Mr. Speaker, it

is in deep sadness that I rise today to

speak to my colleagues and to set down

a record that is, I believe, necessary to

understand the horrible loss that we

have suffered.

During these last few days, most of

us have experienced a deep and painful

sadness. Now that sadness, rightfully,

is turning into anger. It is anger, as it

should be, at those who perpetrated

this monstrous crime against us; and

those people who committed this crime

will feel the wrath of the American

people, a wrath that has not so been

unleashed since Pearl Harbor.

We must and we will avenge our

countrymen. Anyone with a hand or

even a finger in this mass slaughter of

innocent Americans will pay the ultimate

price. We do this because it is our

duty, and nothing will deter us.

One note of warning, Mr. Speaker: we

must not permit our rage, and there is

rage in my soul and the soul of all of

our fellow Americans, but we must not

let this rage lead to actions that will

strengthen the hand of the fanatic terrorists

with whom we now do battle.

These monsters are counting on us to

strike out blindly and to attack people

who are our potential allies and

friends, thus alienating them and turning

them into enemies.

What bin Laden wants is for the

United States, us, to turn this into a

battle between us, the United States,

and every Muslim in the world. He

wants to push the world’s Muslims,

into his camp. We must not do that,

and, in order not to, we must have a restraint

and fortitude on our part so

that we can guard against that outcome

as we seek our retribution

against the terrorists who have committed

such a crime against us.

Thus, as we proceed to do our duty,

we must recognize that there are Muslims

throughout the world who are on

our side. These people, too, have been

victimized by these terrorists and

gangsters. We need to reach out and

enlist freedom-loving Muslim people in

the world to join us; and especially we

must recognize that the many Muslim-

Americans, our fellow citizens, are

with us and feel even a greater sorrow

for the despicable crime that has been

committed against us, because they,

too, are us, the United States.

Our greatest strength as a Nation is

that America is a land of people of all

races and religions and ethnic groups.

At the prayer service at our National

Cathedral, all faiths, including Islam,

were represented; and we can be very

proud of that. Now is the time for all of

us to stand together.

So how is it that this land of liberty,

this free and open society, should become

the target of such hatred that it

led to the slaughter of thousands of

helpless, innocent, kind-hearted, working

American people? Those folks were

at their desks at work before 9 a.m., so

why is it that they and we and America

is so hated?

Let us not forget that the Nazis knew

that the light of freedom from America

was a force which would derail their

evil plans. Hitler then declared war on

us. Similarly, the Japanese militarists

of the 1930s knew full well that the

only force in the world that stood in

their way of ruling Asia and the Pacific

with an iron hand was the United

States of America; and they, too, attacked

us.

The attack on New York was, of

course, worse than Pearl Harbor. Then

our Navy, our military personnel and

their weapons, were the target. What

happened in New York was far more

cowardly an attack, a ruthless slaughter

of civilians, of unarmed and totally

innocent men, women and children. A

united America rose up after Pearl

Harbor and righteously struck down

those evil forces that threatened the

world at that time.

During the years after the Second

World War, it was America that stood

tall and faced down the last great totalitarian

evil that threatened this

planet, communism. Communism, like

Naziism, was defeated in a Cold War

that sometimes was very hot. Victory

was assured by our resolve, by our

courage, and by tough decisions made

by our leaders, America’s leaders.

I worked in the White House during

the years when Ronald Reagan brought

an end to the Cold War, culminating

with the dismantling of the communist

dictatorship that controlled Russia and

its puppet states. Essential to that

great victory was President Reagan’s

support for various people who were

fighting to free themselves from communist

tyranny.

The bravest and most fierce of these

anti-Soviet insurgents were in Afghanistan.

The American people can be

proud that we provided the Afghan people

the weapons they needed to win

their own freedom and independence.

That Cold War battle was a major factor

in breaking the will of the communist

bosses in Moscow, thus ending

the Cold War, making almost everyone

on this planet in these last 10 years, especially

in the Western democracies,

safer and more prosperous.

This, however, is where we must

begin to understand the grotesque

crime that has now been committed

against us. One of the common errors

found in news reports in these last few

days has been the suggestion that

those holding power in Afghanistan

today are the same people who we supported

in the war against Soviet occupation

in Afghanistan back in the

1980s. This, by and large, is wrong.

Yes, some of those currently in power

in Kabul also fought the Russians. But,

by and large, we are talking about two

different groups, two different sets of

people. Those who fought the Soviet

occupation were called the Mujahedin.

During my time at the White House

during the 1980s, I had the opportunity

to meet and get to know most of their

leaders. The current Taliban leadership

does not include any of those wartime

leaders.

After I left the White House and was

elected to Congress, but before I was

sworn into Congress, I knew I had that

two months between November and

January to do things that I could never

do once I was elected to Congress. I

chose to hike into Afghanistan as part

of a small Mujahedin unit and to engage

in a battle against the Russian

and communist forces near and around

the city of Jalalabad.

The Mujahedin I marched with were

incredibly brave, but they were not

senseless killers. Their religious faith

was devout, but they were not fanatics.

They prayed daily, but I did not see

them chastising those who were not

joining them in prayer. They faced

death, but their dreams were of life.

I will never forget one moment as I

hiked in from the Khyber Pass and

around to the other side of Jalalabad

to join this battle. As we marched

forth into the night with the

Mujahedin unit, the nights were lit up

by, and you could hear the thunder, of

cannons and see the flash of the cannons

in the distance. We knew we were

hiking into a battle.

One of the Mujahedin in this unit

with which I marched rushed to my

side, and he was probably around 16 or

17 years old, with an AK–47 strapped

across his back. He talked to me in perfect

English saying, I understand that

you are in politics in America. I said,

yes, I am a political person in America.

He said, I need to know, are you a donkey

or are you an elephant?

I will never forget that young person.

He knew more about our politics, and

certainly none of our young people

could know that much about what was

going on in that part of the world. As

he marched into this battle, he told me

of his dream to be an architect so that

someday he could help rebuild his

country, Afghanistan, into a decent

place for families and for people to

live, and expressed to me how grateful

he was to me and to all Americans for

the help that we were giving them to

throw off the Soviet occupation forces

that were so brutal to their countrymen.

I do not know if that young man

ever survived that war.

It was a year later when the Russians

retreated from Afghanistan and the

Russians left. The United States, which

had been providing $1 billion a year to

finance that war, we simply walked

away. We walked away and left Afghanistan

to its own fate.

After years of death and destruction,

we walked away; we left them with no

guidance and no resources to even rebuild.

We did not even help them clear

the landmines which we had personally

given the Mujahedin to help them defeat

the Russians, much less clear the

Russian landmines that were still

there. We left these brave heroes who

helped us end the Cold War; we left

them to sleep in the rubble. Most importantly,

we left them with no leadership,

except that of Pakistan and Saudi

Arabia, two countries that have played

a shameful role in Afghanistan over

these last 10 years.

After the collapse of the Communist

regime in Afghanistan, the Mujahedin

factions who fought the Russians, but

with no direction from the United

States, began bickering and fighting

among themselves. This went on for

several years. Then, in 1996, a new force

appeared, seemingly out of nowhere:

the Taliban. These were fresh, wellequipped

forces who had, by and large,

sat out the war in Pakistan. They had

been in Pakistan in what they called

schools. ‘‘Taliban,’’ by the way, means

student, even though most of these are

older men who are totally illiterate.

All of the money America provided the

Mujahedin during the war had to be

sent through; that is, the war against

Soviet Union occupation, had to be

sent through the equivalent of the

Pakistani CIA, which is called the ISI.

But apparently, the Pakistanis had siphoned

enough off to create a third

force, and since the war was over and

the other factions had been bled white,

they could use this third force to dominate

Afghanistan.

Also behind the Taliban is and was

Saudi Arabia. During the war against

the Russians, the Saudis provided the

Afghan resistance with hundreds of

millions of dollars. For that we can be

grateful. They are one of the few countries

that stepped up to the plate during

the Cold War to actually confront

the Soviet Union aggression. Unfortunately,

however, the Saudis were financing

antiwestern as well as

AntiCommunist Muslims, and one of

those who they financed was bin

Laden.

I cannot forget also as I marched

with that Mujahedin unit to the battle

of Jalalabad and, by the way, that battle

was a long-time siege that had been

taking place around the city, we at one

point in that march came across a

camp of tents. They were white tents

and you could see them in the distance,

and I was told at that point I must not

speak English for at least another 3

hours, because the people in those

tents were Saudi Arabians under a

crazy commander named bin Laden,

and that bin Laden was so crazy that

he wanted to kill Americans as much

as he wanted to kill Russians. Thus, I

must keep my mouth shut or we would

be attacked by those forces, by those

forces under bin Laden.

Later, much later, after I had become

a Congressman, I met with the head of

Saudi intelligence, the man responsible

for providing that money to the Afghans

during the war, the $200 million

or so, or whatever it was that the

Saudis provided to the Afghans. His

name was General Turkey. I suggested

to General Turkey that what we needed

to do now that the Russians had left

Afghanistan was to bring back to Afghanistan

the exiled king of Afghanistan.

It was King Zahir Shah who was

overthrown in 1972. It was that overthrow

of this king who had been a very

good person and a good man, it was his

overthrow that started the bloody

cycle of events which eventually led to

the Soviet Union invasion of 1979 and

the subsequent war against Soviet

Union occupation.

I suggested to bring back the king of

Afghanistan because he was a wonderful

person and beloved by his people.

He was a person who was a moderate in

his approach and never killed other

people. He, in fact, was truly a moderate

and, I might say, pro-western or

western oriented, although a devout

Muslim. But the Saudis wanted nothing

to do with bringing back a moderate

good-hearted king from exile.

They and their Pakistani allies were in

the process of creating a secret third

force that I did not know anything

about: the Taliban. But during my conversation,

it was mentioned that a

third force was being created, one that

could take over Afghanistan and bring

stability, but, of course, one that

would do the bidding of their Pakistani

and Saudi handlers.

One must wonder why the Saudi Arabians

and the Pakistanis are even to

this day so involved in Afghanistan.

This is an important fact of history

that we need to understand. Number

one, the type of religious fervor they

have and the type of Islam they have in

Saudi Arabia is very similar to that in

Afghanistan. It is unbending and intolerant

and they do not permit any other

faith in their country. Also, the Pakistanis,

a large number of the Pakistanis,

especially those who were the

Pastuns up near the border of Afghanistan,

they too share the same type of

extremist and fanatic branch of Islam,

even though that has nothing to do, it

is an aberration, with the rest of Islam

throughout the world. So that is number

one. They have that in common.

But the Pakistanis and the Saudis

have two other things in common. As

long as chaos was able to reign and

continues in Afghanistan, there will

never be a pipeline built through Afghanistan

that permits the oil from

central Asia. This vast quantity of oil

that we know exists in central Asia, it

cannot be brought to market because a

pipeline will never be built through Afghanistan

while the Taliban is in power

and while chaos reins. What does that

mean? That means oil prices have been

much higher, maybe $5 a barrel higher,

than they would have been had Afghanistan

been under a good king and a stable

government and a pipeline built

that would have brought that oil out

into the world market; and there are

vast quantities of oil in central Asia

waiting, just waiting to come to market.

The other factor is drugs. Unfortunately,

there are many corrupt people

and there are corrupt people all over

the world, but there are many corrupt

people in the Pakistani intelligence

system, people who have been involved

with drugs right up to their eyeballs.

And what has Afghanistan produced in

these last 10 years? Sixty percent of

the world’s heroin. Sixty percent of the

world’s heroin comes from Afghanistan.

That huge amount of money, I

knew, would bring down the government

of Pakistan, the democracy of

Pakistan.

Today, instead of a democracy, Pakistan

has a military government because

of the instability that is created

by a Taliban regime of fanatics right

next door. But there were people in

Pakistan that profited by that regime.

When the Taliban fist arrived on the

scene, people believed that they would

be a force for stability. So, by and

large, they were welcomed by many Afghan

people, except in the northern

provinces. And let me note that when

the Taliban first arrived on the scene,

they were carrying pictures of the old

exiled king, Zahir Shah, claiming they

were going to bring back the king, as I

say, a much beloved figure. Well, the

people in the northern provinces were

not fooled, and the Taliban, they did

not want the Taliban to take over their

areas; and the Taliban were blocked by

local commanders unwilling to permit

these unfamiliar troops, as I say, many

of whom totally sat out the war

against the Russians. They were not

going to let them just come in and

take over their territory. And all too

soon, the people of Afghanistan and the

rest of the world were to discover that

the Pakistanis and the Saudis had created

a monster.

The Taliban were and are medieval in

their words, in their world view, and

their religious view. They are violent,

they are intolerant, they are fanatics

that are totally out of sync with Muslims

throughout the world, even Muslims

in their own country, and they are

especially out of sync with Muslims

living in the western democracies.

The Taliban are best known for their

horrific treatment of women, but they

are violators of human rights across

the board. They have jailed and threatened

to execute Christian aid workers.

And let us not forget those Christian

aid workers who are in Afghanistan

being held under arrest as we speak. In

fact, they have jailed and threatened to

execute these Christian aid workers,

people who came there to help their

people, for allegedly, allegedly daring

to espouse a belief in Jesus Christ.

That is enough to get them executed in

Afghanistan.

The Taliban have ended all personal

freedoms. Freedom of speech and press

are not even under consideration. And

the Taliban ruled by fear and force and

when they were asked, and I challenged

them to have an election so the people

of Afghanistan could choose their government

and if they chose the Taliban,

so be it, the Taliban only laughed and

stonewalled and refused to even consider

permitting the Afghan people to

have an election and choose their leaders.

Mr. Speaker, the Taliban are as big

an enemy of the United States and,

yes, as big an enemy to the Afghan

people as they are to the people of the

United States. The Talibans believe

they have a private line to God, and

the rest of us, with our religious constrictions

are, according to the

Taliban, we are not only wrong, but we

are evil. That is why they have been

willing to give safe haven to the likes

of bin Laden, the Saudi terrorist who

has been now in Afghanistan for several

years. About 5 years he has been in

Afghanistan, we have known he has

been there, he has been visible. And

while he has been there, he has been

clearly training terrorists and planning

out his attacks. This is nothing new.

We have known about that. And oh,

yes, bin Laden has an army of several

thousand gunmen who he has brought

in from various parts of the world, so

they are foreigners to the people of Afghanistan,

and this group of gunmen

have been running around Afghanistan

like a pack of mad dogs killing anyone

who is an enemy to Taliban power.

These foreign religious fanatics have

killed thousands of Afghans, so the

Taliban and bin Laden are as despised

in that country as they are in our

country today.

For these last few years, the Taliban,

with the support of Saudi Arabia and

Pakistan, have captured control of all

but a small portion of Afghanistan.

Only the Panjshir Valley territory in

northeastern Afghanistan and the

Shamali Plains north of Kabul are

under the control and have been under

the control of a legendary and dashing

leader named Commander Massoud and

they remain free of Taliban domination.

The day before the attack on the

world trade towers and the Pentagon,

there was an attempt to kill Commander

Massoud. Many of us thought

he was dead, he was reported dead, but

he struggled for life for another 5 days

and just died 2 days ago.

However, the attack on Commander

Massoud; and I knew him, I had met

him in Afghanistan. By the way, I will

just say that I have been in and out of

Afghanistan several times in these last

few years.

The last time I went in was to see

Commander Massoud. The attack on

the commander told me something terrible

was about to happen, something

terrible was about to happen, because

Massoud was someone that bin Laden

understood that if he did something

that would make the United States or

someone else very angry at him, that

Massoud was someone that would be

turned to immediately by our side to

ally with.

So before the attack on the World

Trade Towers and on the Pentagon, bin

Laden and his terrorists attacked Commander

Massoud and, unfortunately,

succeeded in killing him and eliminating

Commander Massoud from the

equation today.

I was so concerned about this, understanding

that this was telling us that

something horrible was going to happen,

that I made an appointment to see

the top officials in the White House in

the National Security Council. My appointment

with the National Security

Council at the White House was to

warn them that this attack on Massoud

obviously meant something big was

about to happen. My appointment was

for 2:30 that afternoon. Unfortunately,

at 8:45 that morning, the first plane

slammed into the World Trade Center.

But the Taliban domination of Afghanistan

was something that we could

have ended long ago. Commander

Massoud and the Northern Alliance

were fighting the Taliban unsupported,

with no help from the outside for

years.

As a Member of Congress, for years I

pleaded with the previous administration,

I pleaded with them at the highest

levels to provide some kind of help

for the Northern Alliance, which was

then fighting almost without bullets

and weapons against the Taliban. They

could have done something, and no one

in that administration was willing to

do it. So I believe that in many ways

the previous administration was responsible

for keeping the Taliban in

power, even though during this very

same time period, this very same time

period, bin Laden was openly declaring

war in the United States, planning attacks

against us and building a terrorist

network.

Every time I suggest that the last administration

was in some way acquiescing

to the Taliban being in power,

there are those who just go ballistic because

they believe I am being partisan

at a moment when national unity is

obviously the order of the day.

Let me emphasize that I am not

being partisan. As a senior member of

the Committee on International Relations,

I officially requested State Department

documents that would prove

or disprove my suspicion that the last

administration was secretly supporting

the Taliban, and I was stonewalled in

that request.

Let me make this clear. I am a senior

member of the Committee on International

Relations. It is my job to

oversee the State Department. Other

people have other committees, and

they oversee those agencies and departments.

As a member of that committee,

that is part of my job.

The gentleman from New York (Mr.

GILMAN) joined me in a request for

these. Madeleine Albright, Secretary of

State, promised I would have the documents.

I wanted the documents pertaining

to the development of our government’s

policy toward the Taliban.

Yet, as an elected official, I had

unelected officials, executives at the

State Department, refusing to grant

me the access to understand what our

policy was toward the Taliban. I was

instead given meaningless documents.

Members will hear in answer to this

charge: ‘‘We gave the gentleman from

California (Mr. ROHRABACHER) documents,’’

but these were meaningless

documents that had nothing to do with

the development of the Taliban strategy.

I never saw any of the documents

about how we should approach the

Taliban.

The State Department made a joke

out of Congress’ right to oversee America’s

foreign policy, especially towards

Afghanistan. I pleaded with my colleagues

to back me up in that demand.

I will say that several Democrats did

back me up in demanding that the previous

administration provide me with

that documentation.

But why? Why is it that I was

stonewalled? Why is it that they never

gave me those documents? I have to believe

because those documents would

show that the previous administration

did consciously acquiesce to having the

Taliban in power, probably as some

kind of agreement with Saudi Arabia

and Pakistan that they would be permitted

to dominate this country, even

though it was clear that a terrorist

network was being set up there and

that America was the target of that

terrorist network. Americans had already

been murdered by that time, in

Saudi Arabia, with barracks blown up

and such.

By the way, in Afghanistan and in

that region, it is commonly believed by

the people that the United States created

the Taliban and that we support

the Taliban. There are reasons that

they believe that we supported the

Taliban.

In 1996, for example, and this is a

very poignant example, and I hope people

will look at this example very

closely, in 1996, the Taliban overextended

their forces and thousands of

their best fighters were captured in

northern Afghanistan. The Taliban regime

was vulnerable as never before

and never since. It was a tremendous

opportunity. The Northern Alliance

could easily have dealt a knock-out

punch to the Taliban.

At that time, I was in personal contact

with the leader of the Northern

Alliance, and I recommended to them a

quick attack and that they bring back

the old king, Zahir Shah, and he is in

exile in Rome, and that they bring him

back until some form of democratic

process could be established. Thus,

they would have a figurehead government

with the old king for a period of

time, and then they could establish a

democratic process.

This was a turning point. That was

doable. It could have been easily accomplished.

The Taliban were vulnerable.

Who saved the Taliban? Again,

please, I am not being partisan when I

say this, who saved the Taliban when

they were vulnerable? It is my belief

that President Bill Clinton saved the

Taliban when they were the most vulnerable.

I beg Members, do not dismiss what I

say as being partisan. I would never

sink to that level at a time like this,

when American lives have been taken.

What happened was at this moment,

when the Taliban could have been

eliminated, President Clinton dispatched

Assistant Secretary of State

Inderfurth and Bill Richardson, our

United Nations Ambassador, to convince

the leader of the Northern Alliance

not to go on the offensive. That

was when they were the most vulnerable.

Our top leaders, our United Nations

Ambassador, was dispatched,

along with the top leader in the State

Department, to go and tell them not to

attack the Taliban.

These two high-level American officials

were sent by President Clinton to

propose a cease-fire and a supposed

arms embargo on all sides. Of course,

the minute that the cease-fire went

into effect, and of course the Northern

Alliance agreed to that, because they

thought we were being sincere and they

could trust the United States, but the

minute that cease-fire went into effect,

the Saudis and Pakistanis began a

massive rearming and resupply effort

to rebuild the Taliban forces in an

equivalent to the Berlin airlift, and

that was easy to spot.

It was easy to see that tons and tons,

airplane after airplane was landing at

Kabul Airport with military supplies

from Saudi Arabia and from Pakistan.

I knew about it. Our intelligence services

had to know about it. But guess

what, the Northern Alliance was kept

in the dark until the Taliban were totally

restored to their strength. When

they were, the Taliban went on the offensive.

They drove the Northern Alliance,

which had had an arms embargo

against them during this time period,

which we enforced, and we convinced

people not to give them weapons, they

drove the Taliban, drove them out of

the country.

For years, I begged the previous administration,

our government, to support

those resisting the Taliban regime,

to support the former King Zahir

Shah, and to let him head an interim

government until a more democratic

process could be put in place. This was

an alternative we had. Instead, the

only response that I got from the previous

administration was stonewalling,

stonewalling that and stonewalling my

request to find out what the government’s

real policies were.

All the while, bin Laden, had killed

American military personnel at that

time, had declared war on the United

States, and was running around Afghanistan

openly, using it as a base of

operations, a safe haven for terrorists.

This man even tried to organize an attack

on the Pope in the Philippines.

His terrorists are responsible for the

kidnapping there in the southern Philippines,

and we have given him a safe

haven all these years. We did nothing.

We were, in fact, I believe, acquiescing

to Taliban control because I believe

it was an understanding, as I say,

between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to

let them dominate Afghanistan. This

understanding was obviously turning

into a nightmare. Even if it made sense

in the beginning to have such an understanding,

we should have seen what

was going on, but our leaders lacked

the will to change that situation.

Over and over again, I warned that

our policy toward the Taliban would

come back to hurt us. I was ignored

and at times belittled.

Mr. Speaker, I have an example of 7

times, and of the many, by the way,

not just 7, not just 14, but many, many

more times that I stood either on the

House floor or in subcommittee warning

that if we did not do something

about the Taliban, that it would come

back and dramatically hurt the United

States of America. These warnings

that were ignored over and over again,

even while the State Department

stonewalled my efforts to get the information.

Mr. Speaker, I include these documents

for the RECORD.

But why were we not warned then? It

was clear something was going on in

Afghanistan. Why were we not warned

by others of the horrific attack that

was about to be launched on us, the

American people?

There was a headline in The Washington

Post on September 14 suggesting

that America’s intelligence

services have been conducting a secret

war against bin Laden for several

years. If that is true, then we need to

fire all of the incompetent leaders of

that covert war, because they were responsible

for protecting us from this

heinous and cowardly gang; and they

obviously have dramatically failed.

Instead, there was no warning. Yet,

we were told the heads of our intelligence

organizations were focused on

bin Laden. There is a war being conducted

against bin Laden, we were focused

on him, and he was able to attack

us and slaughter thousands of our

people without any warning from these

people who were supposedly focused on

him?

We spend tens of billions of dollars

annually for good intelligence, and we

have tens of thousands of people committed

to this endeavor. And they totally

missed a terrorist operation of

this magnitude run by their number

one targeted terrorist. This was clearly

the worst failure of American intelligence

in our history.

I cannot help but remember, in another

poignant story, I cannot help but

remember a few years ago I was called

by a friend who had worked in Afghanistan

during the war against the Russians.

This man has thousands of

friends in Afghanistan because he had

been there, and he had helped thousands

of Afghans who were his friends

and looked at him as a wonderful person.

He had kept in touch with them.

He indicated to me that he could pinpoint

bin Laden’s location. I passed on

his phone number to the CIA. After a

week, he had yet to be contacted, so I

called them again. For another week

there was no response. When I gave

them this man’s credentials, I told

them, ‘‘This is a man who knows about

Afghanistan. He has sources that you

do not have.’’ They did not call him for

2 weeks. Another week, no response.

Finally, I contacted the gentleman

from Florida (Mr. GOSS), the chairman

of the Permanent Select Committee on

Intelligence here in the Congress. He

set up a meeting with me and the bin

Laden task force. There they were, the

CIA, the NSA, the FBI. Guess what?

They, too, left my friend waiting by his

phone and did not follow up.

After weeks, finally, a second time

when the gentleman from Florida (Mr.

GOSS) had to call them on the carpet,

my friend was at last contacted. He described

the agents who talked to him

as being somewhat disinterested. That

may have been because by the time

they got to him, over a month had

passed and perhaps the tip-off was a little

stale. Or perhaps, as we are learning

in the paper today, or not today but

yesterday, when there were reports in

the paper, that our intelligence services

knew about the location of bin

Laden several times but were not permitted

to attack him. So there are people

in the intelligence services that

wanted to go forward and did not end

and could not because of decisions

made by people higher up, or perhaps

in their own agencies, people who were

incompetent.

My friends, the slaughter of these

thousands of Americans must be

avenged, there is no doubt about it;

and we must see to it that such a monstrous

crime can never happen again.

To accomplish this, we must be strong

and we must be smart. Now, we do not

need our troops, the worst thing we

could do is just try to send an army

into Afghanistan. If there are two rules

of modern warfare it is you do not

march on Moscow and you do not invade

Afghanistan. That does not mean,

however, that we cannot commit military

action. I think this calls for military

action.

We should already be dispatching

special forces teams and rangers to

those countries on the northern border

of Afghanistan. Those teams and other

military units should establish a system

of supply and equip those Afghans

friendly to the United States so that

they can free themselves, with our

help, from Taliban rule. We can then

join them. Once Taliban rule has been

eliminated in Afghanistan, we can join

them in hunting down and killing

every member of bin Laden’s terrorist

gang and hanging their bodies from the

gate.

But revenge is not an end in itself.

We cannot permit ourselves to strike

out blindly, to hurt people who have

nothing to do with this. Some people

have said, oh, let us bomb Kabul. Kabul

is filled with people who hate the

Taliban. Afghanistan is filled with people

who hate the Taliban. We cannot

make enemies out of people who will be

our allies.

We must be smart and not just

strong. Revenge in itself is not the answer,

even though revenge is called for.

By killing bin Laden and his gang, it is

not just revenge; it is an act also of deterrence,

of saving lives. We must keep

in mind that our motive is to prevent

further terrorist attacks slaughtering

our own citizens, and especially by

making sure we work with other people

in the Muslim world and elsewhere who

will join us in this effort, and not just

the Muslim world and not just others

who are on the periphery.

We need to lead this world, as our

President, George W. Bush, is doing, to

set a new moral standard. We have to

keep to that moral standard as we proceed

to seek justice and vengeance for

the death of our people. That new

moral standard has got to be that noncombatants

will not be attacked. We

will not kill unarmed innocent people

in order to achieve a political objective.

Now, when people attack other people’s

military, as the Japanese did in

the beginning of World War II, that was

an act of war; it was not an act of terrorism.

Yes, people can commit acts of

war; but let us set a standard, a moral

standard that we will proceed and demand

and enforce that no longer will

anyone be able to set a bomb off in a

pizza place or retaliation will not take

place against unarmed civilians, no

matter what that crime was. And there

are legitimate concerns in the Middle

East by all sides that both sides of the

Palestinian-Israeli battle have over the

time of this conflict attacked unarmed

people or retaliated against unarmed

people when someone else’s unarmed

people were attacked.

The new standard should be for this

world that we will not tolerate women

and children be used as targets or unarmed

combatants being used for targets

for any reason. First, our dead

Americans, yes, they will be avenged;

but they will be avenged by establishing

this new standard. Hopefully,

that will deter at least some of those

swine who contemplate such attacks in

the future. And by affirming that the

targeting of unarmed combatants anywhere

in the world for whatever reason

will not be tolerated, we have taken a

major step forward.

We will be building a better world

even if it is being built on the ashes of

this tragedy. We will do it by seeing to

it that the bin Ladens of this planet

are never again, which is a corollary to

this, those people who are committing

such terrorist attacks against unarmed

people, nowhere will they be given safe

haven. And any country that provides

safe haven for the terrorists who target

these innocents, that will not be tolerated;

and they will be held responsible

for the terrorist acts that are being

committed by people who use their

country as a staging area. And those

countries which harbor the criminals,

those countries which help them launder

their money, those countries that

give them support, they themselves

will pay a heavy price for this criminal

disregard for the victims of terrorism.

There will and must be an accounting

across the board.

At home, those top government executives

whose policies protected the

Taliban must be held accountable.

Those people who stonewalled the Congress’

efforts to get that information of

what our policy was; those officials

who in the Taliban were vulnerable

convinced their enemies not to attack.

The intelligence officers who were supposed

to be protecting us, those people

in the State Department who should

have been adhering to America’s moral

and ethical and political standards and

supporting those opposed to the

Taliban rather than acquiescing to

leaving the Taliban in power because of

the argument of stability, those State

Department people, those intelligence

officers, these are executives, are not

political appointees. These are toplevel

executives who have been there

for years. They need to be cleared out.

They need to be held responsible for

the slaughter of thousands of Americans

without any warning.

We had no warning here in Washington,

D.C. at all. They could have destroyed

this Capitol building. We had

no warning. With a massive operation

like this, and we had no warning. It is

incompetence on our side. We have to

do that; we have to correct this in

order to make sure it does not happen

again. All of this pounding of our

chests and expressing our moral outrage

means nothing unless we are willing

to take that type of action. And it

is not easy telling someone, I am sorry

you’re out of your job because you

were incompetent.

Those countries, Afghanistan, Pakistan,

Saudi Arabia, they have a price

to pay. We will figure out what it is.

First and foremost they have to do a

reversal on what they are doing to protect

the Taliban and protect the terrorists

right now. And we will figure out

what they have to do to make up for

what they have done that led to this

crime.

And, finally, the murdering terrorists

themselves will pay the ultimate price.

They will pay this price. We will have

victory over those ghouls who murdered

our defenseless fellow Americans.

We will win, because we are united as

never before, and because this generation

of Americans, as these terrorists

will find out, have the courage, the tenacity,

and the ideals that have always

been America’s greatest source of

strength.

It is up to us to do this. Past generations

of Americans met the challenge.

They saved the world time and again.

It is up to us to do it again, and we

will. We will do it because it is our

duty and nothing will deter us.