Two: An attack upon majority rule as the main mechanism of democratic government. Majority rule, its opponents contend, gives insufficient weight to minority or ''victim'' groups, and should be replaced by a power-sharing arrangement among different groups. This ambitious concept has not been totally enacted anywhere, but steps towards it have been taken. The Voting Rights Act, for example, requires that election districts be drawn in such a way as to ensure specific racial outcomes; and some European nations have recently introduced laws requiring political parties to ensure that a given percentage of their election candidates are women.

Three: Transferring power from political institutions directly accountable to the voters, such as Congress, to judges, bureaucratic agencies, and international organizations outside the control of the voters. Originally, this transfer of power required the consent of the elected bodies; increasingly, however, judges interpret international law, including treaties that have not been ratified or that have been greatly expanded in scope since ratification, as overriding domestic law. This process, still in its nervous infancy in the U.S., is far advanced in the European Union—where the courts have overruled national legislatures on issues as different as territorial fishing rights and the right of soldiers to become pregnant. If allowed to continue, this trend must first erode and eventually render obsolete both national sovereignty and self-government.

Four: De-constructing and re-constructing the self-understanding of America. Every nation has a sense of itself and its history that is embedded in a national narrative marked by heroic episodes. In this traditional narrative, America is the progressive universalization of English civilization—Magna Carta expanded to accommodate slaves, and later immigrants, and enriched by the cultures they brought with them. It is therefore a branch of a branch of Western civilization; but multiculturalism seeks to undermine this self-understanding and to replace it with an entirely different narrative, in which America is seen as a ''convergence'' of European, African, and Amerindian civilizations (and therefore the natural basis for a political system based on group identities and rights). This re-constructionist impulse has become the orthodoxy in many public schools.

Five: Re-constructing the people by mass immigration from other cultures. As long as new immigrants are assimilated into the existing nation, no problem arises; if assimilation fails to occur, the nation is gradually dissolved into a Babel of different cultural groups with conflicting allegiances. Under existing law, however, assimilation is not only made difficult by the sheer numbers of people arriving, it is also discouraged by official policies of multiculturalism and bilingualism.

Six: Divorcing citizenship from nationality and bestowing the rights of citizens—including the right to vote—on all residents in the nation, including illegal immigrants. According to this theory, citizenship should be carried on an immigrant's back to whichever nation he manages to sneak into. If seriously implemented in law, it would transform nations into mere places of residence; the symbol of this kind of citizenship is Mohamed Atta, the hijacker who destroyed the World Trade Center.

In the post-national world Fonte described, nations are no longer peoples united by a common history and culture, and ''the mystic chords of memory''; they are simply the varied inhabitants of an arbitrary piece of real estate. Political authority is no longer constitutionally limited and located in particular national institutions; it is diffuse, and scattered among bodies at different levels. Politicians no longer have to take responsibility for hard decisions; they can pass them onto higher organs of unaccountable power. Civic patriotism is no longer the prime civic virtue; it is displaced either downwards, by a narrow ethnic loyalty, or upwards, by a cosmopolitan loyalty to international institutions.

But a terrible beauty has not been born. Instead, Leviathan, by dividing itself up into several spheres, has slipped free of constitutional restraints and popular control. For the ordinary voter the world has become a mysterious place, far more difficult to navigate, let alone control. For political elites, it has become a market in power in which bureaucrats, pressure groups, businesses, and international lawyers exchange favors behind a veil of post-national irresponsibility.

For years, this progressivist revolution proceeded rapidly, chiefly because the public was paying little or no attention to it. But whenever it emerged into the light of controversy—as when Lani Buiner's nomination led to the revelation that law professors believed in something like John C. Calhoun's ''concurrent majorities''—the public reacted violently against it. The typical lack of public interest was due in part to the GOP's nervous reluctance to raise such issues as racial preferences, bilingual education, or even the International Criminal Court. Although conservatism dictated a principled defense of the Constitution against these attacks, the Republicans backed off. In effect, they went from ignoring such assaults under Reagan, to going along with them quietly under George H. W. Bush; to even embracing some of them with a show of enthusiasm under George W. Bush. If the revolution were to be stopped, the political equivalent of a thunderbolt would be required.

To everyone's horror, that thunderbolt was delivered, in the form of the attack on September 11; as everyone agrees, that changed everything. In particular it revealed that America had deep reserves of patriotism and that there was a wide, though not universal, desire for national unity. In one terrifying moment, it created or revived constituencies for a firm assimilationist approach, for tighter immigration policies that protected U.S. security, for a reading of American history as the narrative of a great achievement, and for the celebration of U.S. power against all the recently fashionable follies of post-nationalism. In foreign policy, the Bush administration met this public appetite with a clear declaration of war on terrorism, and a clear military strategy for waging it; it has been rewarded for this with high popular support.

In domestic policy, however, it has been largely inert—preferring to constrain liberties internally rather than to strengthen protections against external threats. In the less tangible but vitally important matter of national unity and moral, it has concentrated entirely on (very proper) warnings against anti-Muslim sentiment—but without asking for expressions of loyalty from Muslim leaders or, more generally, asking immigrant communities to make a public commitment of their loyalty to the American nation. That is a profound mistake. Most immigrants would be happy to make such a commitment; it is America's cultural elites who would resist it most strongly.

But then, they are the shock troops of post-national progressivism; and they would realize that the demand for loyalty would be an unmistakable sign that America had recovered complete confidence in itself, in its own institutions of constitutional democracy, and in its historical mission. Without such a demand, moreover, many decent moderate people might drift idly into the kind of multicultural extremisms that helped shelter the World Trade Center attackers. For, as Americans above all should know, you can't beat something with nothing.

This, then, is a moment of great significance and opportunity in American politics. Democracy and the nation-state are the Siamese twins of political theory; democracy rarely survives apart from its twin. Every attempt to create a multicultural democracy either has failed or is deeply troubled. Bush could very reasonably weave a national appeal around the theme of defending American democracy—with equal emphasis on both words. It would resonate strongly with the American majority; command the support of many voters in minority groups; provide the GOP with a raft of popular domestic policies; and attract Democratic constituencies such as patriotic blue-collar workers. and if such an appeal is not make, the progressivist revolution is going to end up winning.●

IN MEMORY OF JAMES CLOEREN AND JERRY NORTON.

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, on October 30, the State of Maryland, our Nation, their families and the Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory lost James Cloeren and Jerry Norton in a tragic accident. They died while flying their experimental aircraft near Westminster, MD.

James Cloeren and Jerry Norton were engineers and world renowned experts on ultra-stable oscillators used in satellites for navigation. They spent their careers advancing the technical development of our national space program, both defense and civilian. They built custom oscillators for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Jet Propulsion Laboratory and the European Space Agency. Oscillators are precision instruments, similar to a clock that would lose no more than a second in a million years. Clocks on data-collecting satellites must be precise and endure radical changes in temperatures and shifts in magnetic pull. The Jet Propulsion Lab described their instruments as ''the finest in the solar system in terms of the cleanliness and stability of their output''. At the time of their deaths they were working to complete four oscillators that are the heart and soul of a pair of NASA satellites. Using ultra stable oscillators, the satellite will measure small gravitational perturbations that reflect climate changes. The satellite program is called GRACE. Their colleagues at APL are working hard to finish Mr. Cloeren's and Mr. Norton's work. NASA has directed APL to affix the names of Jim and Jerry upon the oscillators in recognition of their pioneering work in space. What a fitting monument that these two satellites will carry the names of these two colleagues who were united in work, friendship and death.

Mr. Cloeren had worked at APL for 20 years and Mr. Norton for 40 years.

Our thoughts and prayers go out to Jim's wife Sally of Westminster, MD and daughter Cathy Racow of Boca Raton, FL and Jerry's wife Ann and

daughters Maria Lawall, Jane, Tina and 4 grandchildren of Marriottsville, MD.●

TRIBUTE TO UND'S FIGHTING SIOUX, NCAA DIVISION II FOOTBALL CHAMPIONS

● Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to note the accomplishment of the University of North Dakota football team, who on Saturday won the NCAA Division II football championship, defeating Grand Valley State University of Michigan.

It was a nail-biter, and one of the most remarkable, last-minute comebacks in the history of championship football.

UND's spectacular defense held the Grand Valley State team to 14 points, but with less than three minutes to play, and 80 yards to go, we were trailing 14–10. A field goal wouldn't do it. We had to drive the length of the field and score a touchdown. It looked as though the championship would slip from our grasp.

Moving the ball out to their 41-yard line, UND faced a crucial fourth-down play, needing four yards to keep the drive alive. Quarterback Kelby Klosterman linked up with wide receiver Luke Schleusner on an incredible 58-yard pass play, landing us on the one-yard line. Running back Jed Perkerewicz took the ball the final yard in the last 29 seconds to win the game and the championship for Grand Forks and North Dakota. It was the first national football title in the school's 105-year history.

These were well-matched teams and worthy opponents. Yardage and time of possession were very close, almost identical. UND's 80-yard final drive made the difference. Imagine the pressure.

Only minutes left on the clock, a national championship at stake, and nearly the whole field left to drive. It's a measure of this team's grit and determination that the final drive was marked by two fourth-down conversions. Converting on a fourth down is do or die, fail, and it's all over. UND did it not once, but twice. That's a demonstration of real character.

All of North Dakota is celebrating this tremendous win, but this is an especially sweet victory for the people of Grand Forks. They know about comebacks against long odds. After the floods of 1997 all but destroyed the town, and badly damaged the university, they came back. And Grand Forks is on its way to being bigger and better than ever.

Grand Forks is a comeback town, and North Dakota is a comeback team. I could not be more proud of these fine young athletes and their coaches.

And I look forward to the conclusion of a little bet that Senator DORGAN and I made last Friday with our dear colleagues from Michigan, Senators LEVIN and STABENOW. I look forward to hearing them recite the words of the UND fight song, loud and clear from the steps of the United States Capitol this week.

While the two final plays in the game put us over the top, everyone knows that at UND, it's teamwork that matters. Every member of this team contributed to the victory. I would ask to have printed in the RECORD the full roster of this championship team, and their first-rate coaching staff. They have made us very proud.

The roster follows:

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA FIGHTING SIOUX TEAM ROSTER

No. 1, Thayne Bosh.
No. 2, Jesse Smith.
No. 3, Dustin Thornburg.
No. 4, Jamel Alkins.
No. 5, Adam Roland.
No. 6, Shad Carney.
No. 7, Jeff Glas.
No. 8, Caleb Johnson.
No. 9, Kelby Klosterman.
No. 11, Cameron Peterka.
No. 11, Jamaal Franklin.
No. 12, John Bowenkamp.
No. 13, Joe Wilson.
No. 14, Evan Nelson.
No. 15, Brian Loe.
No. 16, Josh Ranson.
No. 17, Bret Bentow.
No. 18, Jim Miller.
No. 19, Tom Maus.
No. 20, Ryan Manke.
No. 21, Peyton Ross.
No. 22, Cory Urban.
No. 23, Tony Hermes.
No. 24, Willis Stattelman.
No. 25, Craig Riendeau.
No. 25, Demetrius Charles.
No. 26, Adam Stratton.
No. 27, Josh Copple.
No. 29, Tom Miller.
No. 30, Gregg Olson.
No. 32, Jamaal Griffin.
No. 33, Adam Dehnicke.
No. 33, Danny Gagner.
No. 34, Riza Mahmoud.
No. 35, Matt Nelson.
No. 36, Chris Beatty.
No. 36, Travis O'Neel.
No. 37, Jed Perkerewicz.
No. 37, Matt Hillbrand.
No. 38, Josh Brandsted.
No. 38, Mike O'Neil.
No. 39, Brian Wilhelmi.
No. 40, Digger Anderson.
No. 40, Eric Schmidt.
No. 42, Ross Brennan.
No. 43, Matt Vanderpan.
No. 44, Tyler Dahlen.
No. 45, Chad Mustard.
No. 46, Jason Gravos.
No. 47, David Wisthoff.
No. 48, Josh Kotelnicki.
No. 49, Blaise Larson.
No. 50, Mac Schneider.
No. 52, Andy Hendrickson.
No. 53, Mike Mularoni.
No. 54, Troy Newhouse.
No. 55, Tom Irvin.
No. 56, Josh Christofferson.
No. 57, Brook Maier.
No. 58, Eric Halstenson.
No. 59, Jake Nordick.
No. 60, Ross Walker.
No. 61, Dan Schill.
No. 62, Josh Cranston.
No. 63, Ryan Grant.
No. 64, Brennan Marsh.
No. 65, Stephen Larsen.
No. 66, Mike Gruchalla.
No. 67, Jason Peterson.
No. 68, Matt Knutson.
No. 70, Brian Osterday.
No. 71, Dave Butler.
No. 72, Ben Murphy.
No. 73, Chris Kuper.
No. 74, Mike Crouse.
No. 75, Brian Dokken.
No. 76, Ben Olson.
No. 77, Barry Smith.
No. 78, Matt Buisker.
No. 78, Mike Bryant.
No. 79, Mike Wacek.
No. 80, John Kyvig.
No. 81, Dan Graf.
No. 82, Justin Klabo.
No. 84, Jesse Ahlers.
No. 85, Erik Ahlstrom.

UND FIGHTING SIOUX COACHES AND 2001 STAFF

Dale Lennon, Head Coach.
Kyle Schweigert, Assistant Head Coach/Defensive Coordinator.
Chris Mussman, Offensive Coordinator.
Tom Dosch, Defensive Line/OLB.
Tim Tibesar, Inside Linebackers.
Curt Sienkiewicz, Running Backs.
Tim Belmore, Wide Receivers.
Cooper Harris, Graduate Assistant.
Greg Lotysz, Graduate Assistant.
Mike Mannausau, Graduate Assistant.
Jon Young, Graduate Assistant.
Steve Westereng, Head Football Athletic Trainer.
Paul Chapman, Director of Strength and Conditioning.
Dan Benson, Director of Media Relations.
Lon Carlson, Football Equipment Manager.
Cindy Klug, Office Secretary.●

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Ms. Evans, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting a nomination which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(The nomination received today is printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bills were read the second time, and placed on the calendar:

S. 1786. A bill to expand aviation capacity in the Chicago area.

S. 1789. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to improve the safety and efficacy of pharmaceuticals for children.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. JEFFORDS, from the Committee on Environment and Public Works, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 1593: A bill to authorize the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to establish a grant program to support research projects on critical infrastructure protection for water supply systems, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 107–118).

S. 1608: A bill to establish a program to provide grants to drinking water and wastewater facilities to meet immediate security needs. (Rept. No. 107–119).