''full, free and unfettered'' access to inspectors or the United States would launch attacks to compel his compliance.

In an attempt to defuse the crisis, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan negotiated that same month a Memorandum of Understanding between Iraq and the United Nations, which pledged ''immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access'' for inspections. A Security Council resolution endorsed the Memorandum of Understanding and warned Iraq of the ''severest consequences'' if the memorandum was violated.

In September 1998, the chief U.N. inspector informed the Security Council that Iraq was again barring inspections, and the council, in yet another resolution, condemned Iraq for suspending its cooperation. A further U.N. effort to regain Iraq's cooperation failed as Iraq declared that it was suspending all cooperation with U.N. inspections. In an emergency session, the Security Council passed Resolution 1205 on Nov. 5, 1998, condemning Iraq's action as ''a flagrant violation'' of the original resolutions of 1990–91. Since then, nothing consequential has been done. The failure to take military action against Hussein after his flagrant violation in 1998 has given him nearly four years to continue unencumbered in his development and accumulation of weapons of mass destruction.

Iraq by its own actions has, in effect, terminated the cease-fire established in 1991 at the end of the Gulf War and reactivated the ''suspended'' authorization to use military force against Iraq. No longer can anyone plausibly claim that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction can be eliminated by an inspection program. The Security Council's judgment still stands: A Saddam Hussein armed with weapons of mass destruction is not acceptable. Military force against Hussein is both necessary and authorized to rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction.

The full range of reasonable legal, diplomatic and other alternatives has been exhausted. All conceivable forms of leverage have been employed: sanctions; embargoes; massive military buildups to threaten him into compliance; limited military operations in the form of air and cruise missile strikes; the encouragement of internal opposition; positive inducement through the ''oil for peace'' program; and diplomacy in all forms—unilateral, multilateral, private, public, direct and through intermediaries. Nothing has worked. Any further steps will only provide him with more time and heighten the danger.

Self-defense is a valid basis for preemptive action. The evidence is clear that Hussein continues to amass weapons of mass destruction. He has also demonstrated a willingness to use them against internal as well as external targets. By now, the risks of inaction clearly outweigh the risks of action. If there is a rattlesnake in the yard, you don't wait for it to strike before you take action in self-defense.

The danger is immediate. The making of weapons of mass destruction grows increasingly difficult to counter with each passing day. When the risk is not hundreds of people killed in a conventional attack but tens or hundreds of thousands killed by chemical, biological or nuclear attack, the time factor is even more compelling.

The moment is racing toward us when Hussein's possession of nuclear weaponry could transform the regional and international situation into what, in the Cold War, we called the balance of terror. Some argue that to act now might trigger Hussein's use of his worst weapons. Such self-imposed blackmail presumes easier judgments when he is even better equipped than now. Time is his ally, not ours.

Concern over the future of Iraq is legitimate. Following the end of the current Iraqi regime, a new Iraq can emerge as a territorially integral sovereign state with a federal-style form that respects the Kurdish, Sunni and Shia communities. A set of phased transitional steps, including referendums and elections, can be carried out and involve the range of Iraqi political parties, factions and groups in exile and internally opposed to the Hussein regime over the years.

For the Middle East, a major source of and support for terror and instability will have ended. Those who argue that the Iraq crisis should be deferred until progress is achieved between Israelis and Palestinians are proposing an impossible task. For the Arab world as a whole, a new Iraq offers the opportunity to start a reversal of the stagnation detailed in the ''Arab Human Development Report 2002'' recently released by the United Nations. The report describes how Arab societies are being crippled by a lack of political freedom, repression of women and isolation from the world of ideas that stifles creativity.

The history of Iraq, the achievements of its peoples, its high civilization of the past, and its extensive natural resources all point to the possibility of a positive transformation once Hussein's yoke is lifted. In the process, a model can emerge that other Arab societies may look to and emulate for their own transformation and that of the entire region. The challenge of Iraq offers an opportunity for a historic turning point that can lead us in the direction of a more peaceful, free and prosperous future.

This is a defining moment in international affairs. Authorization for action is clear. We have made endless efforts to bring Saddam Hussein into line with the duly considered judgments of a unanimous U.N. Security Council. Let us go to the Security Council and assert this case with the care of a country determined to take decisive action. And this powerful case for acting now must be made promptly to Congress. Its members will have to stand up and be counted. Then let's get on with the job.

The writer was secretary of state from 1982 to 1989. He is the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. VITO FOSSELLA

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2002

Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, I am not recorded on rollcall No. 384, Expressing the Sense of the Congress on the anniversary of the terrorist attacks launched against the United States on September 11, 2001. I was with my constituents of Staten Island and Brooklyn on this sad anniversary. Had I been present, I would have voted ''aye.''

For the past year, our nation has grieved over the loss of nearly 3,000 brave men and women who were cruelly and unfairly taken from God's earth much too soon. These past 365 days have been a time of immense sadness for our nation. We have buried too many innocent souls—too many mothers, too many fathers, too many sons and too many daughters.

Today is officially known as Patriot's Day as a result of legislation that I passed in Congress. I chose this name because I thought it best described the victims of September 11th—men and women who loved their country and who died in its name. While they were not soldiers, they certainly were patriots.

Indeed, no one among us will ever forget the indelible images of brave firefighters, police officers and other emergency services personnel entering the burning towers bound by honor, duty and courage. Or the pictures of ordinary Americans leading their friends, coworkers and even strangers out of the rubble because they were taught to help those in need. In an age when the word heroism is bandied about much too often, we watched true heroes in action.

And so today, we remember these patriots—to recall their smile, their laugh, their kindness. Their loss is an injustice to humanity. And while they can never be replaced, they must be remembered and honored for making the greatest of all sacrifices.

The American story is far from finished. Indeed, the best chapters are yet to come. We must believe that, for I know in my heart that it is our destiny.

We also must believe that there is a just God directing our people in a just cause of liberty. That cause, like others before, which crushed fascism and communism, is now to forbid the tyranny of terrorism. The terrorists sought to destroy America by crushing brick and twisting steel. They didn't understand that the source of America's strength is its people, and that its people embody a spirit of optimism and hope that can never be destroyed. Our hearts may still be heavy, but our soul is stronger and more vibrant than ever. The values of America will forever stand firm and resolute.

My prayers go out to every family that lost a loved one on September 11th. My words cannot ease your suffering, so I simply tell you that you remain in my thoughts. God Bless you and God Bless America.

I ask unanimous consent that this statement be printed in the appropriate part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

TRIBUTE TO REV. JOHN A TOTH

HON. NICK SMITH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2002

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, all over the United States we are blessed with a wonderful sense of community, where neighbor helps neighbor. One important reason for this great blessing is the inspired guidance of our religious leaders.

In my home state of Michigan, one of those leaders has been bringing God's word for over 30 years. The Rev. John A. Toth, of the First Presbyterian Church in Dimondale, has been a beacon of faith and prayer, of hope and service, and of charity and outreach to the less fortunate. His life's work has been devoted to the service of others—his faith, his family, his community and his country.

John has been supported in his ministry by his remarkable wife Joanne. Thanks to their work, Dimondale is a better place to live and raise a family.

I am honored today to rise in recognition of the steadfast service and commitment of this fine American and a principled man of God, Reverend John A. Toth.

Reverend Toth pastored the First Presbyterian Church in Dimondale, Michigan for 30 years and has been a positive and energetic

force for the community outside of his ministry. He has served as precinct delegate, on the Eaton County Courthouse Square board, on the state Boundary Commission, village appeals board and Eaton County's Solid Waste Planning Commission. The fruits of his work know no bounds. For instance, what started as a church youth paper drive for camp scholarships developed into the Dimondale recycling center, which recycles over 1.8 million pounds of materials a year.

On Sunday, September 15, 2002, Rev. Toth will give his last sermon as the church's minister and he will be honored for his hard work and dedication at a special dinner. John Toth's significant contribution to not only those his ministry touched, but also the entire State of Michigan, in no way goes unnoticed. I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the efforts of Rev. Toth to improve the lives of those around him. The people of Michigan are truly grateful for his service.

DEDICATION OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 MEMORIAL IN ORADELL, NEW JERSEY AND PRESENTATION TO MRS. TRACY WOODALL

HON. MARGE ROUKEMA

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2002

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call to the attention of my colleagues the dedication of a memorial in Oradell, New Jersey to honor and commemorate those who lost their lives in the tragic events of September 11, 2001.

Let me say first, Mr. Speaker, that I have been deeply moved by the outpouring of support and dedication that we all have seen throughout our Nation over the past year. In the days and weeks after the tragic events of September 11, we heard and read the stories of countless family members, neighbors, and friends who went to work on that day and never came home.

In my own district, our Bergen County community was particularly hard-hit. We all know someone who was lost. Their stories are heart wrenching . . . and still remain nearly unbearable in their sadness.

Over the past year, I have spoken to many families in my District in an attempt to bring them some consolation. Even though there are no words to relieve their anguish, I have told each family that they should take some comfort in the knowledge that the hearts and prayers of the entire Nation were with them.

As we dedicate this memorial in Oradell this evening to all of those who lost their lives on that tragic day, we pause to remember each of the men and women whose lives were so tragically cut short by a brutal and senseless act of terrorism.

In particular, we commemorate the tragic loss of one of Oradell's own residents, Brent Woodall.

In their deaths, the victims of the World Trade Center attack have come to symbolize all that we love in America. The terrorists attacked the Towers because they represented America's democracy, freedom, diversity, and economic prosperity.

Brent Woodall embodied these ideals in his work and in his life. Whether in his work in the stock market—the nerve center of America's economic freedom—or as a talented athlete, or simply as a man deeply devoted to friends, family, and those whom he loved, Brent's life exemplified the American values which have made our country great.

The loss of every life that day was tragic. The loss of Brent touches each of us, as he and Tracy were just beginning so much of their life together. They had just bought a home, and were beginning a family together.

I did not know Brent personally, so I will not presume to elaborate upon his life and times beyond that. But as I have come to know the nearly one hundred residents of my Congressional District who never came home on September 11, so I have come to know Brent Woodall.

In every way, Brent's life was a life that is easy to celebrate.

This evening, we will commemorate our losses, and send a message of heartfelt sympathy and support to Brent's family and friends, particularly his wife, Tracy, and their son, Pierce Ashley, who came into this world on April 22, 2002, only after a few short months after his father had perished. How proud Brent would have been of his son . . . and how proud Pierce will someday be of his father, whose good nature, humor, and zest for life live on in him.

At tonight's memorial, I will be honored to present to Tracy Woodall an American flag, which was flown over the United States Capitol in Brent's honor.

Our flag has long stood as the symbol of our core values of freedom and liberty. It now stands also as a symbol of our national resolve to bring those responsible for this atrocity to justice, and, tonight, as a tribute to Brent, and all of those who lost their lives in one of America's darkest hours. Let it serve also to let Tracy, Pierce, and all of their family know that the support of extended family, friends, community, and the Nation, are with them now and always.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in asking that God bless Tracy and Pierce Woodall, the rest of their family, and all those who lost friends, family, or loved ones in this national tragedy. And, as Brent Woodall would have wanted, we ask that God bless the United States of America.

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

SPEECH OF

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September, 11, 2002

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, December 7, 1941 is the worst day in the history of our Republic in the 20th Century, and September 11, 2001 is the worst day in the history of our land of liberty in the 21st Century. Both days cost this nation thousands of lives; mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, grandmothers, grandfathers, aunts, and uncles and perished on these days because they were Americans. Their families and friends left behind have never been the same—nor will they ever be the same—and the same can be said for our nation.

On both occasions these victims were victims because of what America stands for: liberty, freedom, justice, human rights, opportunity, and a faith in a caring and loving God. But out of this criminal act perpetrated upon the citizens of this nation and on this fortress of freedom that we call the United States of America, a fierce determination arose to destroy those forces of evil that without cause or warning attacked the U.S. We brought those that attacked us on December 7, 1941 to justice, and we are well on our way to bringing those who attacked us a year ago to the same fate. But today, September 11, 2002, we stop to remember in a formal way the victims and their families who perished on these very, very dark days in our nation's history. Today we stop to honor them, remember them, pray for them, and rededicate ourselves to seeing to it that this never happens again in America or any place else in the world.

HONORING BILL CARR

HON. KEN BENTSEN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 12, 2002

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and my colleague Gene Green, I rise to honor the memory of an extraordinary woman, Billie Carr, known far and wide as the ''Godmother of Texas Liberals,'' who passed away on September 9, 2002, at the age of 74. Her death is a tremendous loss not only for her family, but for Texas and the nation. Ms. Carr will be long remembered as an unapologetic partisan, a champion of civil rights, a challenger of the status quo and a visionary who fought to forward the goals of the Democratic Party of the local, state, and national level.

Billie Carr was an exceptional individual whose life underscored what it meant to be an American. Known as a hard driving Democrat, revered by many, reviled by others and intimidated by none, Billie Carr was a kind and caring human being whose commitment to the American democratic experiment made our state and nation a better place. She once told me that political parties did not exist for the benefit of the politicians, but rather the politicians existed for the benefit of the parties and their volunteers. And she never let me or any other elected official forget it. She understood not only the function of politics better than most, but the purpose as well.

Billie Carr, was first exposed to politics as a 26-day-old infant when her parents took her to a session of the 1928 Democratic National Convention, held that year in her native Houston. At the age of 18, Billie discovered what would become the true loves of her life, David Carr and politics. In the early 1950's, David was elected president of the United Steelworkers Union at the plant where he worked, and together, Billie and he learned the political ropes by working with union officials and labor organizations. In what would be a key to her political education, Billie volunteered for the Truman campaign in 1948, establishing herself as a tough political insider.

In 1953, in what would serve as the beginnings of the liberal movement within the Texas