong words by a cowardly enemy, but we know that threat is real, and sometimes we get lost in the haggling when we all know that this is the time that we pull together and celebrate those who celebrate life, pull together against those who celebrate death.

Today is our day that we rededicate ourselves to the task of protecting and defending this Nation against a vicious and merciless enemy. We must not forget and we must do what it takes to prevail against those perpetrators of 9/11.

This is what we commemorate in today's resolution, and I would urge all of us to remember who the enemy is.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RUPPERSBERGER).

Mr. RUPPERSBERGER. Mr. Speaker, first, I thank Ranking Member HARMAN, and Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the heroes of September 11.

Our citizens will forever remember September 11 as a day on which our values, our liberties, and our freedoms were attacked.

Our Nation's intelligence agencies and law enforcement officials learned to do business differently after 9/11.

We learned we need to give our law enforcement and intelligence agencies more powerful and flexible, modern tools to detect terrorists' plans and intentions.

As a former prosecutor, I understand the need to balance tough justice issues for criminals but also to respect human rights.

By the same logic, we have to learn what terrorists are plotting before they act so that we can keep the country safe, but we have to fight terrorists in a way that also protects Americans' rights. In passing the PATRIOT Act, Congress struck a balance between civil liberties and strong law enforcement. Not a perfect balance but a good one.

However, not every effort strikes this balance. The President ordered the National Security Agency to conduct a surveillance program in a way that avoids certain required constitutional checks and balances. The House Intelligence Committee could not oversee the NSA program because most of us were not briefed. At the administration's direction, the judicial branch, in the form of the FISA court, was bypassed.

If the administration needs new authorities to monitor terrorists, they should ask Congress for them. I see no reason, however, why this program could not be conducted under the rubric of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act.

The district I represent includes NSA. So I have a special interest in the men and women of the NSA who professionally and honorably serve their country, often in secret. They should not have to worry if they are breaking the law when they follow instructions of the White House and the Attorney General.

Our counterterrorism efforts must be governed by the rule of law. To do otherwise would dishonor the heroes of September 11 and their loved ones.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. TIAHRT), another member of the Intelligence Committee.

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman.

On September 11, 2001, life in America was irreversibly changed. That day we were drawn into a war to confront a threat we did not fully understand.

Although we still cannot fully understand why terrorists hate our way of life so much, we do understand this much. We are still very much at war. Almost 5 years after the attacks on September 11, 2001, Islamic extremist

groups continue to represent the most immediate threat to the United States and our allies. They have struck London, Madrid, and have bombed restaurants and hotels in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. At the urging of Osama bin Laden, every American man, woman and child has become a legitimate target for their jihad, and American interests continue to be targeted by al Qaeda affiliates around the globe.

This year alone we have unearthed terrorist plots in Canada and the U.K. that remind us just how close the terrorist threat is as these individuals did travel into the United States with some frequency.

Mr. Speaker, we are blessed with an outstanding military that has taken the battle to the enemy, in places where every American carries a gun, rather than on the streets of New York, Washington, or Wichita, Kansas.

But the United States remains a Nation at war, a war for which we did not ask. We are safer, though, not simply because there has been no successful attack on U.S. soil since September 11, 2001. We are safer today because of the professionals of the worldwide network of intelligence, military and law enforcement officials who continue to pressure and strike al Qaeda and its followers.

We have turned a corner, and we must continue to pressure these radical Islamic organizations until victory on all fronts for freedom-loving people around the world is assured.

September 11, 2001, showed us the danger of Islamic terrorism. It also taught us that the deficiencies in our own system made it possible for terrorists to operate right under our noses.

Our most important duty as Members of Congress is to protect our Nation from ever experiencing that lesson again. For that reason, we must continue to focus on improving our national security, our homeland security, and our intelligence systems so that we can beat this threat, not only today and tomorrow but for the future, for our children and grandchildren.

I thank the chairman.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. HOLT), ranking member on our Intelligence Policy Subcommittee.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentlewoman from California.

Like every American, I spent the past week reflecting on that terrible day 5 years ago. I too attended a number of memorials and observances during the week. We came out of 9/11/2001 mourning with the families, praising the first responders, and vowing to catch and punish those responsible and vowing to do everything possible to prevent a recurrence.

For the families affected, well over 100 in my district in central New Jersey alone, the pain will never go away. The hole in their hearts and their lives

is mirrored by the void that remains at Ground Zero, and that in part is what I wanted to talk about, the unfinished work in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

Today, Congress, following the President, has veered off course. We have engaged in a war with an undefined enemy, undefined objectives and no plan for success. We have suffered a tremendous loss of American life, money and international prestige, the latter almost entirely self-inflicted. We have alienated and embittered traditional allies, some of whom believe we might even attack them at some point in the future, and we have given our enemies, unfortunately, ample material with which they can recruit new terrorists.

The families left behind on 9/11 made a clear request of us: make Americans safer from terrorism. We have not taken those specific steps, even though we should have taken them.

What are those specific steps? Well, my friend from Ohio, the majority leader, and the chairman, they know. Every Member knows. The bipartisan 9/11 Commission worked hard and well and presented a specific list on everything from securing our borders to screening shipments in ports.

□ 1715

By the way, the list did not include a suggestion that we invade Iraq.

The commission gave these specific recommendations, a blueprint on how to protect Americans. Not long ago, the 9/11 Commission gave the government about two dozen inadequate grades for failing to take those specific steps to protect Americans.

So instead of self-congratulatory and divisive resolutions, let us have an up-or-down vote to implement each of their recommendations.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to a member of our leadership, Mr. KINGSTON.

Mr. KINGSTON. I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I wanted to say that there have been a lot of steps we have taken since 9/11. Many of these steps have been taken against the Democrat leadership's will. I think it is sad that so soon after 9/11 there seemed to be so much partisan division, and yet there still was some bipartisan unity.

We were able to, for example, increase funding for first responders on homeland security. We were able to pass the PATRIOT Act. We were able to pass the REAL ID Act that revamps the requirements for State identification cards. We passed the Homeland Security Act of 2002, which established the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. And we passed more border security, including physical barriers, more Border Patrol agents, and more state-of-the-art technology. We ended the catch-and-release program. Unfortunately, 164 Democrats voted against it. We passed the Safe Port Act, which enhances our port safety. We did the

Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, which set up a lot of intelligence-gathering information, and part of this was the NSA program on surveillance.

And I want to say this, that I don't want the Federal Government listening to any conversation that I might have or you may have or constituents may have. But if they are suspected terrorists, and they are calling to Baghdad, I kind of want Uncle Sam to know about that.

I was actually shocked to hear that on Monday NANCY PELOSI, the leader of the Democrat Party, said that capturing Osama bin Laden would not make the world more safe. I was appalled that a Member of Congress would say such a thing. But I want you to know that that is a minority opinion. Most Democrats, most Republicans think capturing Osama bin Laden would be a good thing for the world's security and would, in fact, make the world safer. And I am glad that we have these intelligence surveillance programs so that we can close in on him.

I am also glad that we passed the BioShield program to enhance our defense against chemical and biological weapons. We have also passed an Emergency Communications Act that will help us communicate during times of disaster, and a Maritime Security Act.

All of these are done in reaction to 9/11, but also looking to prevent future attacks, and I think we are moving in the right direction. A lot of work has yet to be done, but we have got to stay the fight and we need to be unified.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD an Associated Press article regarding events leading up to September 11, and a document entitled "The Post-9/11 Facts."

TIMELINE: KEY EVENTS LEADING UP TO SEPT. 11

Chronology of some key events in U.S. relations with Islamic groups and with Usama bin Laden before Sept. 11, 2001:

Feb. 26, 1993—Bomb explodes in garage under World Trade Center, killing six and injuring more than 1,000. Group of Islamic extremists later convicted.

Nov. 13, 1995—Seven people, including five Americans, killed when two bombs explode at U.S.-Saudi military facility in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Usama bin Laden blamed for attack.

Sept. 27, 1996—Taliban, suspected of giving refuge to bin Laden, completes takeover of Kabul, Afghanistan.

June 25, 1996—Bin Laden followers detonate bomb at U.S. military base near Ohahrnan, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 American soldiers and wounding hundreds of Americans and Saudi Arabians.

Aug. 7, 1998—U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, bombed, killing more than 250 people, including 12 Americans, and injuring 5,000. In retaliation, United States launches airstrikes against suspected terrorist camps in Sudan and Afghanistan.

Aug. 28, 1998—FBI accuses bin Laden of having declared "jihad," or holy war, against United States. Complaint also alleges bin Laden founded Al Qaeda that year to promote Islamic fundamentalism and force non-Muslims out of Muslim countries.

Nov. 4, 1998—Bin Laden charged with ordering embassy bombings.

Oct. 12, 2000—Suicide bombers in Yemen attack U.S. Navy destroyer USS *Cole*, killing 17 sailors. Officials suspect bin Laden involvement.

Jan. 15, 2001—U.N. imposes new economic sanctions against Taliban for refusing to turn over bin Laden for trial.

THE POST 9/11 FACTS

Legislative accomplishments since 9/11:

Major Legislation Enacted: the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 and its 2006 reauthorization; the Homeland Security Act of 2002; the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002; the Maritime Transportation Security Act of 2002; and the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

House-passed (109th Congress): the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005; the SAFE Port Act of 2006; and the 21st Century Emergency Communications Act of 2006.

Institutional Reforms: creation of the Department of Homeland Security; creation of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence; creation of the National Counterterrorism Center; creation of the Terrorist Screening Center; and creation of the U.S. Northern Command (USNORTHCOM).

Presidential Programs:

Terrorist Surveillance Program, the communications surveillance program used to listen in on international phone calls coming into or out of the United States when one of the parties is a suspected terrorist.

Swift Program, the financial surveillance program used to track the financial transactions of persons suspected of terrorist activities.

Terrorist Detainee Program, intelligence gathered from detainees have yielded crucial information that would have been unobtainable from other sources.

Grants: The Department of Homeland Security has allocated more than \$18 billion to states and localities in assistance and direct support for terrorism preparedness since September 11, 2001 through FY 06. Additional billions have been allocated by the Departments of Health and Human Services and Justice.

Al-Qaeda: With the removal of the Taliban, Afghanistan is no longer a safe haven for al-Qaeda and there are no functioning al-Qaeda training camps.

The al-Qaeda network has been significantly degraded since 9/11. Most of those in al-Qaeda responsible for the September 11 attacks have been captured or killed including:

Khalid Shaykh Muhammad, mastermind of the 9/11 attacks.

Ramzi Bin-al-Shibh, a coordinator of the 9/11 attacks.

Ali Abd al-Aziz Ali, nephew of Khalid Shaykh Muhammad and assisted his uncle with various plots including the 9/11 attacks.

Mustafa Ahmed al-Hawsawi, was a communications link between Khalid Shaykh Muhammad and the 9/11 hijackers.

Walid Ba' Attash, assisted with planning of the USS *Cole* bombing and helped Osama bin Laden select operatives for the 9/11 attacks.

Abu Zubaydah, a senior operative for al-Qaeda.

Hamza Rabia, a key external operations commander for al-Qaeda (killed).

Abu Faraj al-Libi, a key al-Qaeda operational commander (killed).

Majid Khan, helped Khalid Shaykh Muhammad research possible attacks in U.S.

Hambali, mastermind of the 2002 Bali nightclub attack that killed 200.

Lillie, associate of Hambali.

Zubair, associate of senior al-Qaeda operatives.

Abu Faraj al-Libbi, a Libyan subordinate of Osama bin Laden.

Ahmed Khalifam Ghailani, suspect in the 1998 US embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.

Gouled Hassan Dourad, helped support al-Qaeda in Somalia.

Mohammed Atef, al-Qaeda's senior field commander (killed).

Abd al-Rahim al Nashiri, planned and organized bombing of USS *Cole*.

Abu Issa al-Hindi, planner of reconnaissance of U.S. financial institutions.

Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, operational commander of the terrorist movement in Iraq (killed).

Terror Attacks prior to 9/11:

The U.S. and its interests were attacked by terrorists prior to September 11, 2001: April, 1983, 63 people died at U.S. Embassy in Beirut; October, 1983, 241 died at U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut; February, 1983, six people were killed at the World Trade Center in New York City; June, 1996, 19 American servicemen died in bombing at Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia; August, 1998, 224 people died at the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and October, 2000, 17 people died on the USS *Cole* in Yemen.

Terror Attacks since 9/11: Bali, 2002, 2005; Madrid, 2004; London, 2005; Egypt, 2004, 2005; Russia, 2004; Jordan, 2005; and India, 2006.

Terror Plots Foiled:

Plan to attack targets on the West Coast of the U.S. using hijacked aircraft in 2002.

Plan to attack targets on the East Coast of the U.S. using hijacked civilian aircraft in 2003.

Plan to blow up apartment buildings in the U.S. in 2002.

Plan to attack urban targets in the United Kingdom using explosives in 2004.

Plan to attack Westerners in Karachi, Pakistan in 2003.

Plan to attack Heathrow Airport using hijacked aircraft in 2003.

Plan to conduct large-scale bombings in the United Kingdom in 2004.

Plan to attack ships in the Arabian Gulf in 2002.

Plan to attack ships in the Straits of Hormuz in 2002.

Plan to attack a U.S. tourist site outside the U.S. in 2003.

Plan to attack Queen Alia Airport in Jordan in 2006.

Plan to attack high-profile buildings in Ontario, Canada in 2006.

Plan to attack an El Al aircraft in 2006.

Plan to blow up civilian aircraft bound for the U.S. over the Atlantic Ocean in 2006.

Other Points:

According to a New York Times/CBS Poll of the Nation and New York City specifically (The New York Times, September 7, 2006):

New York City: 66% of New Yorkers are still "very concerned" about another terrorist attack in New York City; nearly a third of New Yorkers think about September 11 every day; nearly a third of New Yorkers have not yet resumed their normal routines nationally; 75% of Americans said their daily life had largely returned to normal; and 22% of people were still "very concerned" about another terrorist attack.

According to a recent study released by Mount Sinai Medical Center in New York (The New York Times, September 6, 2006), about 70% of a 10,000-person sampling of workers who labored at Ground Zero (excluding NYFD), have developed new or substantially worsened respiratory problems.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, how much time remains on each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman from California has 51½ minutes; the gentleman from Michigan has

9¼ minutes remaining. There is 35 minutes that has been yielded to the Judiciary Committee following his 9¼ minutes.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I just have a very short closing comment to make for our portion of the debate, and then I plan to yield the remainder of my time to the ranking member on the Judiciary Committee. So I will make those comments now.

Mr. Speaker, let me close this portion of the debate by once again paying tribute to those who lost their lives on 9/11, to those who came to their rescue, and to those sent to the front lines in the 5 years since. The individual stories of bravery and heroism have provided some measure of light in an otherwise dark, dark chapter.

Five years ago, Mr. Speaker, Members of this body stood shoulder to shoulder on the steps of the Capitol in a show of bipartisan unity. We actually did that again on Monday, but I am not sure we recovered the spirit that we had 5 years ago. How I wish we could have, as another member of our committee said, considered a different resolution today, the one that passed the other body by unanimous consent and that was cosponsored by every single Member.

Mr. Speaker, let us not use 9/11 for political fodder. Let us speak with one voice. We owe the American people nothing less.

Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to yield the remainder of the time on our side to my good friend, Mr. CONYERS, the ranking member on the House Judiciary Committee and coauthor, with me, of H.R. 5371, the LISTEN Act, legislation supported by many of our Members and a broad range of civil liberties groups that would require the so-called NSA program to comply fully with the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act as presently drafted.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I welcome to this discussion and debate my colleague from the State of Michigan (Mr. CONYERS), who is also a great cosponsor of our Federal Prison Industries legislation, which we will consider tomorrow. You have good friends on the Intelligence Committee, my friend.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield 2 minutes to my colleague from the State of Alabama (Mr. EVERETT).

(Mr. EVERETT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of House Resolution 994, commemorating the cowardly September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States. Many Americans think the war on terror we are fighting began on September 11, 2001. However, 9/11 was just the deadliest attack in a war that began over 25 years ago.

For the first 20 years, we allowed terrorists to fight this war on their terms. 9/11 served as a wake-up call for us in the sense that we could no longer afford to sit on our hands and let terror-

ists continue to kill Americans and kill Americans and kill Americans. Under the leadership of President Bush, and with the support of this Republican-led Congress, we took the fight to the terrorists.

In Afghanistan, Operation Enduring Freedom removed the oppressive Taliban regime that ruled the Afghan people with brutality. In Iraq, we continue to make progress after a series of historic elections in which millions of Iraqis defied the threats of terrorism and voted to establish a national assembly. While much remains to be done in Iraq, it is important that we continue to remain there against those who want to cast Iraq into a civil war.

Mr. Speaker, we have accomplished so much in the global war on terror. We have significantly degraded the al Qaeda network by capturing and killing many of their leaders and associates. Despite these successes, the terrorists remain committed to launching another attack. It is not a question of if, but rather when.

As we mark the anniversary of these attacks, we must remain resolute to fight and win this war against terror. Mr. Speaker, this war on terror must be fought. We can do it in the streets of our own towns, or we can fight the terrorists wherever they are. Either way, it has to be done.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to our colleague Mr. ISSA.

Mr. ISSA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding to me. I am part of the class that came in and were freshmen, we were just getting our feet wet at that time in Judiciary and International Relations, when September 11 occurred. For the class of 2000 that came in with the President, this has been our entire career. So I don't have a reference point that is particularly good of how the House was before, but I did watch a profound change, a focus after September 11 that I am very proud of.

And I stand before this body today in hopes that after this election and after this resolution passes we will get back to being the Congress that we were after September 11. Because after September 11, we came together. We accepted the compromises necessary to go out and find out who killed us, who hated us, who wanted to kill us, who would be next, and where they would attack.

Today, serving on the Select Intelligence Committee, I am concerned that partisan bickering, that in fact those who want to change who runs the Congress or those who want to retain it have begun to look in those terms rather than in terms of how do we keep America safe.

So I look forward to this passage, I look forward to going back to work, and I look forward to in fact the Congress, on a bipartisan basis, coming back together in a way that we have not been. And I am deeply disturbed at

some of the statements made here today, because I think that for those who listen throughout America, Mr. Speaker, they are going to hear that many are, like me, concerned for America, concerned that we come together and we continue to do the people's work of making this country safe in the war on terrorism. And I hope that those who speak out with other ideas are also considered.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, since 9/11, we have made a tremendous amount of progress against this war on radical Islam. We have recognized that it is a war. We are not sure exactly when this war began. Did it begin in 1979 when radical Islamists took over our embassy in Iran? Did it begin in the early 1980s, when Hezbollah attacked our barracks in Beirut, killing over 240 Marines? Did it begin in the early 1990s, when the World Trade Centers were attacked for the first time? Or did it begin when our embassies in Africa were attacked, our barracks in Saudi Arabia, the USS *Cole*? Or did it really finally begin on 9/11 in 2001? How about when bin Laden issued his fatwa in 1996, where he declared war against the West?

Since 9/11, there has never been any question that we are a Nation at war. While for much of the 1990s we ignored this threat and did not respond effectively to it, since 9/11 we have. We have put in place many things where we have recognized that we face a very dangerous and a very different kind of enemy than we have ever faced before. We have recognized that this is a global enemy.

Take a look at the progress we have made in fighting this very strange enemy. It was only 4 weeks ago that a very similar plot was disrupted and stopped in the United Kingdom: a global plot, with leadership, financing, and direction perhaps coming out of Pakistan, and the perpetrators of the plot living in the United Kingdom. A very different and a very dangerous type of terrorist. A home-grown terrorist.

□ 1730

These were not people going through the U.K. from some other country, these were people whose parents, maybe their grandparents, had moved to the U.K. They had gone to their schools and established their families, they were working.

But 4 weeks ago, they were in the final stages of putting together a plot that might have taken down 10 to 12 planes with a loss of life that would have been as great as what we suffered on 9/11. The plot was stopped. Why, because we had foreign intelligence communities of Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the U.S. working seamlessly together. That couldn't have happened on 9/11.

We also had foreign intelligence working with law enforcement. There is no wall anymore between foreign intelligence and law enforcement. Again,

it is a seamless operation enabling people to work effectively together.

On a third principle, we are now on offense. No longer will radical Islam have a safe haven where they can plan, where they can train and prepare to attack the West again. Our intelligence community, our armed services, they are on offense finding these individuals where they are. And our intelligence community and other law enforcement agencies have put in place the tools necessary to wage this war effectively. That's the testimony and the testament to the people of 9/11. We have responded to that, to the horrific attack of 9/11.

Those are the things that we as a government can do. It hasn't been perfect. This is a very, very difficult enemy but we are making progress. These are the things that man can do and government can do as we try to create a world that will be safer for our families, for our kids, for our neighbors and that will make the world a safer place.

But one of the things that I believe that many who died on 9/11 believed, and their families believe, and one of the things that is very interesting is that one of the most common things between the Islamic faith, the Jewish faith and the Christian faith is that we all view Jesus as a great teacher.

As a closing comment I would like to leave a quote from the book "Light Force": "I pray that the message of the Prince of Peace will again be a light from Bethlehem to all corners of the world."

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) will control the remainder of the time on the minority side, 50 minutes, and the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. COBLE) on behalf of the Judiciary Committee will control 35 minutes.

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Res. 994. I will never forget, and neither will you, the sense of helplessness as we watched the events of September 11 unfold before our very eyes. As the entire world witnesses the unthinkable, we in the United States could only look to one another and pray for the strength and courage to cope with what was happening.

I don't know if there is anything that the Congress or the President could do short of capturing Osama bin Laden that everyone would agree was an appropriate response. Our critics claim we are no safer now than before the attacks of 9/11. Although there is no measure to evaluate our efforts in the war on terrorism, I do suggest that the absence of additional attacks in the United States and the apprehension of would-be attackers throughout the world bodes well for the actions we have taken.

Mr. Speaker, the legislative effort by the Committee on the Judiciary and

the Congress to secure our Nation and prevent another attack on our homeland is unparalleled during my tenure in this House. Unfortunately, we know weaknesses exist. Our borders are porous, and my Coast Guard instincts fear that the enemy may be focusing his next attack on one of our ports.

I have repeatedly expressed concern about overcrowding in our prisons which may be a ticking bomb waiting to explode. Recent media reports detail that our prisons may be fertile ground for terrorist groups interested in recruiting new members. The plot to blow up jetliners recently prevented by British authorities underscores the urgency of this situation.

I fear there are many other security gaps that terrorists have already planned to exploit. We have to stay one step ahead of those people who would do us harm. This is like no other challenge this country has ever faced. These enemies would like to walk into this Chamber today, destroy all of us, and at the same time destroy themselves in an activity that would be generously laced with evil.

The only way we can defend ourselves is to improvise and continue to adjust to their changing threats. I support this resolution and I thank my Republican and Democratic colleagues for their work to defend our homeland.

I also want to express thanks to our constituents for their patience and understanding with our shortcomings and their recognition of our successes in our war against terrorism. After all, Mr. Speaker, it is they who we are trying to protect.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, and ladies and gentlemen of the House, 5 years have passed since the tragedy of 9/11; September 11, 2001, when the whole country remembers where we were, the images we saw on television, and the pain we felt in our hearts. That day will be remembered forever as a day of mourning, of suffering, and of incalculable loss.

Today as a Nation, we mourned with those who lost loved ones and for those who gave their lives that day to save others. We forgot our differences, uniting behind a common purpose seeking justice.

As I look back on that day, I remember the promise we showed as a Nation and the strength we exhibited when joining together in the days and the weeks after the horrific attacks of September 11. Members of both political parties recognized the need to ensure that law enforcement had the tools and the resources to respond to terrorist threats while at the same time respecting our Nation's core constitutional values.

But I also remember Keith Olbermann of MSNBC who in his criticisms, in his special comment section made this observation about Abraham Lincoln: "At the dedication of the Get-

tysburg Memorial, barely 4 months after the last soldier staggered from another Pennsylvania field, Mr. Lincoln said 'We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract.'

"Lincoln used those words to immortalize their sacrifice.

"Today our leaders could use those same words to rationalize their inaction. We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground, so we won't.

"Instead," Olbermann said, "they bicker and buck-pass. They thwart private efforts, and jostle to claim credit for initiatives that go nowhere. They spend money on irrelevant wars, and elaborate self-congratulations, and buying off columnists to write how good a job they are doing instead of doing any job at all."

Unfortunately, 5 years later it seems that we have lost our way. It is most unfortunate that the situation has become so dire that the majority and minority parties can't even come together on a simple resolution to commemorate the tragic and pivotal day in our Nation's history.

We were able to do so in the past. The other body was able to do so earlier this week. But for some reason the majority insisted on changing the text of prior resolutions and adding superfluous language touting their legislative record.

I wish I could say this was the only instance in which the majority party has sought to politicize the events of September 11, but that would not be accurate. One need only go back as far as Monday of this week when the President used a nationwide speech to somehow equate the situation in Iraq with September 11.

And last weekend, the Vice President also sought to link the war in Iraq with the September 11 attack even though a bipartisan Senate report just a few days earlier had again thoroughly debunked that myth. And there are other things that I will not bother to bring up now.

But the Secretary of Defense has compared the principal critics of the war with the appeasers of the despotic Nazi regime. Some on the other side have asserted that those who speak in favor of constitutional rights put forward by the Founding Fathers are somehow soft on terrorism.

In 2002, they even questioned the patriotism of the then-junior Senator of Georgia, a war veteran who lost his arms and legs fighting for our Nation in battle, because he insisted on protecting worker rights as part of a bill creating the Homeland Security Committee.

So it is altogether fitting and appropriate that we remember the dead, the wounded, and the families of the tragedy of September 11. But surely we can do so without also seeking to trumpet

our legislation or inserting unnecessary spin and public relations language into the resolution.

If there was anything that should bring us together as a Nation, it would be the commemoration of September 11. I hope, I pray that we can do a better job for the American people in the future.

And so, my colleagues, I ask of you, let's commemorate 9/11 the right way.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa (Mr. KING) who sits on the Judiciary, Agriculture and Small Business Committees.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. COBLE for recognizing me and giving me the privilege to speak on this issue today before this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, since the attacks by al Qaeda on September 11, 2001, future attacks on American soil and around the world have been thwarted by intelligence gathered by terrorist detainees. These terrorists have confirmed that al Qaeda operatives are relentlessly planning and pursuing future attacks against our citizens and infrastructure that could dwarf in comparison the destruction caused 5 years ago about now.

Information gathered from terrorists detainees has led to the capture of other al Qaeda terrorists, such as those held by the CIA and currently transferred to Guantanamo Bay. I have here some pictures of these individuals to help familiarize the Congress and the people with the kind of enemy we are up against.

□ 1745

This is a picture of Khalid Shaykh Muhammad, commonly known as the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks, those cowardly attacks on the United States. There is a long list of the transgressions of Khalid Shaykh Mohammed, including his role in the failed Bojinka plot, which was designed to detonate explosives on commercial airliners over the Pacific.

He asked Osama bin Laden for the manpower and the funds to carry out the attacks on the United States on 9/11. He plotted several other attacks, and he is, right now, under the custody of the United States of America, in the process of being brought to justice.

This is Abu Faraj al-Libi. Al-Libi had direct operational responsibilities, and he serves as a trainer at al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. He is another individual who is dangerous who plotted against the United States, who had no motivation, from my value system, to do so.

Another terrorist, Abu Zubaydah. Zubaydah was the third detainee here and was, at the time of his capture, trying to organize a terrorist attack in Israel. As well, he has been active in smuggling terrorists, and dangerous chemicals for the purpose of manufacturing weapons, into Afghanistan.

Then I would submit the fourth terrorist, being Ramzi Bin al-Shibh. Ramzi pledged allegiance to Osama bin Laden in person and accepted proposals to martyr himself in an operation against the U.S. Ramzi was the primary communications intermediary between the 9/11 hijackers and al Qaeda leadership in Afghanistan.

He relayed messages by e-mail and by cell phone. This man knows a lot about the terrorist network, and I believe we have learned a lot from him, but he needs to face justice as well.

Mr. Speaker, this is the face of the enemy in this global war on terror. It is a unique war in our time. Past wars have always been against a clear enemy, which had been another sovereign nation; but we are now fighting a hateful ideology that infiltrates many different nations.

Unfortunately, sometimes surveillance programs are not as tight as they need to be. We need to turn them up.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), a distinguished member of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the events of 9/11 were a tragedy and continue to affect Americans and our way of life today. On the anniversary of this sad day, we should be coming together, in a display of unity, understanding and common values, commending those selfless firefighters, police officers and others who provided aid without regard to their own lives, honoring the memory of those who are not with us today, and consulting those who continue to grieve.

Instead, the majority in this body has used this day in our history as an excuse to create more partisan legislation and mislead the American people about the state of America's safety. I am saddened by the use of 9/11 in this distorted manner, and I ask my colleagues to consider, instead, taking action that is more appropriate to mark this tragic event in our lifetime and to prepare ourselves against another such tragedy.

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT), who sits as a member of the Judiciary, Resources and Small Business Committees.

Mr. GOHMERT. There are many now who want to blame our current President and the Secretary of Defense or the prior President and his hapless administration for the brutal 9/11 attacks. There were certainly things that could have been done better over the last 30 years, but playing the blame game now can cause us to lose sight of the following truth:

No U.S. President destroyed our buildings on 9/11. No Secretary of Defense killed innocent people on 9/11. Those acts of hatred were committed by terrorists, by jihadists who want to destroy, pure and simple, our way of life.

An example on September 11, a brilliant mathematician from Tyler, Texas, Brian Jack, was a Ph.D., worked for the Department of Defense. He, ironically that day, left and did not go to the Pentagon. He went and got on an airplane. Yet evil, terrible men hijacked that airplane and flew it and crashed it into the very spot where he would have been working, killing him. That, my friends, was an act of war. We should not be blaming any American for it.

Brian, and all of those who died that horrible day, deserved better. We need to unite now. We need to recognize that terrorist Islamic extremists killed Americans and are at war with us. We must weigh into that and blame them, go after them and not each other.

Bashing our leaders, instead of showing our brutal enemies our steadfast resolve, is truly the hobgoblin of little minds. That is putting the desire for a new Speaker or other leaders above pursuit of our mutual and destructive enemy.

Our protectors deserve to be honored, not slandered. They deserve to have people come to this very floor of the House of Representatives and rave about every medal won, about every good deed, about every life saved by our servicemembers and not verbally abuse themselves.

Remember September 11, the feelings you had that day. Most of us did not see the first plane crash, but we were horrified to see a second plane crash and then to see the results of a plane flying into the Pentagon, and then to hear about a missing plane over Pennsylvania. We began to see what looked like clothing falling off the top of the tower, the Twin Towers, and then we realized to our horror, O Father God, there are people in those clothes.

Then we wept to realize the true depth and the destruction occurring. At the end of that day, no one believed we would go 5 years without having another act of terror. Do you remember the day after September 11?

Do you remember when so many of us came together and held hands and prayed and sang praises. That is the America that will defeat our foes. But you remember that day, September 12, there were Euro Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, these were all, we were just Americans. There were no hyphenated Americans.

That is the America I want for my children and their children. That is the America that will defeat all foes, foreign and domestic, and that is what will allow God to continue to bless America.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the ranking subcommittee chairman of the Committee on the Constitution in the House Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER).

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, it is altogether fitting that we adopt the resolution commemorating the fifth anniversary of the terrorist attacks against

the United States and specifically against the World Trade Center in my district on September 11, 2001.

The attacks were unprovoked, dastardly and a notice to us all that we are not, at our choosing, at war. Since that day, this Congress has taken many actions in response, some of which I agreed with, some of which I did not. I resent the Republican leadership's inclusion in this resolution of references to controversial legislation, as if to imply that any patriotic American who was appalled at the attacks on our country and who believes we must take resolute actions to defend ourselves must approve of all this legislation, and anyone who doesn't is either unpatriotic or foolish.

It may be, though I do not believe it so, that all this legislation was wise and appropriate. But that was a highly debatable proposition and should not be in this resolution.

The resolution quite correctly "honors the heroic actions of first responders, law enforcement personnel, State and local officials, volunteers and others, who aided the innocent victims and bravely risked their own lives and health following the September 11, 2001, attacks." Unfortunately, unless Congress acts quickly, future generations will regard this resolution as the culmination of 5 years of hypocrisy and betrayal.

While we praised the first responders, the Federal Government has betrayed their trust by first lying to them and causing them to work in conditions that destroyed the health of many and risked the lives of thousands. It has conducted a coverup that continues to this day. It has denied the reality of the resulting illnesses and has provided almost no help to assist with the medical and other costs imposed on thousands of first responders. It is not just the first responders.

Many resident school children and people who worked or lived near Ground Zero are still suffering from the devastating environmental effects of the attacks. In the days following the attacks, former EPA Administrator Christine Todd Whitman repeatedly declared the air safe to breathe.

A Federal judge found that "Whitman's deliberate and misleading statements to the press, where she reassured the public that the air was safe to breathe around Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn, and there would be no health risk for those returning to those areas, shocked the conscience." The EPA Inspector General confirmed the EPA's wrongdoing and reported 3 years ago that the White House had instructed EPA to downplay air quality concerns.

For this, Whitman and anyone at the White House who was involved ought to be criminally prosecuted, and I have demanded an independent counsel to look into this. Now thousands of people are sick and some have died from World Trade Center contamination because of the actions of the Federal Government in telling them to work

and live in contaminated environments.

Studies come out every year showing that most of the people exposed to 9/11 dust and debris continue to suffer adverse health effects. On September 5, 2006, Mount Sinai Medical Center released a study that found that 70 percent of the first responders suffer lung problems because of their work at Ground Zero. Information collected about the health effects on residents, people who work in the area, and school children, show similar patterns.

This resolution before us today claims to honor the heroes of 9/11, but that is just sheer hypocrisy if we do not at the least provide health care for these people as they struggle with the effects of the attacks and of the betrayal by their own government. As Americans, let us resolve that just as we showed exemplary valor and compassion in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks, we should do the same for those who continue to suffer the health effects of living and working in a toxic environment.

Abraham Lincoln said that it was our job, our duty, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and this we must do. We ought to provide comprehensive health care benefits for all those who are suffering. I suggest the easiest way to do this would be to extend Medicare benefits to those with 9/11-related illness who were exposed to World Trade Center dust.

I have introduced such a bill and urge my colleagues to support it and pass it without delay. As we mark this fifth anniversary, we still are not safe. We are not safer than we were on September 11, 2001, as this resolution claims.

The President and this Congress refused to do what we must to make us safe. We are not securing all the nuclear material in the former Soviet Union before it is smuggled to al Qaeda to make nuclear bombs. We are not screening all of the 12 million shipping containers coming into our ports to make sure that they do not contain nuclear or biological or chemical weapons. We are not hardening our nuclear and chemical plants from sabotage that could kill tens of thousands of Americans. We can and must do better. Now, the specific resolution before us ought to pass because we cannot let this occasion go unmarked.

But because of the cynical manipulation of the rules of the House two months before an election, the Republican leadership is using the memories of my murdered constituents to try to score political points. I find this offensive, and I for one will not fall for it.

I will not vote against the victims and heroes of 9/11 simply because the leadership distilled the resolution with highly charged political rhetoric. This type of resolution is not the way I would have chosen to honor 9/11, a day marked by unquestionable national unity.

Nonetheless, out of the respect for the families of the victims, and on be-

half of all Americans, I urge my colleagues to see past the obviously political paragraphs inserted into the resolution and come together to support passage of the resolution that should really only be known for honoring a tragic day in American history.

In order that this resolution not go down in history as hypocritical, I urge my colleagues to join, finally, in helping the victims of 9/11, the victims of our government's inaction and betrayal after 9/11. My thoughts and prayers, as ever, are with the families and friends of those we lost.

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOODLATTE), a member of the Judiciary Committee and Chair of the House Agriculture Committee.

□ 1800

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I rise in support of this important resolution.

Five years ago, America's collective national memory was seared with devastating images of crumbling skyscrapers, a smoldering Pennsylvania field, and the very symbol of our military might ablaze. The terrorists who perpetrated these acts sought to instill fear in the hearts of Americans, perceiving us as weak, unwilling or unable to fight back, thinking us content to shrink from the international stage. In this, they misjudged.

Hours after the attacks, homemade banners fluttered over railings of highway overpasses. Old Glory was flown proudly from porches and storefronts alike. Out of the ashes, Americans united, and found strength.

Since that deadly strike, America has been diligently working to eliminate the scourge of terrorism while making sure that the individual liberties of Americans are protected.

We established the Department of Homeland Security to coordinate our national antiterrorism efforts and increase information sharing among our intelligence agencies. We also created a specific committee in the House of Representatives to address homeland security issues and conduct oversight of that agency. We also enacted the PATRIOT Act, which contains important tools to fight terrorism, including the application of traditional wiretap and other electronic surveillance authority to new technologies such as the Internet, as well as the authority for Federal law enforcement officials to share foreign intelligence information with other government agencies to protect national defense. In addition, we enhanced the penalties for money laundering and for financing terrorists and increased the maximum criminal penalties for terrorist offenses.

While these tools are extremely important in the war on terror and have undoubtedly helped ensure that no further attacks have occurred on U.S. soil to date, the Congress has aggressively

conducted oversight of this new law to ensure that civil liberties are not trampled.

From October 2001 through the end of 2005, Congress engaged in over 50 items of terrorism-related oversight, including letters to the Justice Department, oversight hearings and briefings. During the consideration of the PATRIOT Act reauthorization last year, the Judiciary Committee conducted 13 oversight hearings and received testimony from 36 witnesses, including extensive testimony from Attorney General Gonzales.

We must never forget the devastation of September 11 and we must remain vigilant in our quest to eliminate those forces that use terror to further their political and ideological goals.

I urge my colleagues to join in support of this resolution and to join together in remaining vigilant and protecting freedom.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

(Mrs. MALONEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I almost didn't want to talk about this, it is so painful for many of us to remember those tragic days and those tragic events. Monday was a very difficult day, and I thank my colleagues. Many of you came to New York to remember. Our President was there, and many others. It has been 5 years, and we spent the day with families and had many memorial ceremonies.

But it is important to remember that although it was a tragic loss, it was also considered by some to be the greatest rescue effort in our history. On 9/12, when I was in various meetings with government officials, they estimated that 25,000 people had died in the towers. But because of the heroic efforts by many, that number fell to almost 3,000. So on that fateful day, almost 3,000 lost their lives, but many thousands more lost their health. We have to remember that these heroes/heroines need to be taken care of.

To this day, not one single Federal dollar has been spent on the health care of the 9/11 responders who need our help. We need to change that. We need to stand by them and give them the support that they need.

Because of the efforts in this Congress, and I thank my colleagues, never have we been more united or determined. We came together and provided a lot of relief and support to New York, and I deeply thank you on behalf of all of my constituents and all New Yorkers.

But we have to remember that many people are sick. In the study that came out of Mount Sinai that was funded by this Congress, \$90 million to track the health of the people, over half are still sick. Seventy percent are very sick and 40 percent have no health care.

We need to change that. We need to stand together and help these people, as we stood together after 9/11 to help our country.

In my hometown, nearly 3,000 of our neighbors, responders and friends were killed by the despicable terrorist acts of 9/11. They may be gone, but their memories are forever alive, especially when we honor them, as we do today. In reading this resolution before us, four words that are particularly poignant were our call for unity immediately after 9/11—"We will never forget."

When recovering and moving forward from 9/11, we must live by this mantra.

"We will never forget" means heeding the lessons 9/11 taught us about our security. Our deficiencies were expertly explained by the bipartisan 9/11 commission, and their recommendations provided a blueprint to make us safer. Two years ago, I helped pass the intelligence reform bill that implemented some of the commission's recommendations, but it took a monumental struggle. And since then, not a single remaining recommendation—of which there are many—has been implemented.

In its final progress report, the commission gave the government more F's than A's. The blueprint is sitting on the shelf, collecting dust. We cannot forget its existence.

"We will never forget" also means taking care of those who continue to suffer, even now. Thousands of responders, residents and workers who were at or near Ground Zero and inhaled the toxic dust are developing serious illnesses—and some are dying.

Many Americans became aware of their plight before of their plight before the fifth anniversary, but now the news cycle has changed. The ailing men and women are out of the headlines again, but they still suffer and struggle to get help.

Before the Federal Government failed to respond to the victims of Hurricane Katrina, it was failing to respond to the obvious and growing 9/11 health crisis affecting some of our bravest Americans. This is like Katrina in slow motion.

For five years, the Federal Government has either denied the problem or reluctantly offered weak assistance. The ailing men and women need their government to roll up its sleeves and tackle the problem with all its might, just like our responders did when acting for our country. Instead, their government is tiptoeing around the crisis.

"We will never forget" means ensuring everyone who was exposed to toxins is examined and everyone who is sick is treated. It is just that simple.

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURPHY), who sits on the Energy and Commerce Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to yield the balance of my time to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN), and that he may yield time to Members seeking to speak.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from California (Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN) will control the remainder of the time.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania for 3 minutes.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, September 11, 2001, is a date which we will remember for many things. I will now remember it in a different way, because on September 11, 2006, I traveled with several other people to Shanksville to watch the families commemorate the fifth anniversary of this tragedy.

Where I was sitting, I spent much of that ceremony looking at their tear-filled eyes, the husbands, the wives, the fathers, the mothers, their brothers and sisters, the cousins, the sons and daughters, and knowing that much of what they must have been thinking then and now is what happened and what we will do to prevent it from happening again?

I also know that on September 11, 2001, as that plane, Flight 93, was flying back towards Washington, DC, it flew over areas south of Pittsburgh, and I could not help but think as they passed over our homes and schools that passengers on that plane delayed their action until they got away from populated areas. But what they did that day was they began an offense against what we have been taking for granted for 30 years.

For 30 years, the kidnapping in Iran, the USS *Cole* bombing, the bombing of the Khobar Towers, the bombings of our embassies, the bombing of the Marine barracks, for 30 years we did relatively nothing but fight back by taking people to court. And that did not work.

It is important that we see this as a battle, as part of a longer struggle to fight those radical extreme elements of Islamic fascists who want to take this as a war. Not all Muslims, but that small element that we must fight against.

We agree we have to win. But what we don't agree with is that we have to fight, we have to interrogate, we have to detain, we have to listen in on and we have to track their financial records. And that is why the acts this Congress has passed, the PATRIOT Act, intelligence reform, border security, are all an important part of us taking the fight back.

What we will learn from September 11 should be not just a day which stands alone, but like other September 11ths, this one, the battles that took place in New York and the Pentagon and Shanksville, September 11, at the Battle of Brandywine in 1777, that is not a stand-alone date, but it is a date of which we acknowledge the change of what happened to the American colonial forces in the Revolutionary War. Or September 11, 1683, a turning point for the Ottoman Empire in the Battle of Vienna. It ended the siege of the Turks and the turning point of a 300-year struggle, of which at that time those forces sought to control Europe.

For the families of 9/11, we must continue to recognize that all of this is part of a larger battle, not a single act, and if we sit back and we do nothing

beyond that, we will not really be acknowledging all that these victims need. It is part of a battle we have to continue to fight.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY), a distinguished member of the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. HINCHEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my appreciation to my dear friend and colleague, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, for providing us with this opportunity to speak.

Five years and 2 days after the brutal and vicious attack of September 11, 2001, it is impossible to contemplate this resolution without being aware, fully aware, of the way in which our government has failed.

Less than 4 months after that attack, I was in Afghanistan, thanks to the initiative and leadership of my friend and colleague, Representative JIM KOLBE from Arizona, who organized that mission. We met with President Karzai, among others, and with the new leaders of the country at that time. And when we asked him what was the most important thing that we could do to help his country now after the Taliban had been chased out and Osama bin Laden was on the run, he said, "Security. Help us with security. Make sure we are secure. We will be able to take care of everything else."

We have failed. Afghanistan is not secure under this government that we allowed to be put in there. It is not secure. The Taliban is reemerging. The warlords are back. More and more heroin is being produced in that country. The situation is becoming increasingly chaotic and increasingly dangerous. And that is just one example of the failure of this government.

While we were there, decisions were being made by the administration not to pursue Osama bin Laden, not to capture Osama bin Laden, and the likelihood motivating that decision was that if he were to be captured then that would have made it extremely difficult for the administration to attempt to justify their intention of attacking Iraq, which they intended to do at that moment and even earlier.

The situation in Iraq now has deteriorated seriously. We are confronting there a civil war. In spite of the fact that this Congress has appropriated more than \$300 billion for the rebuilding of that country, that rebuilding has not occurred. Most of the electricity is not back on, most of the basic infrastructure is not in place, and the security situation there continues to deteriorate. There is no plan by the Pentagon or by this administration for dealing with the circumstances there. Once again the hallmark of this government is failure.

We are also now confronting difficulties in other situations because of this, because of the lack of leadership and because of the failure. North Korea has resumed its nuclear program. They may have as many as five or six nu-

clear warheads produced already. The world is a much more dangerous place as a result of the failure of this government.

Iran is now resuming its nuclear operations, and they will be in a position to produce nuclear weapons within the next several years, perhaps within the next 5 years, or maybe sooner. The world is a much more dangerous place than it was.

This administration and this Congress have failed miserably to protect the people of this country, to make us safer and to make the world a safer place. In fact, the situation is precisely opposite. The circumstances continue to deteriorate, day in and day out. And there is no plan. They have no plan for improving the situation, no plan for making things better, no plan for withdrawing our forces, no plan for strengthening the government in Iraq as they go deeper and deeper into civil war.

This Congress has failed miserably. It has failed miserably initially because it has failed to confront the administration in the deceptive way in which they justify the attack against Iraq, when Iraq had absolutely nothing to do with the attack of September 11; how they focused attention away from the perpetrators of that attack, the al Qaeda network and Osama bin Laden, for the personal and political reasons of the administration and focused them on Iraq.

□ 1815

There was no justification for that. And the responsibility of this House of Representatives to ensure that this House is not misled by an administration has been put aside. There has been no investigation of the way in which the administration misled the Congress. There has been no investigation of the way in which the administration presented the so-called intelligence to the Congress which was completely falsified. And when they presented it, they knew it was falsified. This House of Representatives has failed the people of our country.

Under the Constitution, we have an obligation to oversee the executive branch, to make certain that the executive branch is behaving in a lawful way, to make certain that the executive branch is organized and conducting itself in accordance with the law and that it is not violating the law by deceiving the Congress and the American people, which it has done. And the consequences of that deception is now being felt by everyone in this country, and the consequences will become deeper and deeper over time because there is no plan by this administration to alter the circumstances and to improve them.

So as we deal with this resolution, we ought to recognize how we ought to be dealing with our obligations and responsibilities as the legislative branch of this government, the branch that has the responsibility to make the law

and to oversee the operation of those laws and how that operation has been mishandled by this House. It must stop. It has to end.

We have to stand up to our obligations and responsibilities under the Constitution and under the law, and our failure to do so places the people of this country in increasing jeopardy more and more every day.

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California. Mr. Speaker, I am now pleased to yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN), member of the Appropriations Committee and vice chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations.

(Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution marking the fifth anniversary of the vicious attacks on America.

It was 5 years ago this past Monday, our Nation utterly changed as tragedy struck in the streets of Lower Manhattan, the fields of Pennsylvania, and at the Pentagon.

On that day we also saw good rise in the face of evil and heroes rise in the face of danger. In Lower Manhattan, many of our brave first responders knew the risks they were taking, but they were determined to do their job. Police officers and EMS workers escorted workers out of the burning buildings as firefighters raced up stairwells of these same buildings to rescue those trapped high above.

When the day was over and as we learned more about the tragic and, yes, murderous attacks, we lost nearly 3,000 Americans, including 700 from my home State of New Jersey, and that is why I am here this afternoon. We witnessed neighbors and friends consoling one another and watched as Americans from all walks of life stood united.

As America rebounds and recovers, our Nation is responding to these acts of terrorism with the might of our military.

The war we continue to fight today began before September 11, as others have stated. But on September 11 it began without provocation and without warning. It was not a war of our choosing, but rather was made our priority. It was the slaughter of innocents by people with a twisted sense of religion who play by no rules.

So many of our heroes currently fighting terrorism around the globe put their lives on hold after September 11 to join the Guard and Reserve to serve our country and defend our freedom. They serve side by side with the regular military, volunteers all. We see the character and resolve of America in these brave young men and women, and we are grateful for their service and sacrifice and that of their families each and every day. They truly are doing the work of freedom, and they deserve our support and prayers.

May God bless those who continue to defend those freedoms, and may we

never forget September 11, 2001, and those who lost their lives on that day of infamy.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas, Ms. SHEILA JACKSON-LEE, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Immigration of the House Judiciary Committee.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished ranking member and my colleagues who are here.

There is not a single heart of a Member of this body that I would challenge on the basis of their commitment, their passion, and the sense of loss that we have experienced through these 5 years and now on the commemoration of this 5th year and certainly on 9/11. So I will read a section from this resolution, and I am going to attest to my complete loyalty and commitment to this language: That we reaffirm “that the American people will never forget the tragedy of September 11, 2001, and the loss of innocent lives that day,” that we “will continue to fight the war on terrorism in their memory, and will never succumb to the cause of the terrorists.” That should have been the guiding moral standard by which this body continued to do its work after 9/11.

I rise today, Mr. Speaker, to offer my deepest sympathy and empathy to those who still grieve. The families who lost their loved ones in the World Trade towers, those who lost their loved ones in United Flight 93, American Airlines 77, American Airlines 11, and United Airlines 175, and as well those who have since lost their lives, who may have lost their lives because they were first responders and they suffered terrible injuries that caused an early demise.

I wish we could bring them back, frankly. I wish we could tell them how much we appreciated them. I wish the children who had lost their family members, their moms, their dads, their grandparents, and others could again have the joy of hugging them and showing the love. But, unfortunately, we stand here acknowledging that this tragedy will live with us forever.

We noticed on September 11 we were not Democrats or Republicans. We were not red States or blue States. We made a commitment that we were going to do the right thing, and I can remember the sense of urgency of a united America as we instigated Operation Enduring Freedom and pursued the enemy and were diligent as we toppled the Taliban and liberated Afghanistan, and as has been said, we were hard fast on the heels of Osama bin Laden. But, Mr. Speaker, I think it would be both remiss and dishonest to not challenge us and ask the question, where are we today?

I recently came back from Afghanistan and Iraq, and it is interesting, as I listened to the distinguished gentleman from New York, the same question was asked of us by President

Karzai. He gave the same answer, and that answer was that we need security. At the time we visited, the poppy fields were raging. The Taliban was alive and well. Members of the Afghanistan Parliament asked us whether or not they could have us provide security so that they could go home to their districts. All is not well. And, frankly, I believe it is important to note, Mr. Speaker, that it was not well because we detoured from our task. The commitment we gave on the steps of the United States Capitol, as we sang “God Bless America,” to fight the terrorists was not kept because instead of staying the course in Afghanistan, we moved the ball. We detoured. We used up resources. We used up international capital. We used up the ability to do the job.

And I say that because I do it in the memory of the first responders, who still some of them are looking for health care benefits that we have not been able to give them. I say that in the name of an unwieldy war in Iraq that had nothing to do with the immediacy of the war on terror, a costly diversion, probably where the money for Afghanistan has gone, \$308.58 billion. This red clearly gives us the picture. This is Iraq, a country that could afford to pay for many of its own needs. And in the course of that, we have failed. Our border enforcement and immigration enforcement have fallen drastically under this administration. Between 1999 and 2004, work-site immigration enforcement operations against companies were scaled back 99 percent by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which subsequently was merged into the Department of Homeland Security. In 1999 the United States initiated fines against 417 companies. In 2004 it issued fines against only three. Years of neglect have brought us where we are today.

We know that Democrats offered amendments where there would be 6,600 more Border Patrol agents, 14,000 more detention beds, and 2,700 more immigration agents along our borders. And yet we failed. There is a concept called OTMs. Now we hear a raging voice on OTMs, “other than Mexicans,” who come across the border who may, in fact, be the very ones who are here to do us harm. Those very porous aspects of our border have been defeated and the resources for such have been defeated time and time and time again.

So what we find is that 84 percent of the experts said we are losing the war on terror, 86 percent said that the world is becoming more dangerous for the U.S. and the American people, and 57 percent consider an attack on the scale of the London bombing against the U.S. to be likely or certain by the end of the year.

I stand committed and wedded to the concluding language of this resolution. We will not let the terrorists win. But the debt that we owe those who lost their lives on 9/11 has not yet been paid, and this Congress is at fault. This

majority is at fault. And I beg today, as we vote on this resolution with all of its inadequacies in terms of its language, that our single commitment should be as every Member has stood on this floor to those who lost their lives and to the first responders. Can we, Mr. Speaker, do our job today? Can we do it united? Can we do it on behalf of those who sacrificed? Can we do the right thing?

Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on H. Res. 994, a resolution purporting to express the sense of the House of Representatives on the fifth anniversary of the terrorist attacks launched by Osama bin Ladin and al-Qaeda against the United States on September 11, 2006.

Mr. Speaker, in the life of this Nation there have been a few events of such consequence and moment that they have a transformative impact on the people of the country. For my parents' generation the death of President Franklin Roosevelt was such an occasion. For my generation, the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 is a moment that lives with us forever. The explosion of the Shuttle Challenger in 1986 left a traumatic and indelible impression on my children's generation. The morning of September 11, 2001 is a day all living Americans will remember forever. Because not since Pearl Harbor have we witnessed such a dastardly and deadly attack on American soil.

As I stand here today, my heart still grieves for those who perished on flights United Airlines 93, American Airlines 77, American Airlines 11, and United Airlines 175. When the sun rose on the morning of September 11, none of us knew that it would end in an inferno in the magnificent World Trade Center Towers in New York City and the Pentagon and in the grassy fields of Shanksville, Pennsylvania. How I wish we could have hugged and kissed and held each of the victims one last time.

I stand here remembering those who still suffer, whose hearts still ache over the loss of so many innocent and interrupted lives. My prayer is that for those who lost a father, a mother, a husband, a wife, a child, or a friend will in the days and years ahead take comfort in the certain knowledge that they have gone on to claim the greatest prize, a place in the Lord's loving arms. And down here on the ground, their memory will never die so long as any of the many of us who loved them lives.

Mr. Speaker, as hard as it is to believe, out of a tragedy so overwhelming and horrific, something good and great emerged. In the aftermath of September 11, there were no Republicans or Democrats. There were no Northerners or Southerners or West or East Coasters. We were not Red State or Blue State. We were all simply Americans. On that day, we were united in our shock and anger and sadness. More importantly, we were united in our resolve to defend our country and protect the freedoms that has made America the greatest country in the history of the world. We lit candles, held hands, helped neighbors, and prayed for our country and its leaders.

A united America can never be defeated as Operation Enduring Freedom showed. The brave and valiant armed forces of the United States swiftly toppled the Taliban and liberated Afghanistan and was hard on the heels of Osama bin Ladin, who was trapped in Tora Bora. But before they could bring this mass

murderer to justice, they were inexplicably diverted to Iraq, where the President had launched a new war against an enemy that posed no immediate threat to the security of America and had no involvement in the attack of September 11. In dividing our armed forces between Afghanistan and Iraq, this Administration divided the American people and alienated friendly nations who were helping us to win the Global War on Terror.

Victory in the Global War on Terror is the best way to honor those who lost and gave their lives on September 11. Ensuring that America is safe and secure and protected from another attack on American soil is the least we owe to the heroic passengers on Flight 93 and to the brave firefighters of the FDNY and officers of the NYPD and the officers and civilians we lost in the Pentagon who gave faithful service to our Nation.

So, Mr. Speaker, as we reflect back on the history-changing day 5 years ago, we need to ask ourselves today this haunting question: have we done everything necessary to make America as safe as it can be? The sad truth is we have not. Osama bin Ladin is still at large. Our seaports and trains and chemical plants are still vulnerable.

And most important, our borders are not as secure as they could be.

In recent months, the American public has been focusing on the lack of security we have on the Nation's borders. Four-and-a-half years after 9/11, it is clear that our borders remain alarmingly porous and that much needs to be done to truly make our borders secure.

The fact that our border is porous is not the fault of our hard-working Border Patrol agents and Customs and Immigration agents, who are doing the best they can with the staffing levels and resources that they have been provided. Rather, it is the result of the neglect and underfunding of border security over the last 4½ years by the Bush Administration and Congressional Republicans—who have failed to provide our border security agencies the resources and personnel they need to succeed in their mission.

Indeed, under this Administration and this Republican-led Congress, from 9/11 through April 2006, only 1,641 new Border Patrol agents had been hired—which is less than a 17 percent increase in 4½ years. Furthermore, border enforcement and immigration enforcement have fallen drastically under the Bush Administration. For example, between 1999 and 2004, worksite immigration enforcement operations against companies were scaled back 99 percent by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which subsequently was merged into the Department of Homeland Security. In 1999, the United States initiated fines against 417 companies. In 2004, it issued fine notices to only three.

After years of neglect, Congressional Republicans and President Bush are now busying themselves with speeches about the importance of border security—but the question remains: where have the Republicans been for the past 4½ years?

Over the past 4½ years, Democrats have been attempting to highlight the serious security gaps that exist along both our southern and northern borders—and have been attempting to get the GaP-controlled Congress to focus on targeting resources on unfilled gaps. But the Republicans time and again resisted efforts to enhance border security and

provide our borders the agents, equipment, and state-of-the-art technology that our borders so desperately need.

Seven times over the last 4½ years, Democrats have offered amendments to enhance border security resources. If these Democratic amendments had been adopted, there would be 6,600 more Border Patrol agents, 14,000 more detention beds, and 2,700 more immigration agents along our borders than now exist. Each time, these efforts have been rejected by the Republican Majority.

Mr. Speaker, consider these examples of the majority's failure to provide leadership for America on border security since 9/11.

1. 2001 Vote #454—November 28, 2001—H.R. 3338, FY 2002 Defense Appropriations/Emergency Supplemental: Republicans voted against consideration of an amendment that would have added \$223 million for border security—to help meet the promises in the 2001 PATRIOT Act on border staffing and to build needed border facilities. After 9/11, experts recognized that the porousness of the northern border represented a major security threat to the United States. And everyone remembered the attempt by an Islamic extremist to get a large amount of explosives across the Canadian border in December 1999 to blow up the Los Angeles Airport in the Millennium bombing plot. Recognizing these concerns, Congress included a provision in the PATRIOT Act mandating the tripling of the number of border agents and inspectors along the northern border. This amendment included \$145 million to make a down payment on the promise of Congress in the PATRIOT Act to triple northern border personnel, which the bill failed to do, and to purchase surveillance equipment. The amendment also included \$78 million for the highest priority facility needs of the Border Patrol and other parts of the INS—particularly the Border Patrol's detention facility needs.

2. 2003 Vote #301—June 24, 2003—H.R. 2555, FY 2004 Homeland Security Appropriations: Republicans voted against consideration of an amendment that would have added \$300 million for border security, including making a further downpayment on the promise of Congress in the 2001 PATRIOT Act to triple the number of border agents and inspectors along the northern border. The amendment was critically needed because the level of northern border personnel funded in the Republican bill was about 30 percent below the commitment made in the PATRIOT Act.

3. 2003 Vote #305—June 24, 2003—H.R. 2555, FY 2004 Homeland Security Appropriations: This vote was regarding the same amendment as 2003 Vote #301 above. On a vote on appealing the ruling of the chair, Republicans once again voted against consideration of this amendment that would have added \$300 million for enhancing border security, including adding border agents and inspectors along the northern border.

4. 2004 Vote #243—June 16, 2004—H.R. 4567, FY 2005 Homeland Security Appropriations: Republicans voted against consideration of an amendment that would have added \$750 million for border security—to help meet the promises in the PATRIOT Act on border staffing, better monitor our borders, and deploy radiation portal monitors. Under the GOP bill, the level of northern border personnel funded was still about 30 percent below the commitment made in the PATRIOT Act—so the

amendment was designed to help Congress keep its promise. The \$750 million would also have been used for giving Border Patrol more of the equipment they critically needed—including air stations for air patrols, radiation portal monitors, and state-of-the-art surveillance equipment.

5. 2005 Vote #160—May 5, 2005—H.R. 1268, FY 2005 Supplemental Appropriations Conference Report: Republicans voted against a motion to send the report back to conference with instructions to add \$284 million for border security measures—that would bring funding for border security in the conference report up to the level in the Senate-passed bill. The \$284 million included the funding for 550 additional Border Patrol agents and 200 additional immigration agents that was included in the Senate bill. It also included the funding in the Senate bill for unmanned border aerial vehicles, which have been used successfully in Arizona to assist in surveillance.

6. For FY 2006 and FY 2007, Republicans Have Repeatedly Broken the Promises They Made on Border Security in the Intelligence Reform (9/11) Act of 2004: In December 2004, the Congress enacted the Intelligence Reform (or 9/11) Act (PL 108-458). One of the key commitments Congress made in that Act was to beef up border security measures. This included the specific promise of providing 2,000 additional Border Patrol agents, 800 additional immigration agents, and 8,000 additional detention beds per year from FY 2006 through FY 2010. And yet, both for FY 2006 and FY 2007, the Republican Congress has repeatedly voted against efforts to meet this mandate, as seen below.

7. 2005 Vote #174—May 17, 2005—H.R. 2360, FY 2006 Homeland Security Appropriations: Republicans voted against consideration of an amendment that would have added \$400 million for border security, to meet the promises Congress made on additional Border Patrol agents, immigration agents, and detention beds in the 9/11 Act. First, the President's budget for 2006 broke the promise of the 9/11 Act by providing funding for only 210 new Border Patrol agents in 2006—1,790 below the number promised. The Republican appropriations bill was better than the President's budget, funding 1,000 new agents—but this was still 1,000 agents short of the promise made in the 9/11 Act. The Republican bill also broke the promises on immigration agents and detention beds. This amendment was designed to live up to the commitments of the 9/11 Act. It added funding for Border Patrol agents, and also added funding for 600 additional immigration agents to get to the 800 promised and added funding for 4,000 additional detention beds to get to the 8,000 promised.

8. 2005 Vote #187—May 18, 2005—H.R. 1817, FY 2006 Homeland Security Authorization: Republicans voted against a Democratic substitute to the Homeland Security Authorization bill that was designed to fulfill the promises in the 9/11 Act. For example, the Democratic substitute included a full authorization for funding a total of 800 additional immigration agents for 2006 promised in the 9/11 Act and a full authorization for funding a total of 8,000 additional detention beds for 2006 promised in the 9/11 Act.

9. 2005 Vote #188—May 18, 2005—H.R. 1817, FY 2006 Homeland Security Authorization: Similarly, Republicans voted against a

motion to recommit the Homeland Security Authorization bill with instructions to report it back immediately with instructions to add 15 mandates from the Intelligence Reform (or 9/11) Act that had not been included in the Republican bill, including full authorization for funding a total of 800 additional immigration agents for 2006 and full authorization for funding a total of 8,000 additional detention beds for 2006.

10. 2006 Vote #56—March 16, 2006—H.R. 4939, FY 2006 Supplemental Appropriations: Republicans defeated an amendment to H.R. 4939, FY 2006 Supplemental Appropriations, offered by Representative MARTIN SABO, which would have added \$600 million for border security measures to the bill. The \$600 million included \$400 million for installation of 1,500 radiation portal monitors at locations along the border and \$200 million for additional air patrols and other aviation assets at our land borders.

11. 2006 Vote #210—May 25, 2006—H.R. 5441, FY 2007 Homeland Security Appropriations: Republicans voted against consideration of an amendment that would have added \$2.1 billion for border security, including \$1.5 billion to meet the promises Congress made on additional Border Patrol agents, immigration agents, and detention beds in the 9/11 Act. The Republican Congress has failed to meet these mandates for both 2006 and 2007. This amendment provided enough funding to address the cumulative shortfalls that have resulted from underfunding in both 2006 and 2007.

For example, on Border Patrol agents, the Republican Congress had funded only 1,000 additional agents for 2006 and was funding only 1,200 additional agents for 2007—leaving the Congress 1,800 agents short of what it had promised in the 9/11 Act. Hence, the amendment provided funding for these 1,800 additional agents. Similarly, the amendment also funded the nearly 500 additional immigration agents and 9,000 additional detention beds beyond those in the bill that were promised by the 9/11 Act. The amendment also included \$610 million to further increase border detection capabilities, including funding more radiation portal monitors along the borders and providing additional air patrols along the borders.

CONCLUSION

I believe it is the resolve of all Members of this House and of all Americans to prevail in the Global War on Terrorism. I believe all Americans want their country to remain safe, free, and invulnerable to another cowardly attack like the one we witnessed 5 years ago. We owe that much to the Americans who lost and gave their lives. We owe it to them to ensure that their children and loved ones will never again experience such pain, suffering, and loss. We can do this. We must do this. But to bring this new future into being, we need a new direction from the present course.

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield for the purpose of making a unanimous consent request to the distinguished gentleman from Florida, the former chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Mr. YOUNG.

(Mr. YOUNG of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 994.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Resolution 994, legislation that recognizes September 11th as a national day of mourning and service in remembrance of those who lost their lives in the terrorist attacks on that dark day in American history and of those too who have paid the ultimate price in our ongoing war against global terrorism.

With this resolution, we also honor the heroic actions of the first responders, law enforcement personnel, volunteers and others who aided the innocent victims and bravely risked their own lives and health to help the victims of terrorist attacks in our Nation's Capital, New York City, and the fields of Pennsylvania.

We also express our ongoing thanks for our men and women who serve our Nation in uniform in military service, as intelligence personnel, and as law enforcement officials as they continue to put their lives on the line every day here at home and around the world in the war on terrorism. This is indeed a global war and we also give thanks for all the nations of the world who have joined in this effort.

These efforts have met with tremendous success as our combined forces have thwarted a number of major terrorist organizations and specific planned attacks against American targets and our allies. We cannot, however, lessen our resolve if we are to successfully search out and eliminate these terrorists and their terror cells.

In adopting this resolution, we vow to remain vigilant in this war against terrorists and commit to providing every resource they require to win this fight. We also reaffirm our commitment to never forget the tragic loss of human life on September 11th and in doing so continue to fight the war against terrorists in their memory, never succumbing to the fear they generate.

Mr. Speaker, on that dark day, the American people came together as one in a way we have never seen in our Nation's history. We put politics and ideology aside and focused our attention on securing our Nation, healing our wounded, and consoling our grieving.

My hometown newspaper The St. Petersburg Times was right on the mark in its editorial Monday, saying, "On this anniversary, we would do well to put aside our rancorous divisions and crazy conspiracy theories and reflect on that post-9/11 period when Americans came together in purpose and spirit and much of the world felt our pain, even if it all was too brief. That memory is worth holding on to."

This editorial, which I will include in its entirety following my remarks, correctly states that we can never go all the way back to the way things were before terrorists struck here on our soil. However, the Times calls upon us as a nation to go back to that time five years ago in renewing our national unity to secure our shores and rebuff the threat of fear and destruction from cowardly terrorists in saying: "But we can—and we must—hold on to the values and the spirit that some call American exceptionalism. The terrorists would like nothing better than to see us surrender our most precious freedoms and bedrock values to fear. So on this fifth anniversary of that day of unspeakable savagery, let us remember how we felt on Sept. 12, 2001, not the fear and heart-

break so much as the unity and purpose we shared. Only then can we take a full measure of our loss."

Mr. Speaker, we recall that after 9/11 my colleagues and I in the Congress authorized the President to do whatever he deemed necessary to fight this new war on terrorism. Those who are engaged in this war today are patriots and we must all support them. While I support our current operations, I know that we have people in this country who disagree with our current war on terror. And you know what? They are patriots too. Those who agree with the President, they are patriots. Those who disagree with the President, they are patriots. Those who agree with me are patriots. Those who disagree with me are patriots. Republicans, Democrats, liberals, conservatives, we are concerned about our homeland and our security. And by and large everyone who remains engaged in this great debate is showing themselves to be patriots in their care and concern for our country and our men and women in uniform.

Let that be one of the most important lessons of September 11, 2001. While we may continue to disagree at times, let us give thanks for the freedom to disagree and at the end of the day come together in unity to support the brave men and women in all branches of service who fight the scourge of terrorism here and abroad. This can and should be the lasting tribute to all those who lost their lives five years ago.

[From the St. Petersburg Times, Sept. 11, 2006]

FREEDOM FROM FEAR

Five years ago today, on a lovely September morning, bolts of terror came out of a clear, blue sky. Nineteen men armed only with box cutters hijacked four passenger airliners and rammed three of them into the symbols of American military and financial might. Two of the planes flew into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York in a horrifying spectacle. A third plane demolished a wing of the Pentagon. A fourth, United Flight 93, believed to be headed for Washington, crashed in a field in Pennsylvania after passengers rose up against the hijackers. In less than an hour, 3,000 people died that day.

That was the day terrorism came to America, and we haven't been the same since. Neither has much of the world. Since then, terrorists have struck in London and Madrid and Indonesia, among other places—nothing as spectacular as 9/11 but still lethal to hundreds of innocents. But they have not hit the United States again, not that anyone doubts that they have been trying. President Bush said last week that scores of terrorist plots have been foiled, and that while America is safer than it was five years ago, it is still not safe. Will it ever be in a world of suicidal maniacs?

On this anniversary, we would do well to put aside our rancorous divisions and crazy conspiracy theories and reflect on that post-9/11 period when Americans came together in purpose and spirit and much of the world felt our pain, even if it all was too brief. That memory is worth holding on to.

There was something unreal about watching the horror of that day unfold on television. Who can forget the sight of people leaping to their deaths from the top floors of the burning twin towers? Or of the first responders—firefighters, police officers and rescue workers—who heroically braved smoke and fire and dust in their desperate attempt to reach any survivors? Americans lined up to donate blood and gave generously

to aid the families of the victims. We knew the endless kindness of strangers. In Washington, bitter partisanship gave way to unity and the debate over domestic priorities was crushed by the question of how to protect the homeland from madmen bent on mass destruction.

The world wept with us and for us as they saw America as a victim instead of an arrogant superpower. Iranians held candlelight vigils to express support for the American people. Germans marched in the street to show solidarity. In France, a front-page editorial in *Le Monde*, reliably anti-American on most things, proclaimed: "We Are All Americans." The world stayed with us when Bush launched a "just war" in Afghanistan, where the Taliban was protecting Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida terrorists.

Sadly, the good that came out of 9/11 was not to last. It began to unravel after the president, with the approval of most congressional Democrats, chose to go to war against Iraq, which had nothing to do with the 9/11 attacks. World opinion turned against us, and as Iraq became a huge debacle, Americans turned on each other.

America has taken quite a beating in world opinion in recent years on everything from prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo to secret CIA prisons abroad and warrantless eavesdropping at home. The debate over balancing our liberties and our security rages on in Washington, and America's image in the world has been badly tarnished.

We can never go back to the way things were before 9/11—or even to the way we were in the immediate aftermath of that calamity. It's hard to imagine a future not chilled by the threat of terrorism, which started as a cause and has now metastasized into a mentality among Islamic extremists.

But we can—and we must—hold on to the values and the spirit that some call American exceptionalism. The terrorists would like nothing better than to see us surrender our most precious freedoms and bedrock values to fear.

So on this fifth anniversary of that day of unspeakable savagery, let us remember how we felt on Sept. 12, 2001, not the fear and heartbreak so much as the unity and purpose we shared. Only then can we take a full measure of our loss.

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California. Mr. Speaker, I am now pleased to yield 2½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. BILIRAKIS), a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee and vice chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, we are here today to commemorate the fateful events of a beautiful September morning. For most of us in this Chamber, September 11, 2001, started out like any other warm, sunny Tuesday morning. We were going about our daily business, meeting with constituents, and participating in committee hearings. The hint of fall hung in the air as we attended to pressing needs and kept tight schedules.

But everything changed in an instant. The images of the burning World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon rocked us to the core, shaking our sense of calm and filling us with fear, confusion, and heartbreak. Instead of arguing about some partisan issue or

another, we spent the day consoling our families, our constituents, and each other. The entire country grieved as one for those who had perished.

Our hearts were broken that day, but they were not destroyed. We witnessed a rebirth of sorts in this Nation, Americans young and old finding common ground in their grief and fear, united in ways we never expected. They gave of themselves sacrificially to meet the needs of others. Houses of worship were packed with people praying for those who had lost loved ones in the buildings or on the planes.

In the days following September 11, we were inspired by the stories of valiant first responders and heroic Americans who thought little of their own welfare as they rescued others and brought down hijacked planes. We owe them a tremendous debt of gratitude. Their actions gave us hope in the American spirit and resolve to ensure that something like this never happened again.

Five years have passed, and we have made great strides in securing our homeland and protecting the American people from harm. We have passed laws designed to prevent acts of terrorism.

□ 1830

Our law enforcement and intelligence communities have disrupted terrorist plots. Our brave men and women in uniform have taken the fight to the terrorists abroad so we don't have to fight on our Nation's soil. The American people have resumed their daily activities even while continuing to grieve and comforting those who still mourn.

Mr. Speaker, the terrorists who committed the heinous atrocities on September 11 thought they would break the American spirit and send us whimpering into the history books with our tails between our legs. They were wrong. We have acted and will continue to act decisively against anyone who preys upon the innocent and threatens our freedom. The heart of America beats strong of our good and compassionate people. We will not be silenced and we will not back down. May God continue to bless the United States of America.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased now to recognize the minority leader of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago on Monday, on the day the terrorists attacked our Nation, Members of Congress gathered on the steps of the Capitol and sang God Bless America. Many speakers today have referenced that moment, because I think it had a profound effect on all of us. We really did need God's blessing. We put aside partisanship to respond with one voice that we would do everything in our power to ensure that our Nation would be fully healed and fully safe, and that the American people would know that we were work-

ing hard to bring those who were responsible for 9/11 to justice.

Today, we should have embraced that same spirit of 5 years ago on the steps of the Capitol. The United States Senate did. This week, they passed a resolution which mourned the innocent victims of the attacks, consoled their families, praised our troops for their valor, underscored our resolve to find all of those responsible for the attacks and bring them to justice, and emphasized our commitment to stopping terrorists who would harm the American people. Democrats and Republicans alike in the Senate came together in support of that resolution.

I would have hoped that that could have come to the floor here. We were prepared to support that, Democrats were, but the Republican leadership refused.

Instead, the Republican leadership gave us a resolution here this evening which is self-congratulatory. It praises Congress, for some reason. Instead of having the focus on the innocent victims of 9/11, it talks about the accomplishments of this Congress. I can't even imagine why they thought that was a good idea. But since they opened the door to what they have done, they have opened the door to what they have not done.

Two years ago, the bipartisan, independent 9/11 Commission concluded that the American people were failed by their government on 9/11. To prevent future similar incidents and failures, the Commission made 41 recommendations. Last December, the same independent Commission issued a report card on the implementation of those recommendations. Sixteen grades that were awarded were either D's and F's, and others were incompletes. In May of this year, the Commissioners reviewed the record on implementation once again; their conclusion on the poor grades, no progress.

Two days ago, the Commission's chairman and vice chairman, Democrat and Republican or Republican and Democrat, wrote about the December report card in an op ed in the *Boston Globe*, and I quote: "What we argued then is still true now; Americans are safer, but they are not yet safe." And concluded, "Our sense of national urgency is lacking."

Mr. Speaker, we have lost our focus on terrorism since the invasion of Iraq, and that is one of the chief reasons that the 9/11 Commission's report card reflected so poorly on the Bush administration and on the Republican Congress.

Our focus should have continued to be on Afghanistan. The war in Iraq is the wrong war. No matter how many times the President wants to say it, the war in Iraq is not the war on terror. The war in Afghanistan was. We had the opportunity to destroy al Qaeda in Afghanistan, and we missed the opportunity because we lost our focus. Instead, 5 years later, the Taliban is on the resurgence, violence

has increased, the poppy crop, the opium crop is all pervasive.

Think of this. Afghanistan now supplies 90 percent of the opium supply to the world. 90 percent. The increase in just the last couple of years is 50 percent. They went from 4,000 metric tons to 6,100 metric tons of cultivation. This is what is happening in Afghanistan:

A missed opportunity to crush al Qaeda, an increase in violence, a rising resurgence in the Taliban, and the increase in the poppy crop.

Mr. Speaker, let us use the occasion that we have as we consider this flawed resolution to resolve to do better. Let us honor the memories of the innocent victims of 9/11 attacks and their families by doing the unfinished business of the 9/11 Commission. We have heard about it all day, it is in the public domain, it was in their best selling book a couple of years ago, and we still haven't gotten it done.

Isn't it hard to believe and to know that 5 years after 9/11 we still do not have real-time, that means immediate communication, among police, fire, and other first responders. We paid a price for this with Hurricane Katrina. Five years later, we still do not have the screening at our ports that we should have; we are at 5 percent, we should be at 100 percent of screening. That is possible, it is affordable, and it is technologically available to us.

Five years after 9/11, we still do not have our borders secure. We have not mandated, because this Congress refuses to do so and this administration does, too, we still have not mandated the private sector to protect our nuclear and chemical power plants.

The list goes on of shortcomings. The 9/11 Commission said we should increase the pace of reform at the FBI. There are so many things that are lacking in what we are doing to protect the American people. The biggest threat to the security and safety of the American people is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the unsafeguarded radioactive material that is out there. For about \$10 billion, about a month in Iraq, we could buy up all of the known radioactive material that is out there that could fall into the hands of the terrorists. It is a lot of money. It is a small price to pay for the safety of the American people. And yet, for reasons that are hard to explain to anyone, we have refused over and over again to pass legislation that would appropriate the resources to do that.

Taking the actions to correct the unfinished business of the 9/11 Commission and others recommended by the Commission other than what I mentioned is consistent with the sacrifices of the people in New York and Virginia and Pennsylvania on 9/11, and the sacrifices made since then by the men and women serving in our Armed Forces. And God bless them. They have done a magnificent job for our country. We have to do better by them. We owe it to each and every one of them to do ev-

erything we can as quickly as we can to make America safe.

Mr. Speaker, it all comes down to the personal, now. Doesn't it? As we think back 5 years, we think about those families. Nearly 3,000 people were killed that day. Two thousand children lost their parents. The emotional toll is just incalculable. And yet, as our colleague Congresswoman MALONEY has pointed out, from New York, the heroes and heroines of 9/11, Congressman NADLER as well, are not having their needs met. It is the responsibility of government to meet the health care needs of the people who risked their lives, who went in there without even a thought of whether they would help save a life or not. And now, without a thought, their needs are ignored. We have an opportunity to do better by them. We owe them that obligation, because with all the talk that we can do about initiatives and proclamations and honoring and the rest, it all comes down to the people, to the personal, to the impact on their lives.

Of course we will vote for this flawed resolution. It could be better. But just because the Republicans decided that they wanted to praise themselves instead of focusing on the business at hand doesn't mean that we won't support it.

But as we vote for it, I call upon the Speaker of the House to bring to this floor before we adjourn for the elections legislation to enact the 9/11 Commission recommendations. We have all the time in the world to do it. Nothing is more important than the safety of the American people. We have no greater responsibility as elected officials than to provide for that public safety and the national security of our country, because nothing else matters if we don't protect the American people. Instead, we have ignored those needs. We are cutting the COPS programs so the neighborhoods are not safer. We are making matters worse. We have the opportunity to make matters better. If we do pass them, only then will we truly be honoring the memory of those who died. Only then will we truly be keeping our promise to their families that we will make America as safe as we can be.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution today, but join me in bipartisanship. We can do this in a bipartisan way without controversy. The list is clear. The support is there. The need is urgent. I urge the Speaker once again to bring the 9/11 Commission's recommendations to the floor to make America safer, to bring some peace to the families of 9/11, and to bring to justice those who are responsible for those heinous acts 5 years ago.

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California. I now yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. FORTENBERRY), a member of the Agriculture, International Relations, and Small Business Committees.

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Mr. Speaker, today we remember those who died

tragically on September 11, 2001, and the family members who continue to mourn such terrible loss. We honor the strength of these Americans, and we also thank the brave men and women defending America today from those who continue to seek to do us harm.

Mr. Speaker, we live in a very special place. We live in a country that is built on the fundamental principle that all persons have inherent dignity and rights. The freedoms we enjoy depend upon this fundamental principle. And as many did in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Americans are willing to risk their lives for the sake of their fellow citizens, for the good of the country, family, and community.

Last week, I had the privilege of formally welcoming home the soldiers of the 67th Area Support Group of the Nebraska National Guard as they all returned home safely from over a year-long deployment. What a beautiful scene, families reunited, husbands and wives in loving embraces, children scrambling to meet the mom or dad they had known only through letters or photos for the past year, parents taking up young children in their arms perhaps for the very first time.

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In their commitment and patriotism, these soldiers had given more than a year away to family and home to serve their country. Many of our military service personnel will tell you that their service is driven by the events of that fateful day 5 years ago. They sacrifice so much personally to help protect our Nation.

Fortunately, there has not been another attack on America for 5 years. This is not due to wishful thinking. This is due to the extraordinary effort to rethink and reform our national security efforts. Our military, our homeland security forces, police officers, firefighters, and emergency first responders have all played a very important role in protecting our country.

Their work helps make America safer. Their sacrifice keeps our families more secure, and the compassion, resolve and support from the American people give their work all the more meaning and help keep our Nation strong.

We have faced difficult challenges of worldwide significance in the recent past: World War II and the Cold War. We prevailed then, and we must prevail now for the good of our country and the hope of a more peaceful world.

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago there were a lot of questions as to who attacked us and why we were attacked. Answers came to that in fairly short order, but the question of why still remained and what those who attacked us had in order for us in the future.

In the book, "Nuclear Terrorism," there is a citation to Osama bin Laden's official press spokesman

Suleiman Abu Gheith making a chilling announcement on the now defunct al Qaeda-associated Web site, and these are his words.

"We have the right," he said, "to kill 4 million Americans, 2 million of them children." Let me repeat that. The spokesman for Osama bin Laden said on their Web site, "We have the right to kill 4 million Americans, 2 million of them children, and to exile twice as many and wound and cripple hundreds of thousands."

He went on the Web site to explain what justified it, and these are his words. "America with the collaboration of the Jews is the leader of corruption and the breakdown of values, whether moral, ideological, political, or economic corruption. It disseminates abomination and licentiousness among the people via the cheap media and the vile curricula. America is the reason for all oppression, injustice, licentiousness, or suppression that is the Muslim's lot. It stands behind all the disasters that were caused and are still being caused to the Muslims; it is immersed in the blood of Muslims and cannot hide this."

Why do I mention this? I mention it because the threat is clear. They have officially said that they would not feel that they have succeeded until they have taken 1,400 assaults similar to those of 9/11, because that is what would be required, 1,400 times the loss of life that we had on 9/11.

They do not refer to any cleavage between Democrats and Republicans. They do not say they do this because of what this administration did or that administration did or because of what the Democrats did in the Congress or the Republicans. They did that because they reject everything we stand for.

That is why we bring this resolution to the floor. This resolution is brought to the floor in recognition of the threat against us, the challenges it presents and what we have done working together, Republicans and Democrats, men and women who are Americans first to try and respond to that threat for ourselves, our children and our grandchildren.

We need to remind the American people of the affirmative steps that we have taken: the PATRIOT Act, which changed the way we dealt with the threat of terrorism; other programs that we have supported and the administration has carried out.

So this is not a fight over partisanship. This is not a suggestion of one-upmanship. This is a recognition of the threat that faces us as Americans, and we are committed and united as Americans to respond to that.

That is what this resolution stands for. That is what it says. That is why we bring it to the floor, to ask all Members to support it so that we can show that there is unity in this body, not division, so that we can show that we understand the challenges that we face and that we are up to the challenges that face us as a Nation.

We can do no less than our parents' generation did in responding to the totalitarianism of their time as we respond to the totalitarianism of our time.

Mr. Speaker, this is not an effort to divide. It is an effort to unify. It is an effort to show the American people that we are together in this fight and we shall continue this fight.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. TOM DAVIS).

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, remembrance is a solemn obligation, a duty owed by every obligation to those whose honor, love and sacrifice light our way today. To the 2,996 souls who perished on September 11, we owe more than political rhetoric, more than annual ritual. They are remembered best, they live, not just what we say but in what we do to build a safer, more peaceful world.

So the resolution before us today rightly speaks of actions taken, and calls for all Americans to act in the generous, unified spirit born that deadly day. In calling for September 11 to be observed as a day of national service, we seek to build a living monument to all those who have died in the long simmering war that erupted onto our shores 5 years ago. Good done in their name has a special power against the evil we fight.

9/11 brought that evil home: to homes in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and to shocked and grieving homes across our Nation. "Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger. With confidence in our Armed Forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph, so help us God." That was spoken the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor. President Franklin Roosevelt's words evoke the realism and optimism needed to meet our present peril.

As then, we are at war and no political difference or debate can detract from the heroic work done every day by the men and women of America's military. The 184 people who gave their lives at the Pentagon 5 years ago fought on an unexpected battlefield, but toiled until the end in loyal service to the national ideals, liberty and justice, to which we pledge allegiance each day in this Chamber. Let us pledge in their memory to honor and support all those who fight to defend America and advance freedom.

Unlike the last global conflict, this war is being waged surreptitiously, the enemy lurking among us in shadowy networks and across cyberspace. On 9/11 America's first responders got a bitter taste of this new era, but their valor and grit carried us all through that day and those that followed. In memory of their fallen comrades, let us pledge through this resolution to honor and support the work of the public safety and public health professionals who work every day to protect us from terrorist attacks.

This resolution is also an opportunity to renew the sense of urgency forged in the crumbling inferno of the Twin Towers. With each passing year, what looked hugely urgent after 9/11 tends to get smaller in the viewfinder as more current problems loom large. But while we lose sight of the threat, an enemy who relentlessly worked to transform airplanes into guided missiles is maniacally focused on other ways to harm us.

Distance from the tragedy of 9/11 has also allowed some politics to seep into our security equations. Our vulnerabilities are many, and always will be. There will always be risks and there will always be those eager to take advantage of them. To those seeking to exploit fears rather than build trust, the glass will always be half empty. But genuine security after 9/11 is not a static goal or measurement; it is a process and a mindset. If we stay alert, get good intelligence on the evolving threat, and take the prudent precautions we are willing to tolerate and able to afford without crashing the economy or terrorizing ourselves, we will be safe. It is more than luck there has not been another major attack since 9/11.

So we remember and we pray for the dead and their families, friends and colleagues. And, as we face the certain challenges of an uncertain future, we take solace in the ancient Hebrew lesson, "There are stars whose light only reaches the earth long after they have fallen apart. There are people whose remembrance gives light in this world long after they have passed away. Their light shines in our darkest nights on the road we must follow."

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this has been an important discussion between ourselves. I feel better now that we have resolved to overlook those parts of this resolution that could be called congratulatory to the executive branch, to the Congress, to any parties.

We come together now to remember and memorialize once again the great contributions of those who served on the front lines and those who gave their lives and the families of those who died in this great tragedy of 9/11/01.

Mr. Speaker, it is in that spirit that we on this side yield back the balance of our time.

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California. Mr. Speaker, we yield the balance of our time to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BOEHNER), the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, let me thank my colleague from California for yielding the time, and today, the people's House has taken up legislation marking the 5-year anniversary of the terror attacks of September 11, 2001.

We remember the lives of the victims, the many moms, dads, children, grandparents, friends and neighbors,

and we honor the police officers and the firefighters, and we salute their bravery and the sacrifices of these rescue workers, the EMT personnel and first responders who were there that day.

We offer America's sons and daughters in uniform our deepest gratitude, many of them on the other side of the world sacrificing so much so very far away from home.

Words can hardly capture the magnitude of horror that we suffered on that Tuesday morning 5 years ago. Much like finding out about the bombing of Pearl Harbor or the assassination of President Kennedy, all of us remember exactly where we were when we first heard that multiple planes had attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in a massive, elaborate and coordinated attack from terrorists.

On September 11, 2001, we came face-to-face with evil but it was not the first time. During the 1990s, enemies of freedom used terror and violence in futile attempts to intimidate the United States and other countries around the world in the cause of freedom.

On February 26, 1993, the first World Trade Center bombing killed six people and injured more than 1,000 others.

On June 25, 1996, the Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia killed 20 people and injured 372 more.

On June 7, 1998, the Kenya embassy bombing killed 213 people and injured some 5,000 others.

On June 7, the same day, our embassy in Tanzania was bombed, killing 11 people and injuring 68.

And then on October 12, 2000, the USS *Cole* was bombed off the coast of Yemen, killing 17 people and injuring 39.

What was our response? During the 1990s, world leaders looked up at the problem of radical Islamic terrorism, they looked up, they looked away, and they hoped the problem would go away. This reaction led al Qaeda and others to believe they could attack us repeatedly, indefinitely and with impunity.

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But they were wrong. On September 11, the terrorists targeted symbols of American strength and prosperity as an attack on our principles, our values, and our freedoms as an American people. Their aim was to shake our will and to intimidate our allies. But as the skies darkened over New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania, we made a simple vow: never again.

In a post-9/11 world, doing nothing is no longer an option. In a post-9/11 world, closing your eyes and hoping for the best is not an option. In a post-9/11 world, weakness in the face of evil is not an option.

Five years later, we have made significant progress in confronting those who would attack us again. When he addressed Congress in the days immediately following the attacks, President Bush said: "Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to

our enemies, justice will be done." We have done just that.

Unlike the previous strikes by al Qaeda against our embassies, the USS *Cole*, and so on, September 11 brought a broad and global response from the United States. Congress acted swiftly in approving the USA PATRIOT Act, legislation providing law enforcement with the tools necessary to prevent another attack. We have waged two conflicts, one in Afghanistan, another in Iraq, liberating more than 50 million people and crushing despotic regimes with links to terrorist activities and a thirst for weapons of mass destruction.

We have more work to do, but our progress has been steady, and it has been measurable. The U.S. Department of Justice has convicted 253 defendants on terror-related charges, and our intelligence agencies and law enforcement working together have disrupted more than 150 terrorist threats and cells here in America, including plans to attack targets on both coasts using hijacked aircraft and plans to blow up apartment buildings here in our country.

Just last month, British and American intelligence officials, using the sort of tools we provided President Bush, thwarted a plot to bomb multiple American airliners headed from London.

This resolution today affirms the commitment of Congress to remain vigilant in efforts to provide law enforcement and our Armed Forces with all the tools necessary to fight and win the global war on terrorism. We have engaged in dramatic efforts to secure our ports and borders, with legislation on the way that will provide more Border Patrol agents, additional fencing and surveillance, and enhanced State and local law enforcement authority.

The House will vote next week on legislation authorizing military tribunals for terrorists, such as the alleged September 11 mastermind, Khalid Shaykh Mohammad. We are designing a system that not only brings these terrorists to justice but gives the President the tools that he needs to continue preventing terrorist plots before they happen.

Prevention must be the standard and prevention must be our goal. No longer can we simply respond to attacks. We must actively engage the enemy and seek to disrupt and thwart their twisted plans. We must continue to adapt and move forward, we must not yield, we must not grow complacent, and we must not rest until this threat is vanquished.

September 11 revealed for all to see the ruthless barbarity of an enemy that wishes to end America's way of life. Most of the nearly 3,000 who perished were regular folks going about their regular business. Others were the first heroes of the war on terror, climbing the stairs to the Twin Towers to help evacuate trapped workers or administering first aid to those at the scene. All of them were victims of a

radical and poisonous ideology that we must be eternally committed to defeating.

This is our defining task in the early years of the 21st century, crushing the deadly and poisonous ideology of radical terrorism, and freeing from tyranny the millions threatened with its bondage is an effort for which the United States and her allies are uniquely suited. We are the primary target of radical terrorists, the leader of nations, with the capability and the fortitude to wage a prolonged fight. In my view, we must not shy away, if only so our children and their children may live in peace.

One of the last lines in the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" goes: "As He died to make men holy, let us live to make men free." I can think of no better tribute to those who perished in the merciless attacks of September 11 or in the 5 years since than to do just that: to live and to fight for the freedoms that we cherish and for which they have all given their lives.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss H. Res. 994, legislation commemorating the fifth anniversary of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against our country.

I remember September 11, 2001, vividly. The weather in our nation's capital was warm and sunny. I was giving a speech on the House floor against privatizing Social Security. After I finished, the House clerk told me there had been a plane crash in New York. I asked what the weather was at the time of the crash. He said it was sunny and clear. I thought a crash in good weather was strange. I returned to the office in time to see the second plane hit the World Trade Center, and my office received a call from another congressional office saying there was smoke at the Pentagon. At that point, we knew our country was under attack. The Capitol Police then mandated the evacuation of the Capitol and all congressional office buildings.

I am profoundly grateful that the passengers aboard United Airlines Flight 93 bravely fought back, thinking of the safety of others, not of their own well-being. Their actions saved the lives of untold numbers of us who were in Washington, D.C. that day.

The resolution on the floor today appropriately honors those who lost their lives due to these heinous attacks. Thousands of husbands, fathers, mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, brothers, children, grandparents and others were lost on that day. We must never forget those individuals and their families.

The resolution before us today also appropriately honors the heroic actions and sacrifices of our men and women in the U.S. military and their families. I have had the privilege of visiting with our men and women in uniform, both here at home and in a war zone. I am continually awed by the professionalism, determination, and commitment of our troops.

I am also pleased that H. Res. 994 acknowledges the service and sacrifice of the first responders—emergency personnel, fire fighters, police officers, and others—who aided the innocent victims of the terrorist attacks. While these individuals humbly say they were merely doing their jobs that day, their selfless actions embody some of the best qualities of the American people.

The resolution congratulates the Congress and the President for various steps taken to improve the security of the American people in the wake of September 11th. Personally, I don't believe the self-congratulation is justified. While Congress has adopted some piecemeal improvements on the security front, al-Qaeda will not wait for us to make gradual improvements. Security must be improved today, not after the next attack.

Aviation security is not what it should be. Security screeners need upgraded equipment. We need to deploy technology to detect plastic, liquid and gel-like explosives carried on-board planes. All cargo baggage carried on passenger planes must be thoroughly screened for explosives. We need effective countermeasures and international agreements to reduce the threat of shoulder-fired missiles. The arbitrary cap on the number of security screeners should be lifted.

A fully unified terrorist watch list that is electronically accessible to necessary federal and state officials for real-time searches must be put in place now.

Border security is still notably lacking, five years after 9/11. I voted in favor of the immigration reform legislation in the House that included a number of provisions to improve border security. I have also voted for a number of efforts to increase funding for the border patrol, technology to improve border security, and other immigration enforcement measures. Regrettably, too often, this Congress has prioritized tax cuts for millionaires over adequately funding border security.

Astonishingly, on the fifth anniversary of the attacks, America's police, firefighters, and emergency response personnel still lack the fundamental ability to communicate with each other by radio. Congress must increase funding to help states and local governments purchase essential equipment.

Our nation has 95,000 miles of coastline and 361 ports. Yet, the federal government will spend only \$168 million on port security grants this year while spending \$10 billion to develop a missile defense system that doesn't work and is irrelevant to the threat posed by al-Qaeda. Congress should increase funding for radiation detection equipment to screen every cargo container, beef up the presence of U.S. inspectors at foreign ports to inspect cargo destined for the U.S., and enhance the Coast Guard fleet.

Five times as many Americans travel on trains and transit each day as on planes, but less than one percent of the transportation security budget goes to non-aviation programs. Congress and the Administration should increase funding for passenger rail and transit security. A baseline level of security for the transit systems in the 50 largest metropolitan areas would cost \$2 billion.

Most of the 20 tons of nuclear material at 130 facilities in 40 countries has no more security than a night watchman and a chain link fence. In 2001, a bipartisan commission recommended tripling funding to \$3 million a year for programs to help secure nuclear materials around the world from terrorists.

Finally, I want to say that I am disappointed that H. Res. 994 contains a handful of where-ases clauses of dubious accuracy.

For example, one clause implies a link between al-Qaeda and Iraq, and Iraq and the September 11th attacks. A variety of experts, including the 9/11 Commission, the CIA, the

Senate Intelligence Committee, and others, most recently the President, have concluded there was no cooperation between Iraq and al-Qaeda on the September 11, 2001, attacks or anything else. It is also inappropriate to link Iraq to the global war against al-Qaeda. Iraq did not pose an urgent threat to our national security. Iraq did not have ties to al-Qaeda. Iraq had not attacked the United States, nor is there any evidence Iraq planned to attack us. Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction, nor any delivery system capable of attacking us.

I supported the war against the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, and I continue to support military action against al-Qaeda. But, to use a resolution commemorating the anniversary of 9/11 to peddle discredited theories about Iraq in order to cover for the failures of the Bush administration in Iraq and justify the diversion of resources from the war against our real national security threat—al-Qaeda—does a disservice to the American people.

And, I think the inclusion of the PATRIOT Act in the list of legislation that has helped in the war on terror is questionable to say the least. The PATRIOT Act did make a few reasonable improvements in our ability to go after terrorists using new technologies. But it also contained provisions that do nothing to enhance our security while posing a significant risk to the freedoms and liberties of law-abiding Americans. It is for the latter reason that I opposed the bill.

A lot has been made of the PATRIOT Act supposedly knocking down a wall that prohibited cooperation between the FBI and the CIA. In reality, the so-called wall was not really a wall at all. It was not a legal barrier, it was a cultural one. The PATRIOT Act was not necessary to get the FBI and CIA to cooperate. A change in culture was. Even today, cooperation among intelligence agencies and law enforcement is not what it should be.

I will vote in favor of H. Res. 994 because I want to honor those I mentioned at the outset of my statement—those who lost their lives in the attacks, those who tried valiantly to save lives on that day, and our men and women in uniform. But, I want to state for the record that I disagree with some of the rhetoric in the resolution.

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, today we join together to honor the nearly 3,000 people who perished in the heinous attack on our country five years ago. The images of that day remain vivid in our minds, as do the emotions we all felt—the shock the grief—as we realized that a handful of terrorists plotting halfway around the world were capable of destroying so many innocent lives on American soil. September 11, 2001, shattered the illusion that our homeland would always provide safe sanctuary from those who would do us harm.

Five years later, we also remember how the events of September 11 brought our country together. As we did after Pearl Harbor, American showed its true colors. After the twin towers fell, we put aside our political differences to unite behind a pledge to make our country safer and to track down and punish those responsible for the attacks. With the world on our side, we had a unique opportunity to marshal our vast resources to destroy the al-Qaeda terrorist network for good.

We made a good start. At home, we moved quickly to tighten airport security and to reorganize our homeland defenses and intel-

ligence infrastructure to close gaps that enabled the terrorists to use our own commercial airliners as weapons against us. Overseas, working with our allies, our military tools the fight to al-Qaeda and the Taliban, who had provided safe harbor to the terrorists and their training camps in Afghanistan for far too long.

Today, however, it is clear that we have failed to finish the job we needed to do. Instead of committing our forces to pursuing al-Qaeda's leaders—including Osama bin Laden, who is still at large—we embarked on an unnecessary war of choice in Iraq that has squandered our resources and the world's goodwill without making us measurably safer.

Domestically, we've spent billions to secure our airports, but we've neglected the security of our ports and the cyber security of our technological infrastructure and communications network. Chronic underfunding and lax security standards have left our nation's ports and cargo containers a soft underbelly, and the President's ongoing failure to appoint an Assistant Homeland Security Secretary for Cyber Security has created a leadership void in this critical sector, leaving us vulnerable to a telecom disaster on the scale of an "electronic Pearl Harbor."

It's not too late to change course to do what must be done to prevail in the real war against terrorism.

We must recommit to finishing the job in Afghanistan, to fully funding our counterterrorism intelligence programs at home and abroad, to increasing the size of our Special Forces, to improving our human intelligence capability and to securing nuclear materials around the world.

Only then will we truly be able to say that we have fully honored those who lost their lives on September 11.

Ms. SOLIS. Mr. Speaker, five years ago, democracy and freedom were attacked when terrorists destroyed nearly 3,000 innocent lives in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania. We mourn the passing of those taken too soon, celebrate the lives of the scores of volunteers and first responders who helped victims and their families, and vow to never forget the fateful day that changed the lives of millions of Americans. Today, Congress had an opportunity to do the right thing and remember September 11 without partisan motives or divisive tactics. Yet, H.R. 994 was motivated more by upcoming elections than honor and remembrance.

Today's 9-11 resolution to honor the victims and heroes of 9-11 includes controversial legislation which criminalizes immigrant families and strips Americans of those civil liberties which are the very fabric of our democracy. It links the thoughts and prayers for servicemen and women with efforts to deport the families of immigrant soldiers—many of whom are not U.S. citizens. The resolution also defends the practice of wiretapping—an invasion of privacy which neither Congress nor the courts have either expressly or implicitly approved and which undermines the right to privacy.

Debates about immigration and civil rights are important to the future and fabric of our country. America needs comprehensive immigration reform; policies which provide strong support for a more intelligent and realistic approach to controlling immigration, including enhanced border security, workplace and employer enforcement, and earned legalization for immigrants with a path to citizenship. But

an enforcement only approach, such as H.R. 4437, has failed in the past and is doomed to fail again.

We need a new direction for America's security and there are several steps that Congress must take now to keep our country safe. We must guard against future attacks by implementing all of the 9-11 Commission recommendations, screening 100 percent of containers and cargo bound for the United States in ships and planes, and ensuring our first responders have the training, equipment and technology they need. Yet our Nation will be not become more secure by partisan resolutions endorsing failed immigration approaches and programs which threaten our civil liberties.

As we remember the past, we must look toward the future to ensure our Nation and our world is safer. We must, at the same time, protect that which makes America's democracy so great—our civil liberties, and lead the world toward peace through diplomacy. Five years ago, families, friends, and strangers joined together to care for the fallen. This resolution is an attempt to divide that spirit. As we move forward, let us not forget the spirit of community which we embraced that day and work together to bring peace for future generations.

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I stand in strong support of this resolution. It is critical that we, as a Nation, remember what took place on September 11, 2001—a day when we “woke up” to the fact that we were in a war that had been declared against us years before.

September 11th of every year should be a day to remember those who were lost on that day. But September 11th should also be a day when we reflect and remember why we are engaged in this War on Terror. We must continue to fight—aggressively—to ensure the defeat of Radical Islamic terrorists whose aim is to kill Americans.

As we commemorate the 5-year anniversary of that awful day, our thoughts and prayers are especially with those who lost loved ones; the spouses, children, and parents who are left behind. For their sake, and the sake of all Americans, we must not allow the passage of time to erode our resolve to remain vigilant in the War on Terror so that Americans will not relive similar attacks in the future.

We, at home in the comfort and security of the United States, have become complacent in our security. That is a dangerous place to be. That is where we were for several years leading up to 9-11, when several terrorist attacks on the U.S.—including attempts on our homeland—took place. But our government failed to act with resolve.

We must remember what we felt the days immediately after 9-11 . . . when we all felt, for the first time for many of us, that we were not safe in our own country. The anthrax attacks, stories and rumors that al-Qaida possessed old Soviet suitcase nuclear weapons—those were the stories of the time.

Because of the Homeland Security measures we have implemented and the War on Terror we are conducting—both militarily and non-militarily—we are once again in a period of calm.

There are those who believe that this period of calm is the time to pull back, and this undermines our resolve. No one wants to live in a constant state of fear, but we cannot be lulled into adopting a September 10th mindset.

It would be irresponsible to assume or “hope” that no one wants to strike us, once again, and kill even more Americans than were killed on 9-11.

And kill us is what they want to do. They want to kill all the “infidels”—a category that includes not just Americans, but people of all the world's free nations, and even Muslims who reject their militant vision for Islam. I fear that we have also lost the unity that existed after 9-11.

We must remember—whether in political or personal spheres of life—that we are all in this together. Whether Republican or Democrat, religious or atheist, we are all targets of this radical group.

And we must remember that it matters not whether we are fighting in Iraq—or any other country, for that matter—that makes us a target for the terrorists. Countries that have nothing to do with Iraq and Afghanistan are also experiencing terrorist incidents.

And while we are remembering the 5th Anniversary of 9-11, we must also remember that Iraq is a central part of the War on Terror.

President Bush is correct when he stated earlier this week in his address to the Nation that even if we pull out of Iraq, the terrorists would not leave us alone. They will never leave us alone.

For al-Qaida, Iraq is not a distraction, it is the central battlefield where the outcome of this struggle will be decided. Just read the comments from their leaders, don't take my word for it.

If they win in Iraq, they will establish a safe haven for terrorists and terrorist-training, much like Afghanistan was prior to 9-11. Iraq would become a factory for terrorists and weapons of mass destruction which they would export. This idea comes not from George Bush, but from Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida itself.

There is a clear link—withdrawing our troops before Iraq is fully stabilized would be a disaster for our safety here at home. We must remain vigilant at home, finish the job in Iraq and Afghanistan, and remain decisive in all our efforts in the War on Terror. Doing any less will weaken our security.

September 11th should remind us that we have real enemies in the world and that a September 10th mindset is unrealistic, irresponsible, and will only jeopardize the lives of the American people. We must remember that it was not the intention of the radical Islamic terrorists to kill 2,973 people that day in 2001. It was their intention to kill many, many more.

I will fulfill my oath of office to protect the American people from all enemies, foreign and domestic. Again, we must not allow the passage of time to erode our resolve to win the War on Terror.

On September 11, 2001 we finally woke up to the fact that we were at war . . . let's not be lulled back to sleep and back to disunity. I urge the adoption of this resolution.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I do not know if there is a more tragic day in the history of our Nation than September 11, 2001. Three thousand lives were snuffed out in the largest mass murder we have ever witnessed.

We are still grieving what was lost that day. The heroics of the fire fighters ascended the Twin Towers and the first responders who came to the Pentagon will never be forgotten. The passengers of United 93, who gave their lives to save ours, are heroes without parallel.

But I am saddened that the Republican leadership, rather than honoring the heroes

and the victims of that day decided to offer a resolution that seems to be written by an RNC focus group rather than out of respect for the solemnity of the day.

When I woke up on September 12, 2001 this nation was as united as I had seen it since December 7, 1941. The intense partisan divide vanished overnight and was replaced by a national consensus. Political opportunism was replaced by notions of shared sacrifice for a common good.

Internationally, America had the world's sympathy. From London, to Tel Aviv, to Tehran spontaneous support rallies took place. American tourists spoke of hugs and flowers from complete strangers; in these days we had a chance to bring the world together.

Now we are more divided, more polarized, and more conflicted, at home and abroad, than ever before. The unanimity of purpose that we had on September 12 has been replaced by partisanship, and that partisanship has interfered with the very important work we must engage in to make this nation safe from terrorism.

Making America safe is work that cannot be reduced to simple slogans. Five years after however, Republican leadership has offered rhetoric but little more. We have yet to fully consider all of the bi-partisan recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. Our ports still do not inspect even ten percent of the cargo that comes into them; air cargo is unscreened; and nuclear material across the world remains unguarded.

In Afghanistan, the war with Al Qaeda and the Taliban is at risk of unraveling. Radicals are once again barring girls from schools; the reconstruction has stopped; and terrorists are targeting the elected government.

There have been victories, but much more needs to be done. Symbolic resolutions are a poor substitute for concrete policy. Our struggle to make America safe and to discredit the terrorist ideology will be a long one. It takes more than rhetoric.

It takes actions like fully funding our security needs; making sure our armed forces have the resources they need; supporting our intelligence agencies; and having a foreign policy that changes societies through good will and diplomacy rather than at gun point.

Our thoughts and prayers are with the families who lost loved ones that day and those Americans who continue to risk their lives for our safety here at home.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in marking the fifth anniversary of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Today we pause, as the nation did on Monday, to honor the brave Americans who lost their lives in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania on that tragic day.

As we debate this resolution we cannot help but remember the chaos, fear and violence we faced 5 years ago. Terrorists struck the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, symbols of our economic and military strength, in an attempt to destroy our most basic freedoms and values. Yet, as we look back we also vividly recall that in the midst of the unprecedented horror of that day, we see the very best of America: Firefighters and first responders rushing into danger, airline passengers sacrificing themselves to save others, and Americans coming together in unity and common purpose.

It is in this spirit that we not only look back at the past five years but also look forward to

the difficult challenges ahead of us and the sober reminder that the terrorist threat against our nation is still very real. Last month's disrupted plot to attack airliners reminds us why it is even more important today that we rededicate ourselves to securing our homeland by fully implementing all of the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission and closing the gaps that still exist in our aviation, transit and port security. While there may be disagreement over whether or not we are safer today, we can all agree that much more needs to be done to protect and defend the American people.

The War on Terror that started on that fateful day five years ago is still far from finished. The threat posed by Al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations remains very real. Osama bin Laden and many of his allies are still at large, yet his trail has grown "stone cold" over the past two years and the CIA has shut down their unit responsible for tracking him. Afghanistan has become the forgotten front in the war on terror, pushed aside in favor of a war of choice against a country that posed no real threat to our nation and in which we find ourselves mired in a seemingly endless occupation. The Taliban, the former rulers of Afghanistan who supported Al Qaeda's attack on our nation, has grown again in strength as we have grown distracted by Iraq.

This is a time of great consequence for our nation. Unfortunately, slogans and partisan attacks have once again become substitutes here for serious debate on the national security challenges we face. This is clearly evident in the resolution before us, which contains divisive language designed to score political points instead of bringing this country together. As we move ahead, I hope that we can remember that which unites us as Americans and not which divides us as partisans.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, H. Res. 994 states that America is safer today than it was on September 11th, 2001. This is hardly clear considering that the 9/11 Commission has given failing grades to how the government has responded to security needs.

Today, NATO lacks the troop strength in Afghanistan to combat the Taliban along the southern region. Today, we continue to fight a war of choice in Iraq longer than we have fought World War II. Today, 2,673 soldiers have died while our military continues to be stretched. And, today, Iran and North Korea continue to develop their nuclear technology unabated.

Here at home the situation is also troubling. Instead of debating any meaningful legislation for the American people, we spend our time debating things such as Horse Slaughter and Indian Gaming. We have yet to implement the 9/11 Commission's recommendations such as improving emergency communication technology that directly led to the deaths of many of our brave first responders on that sad day. Instead, the Majority party prefers to attempt to score some political points rather than doing the job the American people have sent us here to accomplish.

Today's resolution should have been a bipartisan effort to honor those who died and the family and friends they left behind. Sadly though, the Majority party has made it yet another day of divisive politics.

Mr. MICHAUD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remember the terrible events of September 11, 2001. On that day, murderers hijacked

four planes. They flew two into the World Trade Center and one into the Pentagon. Only the heroic actions of the passengers of United Flight 93 prevented the fourth from reaching its destructive destination in Washington, DC. Nearly 3,000 innocent people lost their lives in these senseless acts of violence.

Today, I stand with all America, and much of the world, to mourn and remember that terrible day. We mourn our loved ones who are no longer with us, but we remember the courage of the firefighters, police officers and other first responders who rushed into burning buildings to save lives. We mourn our lost innocence and sense of security, but we remember the resolve of our Nation and the strength of our spirit. I stand with all America looking to the future for a united strategy to ensure the safety of our country and defeat of violent, radical ideologies that threaten our way of life.

At this moment, we should be working together. We should be searching for the unity that we felt after September 11th. Unfortunately, and unlike the Senate which earlier this week passed a bipartisan resolution that I support, the House Leadership decided to turn this most solemn of moments into a bid to score partisan points.

This resolution is a disappointing attempt to justify failed foreign policies that have not made our country safer. Five years later, world opinion towards us is overwhelmingly negative. The war in Iraq was based on inaccurate intelligence and incorrect assumptions about how successful our exercise in democratic nation-building can be. Al-Qaeda had no presence in Iraq before our invasion. The terrorist organization is now firmly entrenched carrying out murderous attacks, recruiting new members and gaining deadly combat experience. Iraq is stumbling towards civil war because of the mismanagement of the civilian leadership at the Pentagon.

We have not found Osama bin Laden and brought him to justice. Instead, our flawed foreign policy provides bin Laden and his followers with fertile ground for new terrorist recruitment and training.

We have failed to fully implement the recommendations of the bi-partisan 9/11 Commission. We have not done enough to secure our ports or major transportation networks. Thousands of tons of cargo arrive in the U.S. each day without being thoroughly examined. Our borders are porous and no real solutions to secure them have been reached.

Despite the great work and dedication of our first responders, intelligence community and military personnel, this government has failed to meet the challenges of making our nation secure. We have also not offered any help to firefighters and other first-responders, who so selflessly rushed to the aid of their fellow Americans, and now are suffering from respiratory ailments and post-traumatic stress. As Tom Kean, Co-Chair of the 9/11 Commission recently stated, "We are not protecting our own people in our own country. The government is not doing its job."

At such a solemn moment, we should make every effort to unite to overcome the challenges that we face from a very real and terrible enemy. The Senate drafted and unanimously supported a respectful, honest and appropriate resolution remembering one of the worst days in American history. I am disappointed that we could not do the same in this body.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to a misguided resolution that caters to partisan politics more than it honors the victims of 9/11 and the sacrifices of our brave men and women in uniform.

The fifth anniversary of a national tragedy should be a time for bipartisan unity. But rather than follow the example of the Senate Republican and Democratic leadership and introduce a 9/11 Anniversary resolution designed to bring America together, House Republicans insisted on a divisive and partisan resolution.

Unfortunately, H. Res. 944 praises both a Patriot Act that undermines the most basic of our civil liberties and a hateful immigration bill that makes the provision of humanitarian services to undocumented workers a crime. It goes on to wrongly characterize Iraq as a "front line" response to 9/11 and ineffectually attempts to equate the distinct wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as part of a single conflict.

I would have liked nothing more than to today vote to honor the selflessness and sacrifice many demonstrated on and after the attacks. I encourage Americans to make September 11 a day of national service. But I cannot vote for a politically charged resolution that celebrates policies my constituents and I vehemently oppose.

Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ of California. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today to remember and honor the people who lost their lives in the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack.

The victims of September 11th came from all walks of life and each and every one of them is sorely missed by the friends, family, and this country.

I would also like to honor the many brave first responders and volunteers that selflessly rushed to help save lives during the attack, and everyone who has worked to help individuals, families, cities, and our whole country start to recover and heal in the months and years since September 11th 2001.

Today the House was supposed to bring up a bill to honor the victims of 9/11, and all those who helped to respond after the attack.

Instead, the Republican Majority has brought up H. Res. 994, a politically divisive bill. A bill which is more of an exercise in self-congratulation, than a solemn and respectful memorial. I regret to say it, the Majority has, once again, chosen to use this occasion to score political points, to drive a wedge between Americans by talking about politics, instead of bringing us together as we were on September 11th.

This is not a time for partisanship.

This is a time to come together to honor the people who gave so much on 9/11.

If we are going to use this occasion to talk policy, then we should be looking ahead. Talking about what we can do in the future to prevent another terrorist attack, like passing a law which implements ALL of the 9/11 Commission recommendations.

There is much left that needs to be done on that front:

We need to ensure that all cargo and people passing through our border are screened and accounted for.

We need a law to increase the security of our rail and mass transit systems to ensure that we do not experience an attack like the ones that occurred in Madrid, London, and Mumbai.

We need to ensure that our law enforcement agencies have interoperable communication so that they can respond quickly and work together to save lives during any incident.

Together, I am confident, that we can implement all of the 9/11 Commission recommendations and prevent future terrorist attacks. And if we do that, we will truly honor the memories of 9/11.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in reluctant opposition to this resolution, as I strongly feel that we need to be careful about how we commemorate the tragic events of September 11, 2001. Several times over the past four years I have voted in favor of these annual 9/11 resolutions because they simply commemorated the tragic event and urged our continued vigilance in an increasingly dangerous world. I believe using the event to promote particular legislation or foreign policies, however, denigrates the memory of those who perished in that attack.

Much of the legislation referenced in this legislation is legislation that I supported. For example, I voted in favor of the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 and for the SAFE Port Act of 2006. I continue to support measures that help secure our borders and thereby make us less vulnerable to future foreign attack. However, I find it particularly unacceptable to heap praise on the PATRIOT Act, as this bill does. This act expanded the federal government's power to an unprecedented degree at the expense not of foreign terrorists, but of law-abiding American citizens. It opened average Americans up to wide-ranging government snooping and surveillance in matters completely unrelated to terrorism. For example, the "sneak and peek" provisions of the PATRIOT Act allow law enforcement to enter someone's home without a warrant, search that property, and never inform that citizen they had been there. Also, libraries and book stores can be forced to provide the government with citizens' borrowing and purchasing history without showing probable cause. I see no reason to applaud such an un-American piece of legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I believe we should show due respect the victims of the attacks of September 11, 2001. Congress patting itself on the back over legislation it has passed since then strikes me as disrespectful to those who suffered and continue to suffer from the attacks on New York and the Pentagon.

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of House Resolution 994, "expressing the sense of the House of Representatives on the fifth anniversary of the terrorist attacks launched against the United States on September 11, 2001."

The terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001, were monstrous and cowardly acts that will be forever etched in our national memory. In remembrance of that tragic day, I wish to express my condolences, and the condolences of a mournful nation, to all those who suffered losses. Today, America again honors the courage and bravery of those who willingly risked their lives to save others and recognizes those dedicated men and women in service now, defending worldwide peace and security.

In the 5 years since the appalling acts of September 11th, our country has been fighting a global war on terrorism to protect America and our friends and allies. On July 22, 2004, the independent and bipartisan 9/11 Commission provided a full and complete report to Congress and the American public regarding the failures of the government and included 41

recommendations to improve homeland security. I praise the Commission for its excellent work, leadership, patriotism, and service to our country. We owe it to the families of the victims of 9/11 and to the citizens of our country to use the report to make certain such attacks never happen again. That is why I fully supported the unanimous and bipartisan recommendations of the 9/11 Commission and supported passage of H.R. 10 in December of 2004 to implement the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. Almost 2 years have passed since passage of H.R. 10, and yet the President still has not fully implemented these recommendations.

In addition, despite the ongoing war in Iraq, I am very concerned that the main threat against the United States, al Qaeda, is still a global threat with global reach, and that the person who was directly responsible for 9/11, Osama bin Laden, is still at large. I believe the President has taken his eye off the ball in Afghanistan and is not doing everything in his power to bring those responsible for 9/11 to justice. It sends a terrible message to would-be terrorists who may be interested in striking us that all they have to do is go in hiding and lay low until our attention and resources are directed elsewhere.

Additionally, the big winners are countries with nuclear ambitions, like Iran and North Korea. Our message to the world during the Iraq and Afghanistan wars has been, if you have nuclear weapons we will not attack you, but if you do we will stay away. This sends the message to would-be terrorists that if they do not arm themselves, there is a potential for the United States to attack.

The President should have, with the support of the American people and international community which we enjoyed at the time, made it our mission to never rest, never sleep until those responsible for 9/11 were brought to justice. Instead, he diverted precious resources and personnel from Afghanistan and redirected them into Iraq. As a consequence, Osama bin Laden is still at large, the Taliban are reconstituting themselves, and al Qaeda remains a global threat.

Furthermore, last week NATO's top operational commander in Afghanistan, U.S. General James Jones, appealed for 2,500 more troops, saying the force was about 15 percent short of full strength. Once again, the President has failed to respond to a call from military commanders for reinforcements to try to quell the Taliban insurgency in southern Afghanistan, by denying the request for more troops. If as the President said on September 11, 2006, when speaking about bin Laden and other terrorists is true, "Our message to them is clear: No matter how long it takes, America will find you, and we will bring you to justice." Then we should be sending in these additional troops to Afghanistan, not ignoring another plea from our military commanders.

On this solemn day, I again stand up to recognize our brave men and women that tragically lost their lives on that fateful day in September of 2001. I wish to show my deepest appreciation to our military men and women fighting terrorism around the world. I feel the best tribute we as a Nation can give them and their families is to redirect our focus to bringing those responsible for the attacks against us on September 11th to justice. The opportunity has not yet passed to make serious and thoughtful change and to ensure that another tragedy does not befall our Nation.

May God bless our men and women in uniform and their families during this difficult time. May God provide his special blessings and care for those who fell in the line of duty. And may God continue to bless these United States of America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the nearly 3,000 innocent victims of the September 11 hijackers. It is only right that we remember September 11, its victims, and its heroes.

My East coast home is only a few blocks from the Pentagon. On that day I could see the black smoke billowing from its side, smell the acrid fumes of burning jet fuel, and hear the sounds of rescue and recovery. The smoke eventually faded, but the memory never will.

The United States is safer today than it was 5 years ago, but we are not safe. And we will not be safe until our enemies are defeated.

Just a month ago, British authorities, with help from United States intelligence agencies, stopped a plot to blow up numerous airliners flying from London to the United States. An al Qaeda tape released on the anniversary of September 11 warned of renewed attacks.

Our enemies are plotting constantly, and we must remain constantly vigilant.

Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago, we stood on the Capitol steps in a bipartisan show of strength and solidarity. We vowed then—and in the days, months, and years after—that cowardly thugs would not succeed in destroying our resolve to live in freedom and peace.

That resolve remains. There are honest disagreements about how to prosecute the war, but there is no disagreement that we will ultimately succeed.

We are Americans. We do not bow to terrorists.

The heroes who died in four planes and three buildings on September 11 will never be forgotten. May they forever rest in peace.

Mr. SHUSTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in solemn support of this resolution

Five years after worst terror attack in U.S. history, the American people's steadfast support for the families and victims of 9/11 is a symbol of the perseverance that we, as a country, have maintained.

The memorial services held around the country on Monday were a sobering reminder of the horror we, as a nation, faced that day.

Ground Zero in New York, the Pentagon here in Washington, and Shanksville, Pennsylvania are sacred ground. I am proud to represent Shanksville, Pennsylvania in Congress—the heroes of Flight 93 did what all Americans hope and pray they would have the courage to do in the face of terror. They stood up for freedom and sacrificed themselves to save countless others. They were the first counter-attack in the War on Terror.

Flight 93 was believed to be headed for the Capitol that ill-fated day five years ago. Many of us here today may have been in mortal danger had it not been for the brave passengers on that flight.

I would like to thank the heroes of Flight 93 and their families for their sacrifice, for being the first line of defense against terror, and for showing the world our strength, our resolve and our courage as Americans.

My prayers are with the families of the victims of 9/11.

Mr. GARY G. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res.

994. This week, all Americans pause and remember the heroes of September 11, 2001. We honor their sacrifices, recall their courage, and pay tribute to their legacy. On that day five years ago, the strength of our nation was challenged and our resolve tested. The gallant actions of our fellow Americans showcased the resilience of our spirit and reinforced our ideals of life, liberty, and democracy.

The United States today is a nation far different than it was five years ago. We have come to recognize the dangers that hate and terrorism impose upon peaceful and freedom-loving people worldwide. We are better informed of terrorist threats and better organized to deter these dangers. Most importantly, we have learned that the Global War on Terror, this great struggle of our time, is a fight best waged on foreign soil, out of the reach of American streets, American neighborhoods, and American families.

As we pay tribute to the memory of September 11, 2001, Congress will take up several measures to ensure that our homeland is secure. These measures are designed to combat a new enemy that hides from sight, attacks the weak and unprotected, and uses innocent civilians as human shields. To prevent future terrorist attacks, we are working to disrupt terrorist activities internationally and domestically, including stopping terrorist networks and their financing schemes and securing our borders and critical infrastructure.

September 11, 2001 was a watershed moment in American history, when the defenders of freedom and democracy began the long struggle against fear and tyranny. Five years later, we pause as a nation to honor the memory of those who lost their lives that day and all those who have since made the ultimate sacrifice in the name of liberty. In addition, we honor the brave actions of all of our servicemembers during the War on Terror. Day in and day out, our military forces are making significant progress in weeding out violence and extremism, promoting peace, and training domestic security forces. Their actions have safeguarded life, liberty, and democracy for all Americans and prevented fear and violence from taking hold in America.

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of House Resolution 994, introduced by Homeland Security Committee Chairman PETER KING, observing the fifth anniversary of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States.

On September 11, 2001, we were brought face to face with an elusive and dangerous enemy. As the world watched, America responded to these heinous attacks with a united front. We could no longer pretend that our oceans protected us from evil. We were determined to find the terrorists and bring them to justice. We would leave no rock unturned.

While the face of America was strong, the hearts of America were heavy. Nearly 3,000 people lost their lives that fateful day. The families of those who lost loved ones continued to grieve, and America grieves with them.

Five years later, we must maintain our resolve to defeat extremism worldwide and protect American families here at home. I am grateful our family is participating in the Global War on Terrorism with four sons currently in the military and my oldest son, Alan, served for a year in Iraq knowing this is the central front of the War on Terrorism as proclaimed by Osama Bin Laden.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 996, the resolution is considered read and the previous question is ordered on the resolution and on the preamble.

The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 395, nays 22, answered “present” 1, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 440]
YEAS—395

Abercrombie	Cole (OK)	Green, Al
Ackerman	Conaway	Green, Gene
Aderholt	Conyers	Guttmacht
Akin	Cooper	Hall
Alexander	Costa	Harris
Allen	Costello	Hart
Andrews	Cramer	Hastert
Baca	Crenshaw	Hastings (FL)
Bachus	Crowley	Hastings (WA)
Baird	Cubin	Hayes
Baker	Cuellar	Hayworth
Barrett (SC)	Culberson	Hefley
Barrow	Cummings	Hensarling
Bartlett (MD)	Davis (AL)	Herger
Barton (TX)	Davis (CA)	Herseth
Bass	Davis (KY)	Higgins
Bean	Davis (TN)	Hinojosa
Beauprez	Davis, Jo Ann	Hobson
Becerra	Davis, Tom	Hoekstra
Berkley	Deal (GA)	Holden
Berman	DeFazio	Holt
Berry	DeGette	Hooley
Biggert	Delahunt	Hostettler
Bilbray	DeLauro	Hoyer
Bilirakis	Dent	Hulshof
Bishop (GA)	Diaz-Balart, L.	Hunter
Bishop (NY)	Diaz-Balart, M.	Hyde
Bishop (UT)	Dicks	Inglis (SC)
Blackburn	Dingell	Inslee
Blunt	Doggett	Israel
Boehlert	Doolittle	Issa
Boehner	Doyle	Istook
Bonilla	Drake	Jackson (IL)
Bonner	Dreier	Jackson-Lee
Bono	Duncan	(TX)
Boozman	Edwards	Jefferson
Boren	Ehlers	Jenkins
Boswell	Emanuel	Jindal
Boucher	Emerson	Johnson (CT)
Boustany	Engel	Johnson (IL)
Boyd	English (PA)	Johnson, E. B.
Bradley (NH)	Eshoo	Jones (NC)
Brady (PA)	Etheridge	Jones (OH)
Brady (TX)	Everett	Kanjorski
Brown (OH)	Farr	Kaptur
Brown (SC)	Fattah	Kelly
Brown, Corrine	Feeney	Kennedy (MN)
Brown-Waite,	Ferguson	Kennedy (RI)
Ginny	Filner	Kildee
Burgess	Fitzpatrick (PA)	Kilpatrick (MI)
Burton (IN)	Flake	Kind
Butterfield	Foley	King (IA)
Buyer	Forbes	King (NY)
Calvert	Ford	Kingston
Camp (MI)	Fortenberry	Kirk
Campbell (CA)	Fossella	Kline
Cannon	Foxx	Knollenberg
Cantor	Franks (AZ)	Kolbe
Capito	Frelinghuysen	Kuhl (NY)
Capps	Gallely	LaHood
Cardin	Garrett (NJ)	Langevin
Cardoza	Gerlach	Lantos
Carnahan	Gibbons	Larsen (WA)
Carson	Gilchrest	Larson (CT)
Carter	Gillmor	Latham
Case	Gingrey	LaTourette
Castle	Gohmert	Leach
Chabot	Gonzalez	Levin
Chandler	Goode	Lewis (CA)
Chocola	Goodlatte	Lewis (KY)
Clay	Gordon	Linder
Cleaver	Granger	Lipinski
Clyburn	Graves	LoBiondo
Coble	Green (WI)	Lofgren, Zoe

Lucas	Payne	Sherman
Lungren, Daniel	Pearce	Sherwood
E.	Pelosi	Shimkus
Lynch	Pence	Shuster
Mack	Peterson (MN)	Simmons
Maloney	Peterson (PA)	Simpson
Manzullo	Petri	Skelton
Marchant	Pickering	Slaughter
Marshall	Pitts	Smith (NJ)
Matheson	Platts	Smith (TX)
Matsui	Poe	Smith (WA)
McCarthy	Pombo	Snyder
McCaul (TX)	Pomeroy	Sodrel
McCollum (MN)	Porter	Souder
McCotter	Price (GA)	Spratt
McCrery	Price (NC)	Stearns
McHenry	Pryce (OH)	Stupak
McHugh	Putnam	Sullivan
McIntyre	Radanovich	Sweeney
McKeon	Rahall	Tancredo
McMorris	Ramstad	Tanner
Rodgers	Rangel	Tauscher
McNulty	Regula	Taylor (MS)
Meehan	Rehberg	Taylor (NC)
Meek (FL)	Reichert	Terry
Meeks (NY)	Renzi	Thomas
Melancon	Reyes	Thompson (CA)
Mica	Reynolds	Thompson (MS)
Millender-	Rogers (AL)	Thornberry
McDonald	Rogers (KY)	Tiahrt
Miller (FL)	Rogers (MI)	Tiberti
Miller (MI)	Rohrabacher	Tierney
Miller (NC)	Ros-Lehtinen	Towns
Miller, Gary	Ross	Turner
Miller, George	Rothman	Udall (CO)
Mollohan	Roybal-Allard	Udall (NM)
Moore (KS)	Royce	Upton
Moore (WI)	Ruppersberger	Van Hollen
Moran (KS)	Rush	Velázquez
Murphy	Ryan (OH)	Visclosky
Murtha	Ryan (WI)	Walden (OR)
Musgrave	Ryun (KS)	Walsh
Myrick	Sabo	Wamp
Nadler	Salazar	Wasserman
Napolitano	Sánchez, Linda	Schultz
Neal (MA)	T.	Waters
Neugebauer	Sanchez, Loretta	Waxman
Northup	Sanders	Weldon (FL)
Norwood	Saxton	Weldon (PA)
Nunes	Schiff	Weller
Oberstar	Schmidt	Westmoreland
Obey	Schwartz (PA)	Wexler
Olver	Schwarz (MI)	Whitfield
Ortiz	Scott (GA)	Wicker
Osborne	Sensenbrenner	Wilson (NM)
Otter	Serrano	Wilson (SC)
Oxley	Sessions	Wolf
Pallone	Shadegg	Wu
Pascrell	Shaw	Young (AK)
Pastor	Shays	Young (FL)

NAYS—22

Baldwin	Kucinich	Paul
Blumenauer	Lee	Schakowsky
Davis (IL)	Lewis (GA)	Scott (VA)
Frank (MA)	Markey	Stark
Grijalva	McDermott	Watt
Gutierrez	McGovern	Woolsey
Hinchee	McKinney	
Honda	Michaud	

ANSWERED “PRESENT”—1

Capuano

NOT VOTING—15

Davis (FL)	Lowey	Solis
Evans	Moran (VA)	Strickland
Harman	Ney	Watson
Johnson, Sam	Nussle	Weiner
Keller	Owens	Wynn

□ 1932

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois changed his vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated against:

Ms. SOLIS. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 440 on H. Res. 994—9/11 Resolution, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted “nay.”

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE
SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Ms. Curtis, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed a concurrent resolution of the following title in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 114. Concurrent resolution providing for corrections to the enrollment of the bill S. 2590.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER
PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote is objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

Record votes on postponed questions will be taken tomorrow.

FEDERAL FUNDING ACCOUNT-
ABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY
ACT OF 2006

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill (S. 2590) to require full disclosure of all entities and organizations receiving Federal funds.

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 2590

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act of 2006".

SEC. 2. FULL DISCLOSURE OF ENTITIES RECEIVING FEDERAL FUNDING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

- (1) ENTITY.—The term "entity"—
- (A) includes, whether for profit or non-profit—
- (i) a corporation;
 - (ii) an association;
 - (iii) a partnership;
 - (iv) a limited liability company;
 - (v) a limited liability partnership;
 - (vi) a sole proprietorship;
 - (vii) any other legal business entity;
 - (viii) any other grantee or contractor that is not excluded by subparagraph (B) or (C); and
 - (ix) any State or locality;
- (B) on and after January 1, 2009, includes any subcontractor or subgrantee; and
- (C) does not include—
- (i) an individual recipient of Federal assistance; or
 - (ii) a Federal employee.
- (2) FEDERAL AWARD.—The term "Federal award"—

(A) means Federal financial assistance and expenditures that include grants, contracts, subgrants, subcontracts, loans, awards, cooperative agreements, purchase orders, task orders, delivery orders, and other forms of financial assistance;

(B) does not include individual transactions below \$25,000; and

(C) before October 1, 2008, does not include credit card transactions.

(3) SEARCHABLE WEBSITE.—The term "searchable website" means a website that allows the public to—

(A) search Federal funding by any element required by subsection (b)(1);

(B) ascertain through a single search the total amount of Federal funding awarded to an entity, by fiscal year; and

(C) download data included in subparagraph (A) included in the outcome from searches.

(b) IN GENERAL.—

(1) WEBSITE.—Not later than January 1, 2008, the Office of Management and Budget shall, in accordance with this section and section 204 of the E-Government Act of 2002 (Public Law 107-347; 44 U.S.C. 3501 note), ensure the existence and operation of a single searchable website, accessible by the public at no cost to access, that includes for each Federal award—

(A) the name of the entity receiving the award;

(B) the amount of the award;

(C) information on the award including transaction type, funding agency, the North American Industry Classification System code or Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance number (where applicable), program source, and an award title descriptive of the purpose of each funding action;

(D) the location of the entity receiving the award and the primary location of performance under the award, including the city, State, congressional district, and country;

(E) a unique identifier of the entity receiving the award and of the parent entity of the recipient, should the entity be owned by another entity; and

(F) any other relevant information specified by the Office of Management and Budget.

(2) SCOPE OF DATA.—The website shall include data for fiscal year 2007, and each fiscal year thereafter.

(3) DESIGNATION OF AGENCIES.—The Director of the Office of Management and Budget is authorized to designate one or more Federal agencies to participate in the development, establishment, operation, and support of the single website. In the initial designation, or in subsequent instructions and guidance, the Director may specify the scope of the responsibilities of each such agency.

(4) AGENCY RESPONSIBILITIES.—Federal agencies shall comply with the instructions and guidance issued by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget under paragraph (3), and shall provide appropriate assistance to the Director upon request, so as to assist the Director in ensuring the existence and operation of the single website.

(c) WEBSITE.—The website established under this section—

(1) may use as the source of its data the Federal Procurement Data System, Federal Assistance Award Data System, and Grants.gov, if all of these data sources are searchable through the website and can be accessed in a single search;

(2) shall not be considered in compliance if it hyperlinks to the Federal Procurement Data System website, Federal Assistance Award Data System website, Grants.gov website, or other existing websites, so that the information elements required in subsection (b)(1) cannot be searched electronically by field in a single search;

(3) shall provide an opportunity for the public to provide input about the utility of the site and recommendations for improvements; and

(4) shall be updated not later than 30 days after the award of any Federal award requiring a posting.

(d) SUBAWARD DATA.—

(1) PILOT PROGRAM.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than July 1, 2007, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall commence a pilot program to—

(i) test the collection and accession of data about subgrants and subcontracts; and

(ii) determine how to implement a subaward reporting program across the Federal Government, including—

(I) a reporting system under which the entity issuing a subgrant or subcontract is responsible for fulfilling the subaward reporting requirement; and

(II) a mechanism for collecting and incorporating agency and public feedback on the design and utility of the website.

(B) TERMINATION.—The pilot program under subparagraph (A) shall terminate not later than January 1, 2009.

(2) REPORTING OF SUBAWARDS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Based on the pilot program conducted under paragraph (1), and, except as provided in subparagraph (B), not later than January 1, 2009, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget—

(i) shall ensure that data regarding subawards are disclosed in the same manner as data regarding other Federal awards, as required by this Act; and

(ii) shall ensure that the method for collecting and distributing data about subawards under clause (i)—

(I) minimizes burdens imposed on Federal award recipients and subaward recipients;

(II) allows Federal award recipients and subaward recipients to allocate reasonable costs for the collection and reporting of subaward data as indirect costs; and

(III) establishes cost-effective requirements for collecting subaward data under block grants, formula grants, and other types of assistance to State and local governments.

(B) EXTENSION OF DEADLINE.—For subaward recipients that receive Federal funds through State, local, or tribal governments, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget may extend the deadline for ensuring that data regarding such subawards are disclosed in the same manner as data regarding other Federal awards for a period not to exceed 18 months, if the Director determines that compliance would impose an undue burden on the subaward recipient.

(e) EXCEPTION.—Any entity that demonstrates to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget that the gross income, from all sources, for such entity did not exceed \$300,000 in the previous tax year of such entity shall be exempt from the requirement to report subawards under subsection (d), until the Director determines that the imposition of such reporting requirements will not cause an undue burden on such entities.

(f) CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this Act shall prohibit the Office of Management and Budget from including through the website established under this section access to data that is publicly available in any other Federal database.

(g) REPORT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall submit to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs of the Senate and the Committee on Government Reform of the House of Representatives an annual report regarding the implementation of the website established under this section.

(2) CONTENTS.—Each report submitted under paragraph (1) shall include—

(A) data regarding the usage and public feedback on the utility of the site (including recommendations for improving data quality and collection);

(B) an assessment of the reporting burden placed on Federal award and subaward recipients; and

(C) an explanation of any extension of the subaward reporting deadline under subsection (d)(2)(B), if applicable.