

□ 1745

## AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS) at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p.m.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE  
CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, September 14, 2001.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,  
The Speaker, House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 2(h) of Rule II of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Clerk received the following message from the Secretary of the Senate on September 14, 2001 at 3:37 p.m.

That the Senate passed without amendment H.R. 2888.

With best wishes, I am  
Sincerely,

JEFF TRANDAHL,  
Clerk of the House.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER  
PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 4 of rule I, the Chair desires to announce that the Speaker signed the following enrolled bills during the recess today:

H.R. 2133, to establish a commission for the purpose of encouraging and providing for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*;

H.R. 2882, to provide for the expedited payment of certain benefits for a public safety officer who was killed or suffered a catastrophic injury as a direct and proximate result of a personal injury sustained in the line of duty in connection with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001;

H.R. 2888, 2001 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for recovery from and response to terrorist attacks on the United States.

AUTHORIZING USE OF UNITED  
STATES ARMED FORCES  
AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE  
FOR RECENT ATTACKS AGAINST  
THE UNITED STATES

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, at this historic moment when Congress and the American people stand united behind the President, our Commander in Chief, as America prepares to reclaim its security and punish the murderers who struck our Nation this week, I ask unanimous consent that it shall be in order at any time without intervention of any point of order to consider in the House, House Joint Resolution 64, to authorize the use of

United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States;

The joint resolution shall be considered as read; the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution to final passage without intervening motion except, one, 5 hours of debate on the joint resolution, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on International Relations; and two, one motion to recommit; and, upon passage of the joint resolution, the House shall be considered to have passed Senate Joint Resolution 23.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the previous order of the House, I call up the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 64) to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The text of H.J. Res. 64 is as follows:

## H.J. RES. 64

Whereas, on September 11, 2001, acts of treacherous violence were committed against the United States and its citizens; and

Whereas, such acts render it both necessary and appropriate that the United States exercise its rights to self-defense and to protect United States citizens both at home and abroad; and

Whereas, in light of the threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States posed by these grave acts of violence; and

Whereas, such acts continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States; and

Whereas, the President has authority under the Constitution to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

## SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This joint resolution may be cited as the "Authorization for Use of Military Force".

## SEC. 2. AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—That the President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any further acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons.

(b) WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) SPECIFIC STATUTORY AUTHORIZATION.—Consistent with section 8(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution, the Congress declares that this section is intended to constitute specific statutory authorization within the meaning of section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution.

(2) APPLICABILITY OF OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—Nothing in this resolution supercedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 2½ hours.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the legislation under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution, which authorizes the President to use all force necessary to bring to justice those nations, operations, and people responsible for the cowardly act that was perpetrated upon this Nation on September 11, 2001.

The Constitution of the United States, the document that protects the freedoms of all Americans, gives the Congress certain responsibilities. Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution says the Congress shall have power to provide for the common defense and the power to declare war.

Earlier today, the Congress exercised its responsibility to provide for the common defense by passing the supplemental spending legislation. Now we give the President the congressional authority to use all necessary force to bring to justice those who attacked our Nation.

This is the most solemn responsibility that this Congress can undertake. We do not do so gladly or with a bitter sense of revenge. We do so because we must in order to preserve freedom and democracy in this Nation.

These are the times that try men's souls. On September 11, we lost thousands of people, with thousands more injured, and with two symbols of the strength and vitality of our democracy, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, destroyed or badly damaged.

A sworn enemy that dares not confront us in the open attacked us in the most cowardly way, by targeting innocent citizens of this great Nation. This enemy operates in the shadows, hates with an unnatural passion, and practices political fanaticism that glorifies violent death and condemns innocent life.

For too long, this enemy has been protected and supported and sheltered by rogue nations. The friends of our enemies are also our enemies, and they

will bear equal responsibility. We must defend our Nation. We must defeat these enemies once and for all. We must eliminate the scourge of terrorism.

This will be the great challenge for our generation. It may take years. It may cost additional lives. It may require greater sacrifices for our citizens. But great challenges have made us stronger in the past. On July 4, 1776, our Founding Fathers decided to challenge tyranny. After we won our freedom, we constructed the world's greatest constitution, and created a stable, thriving democracy.

We faced dark days when our Nation was torn asunder in the Civil War, and we came together after that war between the States to become the savior of Europe in the First World War.

The empire of Japan deliberately attacked us on December 7, 1941, and we emerged as the greatest defender of the free world.

We faced down communism in a painful Cold War and emerged as the world's sole superpower.

Now, after this greatest of American tragedies that we have faced here on American soil, we face the greatest of challenges.

I am comforted by the work of the President and his team. They are assembling a worldwide coalition of civilized nations. These nations look to the United States for leadership, and they want to join us in this great crusade. We will provide that leadership.

We have a job to do in this Congress, and this authorization for the use of force is an important part of that responsibility.

I ask my colleagues to vote for this authorization and to join with me in supporting our President, in supporting our Constitution, and in supporting the American way of life.

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

Mr. Speaker, this is a fateful moment in our Nation's history and in the history of this Chamber. Once again, we have been awakened to the reality that we have mortal enemies. They do not desire compromise. They are not interested in negotiation. Our suffering does not give them human pause. Indeed, they celebrated. They do not seek our mere defeat. They are intent on our destruction.

The demonic horror of these deliberate attacks remains inconceivable, but we have no choice except to accept that it is real nonetheless. Our enemies' message was stark and inescapable. They will make war on all of us wherever we exist for as long as we exist.

The orchestrators would not have ordered these actions if they did not believe that they themselves would survive, that they would celebrate in triumph. I fear they have judged our failure to render justice for their past atrocities as weakness and as an invitation to even greater assaults. We must correct this misperception, not with words but with acts.

No creed which revels in the slaughter of innocents can be included in the human community. No cause which aligns itself with evil can be allowed to exist among us. Toleration of such things not only invites our own destruction, it is a mortal sin.

Those who hate us believe that a free people cannot defend themselves. They assure themselves that we will falter in the difficult task before us. Our self-proclaimed enemies will seize upon any weakness of resolve on our part. As long as they believe that there are divisions among us, as long as they expect our course of action to be indecisive and incomplete, they will have hope of success.

We must deny them that hope. Our forefathers, who won our liberty, bequeathed it to us in the knowledge that to keep it we would have to prove ourselves worthy of it. They were confident that we would not shrink from the measures necessary to defend it. All who have gone before us, all who have given their lives for their country are witnesses to us here today. That is why I ask my colleagues to put aside our differences and move beyond rhetoric and now act.

During the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln reminded his countrymen of their responsibility with these words: "We cannot escape history. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

It is a profound thing that a free people go to war. That is why we, the Nation's elected representatives assemble in Congress, meet today, for we share with the President the responsibility for ensuring that our country is protected, that our people remain safe.

Therefore, we as Members of Congress now have a duty to perform. We must grant the President the fullest authority to employ all of the resources of the United States, to make war on our enemy, to destroy their ability to harm us and to defend our beloved country.

In an earlier hour of trial for our Nation, Julia Ward Howe was inspired to write the words that became known as the Battle Hymn of the Republic. We ask God once again to "loose the faithful lightning of his terrible swift sword" against the enemies of our country and of mankind.

America has always triumphed over her enemies; and with God's help, we will do so again.

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

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

I rise in strong support of this resolution.

This week our Nation lost its innocence but found a new sense of unity and purpose. We now face a severe test, one demanding severe measures. The resolution before us empowers the President to bring to bear the full force of American power abroad in our struggle against the scourge of international

terrorism. It will enable him, in the words of our Secretary of State, to eradicate terrorism, "root and branch."

The President currently has many powers to deter and prevent international terrorism, including diplomatic pressure, economic measures, military action to stop imminent threats to the people of the United States. Our resolution arms the President with the certain knowledge that he has the full support of the united Congress and the American people in exercising these powers.

□ 1800

In considering this resolution, Mr. Speaker, the historic nature of this occasion cannot be overstated. Precious few times in our 225 years as a Nation have we been faced with such a grave and momentous decision. One need only look at the devastation, the broken bodies, the flood of tears left in the wake of Tuesday's monstrous terrorist attacks to grasp the awesome responsibility before us.

Mr. Speaker, the world is watching these deliberations and is asking: Is the United States up to the challenge? Are we, as a Nation, blessed for so much of our history with peace and prosperity, capable of mounting a costly and concerted campaign against international terror? Let us today answer those doubts with a resounding affirmation.

In committing to this fight, let us not delude ourselves. We are embarking on a long and difficult struggle, like none other in our Nation's history. It will demand resolve. It will demand patience. It will demand sacrifice. It will also demand that we draw upon the strength of each and every American.

I am deeply concerned, Mr. Speaker, by reports of violence directed at Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans, some in my own district. This is not a clash of civilizations or a war between the Western and the Islamic world, as some would have it. It is a struggle for the survival of civilization itself against barbarism.

In this struggle, Mr. Speaker, we are not alone. All Americans deeply appreciate the many expressions of sympathy and support from our friends and allies across the globe. We trust that these words will be followed by actions—actions that may prove painful, costly and dangerous. But in the fight against international terrorism, there can be no neutrals. Those who are not with us are against us.

Today's debate is a sign of the unity and vitality of our democracy. All among us are united in our outrage by the tragic events of this week. All among us are united in our commitment to defeat international terrorism. On this we stand undivided and indivisible. If we are to defeat international terrorism, as we must, we must provide our commander in chief with the power this resolution entails.

In granting the President this power, Congress is not abdicating its prerogatives. We do not weaken our role by approving this measure. By signaling our solidarity with the President and by trusting him with this power, we take our place at his side as full partners in this fight.

The President has a solemn responsibility to use this power wisely and to consult with and report to the Congress throughout the long struggle ahead. We in Congress also have an ongoing responsibility: to contribute to these efforts, monitoring the crisis, investigating its causes, gathering expert insights, and doing all in our power to ensure that these terrible events are never repeated.

Mr. Speaker, I am an American not by birth but by choice. Following the Second World War, I fled my native Hungary for the United States, the land of the free and the home of the brave. I chose to become a citizen of the Nation that saved my homeland and the entire world from international fascism and, later, from international communism. Today, I proudly reaffirm my allegiance and reenlist in the new struggle to save this Nation and the world from international terrorism.

I have never been prouder to serve in the United States Congress than I have during this week. The many words spoken on the floor of this Chamber echo the world over and testify to America's resilience in the face of adversity. All of my colleagues who join this debate do honor to this institution and to the American people, whom we all serve.

But the time for words has passed, Mr. Speaker, and the time for action is upon us. We must now make our rhetoric reality. We must now stand united in word and in deed, and we shall not flinch in the face of terror. Let us go forth, certain in our knowledge that should we cast this courageous vote.

We shall prevail.

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

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the learned gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL), but would like to first congratulate the distinguished minority leader of this committee, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for his usual superb remarks.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. Sadly, we find ourselves today dealing with a responsibility to provide national security under the most difficult of circumstances. To declare war against a group that is not a country makes the clear declaration of war more complex.

The best tool the framers of the Constitution provided under these circumstances was the power of Congress to grant letters of mark and reprisal in order to narrow the retaliation to only the guilty parties. The complexity of the issue, the vagueness of the enemy,

and the political pressure to respond immediately limits our choices. The proposed resolution is the only option we are offered, and doing nothing is unthinkable.

There are a couple of serious points I would like to make. For the critics of our policy of foreign intervention in the affairs of others, the attack on New York and Washington was not a surprise, and many have warned of its inevitability. It so far has been inappropriate to ask why the U.S. was the target and not some other Western country. But for us to pursue a war against our enemies, it is crucial to understand why we were attacked, which will then tell us by whom we were attacked. Without this knowledge, striking out at six or eight or 10 countries will not help.

Without this knowledge, striking out at six or eight or even ten different countries could well expand this war of which we wanted no part. Without defining the enemy there is no way to know our precise goal nor to know when the war is over. Inadvertent or casual acceptance of civilian deaths as part of this war I'm certain will prolong the agony and increase the chances of even more American casualties. We must guard against this if at all possible.

Too often over the last several decades we have supported both sides of many wars only to find ourselves needlessly entrenched in conflicts unrelated to our national security. It is not unheard of that the weapons and support we send to foreign nations have ended up being used against us. The current crisis may well be another example of such a mishap.

Although we now must fight to preserve our national security, we should not forget that the founders of this great nation advised that for our own sake we should stay out of entangling alliances and the affairs of other nations.

We are placing tremendous trust in our President to pursue our enemies as our commander-in-chief but Congress must remain vigilant as to not allow our civil liberties here at home to be eroded. The temptation will be great to sacrifice our freedoms for what may seem to be more security. We must resist this temptation.

Mr. Speaker we must rally behind our President, pray for him to make wise decisions, and hope that this crisis is resolved a lot sooner than is now anticipated.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL).

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

Mr. Speaker, it is very appropriate for this Congress to be granting specific authority to the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against the terrorists that attacked America this week and against those that harbored the terrorists. It is important, I believe, to note that this grant of authority and this purpose of force is to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States. In other words, we are not just engaging in an act of retaliation or revenge, as satisfying as that will be, but we are taking action to

prevent this from happening again to save the lives of Americans.

The use of force that we authorize today must be used swiftly and surely and smartly. It has been said that this force should be used ferociously. And that is a strong word but an appropriate word under these circumstances. We need to punish the perpetrators of this terrorist activity. We must prevent a recurrence, and we must protect Americans.

It may be we do not need to grant this authority. Under the War Powers Act, the President has the ability to use force when America is attacked, as we have been this week. But it is good for Congress to add our voice of support and to specifically grant this authority to the President.

We must be targeted and accurate. We must spare innocent civilians, but we must act and act firmly. We must also be ready to use diplomacy, to build a worldwide coalition to combat terrorism, to lead the charge, to unite the democratic governments that oppose terrorism and those authoritarian governments that also oppose terrorism. We need to provide that leadership. This is our opportunity.

We need to make sure that we fight the terrorists and not the Islamic world. Most of the Islamic world agrees with us in opposition to terrorism. If we are creative and sensible, this can be the beginning of the end of international terrorism.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART), a distinguished member of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, this great Nation is a Nation made from many origins but with a national identity and a national cohesion, a nationhood, which is almost unprecedented in the history of the world. Yet American patriotism is not threatening to others. Americans seek to do no harm to the rest of the world. Quite the contrary. Repeatedly, Americans have gone to the aid of others whose sovereignty and freedom have been kidnapped by tyrants.

America is a peaceful and free Nation; and we intend to pass on that peace and freedom to our children so that they, in turn, may bequeath it to their children.

America is free and secure because each generation has made certain to preserve our freedom and our security for the next generation. There can be no freedom without security, just as security without freedom is the essence of dictatorship, something that this Nation, thanks be to God, has never known and will never know.

It is now this generation's turn, Mr. Speaker, this generation's responsibility to preserve freedom and security for our posterity, and our commander in chief, our Armed Forces, and this entire Nation will not fail.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr.

BLUMENAUER), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

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

Last Tuesday, war was declared, not just on the United States but on civilized people everywhere. The American people were instantly united and resolved around this challenge. This resolution this evening is another step in the long struggle for the American people to see that their Nation's leadership is equal to this challenge.

While I am one who believes that the American President has these powers and more, there is a chance here to jointly define the challenge. There is an opportunity for Congress and the administration, people in both parties, to be very clear about what our challenge is and what we are going to do.

Our Nation has never quite undertaken this issue in quite the same way. We can avoid the problems of the past. We saw in the Spanish-American War we had the wrong cause for the wrong war. During World War II, we saw our government commit, sadly, acts against the civil liberties of Japanese-American citizens. I think we have learned from those experiences in the past.

I am hopeful this resolution will be the first step for more direct actions that will be inclusive, inclusive here on Capitol Hill, inclusive of citizens around the country, inclusive with our friends and allies abroad, and, indeed, with some countries with whom we may not have the warmest of relations; but we are all united in this effort to protect the rights of many men and women in civilized countries everywhere.

I hope this is a beginning of an effort to show that we Americans are equal to the challenge and that we are going to lead it in a way that is going to help spare other people around the world from the terror of these dark and sinister forces.

□ 1815

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. NORWOOD).

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

Mr. NORWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to fully endorse and authorize the use of force as directed by the President of this great Nation.

Now is the time to lead the most extensive campaign against terrorism this world has ever seen, to annihilate those sources of hatred and terror, to break any nation assisting them in their efforts, to cleanse the Earth of this entire breed.

Mr. President, no matter where we have to go, no matter how long we have to fight, we are prepared to fulfill our duty to generations to come, for them to live in a world free of terrorism. Our mission is of the grandest

kind and must be resolved on the grandest scale.

Our Nation will not cower from this fight. We will march into the lion's den and slay this pride. No mistake about it, we are fighting for our lives and livelihoods and we will prevail.

To say it in a way that perhaps Osama bin Laden might understand and other terrorist groups, I ask them to hear me tonight. We are coming after them and the fury of hell is coming with us.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER), the ranking member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the other night I had the honor of joining you at the prayer service in the rotunda of this great building, this great monument, this beacon of our democracy and our freedoms to the world. As I sat there, I thought about the fact that this building may very well have been a target on that sad day.

As I looked around, I thought what a tragedy it would be if this building had been leveled by that terrorist act. Then I thought more as I listened to those who spoke so eloquently from both sides of the aisle and our religious leaders. I thought it is really not about buildings. It is really not about monuments. It is about the American people.

The action that was taken by these terrorists against the American people must be responded to and it must be responded to with resolution in a most comprehensive fashion. It cannot be a symbolic act. It cannot be a one-time action. It must be comprehensive. We must be diligent and the American people must be patient.

This is very difficult and it is very different than the forces of power we have authorized in the past where many times enemies were clear. Here there are subtleties and complexities and organizational complexes that defy much of our thinking. We will have some successes and we will have some failures. But we must do this because we must understand that the enemy here made a conscious and intentional decision to slaughter innocent people.

They put people randomly, randomly in harm's way and killed them in a most arbitrary of fashions, in a manner which overwhelmed our senses and stunned our Nation. We must understand we have an obligation to the American people to take that action.

I would hope as we do that, the people in this country would have patience with one another; that they would recognize that when the airplane slammed into those buildings, it killed Muslims and Christians and Jews and Asians and Italians and Irish and all the rest. It killed the landscape of the American society. When we do this, we must understand that we cannot lose that national character, which is truly our liberties and freedoms that are the beacon, the light that goes out from this

building to those people in those nations that yearn for them and do not have them.

I wish our President well. I wish our armed services well in this effort, and I ask the American people for their understanding in the complex nature of the force we are authorizing here today.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BOEHNER).

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, until tonight the most important vote that I had cast as a Member of this body was the vote that I cast in 1991 to support then President George Bush in our Gulf War. Now we are at another grave moment of decision for our Nation.

This is a tragedy of unspeakable proportions. We grieve for all of those who have been affected by this horror.

After Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, Melville wrote a poem that expresses as best we can the force of our emotion in the wake of this horror. He wrote, "There is a sobbing of the strong, and a pall upon the land. But the people in their weeping bare the iron hand. Beware the people weeping when they bare the iron hand."

The cowards who planned and executed the attack and any state that harbors them should be aware and beware of our iron hand, because they will pay.

As a Congress we will lock arms, we will rally behind our President and we will confront terror as one, because freedom will prevail.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against those responsible for the horrific acts committed on Tuesday of this week.

Mr. President, we are wholeheartedly entrusting you with the most powerful military the world has ever known. We are doing so because we trust him to use this force with certainty, with swiftness, with judiciousness, and firmly, to make it perfectly clear that this country and the world will not tolerate again what happened on Tuesday.

Mr. President, I want to encourage you to continue to work closely with Congress. This is not just your travails you face. These are our travails. These are the travails of the entire country. Mr. President, we will work together with you to help you succeed because your success will be our success as a country.

There are Members of Congress, Democrat and Republican, who are anxious to work with you to address the very difficult details in terms of the military issues, the diplomatic issues, the economic issues, the judicial issues we all face as we launch into this new stage in fighting terrorism.

Mr. President, we support you this evening, and we look forward to continuing to work closely with you.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair would advise all Members to address the Chair and not the President directly.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CANTOR).

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. On Tuesday, unspeakable acts of violence were committed against innocent Americans. As we mourn the loss of these Americans, we stand united behind our President. I send my condolences to the families that are suffering.

I am inspired by those who have given of themselves to assist the victims of this attack. Civilized society has long sought to end the use of violence, but the perpetrators of terrorism and states that harbor them are the enemies of civilized society. They only understand the use of force, and the time has come to speak to them on their terms.

Today we will authorize the United States to strike out against this enemy. It will be a determined effort, sustained over time with the full support and resources of this Nation. Let our enemies know that we stand together, one Nation under God, prepared to pay the price to bring terrorism to its knees, the price of freedom.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I have always opposed the wholesale use of our mighty military power except with a scalpel. However, I have always assumed that my country would never be attacked where we live and that my constituents and neighbors would never be innocent victims.

Mr. Speaker, the language before us is limited only by the slim anchor of its September 11 reference, but allows war against any and all prospective persons and entities. This resolution shows that the challenges presented by terrorism as war have already begun with language before there is any action.

The point is to give the President the authority to do what he has to do, not whatever he wants to do. But the truth is that under our Constitution and existing law, when the country is attacked, the President's power is almost limitless.

In supporting his constitutional authority to protect our great country, Congress must remain vigilant to ensure that his power is always sufficient but never unchecked.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT).

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, as I listened the other day to my colleagues respond on their own, away from this building, to what had happened, I noticed two overriding themes. One was in a free society that stands as a symbol for freedom of the world, we are uniquely open to the kind of cowardly acts that happened this week.

The second was that our only real safeguard against those kinds of acts, no matter how much we might attempt with funding of our efforts to see that they never occur, our only true safeguard was to make certain that the people who planned, who perpetrated, who helped finance, who sheltered those who did any of those things, paid such an incredible price that they would not be willing to disrupt the freedom of the United States of America.

This resolution ensures that the President has the support of the Congress as he does everything possible to see that that price would be paid. It is a price that must be paid. We must move forward. I urge my colleagues to vote for the resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, in certain foreign cities there were those who danced in the streets believing that the terrorists' ability to kill thousands of American civilians showed the terrorists' strength. America's strength is not our ability to kill civilians, but our great strength is that we do everything possible to avoid killing civilians.

We must remember that our conflict is not with Islam and not with Muslims. The last three military campaigns of the United States were to protect Muslim people in Bosnia, in Kosovo and in Kuwait.

For years we have urged our allies to join us in curtailing investments and aid to countries that support terrorism. Now we must insist that they join us in this effort. Those who claim to be America's friends can no longer do business as usual with countries that support terrorism, nor can we allow European bank secrecy laws to stand in our way of tracing the money that was spent on this horrendous action.

We must wage a war against all of the well-organized, well-financed terrorist groups who have dedicated themselves to killing Americans. Chief among this group is the one headed by Osama bin Laden. He is probably responsible for the atrocities of September 11, and certainly responsible for the attack on the USS Cole in Yemen and the attack on our embassies in East Africa. As long as the Taliban government in Afghanistan harbors Osama bin Laden, he will be working every day to top the evil of September 11.

Mr. Speaker, it is easy to blame our intelligence agencies for what happened, but as long as we have allowed Osama bin Laden and others to sit there in safety, launching attack after

attack against America, some of those attacks will be successful. We must demand that the Taliban government hand Osama bin Laden and his henchmen over to us now and stop harboring terrorists. If they refuse, then we must initiate hostilities. We will prevail by aligning ourselves with the Northern Alliance. Hostilities with the Taliban may involve American casualties, but failure to act will involve thousands and tens of thousands of American casualties.

□ 1830

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Alabama (Mr. CALLAHAN).

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

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the authorization for the use of military force. There are no words to describe the anguish we and all Americans feel. Our national spirit has been dampened but not extinguished by the despicable acts of September 11. President Bush has reassured Americans that while those who detest freedom may destroy brick and mortar and even take the lives of innocents, they cannot destroy the American will. We can take comfort and confidence in our national resolve and depend on that to help us overcome this temporary setback.

Clearly, we must rally around our President. We must support his efforts and make crystal clear the fact that the American people are united and resolute that we will take a stand against attacks on our sovereignty and that we will avenge this grievous act.

It is an American characteristic to unify in times of crisis. It is important to stand behind our President by authorizing the use of military force against those forces of evil. I am comforted to know that this body will pass this use of force resolution, probably unanimously, later today.

I am sure that the entire membership of this body joins me in praying for God to guide us and our President.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to my valued colleague, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE), a member of the Committee on International Relations.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank our ranking member and my friend for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today really with a very heavy heart, one that is filled with sorrow for the families and the loved ones who were killed and injured this week. Only the most foolish and the most callous would not understand the grief that has really gripped our people and millions across the world.

This unspeakable act on the United States has forced me, however, to rely on my moral compass, my conscience, and my God for direction. September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am convinced that

military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States. This is a very complex and complicated matter.

This resolution will pass, although we all know that the President can wage a war even without it. However difficult this vote may be, some of us must urge the use of restraint. Our country is in a state of mourning. Some of us must say, let us step back for a moment. Let us just pause for a minute and think through the implications of our actions today so that this does not spiral out of control.

I have agonized over this vote, but I came to grips with it today and I came to grips with opposing this resolution during the very painful yet very beautiful memorial service. As a member of the clergy so eloquently said, "As we act, let us not become the evil that we deplore."

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. KERNs).

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

Mr. KERNs. I thank the gentleman from Illinois for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this resolution to use force.

Earlier this week, war was declared on America. Out of the horror and carnage, America has risen united, resolved to bring justice to all those responsible for this evil act. The resolution before us today authorizes the use of force against those who planned, authorized, committed or aided the deadliest attack ever on U.S. soil.

While I strongly support today's resolution in response to the specific attacks that occurred on September 11, I believe that we will have to take additional action to address future threats. This must only be the beginning of a comprehensive war on terrorism.

In 1795, British statesman Edmund Burke said, "All that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing." The same holds true today. The free nations of the world must seize this opportunity and work together to end the evil of terrorism. As the rock of freedom in the world, America must lead the charge.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mrs. NAPOLITANO), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding time, and I join my colleagues in support of this resolution authorizing the use of military force. Our American public and the free world look to us today for leadership and swift action. We cannot and we will not fail them. The sheer horror of the events that transpired in New York and the Pentagon are unprecedented in our history and they demand strong, decisive and deliberate action. Anything less is an abrogation of our responsibility as con-

gressional leaders and would be interpreted by those who have utter disdain for our country, for our institutions, and for our people as a failure of resolve and the ultimate sign of weakness.

Our enemies, whoever and wherever they are, and those who harbor them, must clearly understand that we will never tolerate the acts of terrorism, acts of war, that have been perpetrated upon us and they must understand that there is no escape from American justice.

Inaction is capitulation. Of one thing I am certain, we as Americans will never capitulate to terrorism or to any interest that looks to destroy our Nation. There comes a time when action and force become an absolute necessity. The families of those who died in this unspeakable horror, mothers, fathers, children, old and young, deserve to know that they did not die in vain. From this day forward we are a wiser, changed people, stronger, more united, firm in our commitment to our government, our country, our freedom, and to justice. Fear must not be allowed to rule us.

God bless America.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the learned gentleman from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON).

Mr. ISAKSON. I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, the book of Ecclesiastes tells us that for everything there is a time; a time for love, a time for hate.

On Tuesday morning, an expression of hate, unbelievable and unparalleled in all of our lifetimes, took place as Americans were used as instruments against Americans in a horrible toll of life and tragedy. On behalf of the sixth district of the State of Georgia and the United States of America, I rise in support of a resolution to give our President the full authority to respond and act to this act of hate and violence.

Mr. Speaker, the last thing I did before I walked to this Chamber was to call Brandi Unger, 13 years old, in Roswell, Georgia, to thank her for the letter she sent to me and the President and the handful of dollars she raised this past week to help America to fight this evil.

Mr. Speaker, when my father's generation, America's greatest generation, fought and defeated the evil of the 1940s, they did it for us; and we have enjoyed peace and prosperity. Today, we do it for the Brandi Ungers of the next generation, for a free, a safe America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN), a valued senior member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. There are many facets of it, but I would only like to focus on one. We know the hijackers had ties to Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda organization. We must do whatever it takes, including the use of mili-

tary force, to track down bin Laden and destroy his organization. But this is not just about bin Laden. There are other radical groups that engage in terrorism, including Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad. To win the war against terrorism, we must eliminate the entire infrastructure that sustains these organizations. This will involve getting tough with governments that aid and harbor terrorists.

Syria allows Hezbollah to operate freely in southern Lebanon. Iran recently hosted a terrorist summit and routinely provides arms and ammunition and other assistance to Hezbollah and other radical groups. Bin Laden is a guest of the Taliban regime. The suicide bombers of Islamic Jihad and Hamas are nurtured by the Palestinian Authority.

The time has come for these and other governments to make a fundamental choice: Will they continue to support those responsible for taking the lives of thousands of innocent men, women, and children? Or will they realize the error of their ways and end their financing, the facilitating, the harboring of terrorists and their organizational infrastructures and their state-sponsored incitement of terrorist attacks? For if they choose to continue their present course, they are not states of concern, they are not rogue states, they are America's enemies.

I applaud the administration's efforts to assemble an international coalition to fight terrorism. We have a real opportunity to make the world safer for freedom and democracy.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. TAUZIN).

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, this is the second time in my tenure in this body that we are called upon to vote to commit the sons and daughters in the uniform of this country to war, to put their lives on the line for this country again, and this is indeed a profound moment in the history of this Chamber.

We should ask ourselves carefully why we do this. Do we do it just in anger, just for revenge? No greater authority than St. Thomas Aquinas taught me as a young lad the meaning and the understanding, the definition of self-defense. Our greatest duty under the Constitution is to protect and defend the citizens of this country from all enemies, both foreign and domestic. It is for that reason we rise in support of this resolution.

We have literally in this world allowed terrorism to exist too long. We have been on the defensive too long. We have taken too many body blows. It is time civilized man goes on the offensive.

Today, we go on the offensive. And we commit our sons and daughters to that enormous chore. This week, a reporter caught a citizen in New York taking dust off a car and putting it into a jar and he asked, "Is that your



car?" The citizen said, "No. These are my friends. We have lost our friends."

It is time to put an end to this madness.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. HINOJOSA).

Mr. HINOJOSA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. War has been declared on this country. Today we must answer. Without warning or provocation on September 11, a deliberate attack was launched, using hijacked planes with innocent American civilians to kill other innocent American civilians and military personnel.

Unlike the terrorists who attacked the innocent, our response will be against the guilty. The U.S. Constitution carefully divides the power to wage war between Congress and the President. I am confident that the resolution before us today strikes the appropriate balance between the President and Congress. It gives the President flexibility as Commander in Chief to conduct military operations as he sees fit, but it also requires the President to consult and report to Congress. It retains the important 60-day limit on military action without further congressional approval.

Make no mistake, this Congress and the American people are committed to seeing this war through to the end. We realize that we are in for a long fight, but Congress needs to take seriously its responsibility to authorize the continued use of force and not give up its rights to the President. Our Founding Fathers created this separation of powers for an important reason, and their ideals have served us well for the last 230 years.

Today, we join together in a day of mourning and remembrance for those we have lost. We pledge our best effort to hunt down those responsible. We owe no less to those whose blood has been shed again for the cause of freedom.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

□ 1845

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER).

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

Mr. Speaker, we are giving the President the power to conduct a war. We need to also give him, along with that power, the resources to conduct not only a war that could take a short period of time, but a war that could be enduring.

Right now, our military forces badly need equipment, spare parts, munitions and intelligence resources to win this war. So along with this resolution, Mr. Speaker, let us resolve that, over the coming months and years, we will give our troops and our commander in chief what it takes to get the job done.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), the ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services.

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

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting on this national day of mourning and remembrance that we take the first steps in healing our Nation and bringing those responsible for Tuesday's heinous acts to justice. We have condemned the unspeakable aggression visited upon our cities, we have united the Nation behind the great symbol of our American flag, and we have appropriated emergency funds to help States and communities to respond and to rebuild.

Now we face the hard task of going forward, of responding soberly and deliberately, but with great focus and conviction, and with the full strength and righteous fury of the United States Armed Forces. In this, we are in uncharted territory. While we have fought great aggression before, our means of authorizing action today fit only imperfectly.

When Congress responded to Franklin Roosevelt's call in 1941 by declaring war against the Japanese Empire, it could do so with full knowledge. We knew who had attacked us. We knew that we would fight against another sovereign nation in a traditional war that would involve the full range of our military forces. We knew what victory would mean, and we were committed to meeting that goal and we did.

The current circumstances leave us with great uncertainty. We do not yet know who committed these unspeakable acts or where we may find them, we do not know the scale and scope of what bringing the perpetrators to justice may mean, and we do not know how long it may take.

Yet there are some things we do know. We, the Congress, have a constitutional duty to partner with the President in undertaking military action. We fulfill that duty here with this resolution. While our actions here may be imperfect, they are an essential first step to show the unity of our Nation behind our President and our commitment to stand with our Armed Forces.

We also know that we will not be alone. The world is behind us. Our NATO allies, so long our partners and friends, are all ready to stand with us. They have acted upon the principle that many throughout the world have come to realize, that an attack on one peace-loving country is an attack upon all.

We also know that our response to these attacks will require great sacrifice. Our troops, who have long earned our respect and admiration, will be called again into harm's way and will need our unwavering support. Ordinary Americans, already sacrificing so much in the loss of those they love and in their commitment to supporting

our Nation, will be called upon to sacrifice still more. This battle will be long and difficult, and it will require concerted resolve from all Americans.

For us in Congress, we must continue to work with the President, recognizing that the actions of the weeks and months ahead will require both branches of government to execute their constitutional duties. We must improve our intelligence capabilities and assess the ability of our government to respond to unthinkable possibilities. After Tuesday, we know we must think about them strategically and thoroughly.

Mr. Speaker, let us stand together and pass this resolution.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from New Jersey (Mrs. ROUKEMA).

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

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution, so that, in the words of Lincoln, "this Nation, of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the Earth."

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 64—a resolution authorizing the use of the armed forces of the United States against those responsible for this week's attack on our American homeland.

Our community has been devastated. Families in each and every town, village and borough in northern New Jersey are in pain. We pray for them and promise that we will do all in our power to find the villains who perpetrated this crime against them, against our nation, and against the free people of the world.

We must be firm. Our investigation must be quick and retaliation must be certain.

Yes, this is retaliation.

But these are not singularly the objectives of our use of force. The defense of our democracy—and our loyal hardworking citizens. The principle that we will stand tall for the world to see and defend the rule of law—our law and international law.

And on the basis of these recognized standards supported by most governments—including many European, Asian and Muslim nations—and every international group—the United Nations, NATO, the European Union—as well. They are standing tall and supporting our defense of liberty and national sovereignty to "use all necessary and appropriate force against nations, person or entities, as clearly defined in this Resolution.

I stand in strong support of action and am confident there will be overwhelming support—if not a unanimous vote—for this resolution.

We must stand tall and firmly state—with the hammer of force if necessary—to protect innocent Americans. In the words of Lincoln "that this nation—of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." (Abraham Lincoln)

We must continue to work together to heal each other and reaffirm the solidarity so many Americans have shown over the last few days. May God comfort those families who have been devastated by this atrocity.

And may God bless the United States of America.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE).

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, the United States sustained, but heroically withstood, a terrorist attack of unprecedented magnitude. Make no mistake about it: this was not only an attack committed against this Nation as the leader of the free world, but was also an assault against all of humanity, against our very civilization as we know it.

Today, the U.S. Congress will authorize the use of force to repel this attack on the people of the United States. As we take this step, we should be conscious of the magnitude of the undertaking. This is not a resolution expressing our outrage. It is nothing less than a declaration of war. Success will be measured by eradicating the individuals and the networks of those responsible for this act of war.

Given the tactics that we know of terrorists, this task will be arduous and difficult, but we can and we must be victorious. To all those who cherish freedom and democracy around the world, let there be no doubt: your way of life, your aspirations for the future, the security of your family, have also been attacked. The devastation in New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington is not limited to the United States. It stretches to your countries, to your streets, indeed to your homes.

You too must stand and be counted in the fight against the perpetrators of this crime as well as threats from other terrorist acts. After this authorization, Congress and the President will need to re-visit the threat of terrorism. We will have to develop a new comprehensive strategy to combat terrorism at home and around the world. In that endeavor, we will prevail. Today's legislation marks the beginning of that effort.

Mr. Speaker, in this effort, we will prevail, and today's legislation marks the beginning of that effort.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH).

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

Mr. Speaker, whatever form of action we choose must reflect our democratic principles and distinguish us from the mentality of terrorists and destructive violence. Our actions must pursue a path towards reducing violence, not escalating violence. Launching weapons of mass destruction or collateral attacks against innocent civilians would be no different than the terror we already have had brought upon us. An eye-for-an-eye mentality is unacceptable. We are a Nation of civil and moral values, and we must show the world that.

These terrorist attacks were clearly a crime against humanity. What does a democracy do to punish criminals? We put them on trial. If found guilty, we imprison them. The U.S. military action should be centered on arresting the responsible parties and the Government placing the suspects on trial.

That is how we win this. This is how we should show the world that we are a humane and democratic Nation. That is what gives us the moral high ground. That is what we need to do to help prevent future attacks.

Future attacks will not be prevented because terrorists fear our military. To kill them does not scare them. It is an honor for them to be killed. But for our democracy, it is important to rise above their violent attacks and punish them with unquestionable moral superiority. That will vindicate our highest principles.

Violence is reciprocal in nature. Peace is also reciprocal. The direction we take will speak volumes about our democracy. We must and will defend our country, and we must and will pursue and arrest these criminals. We must do so in a manner that upholds democratic principles.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. SAM JOHNSON).

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

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, America is strong, America is united, and America will prevail over evil. The terrorist attacks against us have failed; and they have only made us more determined, more focused, more resolute.

Mr. Speaker, the President will, at the appropriate time, use the full force of the United States to stop those who are opposed to freedom and the American way of life.

Do you remember our Declaration of Independence? "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." These words should remind anyone who tries to destroy our freedoms that Americans always stand together.

Mr. Speaker, I fought in a couple of wars myself; and this is a war, and I am ready to do it. That is why we remain the greatest, most powerful country on Earth. Let us go to war for freedom.

God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KLECZKA).

Mr. KLECZKA. Mr. Speaker, almost 60 years ago the United States suffered massive casualties in a surprise attack on one of our military bases. On Tuesday, September 11, Americans were forced to relive the terror of another brutal and malicious attack on our citizens.

Then, just as now, our Nation rose up as one to respond to a horrific incident with steadfast determination to defend ourselves and to find and punish the aggressors. The resolution before us gives the President authority to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided in these terrorist attacks. Make no mistake about

it: the cowardly terrorists responsible for bringing harm to our American family will be punished.

A force resolution was presented to Congress in 1991 which did not receive my support, for I felt the situation lacked the gravity required before we put our men and women in uniform in harm's way. Our borders were not at risk of an invasion; our citizens were not in imminent danger.

The tragic events of this week have violated all these precepts. We must respond swiftly and with force against those who maimed and killed innocent Americans, men, women and children.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to vote to endorse this resolution.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the learned gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS).

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

Mr. Speaker, a formal authorization for use of force now is just that, a formality. We have now been in war and have been since Tuesday morning. As Americans, we did not seek this war, but we will not shirk from defending our country. Let us go forth with confidence; let us go forth with resolve, to seek down these murderers, to destroy them, and to destroy their ability to repeat Tuesday's dastardly attack.

Our response must encompass not only those who perpetrated the crime, but those who supported it, and all those who have sheltered and provided resources to these killers. In this, I am confident all America is united.

May God be with us.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the distinguished ranking member of our Committee on House Administration.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, centuries from now, when future generations look back, they will see that September 11, 2001, was a day like no other in our history. A bright, late summer morning on our Nation's East Coast was shattered by unspeakable acts of war against all Americans and all freedom-loving people.

We fear that these cowardly attacks have claimed more than 5,000 innocent men, women and children, making this the deadliest day ever on American soil.

At Pearl Harbor, 2,300 perished; at Antietam, 4,000 fell in a day; and during our entire 8-year struggle for independence, 4,500 patriots gave their lives for freedom.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese admiral who planned that treachery remarked, "I fear all we have done is awaken a sleeping giant and filled him with terrible resolve."

Mr. Speaker, our national resolve expressed in the resolution before us is equally determined, and those responsible for these depraved attacks have every reason to fear it.



Under the authority granted by Article I of the Constitution, Congress has declared war only 11 times. We do not make a formal declaration of war today. However, in fulfillment of our constitutional duty and as contemplated under the War Powers Resolution, Congress does today authorize the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations or persons who planned, authorized, committed or aided these horrific attacks.

□ 1900

Importantly, Mr. Speaker, we also authorize the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those who have harbored such organizations and persons.

A generation ago, one of this Nation's greatest friends, whose mother was an American herself, rallied free people against the darkness and despair descending on the European continent. "You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word. It is victory." So said Winston Churchill.

Victory is our aim today; not over nations or persons, but over terrorism. However long and hard the road may be, we must cut out and destroy this cancer which plagues civilized society.

When future generations of Americans look back, let them see that we answered this challenge with courage and with unity. Let them see that we took decisive action that made the world safer for this generation and for generations to come, and let them see that September 11, 2001, a day like no other in our history, marked the turning point in the war on terrorism.

In bracing us for war some 60 years ago, Roosevelt said, "With confidence in our armed force, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph, so help us God."

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE).

Mr. CASTLE. Mr. Speaker, I also rise in strong support for this resolution authorizing the use of military force against those who attacked our Nation on September 11, 2001. On this day of national remembrance and mourning, we must act to ensure that those who have lost their lives in these horrific acts of violence have not died in vain.

Earlier today, we heard the words of our spiritual leaders reassuring us and giving us solace at this difficult time. Now, as the Nation's political leaders, we must act.

We do so with the devastation of these attacks fresh in our minds. New York Mayor Giuliani reported that nearly 5,000 people have been reported missing. At the Pentagon, over 100 are dead or still missing. We must not forget those innocent people aboard the planes, nearly 200 killed. If these estimates hold true, they would amount to twice as many casualties as those suffered in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Their deaths cannot go unanswered, or more Americans will die the next time terrorists want to champion their unjust cause at our expense. The United States must respond with our full might and force to destroy these terrorists and all who give them aid and safe harbor.

Today, the House of Representatives will authorize the President of the United States to use the Armed Forces against those nations and organizations responsible for Tuesday's destruction. Mr. Speaker, it is our responsibility, our duty, to empower our President to act and act decisively.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE).

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

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution. On September 11 we lost more American lives than on any single day in history. Terrorism must be stopped around the world.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution to approve the use of American military force in response of the attacks this week on our Nation and her people.

Earlier today, I joined with our civilian and military leadership at the National Cathedral for the prayer service in mourning for the victims of Tuesday's attacks. The Reverend Billy Graham was absolutely correct to observe that the assault that was meant to tear us apart has instead joined us together. Our Nation has come together to grieve for the dead, the injured and the missing, and we all weep at the incomprehensible suffering that has been inflicted on the American family. This collective mourning is a necessary and healthy process to help us recover as a people and face the difficult days ahead.

But as the Scripture teaches us, "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven." The time to mourn will pass. And the time to act will come.

I support this resolution because America must act. America must act deliberately and with decisive force to strike down the terrorist enemy. American must act to protect our country from this new danger whose evil knows no bounds. America must act to eliminate the threat of terrorist attack on our people wherever that threat may exist.

I support this resolution because this Congress must come together—Democrats and Republicans alike—to stand side by side with our Nation's Commander in Chief as he leads our military into the most challenging campaign we have ever faced. We must come together on a bipartisan basis to support our brave young men and women in uniform, some of whom may not live to see our victory over this enemy.

I support this resolution, but this Congress and the American people must understand that we are embarking on a very dangerous mission whose duration is unknown and whose outcome is not foreordained. Our enemies in this war hide in the shadows and retreat to the far reaches of the Earth. Our enemies do not have the courage to face us in open combat so our military leaders will need

to adapt a new approach to win this war. But I strongly support this resolution because America must stand up once and for all and state to the world: no one with the means and the will to threaten the American people will be tolerated—anywhere on the face of the Earth.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, tonight we authorize the President to use all necessary and appropriate military force against any nation, organization or person responsible for the terrible attacks of September 11, or anyone who harbors such individuals. Make no mistake; it is a broad delegation of authority to make war on those who have attacked us. We do not do so lightly or without consideration for the weighty consequences of our act.

After the attacks of this week, many Americans recalled Pearl Harbor. I thought of the Battle of Britain and Hitler's indiscriminate bombings of London, Churchill's words still so powerfully resonant: "He hopes by killing so many numbers of civilians and women and children that he will terrorize and cow the people of this mighty imperial city. Little does he know the spirit of the British nation or the tough fiber of the Londoners who have been bred to value freedom above their own lives."

So true of America. Little do these petty tyrants and murderers know the spirit of the American people or the tough fiber of the New Yorkers, our defense workers, or the civilians who spared further casualties by taking down the hijackers and their own plane over Pennsylvania.

The face of this tyrant is new and yet not so new. Like others before him, he abhors a free society and democratic institutions. He is willing to kill innocent men, women and children to further his perverse aims. There are no means too inhuman, no tactic too appalling to further his end. He thinks we are weak because we do not tell our citizens what to think, how to act, whom to worship; because we tolerate dissent. He does not realize this is our strength, and he has awoken the sleeping giant.

"What he has done," as Churchill has said, "is to kindle a fire in hearts here and all over the world which will glow long after all traces of the conflagrations he has caused have been removed."

What these petty tyrants do not understand and have never understood is that for all of our rough-and-tumble public discourse, we are one people, under one President, and capable of greater single-mindedness of purpose than any repressive regime.

We will not relinquish our freedoms of speech, assembly, and religion, nor sacrifice our precious right of privacy or way of life. "The price of freedom is high, and Americans have always paid

it," President Kennedy said. We pay it still.

This is the battle of America. The enemy may be new, but the fight has always been the same. Our government, our democracy, is premised on basic human freedoms, on the right of the governed to control their own national destiny. The Civil War tested whether any Nation so conceived could long endure. We have endured. We will go on, with growing confidence that we can fight terrorism wherever we find it and strengthened by the conviction that the generation of Americans now being tested will not falter or flag.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KNOLLENBERG).

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of this joint resolution authorizing the use of military force against those responsible for the September 11, 2001 terrorist acts against our country.

We are about to make what, for most of us, will be the most important vote in our time as Members of Congress. Authorizing the use of force is a monumental event, and its significance should not be minimized. This resolution is not about vengeance; it is about victory, it is about winning a war against an enemy that is actively seeking to kill American citizens and destroy our way of life.

We are not naive. The use of force has many risks, but we risk more by doing nothing. This resolution acknowledges that the world is a different place today, but we have the ability and the will to win a war against terrorism. The security of American lives requires us to succeed. I urge adoption of this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Nevada (Ms. BERKLEY), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

Ms. BERKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my strongest support for this resolution authorizing the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001.

Today I stand in solidarity with my colleagues, with the administration, and my countrymen in defending America, in promising to seek justice and revenge on those who planned, authorized, committed or aided the vicious agents of evil who carried out these terrorist attacks. It is a war we are ready to wage; it is a war we must win.

America stands ready to fight against terrorism wherever it rears its ugly head. Ours is not a war against a people or a religion, but it is a war against those that would enslave the minds of men and sow the seeds of hate and fear. I am confident that those who cherish freedom will heed our call to join us in our fight against international terrorism, and I am equally confident that we will make these cow-

ardly terrorists suffer the wrath of a determined Nation.

No one can perpetrate such devastation on the United States of America and escape unscathed. To these blights on humanity, let me say this: This Nation will hunt you down and we will find you, and when we do, we will hit you once and, if we have to, again, and a third time. We make this oath to you today with a saddened heart, but with firm resolve. We will be victorious. Nothing less than our freedom depends on it.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), the chairman of the Committee on Rules.

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, it now appears that Tuesday's attacks will have taken over 5,000 of our friends, family, and neighbors. Five thousand innocents murdered because they were Americans. If this does not call for an American military action of some sort, then I do not know what does. We are talking about nearly double the number of people who were killed in Pearl Harbor and, clearly, the largest military attack on American civilians in our Nation's history.

A well-funded international terrorist organization has declared war on us, and we can do no less than fight this enemy as we would any Nation that had committed the same atrocities. Whether it is tomorrow, next week, or next month, we know that the only message that these butchers will understand is a timely decisive show of American might. Our decision to take action will not be made in haste. We will pinpoint those responsible and make our judgment swift and effective.

This is not about revenge, Mr. Speaker. It is a means of ensuring that those who would wreak acts of terror upon the United States know the price of their barbarity. America is the world's symbol of freedom, of prosperity. The idea that is America has been savagely attacked, and we have an obligation to the world to defend the values we embody.

Nations across the world have offered their condolences, their prayers, and pledges of logistical support should we choose to take military action. They know that the next attack may not be New York or Washington, but Brussels or London. We have the responsibility and the power to bring these terrorists to justice.

Mr. Speaker, the challenge has been issued and now it is up to us to decide whether we will rise to the occasion. Supporting the President is our duty to the victims and to the world.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS), my distinguished colleague.

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Tuesday was the darkest day in American history. Our grief for the victims knows no bounds. Our compassion for their families fills our hearts. Our pride in the rescuers, medical personnel, and volunteers is endless.

In the aftermath of this terrible assault, our Nation now faces tremendous challenges. We have no greater challenge than to protect our citizens and our institutions against further acts of terrorism. Never before has our Nation faced such an extraordinary threat to our security and to our way of life.

By passing this resolution, Congress stands united with the President in what may be a long and costly fight against these forces of darkness and evil. But make no mistake. We will prevail.

□ 1915

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE).

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

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, at 10 a.m. on September 11, I stood on the east lawn of the Capitol, smoke billowing from the Pentagon behind the Capitol dome, F-16s coursing through the air. The Earth beneath my feet shook with a secondary explosion at the Pentagon.

I was filled, Mr. Speaker, with a deep and resolute anger that this would not stand; that America would respond. That is altogether fitting. The butchers who carried out these attacks see themselves as warriors, and it would be wrong of us to deal with them otherwise.

What they are about to learn is that America's fighting men are the most powerful warriors in the history of the world. Tonight I will solemnly and with deep humility vote to give our President the power to use all necessary and appropriate force to vanquish the enemies of our peace. May God have mercy on their souls, because the United States of America will not.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Hawaii (Mrs. MINK).

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I served in the Congress during the heated debates about Presidential powers during the war in Vietnam. As a consequence of the differing opinions that were so heatedly fought on this floor, the War Powers Act was enacted. It clarified specifically what the Presidential powers were, and to what extent the responsibility of the Congress was to review those actions taken by the President.

We are here today to authorize President Bush to take such powers and such actions as may be necessary in order to find a way to punish, to retaliate against those who caused all this damage on the soil of America, and we

join the President in our eagerness to give him that authority.

But I want to make sure that I understand this resolution. I have read it a dozen times over, because I want to make sure that the War Powers Act that we enacted right after the conflagration in Vietnam is not in any way jeopardized.

I think we have to call attention to those sections which say "Nothing in this resolution supersedes the war powers resolution." On that basis, I support the passage of this resolution tonight.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PITTS), a member of the Committee.

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, we must pass this resolution and give the President all the power he needs to stop the slaughter of innocent Americans from happening again. The evil men who orchestrated this attack have shown that they will stop at nothing. Their goal is to kill as many Americans as they can. If they ever get their hands on chemical, biological, or even nuclear weapons, they will use them. Let no one doubt it. We are at war, a war to save innocent Americans from the specter of grisly death by the weapons of mass destruction.

But it is not a war against Muslims or against Arabs. Many of our Arab and Muslim Americans came to the United States to get away from the very same type of extremists as those who attacked our country. In the past few days, my office has received an outpouring of deeply sympathetic support and condolences from people in many Islamic countries around the world.

As our great Nation pulls together, let us be careful not to turn to hate or stereotyping. Justice must and will be carried out, but it will be against those who deserve it, the savage radical terrorists, not against our fellow Arab and Muslim citizens and friends here and around the world.

In that spirit, I urge my colleagues to pass this resolution unanimously.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK).

(Mrs. MEEK of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the joint resolution. By passing this resolution we say, never again. We stand shoulder to shoulder with President Bush, our Commander in Chief, firmly united in our resolve to identify and punish all nations who harbor hatred to our country.

Mr. Speaker, that is our highest duty. This can be our finest hour. This afternoon this House took a major step toward winning this war when it unanimously passed the \$40 billion emergency supplemental. Now we take the

next necessary step, authorizing the President to use all necessary force to prevent any further acts.

Mr. Speaker, as I noted yesterday, Americans have always known that freedom is not free. It often comes with a tremendous cost, and often imposes a tremendous responsibility. Throughout our history, Pearl Harbor, Gettysburg, from the founding of our constitutional democracy, our citizens have always been willing to pay that price. We are ready to pay that price, Mr. Speaker. We will never forget the sacrifices of all the victims of terror. We will honor their sacrifices by waging and winning the war against terrorism.

Sixty years ago, after he learned of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Winston Churchill quoted a remark made to him: "The United States is like a gigantic boiler. Once the fire is lighted under it, there is no limit to the power we can generate. It will be generated."

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the majority whip.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, Members should support this resolution because it affirms the President's authority to firmly direct America as we identify, isolate, and eliminate the networks of terrorism. This international network of terror is a cancer growing on the heart of every free Nation.

We must hand President Bush the tools that he needs to defeat our enemies. We must fortify our Armed Forces with the certain knowledge that a united America marches behind them, and we must convince our enemies that America will ultimately vindicate freedom, no matter how depraved, twisted, or evil our enemy's ideology may be.

We do not walk an easy road. Our Nation faces a long and demanding conflict with forces of determined evil, but the fiber of our American spirit and the strength of our faith will sustain us as we do what needs to be done to protect freedom and secure victory.

Every American should anticipate and prepare for a prolonged and sustained campaign. They should understand that this war will be measured in years, not months. They should prepare themselves for additional assaults at home. They should expect casualties as we take the battle to our enemies.

But they should take pride and draw confidence from the great reservoir of American patriotism and resolve. We are made of sterner things than our enemies know. We will show the world that we retain the qualities that made us the leader of the free world. We will do it by holding firm to our mission. Deeds, not words, will save America and the free world.

When the President draws that sword of American justice, he needs to do it with all of us standing right beside him. Mr. Speaker, this resolution rallies our Nation behind the President, and I ask the Members to support it.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Texas Mr. BENTSEN.

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

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation extending to the President the authority to take the steps necessary to respond against those persons, organizations or nations responsible for the attacks against America last Tuesday.

I believe this authority fully complies with Congress' constitutional and statutory authority in authorizing the use of force in the defense of the Nation. It is necessary, I believe, to send a message loud and clear that the President and the Congress of the United States are committed to employing the full resources of the Nation to both respond and ensure that our adversaries who undertook and/or aided in the attacks of September 11, 2001, will be held responsible and prevented from future atrocities against America.

Passage of this bill tonight will signal to these ruthless forces that the United States is fully committed and has done so without compromising our Constitution, laws or ideals. While September 11, 2001, has caused great pain and agony for the Nation, it has not and will not defeat our resolve or our commitment to freedom and democracy.

The fight may be long, it may be tough and costly, but we will know from tonight forward that it will be right.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. KENNEDY).

Mr. KENNEDY of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this bill. President Kennedy once said in his inaugural address that: "In the long history of the world, only a few generations of Americans have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shirk from that responsibility. I welcome it."

We are once again called upon to defend freedom in an hour of maximum danger. My son, Charles, in a recent college application essay, noted that Americans have always risen to the challenge, from settling this rugged land and gaining independence until today.

Freedom again is challenged. We owe it to my son, Charles, and all our children to rise to this challenge so that they can live in a land where freedom is safe.

We have a responsibility and we will not shirk from that responsibility. We welcome it.

It is my hope that, again quoting JFK, "The energy, the faith, the devotion that we bring to this challenge can light our country and all who serve it and the glow from that fire can truly light the world."

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. BROWN).

(Ms. BROWN of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. I would like to do so with caution. This is a resolution that comes with a tremendous amount of responsibility. I support the President, but we are treading on new grounds here today. As my favorite scripture says, "To whom God has given much, much is expected." Let me repeat that. "To whom God has given much, much is expected."

On September 11, for the first time in 175 years, the capital of the world's greatest military power was attacked. This was a well-thought-out and organized attack, and it demands a well-organized and powerful response.

Members of this group that designed this attack cannot go unpunished. Nor can the Nations that trained, supported or gave them shelter. The United States must deliver a swift and immediate response to this horrible act against the people of this great Nation. God bless America.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. PRYCE), a member of our elected leadership.

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Nebraska for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong and unwavering support for this resolution, for the President and for our Nation. The events of September 11 have left a scar on the United States of America, a scar that may never completely heal. And part of us will always remain beneath that rubble, but as we steady ourselves, from deep within, we look toward the pursuit of security and justice.

By enacting this resolution, we speak with one voice. We are united behind our common cause and against our common foe. We should not take lightly the great effort that we set in motion here today. Indeed, each of us must give pause in our hearts as we start the men and women of our Armed Forces down this path.

But this pause, this reflection should not be mistaken for hesitation. Our resolve is undaunted. The attackers of September 11 meant to unleash fear and chaos. Instead, they unleashed our fury.

Mr. Speaker, we do not blink in the face of this challenge. Our Nation rises up, and when we clear away the dust and the smoke, the world can be sure that the United States will shine on, the brightest beacon of liberty and freedom.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute and 10 seconds to my distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

(Ms. WOOLSEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Like my constituents in Marin and Sonoma counties, I feel a combination of outrage and sorrow over Tuesday's tragic events. I share my constituent's wide-ranging conflicting emotions about what should come next. No doubt the events of September 11 have changed us forever; but as I stated Tuesday, our Nation's response to these attacks will also leave an indelible mark on the American people.

Yes, we are united in our disgust for the violence that was perpetrated in New York City and Washington, D.C., against our democracy and against our freedoms. We know that we must bring those responsible for the attacks to justice, but my constituents also ask, do we know what means are appropriate to accomplish that? They are pleading with me and with you that we temper our absolute resolve with wisdom.

□ 1930

Our conscience and our memory reminds us that a hasty response to Tuesday's attacks, just for the sake of retribution, could mean killing even more innocent people. That is why my constituents beg me and I beg this body, please, do not respond to evil with evil.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. BONO).

Mrs. BONO. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of this resolution. As sons and daughters of what has been called the "Greatest Generation," many of us grew up in awe of those giants of the 20th century, common citizens who performed uncommon deeds of valor and gallantry that secured our Nation and the world's freedom. We thought bravery of this kind was found only in our history books and in the memories of our veterans. This week, our generation confronts our own challenge, and it is a challenge of enormous consequence. Now our generation will be given the chance to rise to the occasion and make the "Greatest Generation" proud.

We confront an enemy that is a threat to the civilized people of our times. Once our Nation rose to stave off tyranny. Now we must employ all our resources to stave off terror and fanaticism. We will answer this duty, and we will not go quietly and softly into the good night.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), the distinguished ranking member of our Committee on the Budget.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, in a strict sense, this resolution is not necessary, because the Constitution makes the President commander in chief; and as such, he has the power to strike back when our country is struck, as it was struck on September 11, and the War Powers Act confirms that power.

Even though the President can retaliate without this resolution, he is far stronger with it. This is our way of saying that we are together in this cause. We approve the mission. We are one in our resolve. By this resolution, we say that unmistakably to the whole world, friends and foe alike.

On occasions in the past, we have been aware of invoking the War Powers Act and becoming implicated in military actions we were not sure about. But the world should note that in this instance we set such concerns aside and give the President broadly the power to use all necessary and appropriate force.

These words have large scope. We do not know for sure who the enemy is, where he may be found, or who may be harboring him. Congress is giving the President the authority to act before we have answers to these basic questions because we cannot be paralyzed. We need to answer this treacherous attack upon our people on our soil, and that is why we grant the President this broad grant of authority.

We trust the President to use this authority with care and, above all, to consult continually with Congress so that the partnership that exists now will endure for the long fight that lies ahead. We do not expect to huddle before every play, but we do expect a seat at the table. We do expect to be advised and heard as we prosecute what is sure to be a long, hard mission.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BUYER), a member of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. BUYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution between the Senate and the House. As I have sat here and have witnessed my colleagues, I have seen great resolve uttered in this Chamber and the swagging display of courage.

I can share with my colleagues, as a veteran of the Gulf War, that war may be glorious in verse or prose, but in reality it is not. We are about to send America's finest, and that means men and women will die. It will be a noble cause, but we must remember the resolve of this moment, because in war it is chaotic. Not everything is going to go right. We cannot be 400 and 500 generals between the House and the Senate.

The solidarity and resolve we have at this moment we have to remember at times when it gets tough, when we have to stand with a constituent in a lonely place at a burial service. We must make sure that we take care of the loved ones afterwards. And taking care of them means we resource them

and we are patient and we are in this for the long haul.

We cannot have the bravado of today and then run at the first sound of the guns. We have to stay the course and see it through. Please, when it gets hard, remember this day.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to my friend and colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. BACA).

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

Mr. BACA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution to authorize the President to take necessary actions against terrorist nations, organizations or persons. And in authorizing the President this power, we must ensure that we protect innocent people and nations and that we, as a Nation, do not use this authority to go back in time against innocent Americans.

It is time to end this barbaric cowardly act on our country and Nation. What happened on September 11 was clearly an act of war that has landed on our shores. It has touched the lives of our country and Nation and many individuals, individuals such as Cora Holland, mother of three and grandmother of two from my district; Rhonda Sue Rasmusen, who lost her life at the Pentagon; Navy Yeoman Second Class Melissa Rose Barnes, who remains unaccounted for at the Pentagon, and many innocent civilians at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, as well as those who were on the flights who were used to commit this evil horrible act.

We as a Nation will pull together and build our courage and strength for we are united and our faith will guide the President and Congress in dealing with this horrible act. When America is attacked, we respond with one voice, with the full force of our Nation.

I urge support of this resolution. God bless America.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. LARGENT).

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

Mr. LARGENT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. In the immediate future our task is clear: we must wipe out terrorism and all those who support it. Under the U.S. Constitution, this body's overriding responsibility is to protect the security of American citizens. We must go to whatever lengths are necessary to hunt down and destroy those responsible for these attacks.

However, achieving this immediate goal is only half the battle. We must begin with the long view in mind. We must also think now about how to shape the world so that another terrorist network will not rise up to replace the one we will destroy. We must create the conditions for hope and opportunity in the countries that are now

fertile grounds for the development of future terrorists.

We must develop a vision for American involvement in the 21st century, "for without a vision, the people will perish." As President Reagan said, "Great nations have responsibilities to lead, and we should always be cautious of those who would lower our profile, because they might just wind up lowering our flag."

If we are to thrive through this century, we must lead. For to whom much is given, much is required.

This week's attacks were an act of war against the United States. When we determine who is responsible our reaction must be strong, decisive, and sustained enough to stamp out this threat against our nation. This resolution gives the President the authority he needs to conduct any operation that would punish the group responsible for these attacks and any government who harbors these terrorists.

Many people have discussed the symbolism of these attacks. The only enduring meaning of these attacks—planes crashing into buildings—is barbarism, cruelty and hate.

In the immediate future our task is clear. We must wipe out terrorism and all those who support it. Under the U.S. Constitution this body's overriding responsibility is to protect the security of American citizens. We must go to whatever length is necessary to hunt down and destroy those responsible for these attacks.

However, achieving this immediate goal is only half the battle. We must begin with the long view in mind. We must also think now about how to shape the world so that another terrorist network will not rise up to replace the one we will destroy. We must create the conditions for hope and opportunity in the countries that are now fertile ground for the development of future terrorists.

We must develop a vision for American involvement in the 21st century, for "without a vision the people perish." Without question or wealth and power make us the leader of the free world, but we must also lead the free world.

As President Reagan said, "Great nations have responsibilities to lead, and we should always be cautious of those who would lower our profile, because they might just wind up lowering our flag."

If we are to thrive through this century we must lead, "for to whom much is given much is required."

What this means for the coming battle is that we must target terrorists and the structures that support them, not the citizens of nations who, in many cases, are already suffering under repressive regimes.

Our greatest asset in this immediate battle against terrorism and the long-term fight to shape a world that is safe for democracy is the strength of our character. The rescue workers in New York and Washington have shown the world what we are made of. Their heroism has reminded me of the words on the Iwo Jima Memorial, "Uncommon valor was a common virtue."

The depth of evil expressed in Tuesday attacks was extraordinary, but the love Americans have for freedom and for one another is greater still, and we must spread it. Terrorists may attack our structures but they will never dent our soul.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA).

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, 3 days ago, on September 11, our Nation suffered a grave terrorist attack that challenged not just America but democracy itself. Today, the American family gathered in churches, mosques, and synagogues to remember and pray for the victims of this unforgivable act.

As generations before us, we will rise as one Nation behind one flag to defeat a common enemy. It is with this unity of purpose that we consider this joint resolution authorizing the use of all necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for this barbarous attack. My colleagues, today is only the beginning. This power we are about to entrust in the President is essential to ensure that our Nation is able to eradicate a vile weed all the way down to its roots.

We too, as the elected representatives of the men and women of America, are responsible for the successful prosecution of this endeavor. In the weeks and months ahead, we must act and work as one with the President as he consults regularly with Congress about the status and progress of our great Nation's efforts against those who planned, perpetrated or were complicit in the infamy and inhumanity of September 11, 2001.

Mr. Speaker, God speed to all of us as we prepare to undertake this dramatic struggle to restore the peace and security we as Americans cherish.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOODLATTE).

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution authorizing the use of force. The recent attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon leave our Nation horrified and angry. Our hearts grieve for the victims and for families who have lost loved ones to these acts of terrorism. But through this tragedy, we will see America at her finest.

The wave of patriotism rising across the Nation exposes a fierce determination that we will not back down in the face of cowardly attacks. These attacks are solemn reminders that there are people who begrudge America for her stands for democracy and freedom.

I fully support President Bush in his pledge to hunt down those responsible for these despicable actions and hold them accountable, and we must hold no distinction for these despicable terrorists and the countries that protect them.

Mr. Speaker, may God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND).

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

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I too rise in support of this resolution. But of all

the important votes I have had to cast, this one scares me the most because we do not ultimately know the true magnitude of this challenge or its true cost.

This is the beginning of a prolonged and lengthy fight against terrorism. I am confident that we will win most of these battles, but we should anticipate losing some as well, as we did last Tuesday. This resolution is not about retaliation or revenge, this is a matter of self-defense.

Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday, our ship of state was hit. And while we will not sink, we were bloodied on our own soil. Now it is time for all hands to be on deck, not just here in the United States but amongst all the civilized nations in the world as we band together to defend ourselves against international terrorism.

Our President has requested this authority, and he will get it. And may God bless those men and women in uniform who will be asked to carry out this task.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GILCHREST).

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, our hearts go out to the hurt America now feels. For centuries, the international civilized community has been plagued by three fundamental enemies: ignorance, arrogance and dogma. America's solution for the long-term defeat of these enemies is to replace ignorance with knowledge, arrogance with humility, and dogma with tolerance.

□ 1945

Sometimes, as now, in the short term a terrible swift sword is also necessary. America now recalls the words of Franklin Roosevelt 60 years ago when he said, "This generation has a rendezvous with destiny."

We defeated evil then. We will defeat evil now. Our generation has accepted a rendezvous with this destiny; and that is to rid the world of these plagues.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO).

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, the senseless human tragedy caused by the craven terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 weigh heavily on our minds and will do so for days, months, and years to come.

Many have said our Nation will never be the same. I agree. Our Nation is stronger, more united, more proud than possibly any time in our history. The outpouring of grief and support both here and around the world has been comforting. The terrorists may have collapsed our buildings, but in response, we are building a stronger America.

America is based on a Constitution and our laws. Under Section 2(c)(3) of the War Powers Act, the President already has the ability to use the military to respond to an attack upon our

country and our Armed Forces. Nothing in the resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Act. The President has authority to respond against those who perpetrated the acts on September 11.

Under the resolution of force pending today, Congress will reserve the right to review the President's plans and actions. But make no mistake, this Congress will stand behind our young men and women in uniform who may be put in harm's way and we will stand with President Bush as Commander in Chief. I hope and pray the President will use the awesome force of the United States with great deliberation and wisdom.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. PUTNAM).

Mr. PUTNAM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give a speech I never imagined I would give; that of support for an authorization of force, a 21st century declaration of war.

As a member of a generation largely shielded from the horrors of war, I accept this responsibility with no small amount of respect and humility.

Today we undoubtedly will approve the mobilization of our Nation's sons and daughters to combat, to injury, pain, sacrifice and death. There is no glory in our vote this evening, only duty.

We have a solemn duty to protect our shores, our countrymen, and our liberties. We step away from the rhetoric this dark September night to commit ourselves to a national sacrifice with this vote to a sustained commitment of lives, liberties, and provisions necessary to preserve those things we here subscribe.

Many of the men and women in the service of our Nation are in the springtime of their lives. But to many in my generation, Pearl Harbor was an exam question, Korea a backdrop for a TV rerun, and Vietnam a blurry scene cobbled together by Hollywood and an oldies radio station. To many Americans, the Gulf War seemed like a sustained video game writ large in ticker tape parades, precision bombs, and talk of future bloodless wars.

Mr. Speaker, the future is here and this war is bloody indeed. Our Nation is ready. Our forces are prepared. The public is supportive and Congress stands together as one. Godspeed to the President and God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. ORTIZ).

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

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I stand in strong support of this resolution.

There is no question that we are strongly united. I have been in this House for almost 20 years, and I have not seen so much unity, not only among the House Members, but throughout this great country.

We have to realize that 2 days ago, the dreams and hopes of many young

men and women and people of this country were destroyed by the acts of these terrorists.

I had a chance to go visit the Pentagon yesterday. I could see the civilian agencies locally, nationally, our military working and singing from the same page. It is distressing to see that many families lost their fathers, mothers, uncles and many families.

The best thing I can say to those terrorists is do not mess with the U.S.A.

God bless America.

I rise in support of the resolution, the first step this Congress will take to exact retribution for the act of war committed upon this nation, striking at the heart of our financial and military centers and taking dead aim at our political center.

Let Congress' message ring very loud to those responsible for this act of war: we recognize it as such—and the people's representatives respond in kind.

We have been hit hard, and we have lost family, friends, children, mothers, fathers, and many dreams died.

We lost our innocence to a large degree; and the number of people we lost exceeds the casualties of Pearl Harbor.

This resolution respects the Constitutional power to declare war, the most awesome responsibility given to Congress.

Since we have yet to discover definitive proof of all those responsible—including nations which gave Osama bin Laden safe harbor—we must give the administration the authority to pursue these international criminals until we have the information we need to declare war.

I have seen the morale of the emergency workers at the Pentagon and seen the looks of grim determination on the faces of those who work there every day.

They are now helping clean up the mess and recover the bodies of their comrades in arms.

Their morale is very high

The morale of the nation is very high.

This is a hard decision for Congress to make—usually.

Today the decision is not so difficult.

These terrorists brought their destruction to bear inside our borders.

As the Ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Readiness Subcommittee, let me offer my advice to my colleagues.

We must not telegraph our punches.

Here's what that means: we don't tell the enemy how we will conduct our campaign, nor what kind of force to expect.

It will be swift, overwhelming and deadly, but let that be all we tell bin Laden and his bunch.

Let us give our military the money they need and send them to do what they do best: fight and win wars.

Our armed services have some of the most talented people in the nation, capable of doing whatever mission we need done.

Most importantly, let them utilize the element of surprise, which, as we all know is a brutally effective part of the arsenal.

Finally, a word to the people who perpetrated this act of war.

I want to explain to you why your efforts to damage our nation—or undermine our democracy—are futile.

We are a nation of laws, not people.



It is our ideas and our commitment to liberties and democracy that bind us together under our Constitution.

Washington is not where the power is; that power lies with the people of this nation.

Nothing illustrates that better than on Tuesday when the House Call Center redirected all incoming House calls to our district offices, scattered across the country when we evacuated.

Our meeting place here in this building is where we come to do the people's business, but we are temporary employees of the people who elect us.

If a member of our government is lost, another is elected.

Our power is in the people who populate this nation, and the ideas that bind us together.

Your power is in hate and wealth.

We will win.

The last thing you will see is the mighty power of the United States military.

May God—and Allah—have mercy on your soul, and on all who harbor you.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ENGLISH.)

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

Mr. ENGLISH. Mr. Speaker, Psalm 71 says, "Bring to a shameful end those who attack me. Cover with contempt and scorn those who seek my ruin."

On Tuesday, September 11, war was declared on the United States without provocation. Tonight we rise to accept that challenge which we did not seek, but to which we respond with resolution. We are prepared to defend our soil, our institutions and our peaceful communities.

We did not seek this conflict, but we stand fully prepared to finish it and restore justice and peace. To do this, we are prepared to place in the hands of our leadership the full power and resources of the U.S. military and the authority to challenge the evil that has descended this week upon our Nation, wherever it may hide.

We as a Nation have not bent in the face of adversity, but we have bristled at the challenge to our freedoms. We cannot allow this challenge to go unanswered.

I urge my colleagues to fully support, without qualification, the President and the men and women in uniform as the men and women of our Armed Forces prepare to defend our liberty, knowing that we realize we are asking them to sacrifice much and are confident that they are up to this daunting task.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. PASTOR).

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

Mr. PASTOR. Mr. Speaker, Americans are now standing at the crossroads of history. We must rise to the challenge.

Will we scurry back to where we came, or will we hold our heads high

and proud and march forward to battle those who threaten our way of life? With this resolution, we have answered the question.

We will answer senseless slaughter with the necessary aggression to bring about its end. We will answer wanton killing with the belief that we are right in our belief and our love for freedom. We will answer hatred with the determination to preserve humanity. It will be a long and difficult struggle. But with the passage of this resolution, let no one doubt our firmness in defending ourselves.

We are a united Congress. We are a united government. We are a united people. We will succeed. I support this resolution and ask my colleagues to support it.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS) with whom I share pride in having been an officer in the United States Army in the past.

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

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, as a former active duty Army officer and current reservist, the day I have most dreaded is here. With this resolution my military colleagues, my West Point classmates, my friends, will go into battle and some will pay the ultimate sacrifice with their lives.

Our Founding Fathers understood this as they pledged their lives, their fortune, and their sacred honor.

Mr. Speaker, at the Pentagon yesterday, a young lieutenant from the Old Guard asked me, "Are we going to go get them, sir?"

I was mistaken when I said, "Yes, we are." I should have said, "Yes, you will."

What a sobering responsibility to send our young men and women into battle. To our Nation I say stand firm, do not waiver, see it through. To my colleagues I say, stand firm, do not waiver, see it through. May God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

(Mr. PRICE of North Carolina asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I stand in support of this resolution. Tuesday's terrorist attacks are unparalleled in our history, costing thousands of lives in one terrible day, more than the carnage at Antietam, more than Pearl Harbor. This was a carefully planned and skillfully executed act of war; and we must answer it with unity and resolve, apprehending and punishing those responsible, and any who harbored them or gave them aid.

In responding as swiftly and surely as our military might permits, we must do our utmost to protect innocent civilians, a principle that stands in stark contrast to the practice of our brutal adversaries. We must carry out mili-

tary action within the parameters of the Constitution and the War Powers Act, as this resolution provides. We must punish those heinous acts of Tuesday, acts as close to absolute evil as any of us will ever witness, and we must prevent anything like this from ever happening again—rooting out terrorism even as we renew our Nation's commitment to alleviating the world's suffering and injustice and serving as a beacon of hope to all humankind.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. RILEY), a distinguished member of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Speaker, there are defining moments in each of our lives. There are also defining moments in the life of a nation. September 11 was one of these defining moments. That was the moment our Nation remembered the sacrifice of our fathers and understood our responsibility to our children. At that moment, our Nation was galvanized by what it means to be an American. And now this resolution will show those who supported this act of hate the full meaning of American resolve.

Mr. Speaker, I offer my full support of this resolution and to the destruction of evil wherever it resides in this world.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

(Ms. WATERS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise with a great deal of uncertainty and apprehension.

To the President of the United States, I will be asked by my constituents did we give you the power to declare war? Many in this Congress will argue that we are not giving you the power to declare war. Others will argue that we are giving you the power to do anything from assassinate an individual, to declare war on an entire country.

Mr. President, I am going to vote yes on this resolution because I believe the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 were in fact a declaration of war against the United States of America. However, I vote yes with great reservations.

To be honest, Mr. President, I do not know what this means. The language of this resolution can be interpreted in different ways.

Mr. President, you have the awesome responsibility of leading this Nation and making the best possible decisions for the people of this country. Mr. President, do not misuse this authority. Mr. President, do not abuse this awesome power. Mr. President, I plead with you to use this authority with great care and great wisdom.

Mr. President, with this power, the decisions you will make will determine the future of this Nation and perhaps the world. May God bless you with restraint and compassion to make wise

decisions, and may God have mercy on your soul if you do not understand the awesome power that you have been afforded by the Members of Congress who are placing our trust in you on behalf of the American people.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair advises Members that all remarks should be addressed to the Chair.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF).

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

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution authorizing the use of force against those responsible for the acts. I wanted to be here to be part of history, to make sure I was there when this took place.

I have no eloquent words to say tonight like so many others than to say this: I want us to pray for the President; to pray for our leaders on both sides of the aisle; to pray for those in the Cabinet who are going to be part of this decisionmaking; to pray for the military because few, if any, of us will actually go into combat; to pray for the men and women who go into combat; to pray for wisdom, protection, and guidance; and lastly, to pray for our country.

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Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 1 minute to my good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. TANNER).

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

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday's events were an attack on the United States, but they were more than that. They were an attack on humanity and civilization itself. This resolution tonight represents a policy change in our country, a big policy change, a monumental policy change, because we are declaring war not against any nation, not against any individual, not against any religion. We are declaring war against animalistic, inhuman behavior called terrorism wherever it exists on Earth. That is a monumental step for this country.

This country needs to take that step in my opinion, though, because we are the leader in freedom and democracy and human rights in the world. And so on behalf of humanity and on behalf of civilization, on behalf of our children and grandchildren's future, we take this burden on tonight. We did not seek it. But, ladies and gentlemen, we have seen the face of evil and we must crush it.

We are filled with grief, yet buoyed by pride. Like all Americans, I want to right this wrong and to avenge these cold, calculated killings. While this might seem a forgone conclusion to the overwhelming majority of those home and abroad watching and awaiting our decision, this is the single most difficult obligation for a Member of this House to fulfill. In approving

this measure, one is reaffirming one's support for our nation, our President, our military leadership, and expressing our collective outrage and defiance on behalf of the thousands of American families that have been torn apart. In this respect, this is an easy decision. But, as Members of Congress, we do not have the luxury of reacting solely on emotion.

Ultimately, the weight of this awesome responsibility and the consequences of this decision falls on each of us. Thus, we as members of this institution, are required to divorce ourselves from the emotions, consider the interests of our nation, and to give serious consideration to the very real prospects, or one might say, the inevitable consequences of our choice. One cannot avoid the probability that the action we consider here tonight will likely bring additional loss of American life. As such, the exercise of this Constitutional obligation is never easy, regardless of the relative merits or personal convictions with respect to the course prescribed.

Moreover, tonight each Member has the additional burden of knowing that in approving this measure we are not only responding to this action, but we will be embracing a monumental change in U.S. policy. With this resolution, we declare that we will no longer draw any distinctions, limiting our response to those individuals who materially participate in an act of hatred and cowardice against the United States and its citizens. We are clearly at a point of demarcation in U.S. foreign policy. From this point forward, we say to the world, choose sides. Either you join us in the singular purpose of rooting out and destroying these merchants of fear and networks of hate, or we will regard you as a co-conspirator and, as such, you will be subject to the same fate as the perpetrators.

Again, this seemingly simple adjustment is no insignificant matter. This is a major policy shift which presents numerous challenges. This resolution will change the tone and tenor forever. This was an attack on civility and as such it will require a monumental effort. It will require us to have the fortitude and strength of resolve to see it through to its conclusion, without regard for the unavoidable unpleasantness. We must stay the course. To deviate or to shy away would surely risk exposing our nation, our citizens and life as we know it to far greater dangers.

America is the embodiment of freedom, the beacon of hope and in a very real sense, the guardians of justice—a justice shaped and honed by our values and morals. From this point forward, we will surely have our morality and values tested. We must strive to seek that delicate balance between accomplishing our objectives and ridding the world of these vessels of hate, while showing utmost care not to allow it to lead to a decay of our appreciation of humanity. We must not allow our anger to burn so deep that we become like those we condemn. In our zeal to right the wrongs we must show care not to dim the lamp of freedom or diminish the sacrifice of those who have given their lives to promote, protect and preserve this great democracy.

This was not just an attack on New York City, the Pentagon or even America, but rather an attack on civilization, itself. It marks an escalation which cannot be ignored. We must join the other nations in an all out fight against these enemies of society. I applaud President Bush and Secretary Powell's efforts to reach

out and build international support. We must spare no efforts to seek the full support and cooperation of allies, as well as friend and foe in the Arab world. This effort will certainly require an unprecedented level of diplomatic cohesion and demonstration of political sensitivity. Failure to gain the support and cooperation of the international community will surely limit our effectiveness and expose this nation to grave dangers. We can ill afford to become isolated in this pursuit.

As a nation, America has slumbered in the naive belief inherent in our decisive military might, superior technology and the safe labor provided by the great expanse of open ocean. Heretofore, we have been afforded the luxury of remaining unsoiled by the dirty business of hatred so common in a majority of the world today. On Tuesday, we were rudely awakened, our naive sense of security shattered by the ugly realities of terror.

We did not choose this course of our own volition, but having seen evil's face we must be resolved to join the fight with everything we can muster.

I stand in support of this resolution. May we proceed wisely.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BARR).

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Nebraska for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I support this resolution. I support this legislation. However, we ought to be here this evening debating a declaration of war. Somebody once said that if it walks like a duck, if it quacks like a duck, if it looks like a duck, then it is a duck.

This is war. The President has said it is war. The Secretary of State has said it is war. The Secretary of Defense has said it is war. Former government officials have said it is war. The American people know it is war. There is one way and one way only, Mr. Speaker, to respond to acts of war, and that is to declare war. Give the President the tools, the absolute flexibility he needs under international law and The Hague Convention to ferret these people out wherever they are, however he finds them, and get it done as quickly as possible. We need a declaration of war.

I urge my colleagues to keep that in mind and to support a declaration of war above and beyond this power that we will give the President this evening.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. JONES).

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I am angry, as I am sure most Americans are. And words cannot express our anger. But I have an 18-year-old son named Mervyn. And I always tell Mervyn, "Mervyn, anger is the ill wind that blows out the light of reason."

I stand firmly in support of the United States, the United States Constitution, our President and this Congress. I just trust that we will be as deliberate as they were, as precise as they were, but we must not let our anger blow out our light of reason.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE).

Mr. THUNE. I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, this is serious business. Tonight, we authorize the use of force. But we really have no choice, because a bunch of murderous thugs have extinguished the life from thousands of innocent Americans.

This weekend in my home State of South Dakota in the State capital of Pierre, veterans of World War II are going to gather and celebrate the achievements of what has been called our greatest generation. My father will be among them. He and the patriots of his day knew that American justice demanded that they rid the world of fascism and genocide. Their generation fought and defeated the evil of their day, and together our generation must fight and defeat the evil of ours.

I believe I speak for every South Dakotan in saying that these terrorists have messed with the wrong country. They have picked on the wrong kid. They have murdered our innocent brothers and sisters. And we will make it right. There will be justice. I know that every South Dakotan stands ready to support our President, to defend and protect American citizens and American freedoms. The world will know that America is strong and there will be a reckoning.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT).

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as I read the War Powers Act, the President actually has the authority to do what we are asking him and giving him the authority to do in this resolution because of a national emergency created by an attack on the United States or its forces. Despite that fact, this has got to be the most difficult vote I will have cast in the 9 years I have been in this body. I am absolutely terrified that we are about to declare, or authorize the President to declare war. But we have got to do it. That is what our constituents sent us here to do, to make the weighty decisions, to cast the difficult votes.

I just hope the President will exercise his authority with judgment and wisdom. And I hope that God will bless America and these decisions.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Utah (Mr. HANSEN), a member of the Committee on Armed Services and chairman of the Committee on Resources.

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

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, it was our friend, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. SAM JOHNSON, who served about 6 years in Hanoi as a prisoner of war. He states that on his cell wall he had a little statement that said, "Freedom has

a taste to it to those who fought and almost died that the protected will never understand."

I guess the events of Tuesday brought us a lot closer to understanding what could occur. We see where freedom is challenged by another nation if it may be a nation, which it is not but a group of people who have some funny attitudes.

Today, I had the opportunity of going over to the Pentagon and standing there and looking at what occurred. Apparently, there were two people standing there as that plane went over their heads. They actually felt they had to duck as it went over their heads, standing right outside of the Pentagon. They said at that point that they throttled up, as we used to say in the Navy, we two-blocked the throttle, and went in. Imagine that tonnage of airplane hitting that Pentagon at that speed.

A lot of people died; a very painful situation. But this thing can be made right. And it should be, and these people will be ferreted out. And I am confident they will be destroyed. That is what should occur.

Freedom has a taste to it and we better learn to understand it.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Guam (Mr. UNDERWOOD).

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people of Guam, I rise in support of the resolution to authorize the use of military force by the President against persons, nations, and organizations which were connected with the despicable acts on American soil on Tuesday, September 11.

A formal authorization to pursue the criminals and their cohorts who committed these inhumane and incomprehensible acts is our collective statement about our national will. It is a will that reflects a national crusade that will inevitably prevail. I have no doubt about that. But we should be mindful that our national will should not be displayed with anger; it should be pursued in the name of justice. We do not take this step in the name of vengeance. We take it in the full confidence that we are a special people, called upon to safeguard freedom and democracy here and abroad.

It is a mark of our strength that we do not use military strength lightly. It is a mark of our democracy that we take this step now and in the future together with the President. It is a mark of our people that we marshal the resources, the courage and the wisdom to prevail, not to assuage our anger but to make the world safe for everyone.

Support the resolution. Support the President. Support our men and women who are working around the clock to defend us all.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend from Nebraska for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, this joint resolution is well intended, but it does not go far enough. I regret the President did not get all the support he needed or wanted. This resolution should have authorized the President to attack, apprehend, and punish terrorists whenever it is in the best interests of America to do so. Instead, the resolution limits the President to using force only against those responsible for the terrorist attacks last Tuesday. This is a significant restraint on the President's ability to root out terrorism wherever it may be found.

Terrorism is not confined to a single organization or a single group or a specific sect. All terrorists, even those not directly connected to this week's attacks, are a deadly threat and must be neutralized. We cannot win the war against international terrorism unless we fight on all fronts. This resolution, while helpful in some ways, ties the President's hands and allows only the pursuit of one individual and his followers and supporters. I am disappointed that this limited resolution does not respond adequately to the need to protect the lives of freedom-loving people around the world.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to my good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, this time of great peril has brought forth the best in our people, from those who rescue and heal and protect at ground zero, to those who across America raise flags, collect donations and give blood. But times of peril can also cause our well-justified anger and desire for immediate action to overwhelm democratic safeguards erected over the last 2 centuries. The tension that we face tonight is to provide the President with enough authority to eradicate wrongdoing without wronging the carefully crafted systems of checks and balances so essential to our democracy. Neither should this body lightly yield the power of the purse by granting unlimited access to the public treasury to the executive.

As we vote for this important resolution with the lives of so many at stake in this important endeavor against terrorism, we cannot let the executive branch become the exclusive branch. Our approval must represent not the end but the beginning of congressional involvement. Today, we pledge to redouble our efforts to assure the security and the well-being of people in America and in many other parts of the world as we challenge terrorism. But we do so, entering this difficult course of national involvement, with an eagerness to see that our most precious democratic institutions are also preserved.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH),

the distinguished vice chairman of the Committee on International Relations. Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, the lethal threat to Americans will not go away by wishing it away. The faceless cowards who murdered thousands of innocent men, women, and children this week and the hate-filled extremists, who today are scheming future acts of terrorism, must be rooted out.

Mr. Speaker, even before Tuesday's atrocities, deaths from worldwide acts of terror were on the rise. But nothing could have prepared Americans, and the world, for the cruel and barbaric slaughter of so many innocent people. In 1999, 233 people were murdered by terrorists. In 2000, the number jumped to 405. In 2000, roughly half of all the terrorist incidents in the world were directed against Americans and U.S. assets. Each day, 10 to 12 threats are aimed at U.S. posts overseas. However, most of those are on foreign soil, so we were lulled into a false sense of security.

Mr. Speaker, people should know that whatever intelligence gathering lapses may have occurred, Congress did step up to the plate time and again through successive administrations. We did it after Beirut. We did it through the succeeding years. We did it after the bombing of our embassies in Africa.

Today, it is all too clear that our initiatives have fallen short. And now, Mr. Speaker, the task of mitigating and ultimately ending the terrorist threat requires the strongest medicine of all. It is time to take the gloves off. This resolution urges the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those who were in any way responsible for or who aided the terrorists and to prevent further acts of terrorism against the United States.

The resolution is not a blank check. We do this with our eyes open and in fervent prayer, especially the prayer that President Bush and his national security team will be lavished with wisdom from God above to use only that force which is truly necessary and only that force which is truly appropriate.

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Finally, Mr. Speaker, we need to take heed from the ageless wisdom in Psalm 37, where David writes:

"For evil men will be cut off, but those who hope in the Lord will inherit the land. . . The wicked plot against the righteous and gnash their teeth at them; but the Lord laughs at the wicked, for he knows their day is coming. The wicked draw the sword and bend the bow to bring down the poor and needy, to slay those who are upright. But their swords will pierce their own hearts, and the bows will be broken . . . for the power of the wicked will be broken.

"The days of the blameless are known to the Lord . . . In times of dis-

aster they will not wither . . . but the wicked will perish. I have seen a wicked and ruthless man flourishing like a green tree in its native soil, but he soon passed away and was no more; though I looked for him, he could not be found.

"The salvation of the righteous comes from the Lord; he is their stronghold in time of trouble. The Lord helps them and delivers them; he delivers them from the wicked and saves them, because they take refuge in him."

This is not just our fight. It is the Lord's fight as well.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER).

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

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend from California for yielding me time.

This morning as we sang the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," one line has indelibly burned into my mind as I contemplate this vote: "As he died to make men holy, let us die to make them free."

We have had unprecedented death and grief in our country: firefighters going into the World Trade Center, never coming out, trying to fight for their fellow citizens; soldiers and sailors, dying at their desks of duty; heroes bringing down a plane in Pennsylvania so that we in this building might be free and live. Unprecedented death and sorrow.

Mr. Speaker, it is never easy to cast a vote for war. We did not want this, we did not instigate this, we did not need this. We have no choice.

Paraphrasing Winston Churchill: let us brace ourselves for our duties, and with justice, with firmness, with patience and fairness. Some day they may say this was their finest hour.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HAYES), a member of the Committee on Armed Services.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. On Tuesday, our Nation suffered the most horrific act of terrorism the world has ever seen. A hostile act of this magnitude should be viewed as an act of war against our Nation.

Just as our country and the world changed in the wake of Pearl Harbor 60 years ago, our future was set on a new course with Tuesday's senseless attack on our citizens. This horrifying act has united us in a way that has not been seen in decades. It has inspired the world to act against terrorism and strike back.

It is the duty of all of us to honor the victims of this tragedy by using this international spirit to do everything possible to stop the scourge of ter-

rorism. Our President has shown leadership, prudence, wisdom, and courage in his response to the crisis. This resolution empowers our President and our men and women in uniform to win this war against terrorism and ensure freedom for our country and the world.

As President Bush said, we will respond appropriately, at the proper time and the place of our choosing.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY).

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, the horrendous tragedies of this week warrant a strong and judicious response. However, I am concerned that the language of this resolution could result in dangerous foreign policy.

The perpetrators of this crime must be dealt with. However, we must ensure that when we strike back, we deliver a massive blow against those truly responsible for this terrible crime.

We as a Nation stand for the rule of law. Perpetrators of crimes, no matter their size or scope, are afforded a trial through a judicial process. That means no targeted assassinations and no death squads. In the aftermath of this horrendous act, let us not forget that real security and real peace come through justice.

I, too, feel extreme pain and outrage at the attack on America, but our Nation must respond with a commitment to justice, or else we become all that we abhor.

The United States confronted this very same decision at the close of World War II, that is, the struggle for justice in the face of tyranny. There were those who called for widespread executions of Nazis, Japanese leadership and their civilians. On the other side were those who urged reason and a return to the rule of law. Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, who led the prosecution at Nuremberg, said it best: "That four great nations flushed with victory and stung with the injury, stay the hand of vengeance and voluntary submit their captive enemies to the judgment of the law, is one of the most significant tributes that power has ever paid to reason."

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. FOLEY).

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am sad it took Tuesday's events to bring out the patriotism in our country and the need for military security.

My father's generation, who served in World War II, has long expressed to us the need to be ever vigilant, to protect our society from the evils of tyranny. We learned all too well on Tuesday that that is indeed our mission here in this Congress, and we execute today with great deliberation.

I was proud of my President and our President, George Bush, today in New York; I was proud of him in the National Cathedral; and I am proud of our country. The terrorists may have

taken a bite out of the Big Apple on Tuesday, but they are the ones that are rotten to the core.

While we seek not retribution, we seek justice, and I ask my colleagues once again, the third time today, to urge our communities not to take retribution on those who may be of similar faith and similar nationalities. Let us reserve our vengeance for those who caused the crime, and not by guilt by association.

I love this country. I am proud of our Congress, and I am proud of our President.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my friend, the gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA).

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, like our President, we as Members of this great institution all took a solemn oath to defend and support the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, both here and abroad. As copartners in this endeavor, our adoption of this resolution will join us with the Senate in sending an unequivocal message that the United States Congress firmly supports our President in taking all necessary and appropriate action, including the use of military force, to pursue and punish the persons and organizations who treacherously murdered thousands of innocent Americans this past Tuesday.

Mr. Speaker I have seen my share of blood spilled in Vietnam, and it is always a most difficult decision for me to support this authorization to send our men and women in military uniform into harm's way. Given the terrible heinous attacks on thousands of innocent Americans this past Tuesday, I have no reservations that the President must be given this authorization to wage war against international terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, it is absolutely critical that the President is successful in this endeavor, for I fear that the next chapter of terrorism will be even more horrific and will likely involve weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear weapons and biological and chemical agents, which long have been available in the international black market.

For the protection of our Nation and our way of life, I urge my colleagues to support the President by adoption of this resolution.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON), a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

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

Yesterday I had the grim task of going to the Pentagon and looking at the rubble and seeing the grave, the unexpected grave, of almost 200 of our citizens buried beneath all the bricks and mortar and concrete. In this collection of dust, one of the workers who had been there for some time asked me, he said, "Tell me, we have been iso-

lated here, we have been on premises, we don't have access to TV and radio; what are the American people saying, what are they thinking, what are you folks, members of Congress, hearing from back home?"

I said to him, "The people back home are resolved. They are behind the President. They are united as an American people to exact a revenge and retaliate, not for an act that we chose, but for one that we must respond to. Otherwise, all Americans, in the airways, on the highways or in the office spaces, are at danger. We must complete the task in front of us."

This legislation gives us that opportunity. It is essential.

When I said that to this worker, he was somewhat relieved. He joined hands with me and said, "Praise the Lord. We must do this."

So, Mr. Speaker, I think this legislation is appropriate, and I hope that my colleagues will support it overwhelmingly.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from the State of Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT).

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

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, there is an old Arab adage, "Vengeance is best served cold." The procedure we are dealing with here is red hot.

Our history is replete with chaos created by our government going off half-cocked. I was involved in the Vietnam War. I saw the casualties. I was on the floor here when we went to war against Saddam Hussein. And the feeling here today, as I listen to it, is that most people think that Osama bin Laden is involved in this. Now, if we kill him, will the threat from the other operatives be over? Sadly, I am afraid not.

We want to have an appropriate response, a cold, carefully planned and calculated response. In the art of warfare, there is something you must learn from your enemy. That particular enemy in this case did not undertake this mission on the spur of the moment. Their plan evolved over months and months and months.

Let me make an important point here: I strongly believe that America should respond and severely punish those responsible for these heinous acts. But we must move carefully. Bin Laden, if he is the one, used his brains, not his strength. We, too, should use our brains, not just our strength and power. Your brains must be your strength.

Think about it for a minute. Watch who kills the most prey, the bull or the lion. Because the lion is quiet and watching, does not mean he is asleep.

I will support this, but I will also reserve the right as Gaylord Nelson and Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse did, the right to vote against funding if the President is not careful and does not plan carefully.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCHROCK), a member of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. SCHROCK. Mr. Speaker, as the representative of our Nation's largest naval installation and home of the Nation's highest concentration of active duty and retired military, I stand today in support of this resolution. The decision to use force against any and all terrorists will require that many families in the district I represent will sacrifice time away from their loved ones. In some cases, even the lives of their loved ones may be lost in pursuit of our goal to rid the world of terrorists, their supporters and those who harbor them.

This is very humbling to me; but terrorists declared war against our Nation, and, as they have for more than 2 centuries, the people of Hampton Roads, Virginia, stand ready to defend our country, to seek out terrorists and ensure they pay the ultimate penalty for their acts of evil.

We are a peaceful, freedom-loving Nation; but we have the right to self-defense. We will defend and protect our country and its allies by eradicating our planet of this evil.

God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. BOYD).

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

Mr. BOYD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. I come here today in a sobering mood.

□ 2030

This is a somber and solemn moment for our Nation. We are about to take an action which will put our Nation's finest in harm's way, but we know what we have to do to prevent additional loss of life and to protect our freedoms.

Mr. Speaker, when I was carrying a rifle in the jungles of Vietnam, I prayed every day that never again would American young people have to go to a foreign soil to fight in combat. But we know what we must do to prevent additional loss of life and to protect our freedoms.

Mr. Speaker, we are angry, but we must not react in anger. We must be calm. We must be patient. Our reaction must be measured, it must be calculated and responsible, and it will be effective.

In our 225-year history, Mr. Speaker, thousands of Americans have given their lives to defend freedom. Each generation has learned that freedom is not free. There is something about America that these thugs do not understand, but they will understand when we complete our mission. May God grant wisdom to the President of the United States and may he grant his protection and blessing to the young, great Americans that have to carry out this mission.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Idaho (Mr. OTTER).

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

Mr. Speaker, during the dawning days of this great Republic, one of our founding architects uttered these words:

That these were the days that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink in the service of their country, but he that stands it now deserves the love and the thanks of every man and every woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered, yet in that we have this consolation; and that consolation is that the more difficult the battle, the more glorious the triumph. Those things which we obtain too easily we esteem too lightly. So it would seem strange, indeed, Mr. Speaker, if so celestial an article as freedom were not highly prized.

Mr. Speaker, I offer that tonight as it be as applicable on this resolution as it was on the resolution that Thomas Paine wrote it for.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.J. Res. 64. Today, as Members of Congress, we use words as our weapons. Tomorrow these words must be followed through. The hard work begins.

As Americans we pride ourselves in our diversity. We come in all shapes and sizes and colors. We come with many religious beliefs: Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim. But in our differences we are family. We are different and proud; but attack us, kill us, harm us, we are Americans first and we respond as family.

The gloves are now coming off with respect to all of the terrorists and their organizations and the governments who choose to harbor them. With the passage of this resolution, the President of the United States will have the authority to apply all the military force he deems necessary to terminate terrorist threats against this country. America has stood strong in the face of adversity and has never bowed down to enemies and will not start now.

Justice will come in many forms for the people involved in this attack. We have yet to see even the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the retribution we will exact from the leaders of this bombing.

Mr. Speaker, I have never been prouder to be an American. God bless America.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS).

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

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

Mr. Speaker, everyone knows that the President of the United States is granted vast powers under the Constitution and under the consent of his fellow Americans: the power to guide domestic affairs, to deal with domestic crises, to present legislation; all the things with which we are familiar; and he also has the vast power that is granted to him to declare and to enforce and to execute foreign policy. It is there that a slight demarcation occurs.

When foreign policy is the question, Americans almost unanimously swoop behind the President and support him and urge him on for the betterment of our own Nation's policies. And he is, of course, the Commander in Chief.

I rise in support of this resolution because he is the chief of state for domestic policy, because he is the architect of foreign policy, and because he is the Commander in Chief. And as the Commander in Chief, he should and does have the power to put our American force to the best use possible across the world.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES), my good friend.

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

Mr. Speaker, today we are authorizing the use of the U.S. military against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against us. We are simply at war. We did not seek this war; but make no mistake, we will respond. We will finish the conflict on our terms, but only after we determine that our enemies have been defeated.

The coming days, weeks and months will continue to test us. We will hear heart-breaking stories, see tragic images. We will continue to say good-bye to American troops as they head off to defend us against terror and those who hate America, those who hate everything that America stands for: freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of democracy.

As President John F. Kennedy once said, "Let every Nation know, whether it wishes us ill or well, that we will pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty." We will persevere. We will be victorious.

God bless our great country.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PLATTS).

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

I rise in support of this resolution authorizing our Commander in Chief to bring the full weight and fury of our armed services against the evil parties responsible for the heinous attacks against our citizens.

Just off the rotunda here in the Capitol Building stands a statue, a fellow Pennsylvanian by the name of John

Muhlenberg. In January 1776, this 29-year-old Lutheran minister gave a sermon about the fight for independence in which he quoted Ecclesiastes: "There is an appointed time for everything. And there is a time for every event under heaven; a time for war and a time for peace." Pastor Muhlenberg then concluded his sermon by casting off his clerical robes to reveal the uniform of a Continental Army officer.

Mr. Speaker, as in the founding days of our great Nation, the time for war is upon us. God bless our Nation, and God watch over our citizens who will be going into harm's way.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. WEXLER), a member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. WEXLER. Mr. Speaker, when I put my 8-year-old son to sleep on Tuesday night, he told me his whole body felt like crying. Today, the whole body of America is crying.

As we internalize the depth of the pain and horror inflicted on our people, we cherish life, we cherish freedom, we cherish America. And that is why we must authorize military force to rid the world of the insidious scourge of terrorism, no matter what the cost, no matter how long it takes. I beg God to sustain us and permit us to be the worthy defenders of peace and freedom.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. SUNUNU), a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SUNUNU. Mr. Speaker, when America's freedom is threatened, Americans respond. And in the hours that have followed the horrific attacks of Tuesday morning, our Nation has done just that, and done it in ways that bring forth deep emotions of patriotism and gratitude and humility. Humanitarian assistance has poured forth from across the country, thousands have enlisted as volunteers, and funds have been made available to help recover and to help rebuild.

Tonight we take the next step in responding to this great challenge. The resolution before us will place a unified Congress behind the Commander in Chief and send a clear message to America's enemies.

We must authorize and we must employ all necessary force to protect our Nation against this terrorist threat and to destroy the capability of those who would wage future attacks. We know the challenge is great, but the cause of preserving our freedom demands no less.

In doing so, we ensure that although our Nation never sought this conflict, we will end it in a way and in an hour of our choosing.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY). We all feel anguish, but none as powerfully as he, who lost his first cousin, age 42, in this outrage.



Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California, my friend, for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to speak again about the heinous crime committed against the American people, people all over the land, living here in the United States, and against our great Nation.

On Tuesday, September 11, the lives of all Americans changed forever. As a Nation, we have grieved and we have joined our hearts together in prayer. We have watched as our lives have been put on hold so that we may honor the dead and the missing. We keep hope alive for the brave men and women who continue to work around the clock to search for life and survivors.

I spoke yesterday about my dear cousin, Battalion Chief John Moran, who so bravely dedicated his life to the saving of the lives of others at the site of this attack. My cousin, like so many others who are heroes, has not been found.

Mr. Speaker, we will all be rebuilding emotionally and physically for some time to come. Our great Nation stands changed for ever. Yet somehow it is also stronger, more united, and more defiantly proud than ever. These truly are, as our great President Abraham Lincoln stated during another difficult period in American history, the times that try men's souls.

Our physical symbols have been destroyed and thousands of lives are feared lost, but our values and ideals of freedom and democracy stand stronger than ever. These values shared by all Americans of all religions and backgrounds is what causes such hatred and jealousy in the hearts and the minds of our enemies.

I recently saw a photograph of the New York City skyline which had in its midst the image of a new skyscraper where the towers of the World Trade Center once stood, and the caption on top said, "we will rebuild."

Mr. Speaker, we will rebuild. While we honor those who have lost their lives and try to absorb the terrible losses of the last several days and try in our own individual and collective ways to move forward, we cannot forget the perpetrators of this reprehensible crime; those who planned, authorized, aided and abetted these attacks. They must not and they will not go unpunished. But, Mr. Speaker, make no mistake; the response of the United States, the House of Representatives, has been carefully considered.

□ 2045

We have all taken a deep breath and searched our hearts and souls for an appropriate and just response.

I myself have just come back from visiting ground zero with our President in New York. I stood with him surrounded by firefighters, police officers, and rescue workers who have worked since Tuesday tirelessly searching for bodies, praying to find anyone who survived this horrific attack.

Mr. Speaker, I was proud to stand there with my President, with my colleagues, and with these brave men and women. And for the first time this week, I felt a glimmer of hope and a whole lot of pride, pride for our Nation that takes care of itself, for a nation that has men and women like the ones I saw and met today and this week who have put themselves in harm's way to save the lives of others; proud that despite the destruction of physical symbols, that it is the undying principles that endure.

Tonight we consider another measure, this one to enable the President, our Commander in Chief, to use whatever means required to bring this crime to justice. For the memory of those who served and the memory of those innocent lives taken so very prematurely, it is the very least we can do. Americans by nature are not a vengeful people, but we need to respond to these attacks so as to ensure that they never happen again.

As the Commander in Chief, the President must provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare of our people, this resolution permits our Commander in Chief to do just that.

I support this resolution, not lightly but without hesitation. This resolution and the authority it contains allows for the protection of our American way of life for generations to come.

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

The gentleman can be assured that all of us in this House share in his concern, his grief, and his pride in the courage and relentless efforts of New Yorkers and others who have come to their aid.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SHADEGG).

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

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people that I have the privilege of representing in this House, I rise in strong support of this use of force resolution. Unfortunately, I am concerned that it may not go far enough. It does not go as far as the President requested or may need.

On Tuesday, America sustained a cowardly attack. It was a despicable act of war. Mr. Speaker, the American people are a peaceful people. We are slow to anger. But we have been viciously attacked, and the attack was unlike any ever known in this world and in its history.

It will require a very different response. We must focus our anger and carefully plan, calibrate, and execute our response. It must be worldwide and comprehensive in scope, as well as massive in magnitude. We must target and destroy every terrorist and every terrorist group that aided or supported the attackers or sympathizers with their cause.

We must destroy their will to fight, not out of revenge, but as a matter of

self-defense. Because terrorists do not defend territory or populations, they cannot be confronted or defeated using traditional means. We cannot expect easy or quick solutions. We must be prepared for a protracted effort to eradicate these cowardly terrorists.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my neighbor and good friend, our distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ESHOO).

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, my colleague, and my congressional neighbor, the ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in full support of this resolution. I do it with a heavy heart because of what has been imposed on our Nation. We did not seek this, but we must act.

I do not believe that we act, and I know that I do not, in taking this vote, out of vengeance, because the American people are good and they are decent. They are loving, and they have once again exhibited this face and this character this week in one of the most tragic and challenging moments in our Nation's history.

I believe that this resolution is consistent with the War Powers Act, and that it reiterates the President's authority under the Constitution to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States of America.

I know that this will be long and difficult. I pledge my allegiance to the magnificent people of our country, and I say to the constituents of my magnificent congressional district that we will move ahead united and do what we must in the name of those that gave their lives this week.

I ask God to bless our Nation and to guide our President.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH).

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I crossed the aisle tonight to offer these remarks, not for priority of party but for the needs of our Nation.

The men and women in uniform we are about to send into battle will not wear insignia of party identification, they will be there as Americans. So Mr. Speaker, tonight in this place, at this hour, I stand in strong support of this resolution as the people of Arizona and the people of America go forth united in what will prove to be a difficult and perhaps even a protracted struggle, but a fight we cannot afford to postpone.

Support the resolution. Support our Nation and our way of life. We are Americans first. Vote for the resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield as much time as he might consume to our distinguished democratic leader, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), who has led us through this crisis with grace and dignity and wisdom.

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

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, first, I thank you and your colleagues for working so hard with all of us to present a completely united front to our foes and to the world in this time of grave emergency in our country.

I rise to address my colleagues, though today we all know we are more than that. Today, we are all American brothers and sisters, because the family of America has been attacked, and we have gathered together to begin the process of healing and then defending our American family, our beloved Nation.

What was the purpose of Tuesday's attack? Terrorism's simple goal is that it is embedded in the word "terrorism" itself. It is to create terror. That was the real goal of Tuesday's attack. Well, we can report to the world that we are fighting and winning the battle against terror in America today.

In America today, there is a strong, clear, cold conviction. We will punish those who committed these acts, and we will make our Nation safe again. America is as united as it has been in its history. Death and tragedy was one result of Tuesday's attack. What the terrorists did not know is that they would create so much American unity.

The act of terror and inhumanity has produced American heroism that few people have witnessed in their lifetimes. Before our very eyes in the last 3 days we have seen another generation rise to the moral challenge of our time.

Jeremy Glick, on the United flight which crashed in Pennsylvania, called his wife on a cell phone to say his plane had been hijacked, and three of us, he said, are going to fight. His wife told him about the attack on the World Trade Center. We have credible reason to believe that he and other passengers brought down their plane so that others could live another day.

New York City Fire Chief Peter Ganci stood with a multichannel radio at the foot of One World Trade Center, and with smoke swirling around his head, trying amid the chaos to organize the rescue effort, the building collapsed. The chief died.

New York City Fire Department Chaplain Mychal Judge went to the tower to minister to victims. He was hit by debris in the head. He died.

More than 250 firefighters ran into the building that others were running out of so that they could try to get up the steps to save others. They are all missing.

Yesterday, when I went to the Pentagon with Members here, a general told of how a woman found one person passed out with fumes in the aftermath of the attack. She lifted the person up, he said, threw her from the window and then saved the person's life and then threw herself out the window to save her own life.

New Yorkers line streets in Manhattan holding signs and flags in celebration of our rescue workers going off to rescue other Americans. Americans descended on emergency centers, set up

by workers from the Red Cross, stood for hours in line so they could give their blood so life could be pumped into the lives of the wounded.

There was a story this morning on the radio of a volunteer rescue worker who said he was in New York digging through rubble in search for survivors because, he said, we are digging for freedom.

Our people, the wonderful, good, decent people of this country are responding in heroic ways, and they are fighting back against this absolute evil that visited itself on our great country on Tuesday. They are rising to this challenge just as earlier generations have met challenges that confronted them.

Congress debates this historic resolution in their spirit and with them for our inspiration and as our guide. We literally and figuratively tonight are following the lead of the American people. Humanity at its best.

Alexis de Tocqueville in the 19th century observed about our country and its people, he said America is great because she is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.

Everything that is happening today is happening because Americans are still good and America is still great.

Finally, we must recognize and understand a fundamental truth. Our foes caused enormous death and destruction, but their greater goal is to instill fear in the heart of every American.

□ 2100

We will conquer that foe. We will not be defeated. We will not succumb. We will not fear. We will always rise up, as we have through our history, and we will face fear down.

Our challenge is to draw on the goodness, the decency, the bravery, and the humanity that has always defined this great country. I know in my heart we will prevail. We will face this foe, and we will not adopt the characteristics of those who attack us. We will not forget the civil liberties of our people. We will not discriminate. We will not use prejudice. We will not succumb to hatred in fighting this foe. We will not be divided.

Two months ago, the Foreign Minister in Germany told me that what he found so impressive about America was that he had never known such a powerful Nation to use its power so responsibly. I have faith in ourselves, in our fellow human beings; and I have faith in God to see us through. I am guided in my belief by my faith, which is best expressed in the hymn, "Be Not Afraid." "Be not afraid. I go before you always. Come, follow me, and I will give you rest."

Our people have courage, our military will defend, our President will have our support and our trust to bring our foes to justice; and with God's help, we will be free and our people will be healed.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New

York (Mr. BOEHLERT), the chairman of the Committee on Science.

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

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, Shaw said, "Some men see things as they are and ask why. I dream things that never were and ask why not." My dream, the collective dream of all Americans, is a world at peace, a world in which equal opportunity for all prevails.

I cannot explain the why of the events of the past few days, but I can and will continue to share in that collective dream of all Americans. As I see it, this resolution, which we should and will pass, is not a resolution designed to promote war, rather it is one seeking to advance the cause of a secure world and a just and lasting peace.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Minority leader, my colleagues, I am proud to serve with you in this great institution. I am proud to serve under our commander in chief, the President of the United States. But most of all, I am proud of the strength and the character and the resolve and the common purpose of the American people. That character, that strength, that resolve, that common purpose is represented here in the people's House. We are united. We are strong. We are determined.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my friend and colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL).

(Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this evening I stand in the strongest position of support for the resolution that is in front of us and that has been carefully negotiated and in coming days, weeks, and months will play out, and also to offer unqualified support tonight for President Bush in the difficult days, weeks, and months ahead that surely will confront this Nation.

It is to be a difficult time. But as we witness the bravery and the heroism of those men and women of New York City and those families who have lost loved ones as well as the Pentagon, we know the resolve of the American people. I supported the Iraqi incursion a decade ago in one of the most difficult votes in this House. Tonight, this vote is not easy either, knowing as well that when the days grow very difficult, it will require the strength of all the American people. But tonight let us resolve to proceed with vigor, not vengeance, in remembrance of those who have been lost over the last 3 tragic days.

The same comments I offered on Wednesday night I offer tonight: strength to the American people and wisdom to President Bush and this Congress.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE).

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, the horrendous attack we have suffered and our national response will prove to be a pivotal event in world history. Our Nation is now embarked on a fight for freedom. Some nations will stand up and be with us, and we may even be surprised by who our friends are. We will have many allies, but others will be against us.

Secretary Powell and others are working the phones now making key determinations. I think we all understand that we can only act decisively. There can be no pinprick strikes. Terrorism will only get worse unless we act to eradicate it now.

Several years ago, during a hearing on Afghanistan, Members of Congress, including myself, warned that the war-torn country of Afghanistan was rapidly evolving into a serious threat to national security. Many rang the bell. It went unanswered. We will now have to act, as we should have acted before, to root out the terrorist camps and destroy their infrastructure, including destroying any governments supporting them.

President Bush spoke eloquently to the American people today from the National Cathedral. I believe that Americans are willing to follow his leadership and make the sacrifices needed to win and survive as the country we know and love.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

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

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I had the opportunity to travel with the President to New York today, with other colleagues from the region, to view the devastation left in the aftermath of Tuesday's tragic events and to meet with the volunteers and professionals who have made such a heroic effort to help the victims and their families.

Tonight, we stand united in sending a message to the world that we will rise above this senseless act; that we will not let the actions of a group of fanatics destroy our spirit. As we move to give the President the authority to use all necessary and appropriate force in responding to these unprovoked attacks, let us be sure that we remain true to our American principles by enacting a plan which protects the American people and strengthens the bonds with our allies.

However, as we raise our powerful swift sword, let us be mindful of the fact that the overriding majority of people who live in these rogue nations are themselves victims of their governments. They are being oppressed by their leaders.

I stand committed to working together to build an effective anti-terrorism policy which will make our country and our world safer so that we

will never have a recurrence of the nightmare we experienced last Tuesday again.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. REGULA), a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

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

Mr. REGULA. Mr. Speaker, events of the past week have given all of us great pride in America, great pride in the people of this Nation and the way in which they responded to our crisis. But tonight we also have a moment of pride, and that is that we are a Nation of laws; that we are a Nation that follows the rule of law; and that in this action, in this resolution, we are respecting the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution says that the Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes and to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, to declare war, to provide calling forth the militia to repel invasions. That is what we are doing. But it also provides that the President shall be commander in chief of the forces of this Nation.

I think this resolution says eloquently that we are a Nation of laws; that we respond in a measured way, as provided in the Constitution of the United States; and that we can take pride in our response along with the people in their response to the events of this week.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the vice chair of the Democratic Caucus.

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

In times of tragedy, America pulls together and America gets stronger. We defeated the forces of evil in World War II, we turned economic crisis into economic opportunities and beat the Great Depression, and we can and will defeat these forces too.

Every war is different. No challenge is the same. This will be a battle unlike any other, fought with new tools and methods; fought with intelligence and brute force, rooting out the enemies among us and those outside our borders. This war may be different, but we have the capabilities to win; and we will not rest until we have wiped the evil of terrorism from the face of the Earth.

There is nowhere they can hide where we will not hunt them. There is nowhere they will be safe from our wrath. We will consider any person or nation who harbors them or aids them or authorizes their activities to be just as guilty. If you harbor our enemy, then you are our enemy. If you help our enemy, then you are our enemy. Our resolve has no end. Our commitment is total.

In times of tragedy, America pulls together and America gets stronger.

That is what we are here to do today: to stand united, to say to the world there are no partisans here, only patriarchs. There is no difference between Democrats and Republicans, between the Congress and the President. We are speaking with one voice.

The resolution we are supporting tonight authorizes the President to use the full range of force available from our military not only to respond to the terrorist acts on Tuesday but also to prevent future acts. And we will not be alone in our battle. The enormous evil of these acts is uniting the civilized world behind a common cause because the attacks on the World Trade Center and on the Pentagon were attacks not just against the United States but against humanity itself.

The civilized world is uniting in this common fight because there are only two sides in it: right or wrong, good or evil. You are with us or against us. No civilized nation can be allowed to sit on the fence.

I just came back from the site of the tragedy in New York City with my colleagues. I saw the horrendous results of the terrorists' unspeakable deeds. And as I stood at ground zero, I was reminded of the scenes of devastation and bombings from World War II. But what cannot be seen in that rubble are the broken families and the fatherless and motherless children left in its wake. We will not let this stand, because to let this stand would be to let civilization itself perish. To let it stand would be to let evil prevail. To let this stand would be to lay down our values of liberty, justice, and freedom.

It has been said that in the long history of the world only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. Tonight, we do not shrink from this responsibility, we embrace it, and in doing so we send a beacon of light to the rest of the world.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. DEAL).

Mr. DEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, by the adoption of this resolution tonight, let us send one very clear message to the world: we are the United States of America. We are the United States. We are united.

□ 2115

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TURNER), the ranking Democrat on the terrorism panel of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the President to use all necessary and appropriate force to seek and destroy those who are responsible for the deadly acts of terrorism committed against the American people.

Tonight, every Member of this House and every American stand united.

We want to thank the President for his leadership in this time of national tragedy and national testing of our

will. We stand with him against the forces of darkness that have broken our hearts but emboldened our spirits.

We know this war will require our patience, our perseverance, our unwavering courage and commitment. Our only timetable is to stay the course until the job is finished. The future of liberty, freedom. And human dignity hang in the balance and our Nation will not be found wanting.

May God's wisdom and judgment guide our steps and may God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA).

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

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I examined the war-torn Pentagon site, the lingering scent of smoke, the ruins of a building, the courageous rescue workers, including the Montgomery County, Maryland Search and Rescue Team.

Tonight, as this debate was taking place, I was calling families of some of the Montgomery County, Maryland victims, victims of the Pentagon attack. The victims include Michelle Heidenberger, Todd Reuben, William Caswell, Darin Pontell, Lawrence Getzfred, Ernest Willcher, Gerald Fisher, Lisa Young, Ted Moy. The list goes on. This is not New York or Pennsylvania. This is just so far what we have heard from the Pentagon. There will be a lot more coming, unfortunately, throughout this Nation.

We offer our prayers and support to these families of these heroes. We resolve to find the perpetrators and punish them harshly.

Without any question, this terrorist attack on our liberty and freedom is a strike against all nations that value democracy. It is an act of war, but we will not be intimidated. No act as cowardly as this one can go unanswered. I trust the President to act accordingly, cautiously and appropriately. I will cast my vote. We must stand in unity, pledging to defend freedom, unity and liberty.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS).

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

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, tonight with the passage of this resolution, it is time that we move from words to deeds. We must identify and destroy all those who perpetrated the horror on our country on Tuesday. We must then move swiftly to cut off their financing network, their infrastructure network, and all those who would aid and abet and support them.

Then we must embark on the long struggle of making the nations choose between obedience to terrorism or subscription to the rule of law and international cooperation.

There has been much eloquence in this Chamber in recent days from all

sides, and I appreciate it. But the American people will not be satisfied with our eloquence. They want us to stand with our Armed Forces, stand with our allies around the world, and swiftly, swiftly settle the debt owed to us by those who brought harm upon this country on Tuesday.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN).

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this authorization for the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist acts committed against our country on September 11, and to prevent any future acts of internal terrorism against the United States.

Today, Mr. Speaker, along with my colleagues from New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, I visited lower Manhattan and saw firsthand the physical destruction and I better understand now the human devastation. The deaths of our fellow Americans, the destruction of our sovereign land, and this act of war against all Americans cannot and will not go unanswered.

As the President spoke to the world today from the National Cathedral, "This Nation is peaceful but fierce when stirred to anger. This conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others. It will end in a way and in an hour of our own choosing."

Mr. Speaker, whether the hour be near or far, we stand united with our President and with the men and women of our Armed Forces.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FATTAH).

Mr. FATTAH. Mr. Speaker, there were some very bright young people from the district, here in Washington, who because of their excellent school work were off on a trip with their teachers who died on September 11. Along with thousands of others they were the casualties of this act that was perpetrated.

Today we take this step, and I rise in support of this resolution, and I rise specifically on behalf of these children, for it is our responsibility to provide for their protection, to provide for their promise and their potential.

Whatever the perceived real grievance is of those who took this action, attacking innocent children and thousands of other innocent Americans is unacceptable.

We must respond. We know not what the tactics or strategy or play of this engagement will be, but we must act.

Mr. Speaker, I stand and I support this resolution.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. CHABOT), a member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Speaker, tonight we stand with our President as our Nation prepares to do battle with those

who seek to destroy the American way of life. Tonight we vote to give our President full authority to use America's full military might against those responsible for this week's despicable attacks against the United States and its people.

A strong response to the deplorable attacks on the United States is essential. The terrorist infrastructure must be destroyed, and the message must go out to all who seek to harm us in the future that America will respond to cowardly acts of violence against our people quickly and decisively.

These are dark days for America, but we will work together to seek justice for the victims of terrorism and to ensure that such contemptible acts never again occur.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of the resolution. God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

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

Tonight we are walking on holy ground. We are prayerfully mourning the loss of thousands of Americans who have lost their lives. We are trying a way to comfort their families and give them peace.

At the same time, we are discussing a resolution on the use of force to bring the cowardly terrorists to justice and to make sure that we never have to suffer this horror again. To this end, I support this resolution because it clearly states that nothing in this resolution supersedes the requirements of the War Powers Act.

Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues have quoted President Roosevelt of another horrible day in our country's life, that this day will live in infamy. I want to also quote his wisdom when he said, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," because that is the goal of the terrorist, to instill fear in the American people. That would be their greatest victory. But the spirit of the American people and the unity that we will show them tonight should give them a clue that they will not have that success.

Yes, we are walking on holy ground, and as we proceed in discussing the use of force, we must proceed in a manner that will bring honor to those who have died. We must bring honor to their memory. May they rest in peace.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS).

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, with this vote of resolve and unity, we become stewards of the American values expressed so eloquently 40 years ago by a new President, John F. Kennedy, "Let every Nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Today a new President and a new generation are handed the torch of liberty that has been kept alight by the

untold sacrifices of past generations of Americans.

Those terrorists who now challenge the will and values of this generation of Americans will soon find out that the awesome power of our military might will be matched only by our tenacious national unity in defending Americans' life and liberty.

In this vote and in our prayers, we in Congress speak for the American family, in strong support of our Commander in Chief and say, yes, we too will "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship," and "oppose any foe" to protect our land of liberty.

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN).

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution before us to give our Commander in Chief and President the authority to use military action against these cowards who made such an unprecedented evil attack against the United States of America.

We must respond to terrorism and respond swiftly, not only to the terrorists, but as the President so accurately said, to anyone who would harbor terrorists anywhere in the world, whether they be countries or individuals.

As a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I have confidence in the men and women who serve this country in uniform. They are the smartest, the brightest, the most well equipped and well trained fighting force in the world. I have confidence in the Commander in Chief and the national security team to make sure that we are successful in this effort. But we must be patient and understand that we need a broad and sustained campaign in order to win the battle on terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I believe standing together as a Nation, and this is the most united I have ever seen this House in 9 years, I believe we will win this battle. God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD), the chair of the Democratic Women's Caucus.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Mr. Speaker, today is a day I hoped I would never have to face, a day on which I would need to support the use of force. I am sure that all of my colleagues agree that when we took the oath of office to honor and defend our country, we hoped and prayed we, as Members of Congress, would not have to use force to defend this Nation.

On Tuesday morning, however, we all knew that the only response that would be understood by the evil force that undertook these treacherous actions would be the powerful response of the greatest military force in the world, the United States military.

However, our resolve must be based on the rule of law and reflect the lessons learned from history. The use of

force is not something that we as Americans take lightly. America is a peace-loving Nation. Our involvement in World War II is the strongest example of America's peace-loving ways. We waged war on ruthless Naziism that threatened the very concept of humanity and the lives of entire races of people.

Today we face another global threat, terrorism, which once again threatens the foundation of all peace-loving nations. Today the world looks to America and this very body for the very clear and unmistakable message that we as a Nation will not tolerate people and organizations to operate in opposition to the very foundation that every society is based upon: the sanctity of human life.

□ 2130

I pray for our President.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we shall overcome someday.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. TOM DAVIS).

(Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of S.J. Res. 23. With the passage of this joint resolution, Congress stands united with the President and the brave men and women in uniform ready to wage war on global terrorism. Although S.J. Res. 23 is not a formal declaration of war, the resolution gives the President full authority to use force against these terrorists and is similar to the use of force resolution authorizing military operations during the Persian Gulf conflict in 1991.

Of course, a key to making this work is the continued willingness of the executive to continue to consult with legislators. I am confident the President will do just that. Make no mistake, failure to act in unison at home and abroad will be interpreted by our enemies as weakness and an invitation to commit further atrocities. We have to put aside our differences, quiet our rhetoric and act decisively now.

Mr. Speaker, today I read Leonard Pitts' column in the Miami Herald. Addressing his words to the faceless cowards responsible for Tuesday's attacks he wrote:

"It occurs to me that maybe you just wanted us to know the depths of your hatred. If that's the case, consider the message received. And take this message in exchange: You don't know my people. You don't know what we're capable of. You don't know what you just started. But you're about to learn."

I urge all my colleagues to support S.J. Res. 23.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend and colleague, the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO), a member of the Democratic leadership.

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation. This

week America suffered the worst attack in our Nation's history. It was an assault on the American people and a threat to the fundamental freedom that is the strength and the spirit of our strong Nation. There is no reasonable justification for the vicious attack that has taken such a toll on the American people.

Each day our intelligence officials obtain more information of the facts surrounding the events of September 11, 2001. It is clear that this was a carefully crafted plan for tremendous destruction. The criminals wanted to create a constant state of fear in American citizens across our great country. But the American people will not be bullied. They will not be cowed. Mr. Speaker, our citizens are joined together in prayer, giving of their time, their love, their resources. There has never been a greater demonstration of unity.

With this resolution, our government also takes a stand. It reaffirms Congress' support for the President. It protects the authority of the Congress. Our Commander in Chief and the Congress will work together to bring to justice and to punish those responsible for trying to bring the United States to its knees.

We stand tall. We stand proud. We stand ready to protect our freedom, our justice, and our liberty.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my distinguished friend and colleague, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS).

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, a great atrocity has been leveled against this Nation and its citizens. We must now seek justice for our Nation, the American people, and all humanity. But justice comes in many forms and the scales of justice must be carefully balanced.

On one side, we place our commitment to spare no effort in eradicating terrorism and punishing those responsible for these deplorable crimes. On the other, we balance the responsibility to hold true to our Nation's principles, to be cognizant of innocent life, and to use military force only when necessary. This is a difficult scale to balance, but I believe that we have a duty to reach the appropriate equilibrium that justice requires.

I strongly support the will of this President, Congress, and our citizenry to defend ourselves against our enemies with unrelenting force. It is my only hope that such force will be balanced and guarantees the justice we all deserve.

May God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SHERWOOD).

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, we owe it to our people, we owe it to our history, we owe it to the folks that made us where we are. We owe it to those firefighters in New York. We owe it to our military personnel in the Pentagon. We owe it to those New Yorkers

that have had their world brought down around their ears.

This resolution is good. It sets out what we are about to do, and I am in strong support of it. We owe it to the world to show the world that democracy will stand and that an isolated terrorist cannot hurt America permanently.

Mr. Speaker, we will send that message. We will send it with overwhelming force. God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. WYNN).

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Secretary of State Powell had it correctly when he said, terrorism is a scourge on our civilization. I am pleased to stand in support of this call, this call of our military might to thwart the forces of terrorism. I am pleased because we must bring these terrorists not just to justice but to a punishment that will not soon be forgotten.

But I also want to call up tonight our most important weapon, our national will. We must have the will to send a clear signal that our fight is with terrorists, not with the Muslim world. We must have the will in the face of gas lines, in the face of inconveniences, in the face of checkpoints. We must have the will to fight over the long haul. And we have that will. We must have the will and the resolve to make it clear that while we will make adjustments in our life-styles, we will not surrender our fundamental freedoms.

In the final analysis, I believe the terrorists think we are too soft, that we are the soft, materialistic infidel. I think, as in World War II, we will show them they are wrong, because the message from our national will will be clear and simple. We will not yield. God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to my good friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON).

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, tonight we talk patriotism, and we should. And we talk sacrifice, and we should. And we talk courage. We talk all those things about humanity and we should. But I do think it is important for the American people to realize that this is going to be a very arduous, difficult, nasty, drawn-out struggle. One of the great characteristics and many times it is unsung, but it is there, is perseverance. Just keeping on going. It is so important that we as a public and citizens understand that, because this is not going to be something which brave words will conquer. It is only our perseverance.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend, the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY).

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, along with all of my colleagues and all Americans, I believe

that the United States of America must respond effectively and appropriately to this unprecedented attack on our people and our Nation. This resolution gives awesome responsibility to the President of the United States, but it should not be interpreted as unlimited power to use force or commit troops.

This resolution has been carefully drafted to restrict our response to those we know to be responsible for this atrocity. It is not a carte blanche for the use of force. This resolution requires compliance with the war powers resolution which directs the President to report to the Congress and to consult whenever possible. These requirements and this power must not be taken lightly.

I have thought long and hard about this vote. I do not want to regret it. I want to be able to tell my grandchildren that I voted this night to make the world safer. I pray that in supporting this resolution, we are making the right decision, and I pray that the President will make the right decisions.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. LANGEVIN).

Mr. LANGEVIN. Mr. Speaker, tonight I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the use of force to combat the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Mr. Speaker, the terrorist acts of cruelty and inhumanity committed 3 days ago have not weakened our Nation. Instead, the American people have forged stronger bonds and have demonstrated the compassion and concern that make our Nation great. United in our resolve, the United States is prepared to take action against those who have threatened us. America has the determination, strength and courage to combat the scourge of terrorism. We will identify the people, powers, and organizations that have contributed to terrorism, we will hold them accountable for their inhumanity, and we absolutely will not stop. We will succeed.

In the coming weeks, the men and women in our military and intelligence communities will be called upon to serve their Nation. I commend them for their dedication and their bravery. I also call upon the American people to maintain the solidarity demonstrated in recent days and to focus on the true enemy instead of targeting innocent people because of skin color or customs or beliefs. Americans of all faiths, races, and backgrounds join in condemnation of terrorism and together we shall prove victorious.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as she may consume to the distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon (Ms. HOOLEY).

(Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, every fourth of July, we celebrate our national independence. It's a day when nearly all of us have the day off from work, a day when we can gather with our families for a cook out, and maybe attend the local parade or spend the day lounging by the pool. It's a day when we can see the latest Hollywood Blockbuster—this past year it was Pearl Harbor, a movie based on what, until this past Tuesday, was the most horrible attack ever on American soil.

Because vacation days are so hard to come by, many of us base our vacations around the 4th. This isn't necessarily for the sake of the holiday, but to simply save a vacation day. And while there's nothing wrong with any of the above practices, time and prosperity have mellowed the significance of our national birthday, as they have Memorial Day and Veterans Day.

Mr. Speaker, that's unfortunate for the simple reason that on nights like this one, we're reminded that no one gave us our freedom. No one gave us our liberty. And while their underlying principles were germinated in peaceful venues and distributed on pamphlets or word of mouth, ultimately they were borne through battle.

Maybe our children don't understand, but the United Nations wasn't there to let our forefathers conduct a plebiscite on whether the 13 colonies should remain part of England. Maybe we've become so used to living side-by-side with African Americans we forget there wasn't any multi-national force willing to die by the tens of thousands to free their ancestors from slavery. And maybe we've grown so used to violence as entertainment the grainy images of Pearl Harbor don't affect us any more—now we need a Hollywood movie to convey the importance of a national tragedy.

Mr. Speaker, as we consider this resolution tonight, remember this: our freedom, our unity, our very way of life exist because previous generations of Americans have time and time again been willing to place a higher value on our freedom than on their own lives.

As much as I disdain the notion that taking human life is a decision for politicians to make—events of this week have placed us in a position where, as previous members of this body have done before, we must ask our fellow citizens to once again fight those who detest all we stand for.

To all my colleagues assembled here tonight, understand this: there will be Americans who will not survive the fighting to come. There will be casualties, both physical and psychological. There will be parents who lose their only children. There will be spouses who lose their soulmates, and children who will be orphaned. There will be small towns who will lose the child who sang the best in the church choir, and big city neighborhoods who see young person always playing basketball come home without legs, or without arms.

If we are going to send Americans to forever silence those working to sow terror and horror against our Nation, then let us do everything in our power to ensure they have the resources to achieve a total victory.

Let us ensure that when they come home Congress honors their sacrifice, not solely with parades, but for the rest of their lives.

Let us pledge tonight that veterans of this and every war are treated as first-class citizens, as well as the millions of Americans who



served our nation without having to fire a shot in anger. No longer should they have to wait weeks for medical treatment. No longer should they be homeless on our streets or go without psychological treatment if needed. No longer should our retirees see their pensions hijacked to help balance our budget.

War is a serious business, and we shouldn't take what we're about to do lightly. Yes, the attacks of September 11, 2001 require us to eradicate an enemy that has proven to be more deadly than any we've ever faced. Support this resolution, and support our men and women in the armed forces. But remember their sacrifices not just today, but years from now after they have won this war, when Memorial Day or the 4th of July are once again excuses to take a break from work or to spend an afternoon off enjoying ourselves with friends and family.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GRUCCI).

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

Mr. GRUCCI. Mr. Speaker, I, along with a number of my colleagues from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, visited what is now known as ground zero in New York's lower Manhattan, the site where the two proud buildings of the World Trade Center once stood. I watched on the faces of those who were working and those who were volunteering. And while there was sadness in their eyes, there was a determination in their movement, in their step, and in their actions. There was a commitment on their part to hold together and to band together and to do what needs to be done in that Herculean effort in trying to move the tons of rubble and steel to look for the precious body that still may be gasping for air and waiting for arrival of those to come to help them. I stood with those who were working, and I understood their pain in their heart and the sadness in their face but the determination that they have to make sure that those who perpetrated this crime never do it again, not to us but not to anyone in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support this resolution tonight. But, more than that, I rise as a proud American with all of my colleagues here in this House and all Americans throughout this country. We will find those who have done this and bring them to justice.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. ISRAEL).

Mr. ISRAEL. I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, today I also join the President of the United States and Democrats and Republicans from this House in a place of war and a place of hope. In the wreckage of the World Trade Center, we saw the signs of war, twisted steel, shattered windows, smoking ruins. But, Mr. Speaker, amidst the devastation we saw the signs of America: small flags planted in the rescue workers' helmets, people

wary from digging to save lives, yet still able to raise their hands high over their heads and chant "USA, USA" when our President arrived.

I met with Long Islanders, my constituents, one from East Islip, the other from Huntington Station, who had been on the scene tirelessly since this calamity in a heroic effort to save lives and rebuild our city. I salute them and all of our unsung heroes who continue the efforts to provide comfort in a time of tragedy and save lives in a time of war.

□ 2145

Mr. Speaker, we did not choose this fight, it chose us; and now we have no choice but to strike back in the defense of our lives, to defend our way of life, and to remember throughout the ordeal to come what this fight is about, the lives that were lost and the freedoms and liberties that we preserve.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the chairman emeritus.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this joint resolution authorizing the just use of force against those who have attacked our Nation.

Our Constitution places the Congress at the center of any decision to use force over any extended period of time. It is time for us to carefully weigh and support this important decision.

It is long past due for armed action against those who have barbarically attacked our Nation. The individuals and nations involved in this terrorism deserve to feel the full wrath of our great Nation, and I am confident they will feel the wrath of the entire civilized world. The American people will lead that worldwide effort, united behind our commander in chief.

Earlier today I had the honor, along with my colleagues, to accompany President Bush to my home city of New York, witnessing firsthand the incredible abominable destruction at the World Trade Center. The President movingly encouraged those workers dedicated to rescuing the missing.

America is united behind our President, behind our Armed Forces, and behind all those who will join in our war against terrorism. And our Nation will not stand alone. We are all moved by the many manifestations of solidarity and sympathy that have come from leaders throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, our people have borne the deep pain and sorrow of this ruthless attack. We are beginning our recovery; and, by this legislation, for which I urge support, we are ready to defeat terrorism.

God bless America, and may God bless the American people.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may

consume to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS).

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

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

Mr. Speaker, as you know, under the authority of the War Powers Act the President already has the legal right to use force when this country is attacked—as was the case on Tuesday when some 5,000 Americans were killed in an unspeakable act of terrorism. So, in an important respect, this debate is more symbolic than legally necessary.

Americans have prayed in churches, synagogues, mosques and other places of worship over the last four days. They have prayed for strength, for courage, for an end to this horror, and for peace. They have heard sermons that spoke of love being stronger than hate, of the forces of good triumphing over evil. I will vote for this resolution because I believe that the use of force is one tool that we have at our disposal to fight against the horror of terrorism and mass murder. One tool but it is not our only tool, and it is something that must be used wisely . . . and with great discretion.

I believe that we must work with other nations to root out, capture and eliminate the terrorists who have caused such terrible suffering in our country and elsewhere. But we must also understand that widespread and indiscriminate force could lead to more violence and more anti-Americanism.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the developing world must know that we do not hate them, but only the terrorists who hide in their midsts and control their lives. By word and deed, we must show those people that we are on their side, rather than the terrorists who exploit them.

Mr. Speaker, the President has an enormous responsibility. I pray that he uses it well and that Congress provides him with effective guidance.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EVANS), the ranking member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution authorizing the President to use military force against the terrorist threat facing our Nation.

The events of this week will be forever seared into the memory of this Nation. The sheer scale of this tragedy is almost unimaginable. In a single day, we lost more Americans than some of our bloodiest battles of our history, and it happened on our soil.

The shock and horror of these unconscionable acts have quickly turned into anger and rage. However, we must put this all into perspective. By passing the resolution before us today, we will show that America will act forcefully and decisively in the face of unspeakable evil. The resolution will empower the President and the armed services to take the steps necessary to defeat the forces of terrorism and punish the culprits who are responsible for these heinous acts.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS), the chairman of

the Subcommittee on National Security of the Committee on Government Reform.

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

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I have prepared remarks, but I would just like to speak from my heart that when you go to the Pentagon and when you go to see ground zero in New York, you see an incredible contrast, the carnage of the buildings and the hope and vitality of the people.

When President Bush was there today and he stood up to speak to some of the rescue workers, some of them could not hear, and they yelled out, "We can't hear you." And he turned around to them and said, "But we can hear you. The whole world can hear you. And soon, those who committed this dastardly, cowardly act, will hear from us."

I am voting for this resolution so that they will hear from us. If I have one regret, it is that we did not give a President, our President, this power a few years ago to respond to terrorism when it first struck.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people I represent, I rise in strong support of authorizing the use of our Armed Forces against those responsible for the carnage in New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

Acts of war have been committed against innocent men, women, and children going about the daily business and routines that are American life. After a decade of peace, we are reminded in the harshest way that the United States has violent and cowardly enemies—that while the cold war is over, the world is a more dangerous place.

A decade ago, Congress considered a resolution authorizing another President George Bush to use all means necessary to liberate Kuwait, a resolution I strongly supported. To this day, I consider the vote on that measure to have been the most important vote I cast during my service in the House.

Today, we face a far more daunting task. This time, our enemy is faceless. It hides in the shadows. Its mission is morally and spiritually bankrupt. It's united only in its hatred for our democratic ideals and peaceful way of life.

The path that lies ahead is a dangerous one. Defeating this enemy won't be easy, and it won't come quickly. Yet I am confident that authorizing force will save lives by preventing future acts of terrorism, and so I cast my vote without reservation.

Mr. Speaker, this is a defining moment for our nation. After consoling the families who have lost loved ones and after healing the wounded, our duty as a free people is to support, with all the resources available to us, the many men and women waging the war against terrorism.

I pray for the wisdom of our leaders, the courage of our Armed Forces, and that we will prevail over the evil that attacked us this week.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. BARRETT).

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, America stands united tonight.

We stand united with our President, and we support him.

We stand united as a people, so the world will know we cannot and will not permit these terrorists to rob us of our loved ones.

We stand united to defeat any attempts of terrorists to rob us of our freedom. We shall never surrender that freedom.

We stand united in support of the men and women who serve us in the Armed Forces and who will help us achieve justice.

We shall respond, and we will never forget the victims of this horrific attack.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that America will respond, and we will respond in a unified, factual and deliberate and committed manner, we will act out of resolve and out of faith. So, I rise to support this resolution.

We are today giving the President the authority to go after the people involved in these terrorist acts. However there is a dual responsibility of the Congress and the President to work together in times of aggression against those who would do harm to the United States. It must be done with the administration, the President of the United States, in consultation with Congress.

I am prepared to support this resolution. I know there are others in this country who are fearful of entering into hostilities and war; but I do believe that, in consultation under the War Powers Act of 1973, we are headed in the right direction, for that act ensures that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President will apply to the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances and to the continued use of such forces and hostilities or in such situations.

We are unified—our country must respond. We are determined to stand against those who have acted violently against the United States in order to bring about such a loss of life that we would crumble from FEAR. Never will that happen, because the principles that strengthen us of God and country—like truth will march on.

Mr. Speaker, Members of this Congress are truly united in their faith in God and country. That's why we are unwaivered in our convictions and resolve to defend America and our interests against the acts of terror and cowardice perpetrated against us on September 11, 2001 at the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the crash in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. These egregious acts against humanity took the lives of thousands of innocent civilians that spanned God's spectrum of

every race, ethnicity and religious denomination.

In 1973, The War Powers Resolution (Public Law 93-148) was passed over the veto of President Nixon, in order to provide procedures for Congress and the President to participate in decisions to send U.S. Armed Forces into hostilities.

Such force is constitutional under the Necessary and Proper Clause which specifically provided that "Congress shall have the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution, not only its own powers but also all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States. . . ."

The policy behind this power, entrusted to the President as Commander in Chief, to deploy U.S. armed forces to defend itself is "exercised only pursuant to: (1) A declaration of war; (2) specific statutory authorization; or (3) a national emergency created by attack upon the United States, its territories or possessions, or its armed forces." Pursuant to this authority, the President "in every possible instance" shall consult with Congress before deploying U.S. Armed Forces, and to continue consultations as long as the armed forces remain in hostile situations.

By authorizing military action under the War Powers Act the American people not only support the President, but they also provide guidance through their elected leaders that the actions this great nation takes are neither over broad nor inadequate. This congress can and must assure the proper response and level of retaliation.

Mr. Speaker, the acts of aggression perpetrated against us certainly qualify under the War Powers Act, and such consultations between the President and the Congress are also clearly upon us.

America has suffered perhaps the greatest attack and act of aggression in its history. Thousands of people were killed and injured in this horrific act, simply because they were Americans and for their common love of freedom and democracy. Therefore there is little doubt that collaboration between Congress and the Executive is justified in this instance, as a matter of statutory and constitutional law.

The need for calm in compiling and analyzing the facts and evidence in this tragedy is great. Also the need for restraint and cultural sensitivity towards those in our communities who live as Americans, but who happen to be American Muslims, Arab-Americans and Asian-Americans. As Americans, we must demonstrate in this, our darkest hour, what makes us truly great: our love and acceptance of inclusiveness and cultural diversity. We must not attack innocent Americans who are simply different.

But upon our discovery of the culprits of these heinous acts, our response must be deliberate and firm. The actions we take today set us upon a new course in history. Not unlike what the Founding Fathers faced against an unfathomable enemy and an inconceivable challenge. This Congress, like those brave patriots before us, pledges its sacred honor and stands at the precipice of this new world unafraid. We will overcome this terrible period in the history of our country and we will overcome.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for this resolution. Nearly every Member of Congress this week has said this: on Tuesday, September 11, our country was brutally attacked. It was an act of war. It demands response.

Under our Constitution, the President of the United States is commander in chief. When America is attacked, he assumes the obligations of the commander in chief. It does not matter whether the President is someone you voted for. Our country has only one President and only one commander in chief.

This resolution authorizes the use of force by America. As a matter of law, the War Powers Act may not even require this resolution. The President likely already has the legal authority needed.

But this afternoon most of us prayed together at the National Cathedral. At the end of the service, we stood together and we sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." As we sang, I could not help but recall that when "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" was written, our country was divided, and it was the last time on American soil when massive numbers of Americans died in war, until this Tuesday. At the end of the song, we sang, "As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free."

While this resolution may not be legally required, it is important to show that we are united; that when America is attacked, Americans stand together. Those who died on Tuesday will have died to make us free.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN).

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

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker. I rise in support of Senate Joint Resolution 23, a resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States and its citizens. September 11, 2001, will be a date that will live forever in the hearts and minds of freedom loving people. On that date our country was attacked by terrorists in a way thought impossible. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children were murdered. It has touched the lives of thousands of families and of all Americans. It was an attack on our people and our freedom. The resolution before us authorizes the President to take the appropriate action including if needed the use of our military against those nations, organizations or people who planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001. The resolution specifically directs that such action be targeted to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such entities.

Mr. Speaker, we have an obligation to protect the safety of our citizens, particularly those within our own country. This resolution helps us carry out that responsibility. Our military force must only be used when it is clearly

justified. This resolution limits that use to respond to the September 11 attack on our Nation. It is not only justified, but there is no more legitimate use of military than to defend one's country from acts of foreign attack. The resolution recognizes the role and responsibility of Congress in authorizing and committing our military to hostile action. The Constitution provides that the Congress has the power to "provide for the common defense" and the power to "declare war". The resolution strikes the right balance between the President and Congress and is in compliance with the War Powers Act, making it clear of the President's obligations to consult with and inform Congress. Now is the time for Congress to act. Let those who were responsible for these horrible deeds know that the Congress and the President and the American People are united and are resolved to bring the perpetrators to justice and to prevent such acts from ever happening again on our shores.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in support of this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against those responsible for the September 11, 2001, attack on America.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, to all of those who have lost their lives and loved ones or been injured, on behalf of the people of the Seventh District of Illinois, we extend to them our heartfelt condolences.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we commend all of those who have committed tremendous acts of bravery, who have given of themselves during this period, who have given even their lives so that others might live. We thank them for their acts of heroism, and we shall stand together.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), the distinguished Chair of the Democratic Caucus.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, today we debate the gravest and most important matter that ever comes before the Congress, the use of military force.

Mr. Speaker, the cowardly, barbaric attack of September 11 was an assault on America, on humanity and on the civilized world. It was the cold-blooded calculated murder of untold thousands of innocent Americans. It was nothing less than evil, plain and simple.

Mr. Speaker, September 11 changed much about America and the world, but I am proud to say that it has not perverted our democratic system. That is because the Congress and the President, as coequal branches of government, have worked together, consulting closely throughout the process. As a result, we have agreed to this resolution.

So we speak with one voice tonight, Mr. Speaker, and the House will overwhelmingly vote to authorize the President to use military force to respond to the terrorist acts of September 11.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is united in its commitment to bringing to justice those who perpetrated this assault on our people. But make no mistake, this campaign may be long and it may be difficult.

As we take this action tonight, let us pray for the men and women of our armed services as they undertake this assignment for our Nation.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN), a senior member of the Committee on International Relations.

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

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, along with President, I, too, have just returned from ground zero, the site of the greatest single human tragedy in our Nation's history. The towering pyramid of wreckage upon whose perimeter in New York City I have just walked hours ago is a monument, staggering in its dimensions and horrifying in its implications.

In that massive tomb, Mr. Speaker, lie the remains of a still-unknown number of my fellow New Yorkers and our fellow Americans. The terrorists who murdered these people conceive of themselves as the hand of God and have executed their wicked judgment against our people. And what were our countrymen's crimes? Their crime was to go to work in a free Nation. Their crime was to get on an airplane. Their crime was to visit one of the greatest cities in the world. And, in many cases, Mr. Speaker, their crime was to attempt to save the lives of other human beings.

Mr. Speaker, the kind of havoc, murder and carnage which the terrorists have inflicted upon our Nation can only be compared to war. And war, Mr. Speaker, is what we will give them back. We know which neighborhoods these people live in. We know who their landlords are. We will find out where they get their paychecks. We will hunt them down, not only the most obvious of their public leaders, but also the most hidden of their private supporters.

Tonight, Mr. Speaker, evil again is on the march, and we must respond. And respond we will. We will respond to the terror that lives in the shadows and that hides in the dark.

We know, Mr. Speaker, that we have not borne our final pain; but America is embarking on a great campaign, one which will not be easy, one which will take some time. Like the beginning of the Cold War, we may not be able to foresee the end of this conflict; but, Mr. Speaker, we can be certain of who the winner will be.

□ 2200

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE).

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, unimaginable evil has been perpetrated against

our free country. We must authorize our President to take all necessary actions to prevent those responsible for these dastardly acts from again inflicting such cowardly malice against our people.

Today our Congress reflects the resolve and unity of the American people in supporting our President in restoring peace and security to our peace-loving country. The Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces has an awesome responsibility. Let us unite behind him as he carries out his duty to our people.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON).

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, tonight I will vote to support our efforts to stop terrorism.

This is going to be a difficult vote for me. Since early in 1970, when I stepped off an airplane in Vietnam and joined my infantry unit, it has been my dream and it has been my prayer that no American would ever again have to shed their blood nor give their life on foreign soil. As a Member of Congress, I never dreamed of voting to send our American men and women into combat, but then I never dreamed I would be calling the mother and the father of a young man from Eureka, California, in my district, who was on board one of those hijacked airplanes on September 11.

This past Tuesday, terrorists attacked America and they attacked the American people. They murdered thousands of Americans, and we must ensure that we do all in our power to end terrorism and to stop the terrorists from striking again. Our country is great because the people of our country are great, and we will, with resolve, stand together to protect our freedom.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. UDALL).

(Mr. UDALL of New Mexico asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, when I swore my oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, I never imagined that this country or I would be where we are today. We each swear our allegiance to one another and to our country, yet the magnitude of our oath is only understood when we face situations like we face today. During trying times such as these, the American spirit shines most brightly and we find within ourselves the ability to overcome challenges once thought unthinkable and unimaginable.

The cowardly terrorists perpetrating these unspeakable acts may think they have won, but they better think again, because they have united us. A united

America will overcome this evil. A united America will continue to be a beacon for freedom-loving people, and a united America will prevail in the end.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STRICKLAND).

Mr. STRICKLAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, a previous speaker expressed disappointment that this resolution is not an explicit declaration of war. Let me reassure the gentleman. The recipient of America's forthcoming sword of justice will not be able to recognize the difference.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE).

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, as I walked down here, I saw in the cloakroom NBC News reported that from cell phones they could tell that the people on the Pennsylvania flight fought the hijackers, and that that flight was likely targeted for the building where we stand. The vision of the World Trade Center and the vision of the Citadel, symbol of democracy for this globe, leads me to know in my heart and in my gut, this is the right thing for our Nation to do.

Our enemy does not understand our national family. He perceives our freedom of religion as weakness. He perceives our freedom of speech as lack of discipline. He is about to discover that he is wrong on all counts.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR), our distinguished colleague and my good friend.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman (Mr. LANTOS) for yielding me this time.

I rise tonight in strong support of this resolution to grant unprecedented authority to our President for the first time in U.S. history to deploy our Armed Forces against organizations and persons that are not nation states, as well as those that are nation states. We take this step with the certain knowledge that our first duty is to protect and defend our Nation against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Never have we been more united in our cause.

We also take this step understanding the character of U.S. foreign policy for the last century has also yielded levels of hate against our Nation, by omission or commission, that demand deep and immediate reevaluation. We pray for our people who have had thrust upon them such unjust suffering. May God bless America and our allies with wisdom. Our unyielding causes are freedom and justice.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM).

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, I too join the choir here of support for our

President. This is an historic moment in our country, a sad moment. But I would just like to express a thought for the future.

We are kidding ourselves if we think this will be easy, and I do not believe anybody understands it to be easy. We are going to call up thousands of reservists soon, and we are going to put men and women in harm's way soon. This will not be a 100-hour ground campaign; this will not be an air war we watch on TV. This will affect every American family even deeper than it has now, but it is worth it.

This is the right thing to do. Let us end it now. Let us stand behind our President and go after the organizations from top to bottom who perpetrated such a heinous act. We can do it as a Nation if we stay together and keep the spirit of September 11 alive. Do not give in to terrorism.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he or she may consume to the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Mrs. CHRISTENSEN).

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

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I rise with a heavy, heavy heart, to join my colleagues to authorize our President, to use the necessary and appropriate force against those who will be identified as the perpetrators of the terrorists act of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, that killed so many of our loved ones, in a diabolical attempt to strike fear in the hearts of our Nation's leaders and all Americans.

Yes, we must vindicate those thousands of lives, like Sgt. Maudlin White of my district, so that their dying will not be in vain.

But, Mr. Speaker, I stand here humbled by the heavy responsibility that is ours—the specific authority to declare war that is bestowed by the Constitution, on us as Members of this body.

And though I stand here with my colleagues, in this awesome time of decision, I do so as one who is not afforded the opportunity to cast a vote. At many other times, I have felt the sting of not being fully able to participate in our democracy, but never more than tonight. For tonight we authorize our President to send my constituents, like all others to a war unlike any other before, and perhaps to die for this country, which we love.

But we must, because now we fight a war, where all of us—at home, at work, at school, at church, and anywhere—are at risk, as was so clearly and tragically shown this week. And so, while many of us harbor reservations about the breadth of the powers bestowed, we must stand by our President, and for our fellow Americans, and pray for God's wisdom, and guidance, as he carries out the heavy weight of his office.

Mr. Speaker, if there was ever a time when decisive and immediate decisive military action would be required as soon as certain information becomes known, it is in the wake of Tuesday's unprovoked and unwarranted attacks in which innocent lives were snuffed out, for no apparent purpose save that of general hatred of Americans, America and all that she stands for.

The Bible tells us many things: It teaches that we should "not render evil for evil," but it also tells us "if one lives by the sword, one will die by the sword." The perpetrator of Tuesday's attacks and other attacks surely planned, used and will yet use the sword of violence against us, unless we stop them.

We must act, and act swiftly and decisively, but we must also prepare ourselves better to prevent further attacks, and examine through honest introspection, if we have, in any way, given cause for such hate.

And as we prepare to exact justice on the perpetrators of this heinous crime, we must also be certain that we are indeed going after those who committed these crimes, and not be over-reaching in our response.

We must proceed with extreme and due caution, not so to wage war based on existing prejudices, motives, or questionable information, lest we inadvertently become one of the world's terrorists ourselves.

And so, prayerfully, I join my colleagues in support of this resolution to authorize our President, George W. Bush, to use the authority vested in him by the Constitution of the United States, to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States and our Allies.

May God bless and keep our President, and may God bless and keep America, and may our divine Parent bless and keep us all.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ROTHMAN).

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

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I just returned with some of my colleagues from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, from Ground Zero, at the World Trade Center in New York City. It was a terribly disturbing sight; almost incomprehensible, the magnitude of this horrific crime. But it was also an incredibly inspiring, uplifting moment, and it filled me with a tremendous sense of confidence in our future.

Confidence? The police, the firefighters, rescue workers, utility workers, Armed Forces, volunteers. Together, I know we, 270 million Americans, will win this war. United. No one can beat us.

It will not be quick or easy, but with the will to do what is necessary for however long it takes, the people of the United States of America will triumph, and I have no doubt about that.

We will prevail because the fire of freedom burns in us, and makes us unbeatable. God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SIMMONS).

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution.

As someone who has seen the face of war for almost 4 years in Vietnam, I do not relish the idea of returning to this state. But yesterday I traveled to the Pentagon and today I flew with my colleagues to New York to visit Ground Zero, my military colleagues and my constituents who have been killed and are missing in what can only be called an act of war.

So we have no choice but to respond to these acts with "all necessary and appropriate force." In the names of the dead and of the missing, we can do no less. God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), the ranking Democrat on the Committee on Foreign Operations.

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

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution.

America stands at a threshold. Behind us lies our sense of security, now shattered by intentional and brutal acts of war. Before us lies our solemn obligation. Our steps over this threshold must be deliberate, they must be firm, and they must be brave.

Today, Congress invokes our authority, derived from our Constitution and the War Powers Resolution, to authorize the use of force against enemies of the United States. Our object is not to extract vengeance; mere retribution will not make Americans safe, nor will it purge terrorism from this world.

The battles ahead will be against an enemy who knows no boundaries and has no shame, an enemy with no flag and no official military, who lurks in the shadows of the world, cloaked in malevolent ideology and attacks us indiscriminately. These will be battles unlike any we have ever known and we must stand united with our President, our allies, and each other as we navigate the coming storm. The coming days and weeks will give us a clear picture of who stands on the side of justice and freedom and who does not.

Those who stand against us, actively, by organizing, financing, or executing terrorism, or passively, by sheltering terrorists and their allies, or implicitly, by teaching hatred to children or justifying violence against innocents, will know the full fury of a just and gentle America aroused. We will not rest until the world is free at last from the grave threat that struck so hard at our Nation's heart.

Since the end of the Cold War, this Nation has taken much for granted: our freedom, our liberty, our safety. These days are over, I say to my colleagues. Today, at this moment, a new generation is being called upon to defend our way of life and protect our citizens. A new war is upon our shores. Its first innocent casualties have already fallen. Let us meet this test with all the unity and will we can muster, and may God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. DAVIS).

(Mrs. DAVIS of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. DAVIS of California. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of Congress, I hardly expected to have to take this extraordinary step, but I do it with the grave seriousness with which it is intended.

Last May I stood on this floor and I welcomed my first new grandchild, and I said at that time that for many of us the issues that we deal with today, we need to think about how they affect our children and our grandchildren. I would submit to my colleagues today that that is what I am thinking about, because what we are doing today is securing for them our American way of life.

Our American way of life reflects that fragile balance between our individual freedom and the security of our Nation, because that is the cornerstone of our democracy and to which our children are born. And to our foes: You have underestimated our will to assure that that justice and that freedom flourishes throughout our land.

□ 2215

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER).

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, not one Member of this body ran for election to go to war. We seek peace. But in the last century, America has spent the lives of our young men and women in major conflicts on five occasions on other shores to restore peace, and now war comes to us.

We did not invite this, but we will not shirk from it. A band of thugs has visited upon this Nation and upon innocent American citizens death and destruction, the likes of which the world has never seen. It falls upon us to ensure that not only can it not succeed on our soil, but that it should not be tolerated in any corner of the globe.

This resolution gives to our President the tools to begin a long and arduous campaign to end this terrorism. It will not end with the punishment of one man or group or even one nation sympathetic to their cause. It will end with a victory so brutal and decisive that no one or group, no matter how much they hate freedom, will dare to risk repeating the terror they have put the world through for the last 30 years. No nation state, no matter how much they hate America as the world's most conspicuous example of freedom, will find it in their nation's interest to attempt to surreptitiously support them.

This will not be quick or easy, but this is a united Congress, this is a dedicated President, the American people are fully committed to our goal, and we will succeed.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. CLEMENT).

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, we were all shocked, horrified, disgusted, and sorrowed at the tragic events that transpired September 11, 2001, resulting in a large loss of life. My thoughts and prayers are with the families. There is no doubt, all of our own lives hold more value to

us than before, and we have been forever changed as individuals and as a nation by experiencing such a devastating loss.

In the days ahead, we must take a multifaceted approach in order to destroy terrorism and terrorists around the world.

Make no mistake, the Congress fully supports our President and will hold those responsible who did those atrocious actions. We will do whatever is necessary to promote and protect our way of life and to protect our families. America remains a strong democracy, and the resilience of our people will prevail.

Just a few weeks ago, I was in New York City; and I was toured around by the Port Authority of New York. We were over there with the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MICA) with the Subcommittee on Aviation, and they showed us New York.

Some of those people who took me around are not with us anymore. I assure Members, we will remember them, we will remember their memories, and we will do everything we can to bring about justice for all.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our valued colleague, the gentleman from New York (Ms. VELAZQUEZ).

Ms. VELAZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this resolution on behalf of my constituents and all New York. Those who wear the uniforms of firefighters, paramedics, nurses, and doctors are our soldiers. We will not let their courage, big heart, and hard work to rebuild our city amid the rubble be forgotten.

We are facing a different kind of war requiring a different kind of response. We will need more vigilance at home and more cooperation abroad. Flexibility and creativity are required to prevent further assaults. We must be smarter and faster than our foe.

We support this action because our cause is just. There is no conceivable justification for shedding the blood of innocents. We do not seek vengeance, for Americans are not a vengeful people. Americans cherish justice, and that is what we seek here.

This resolution would allow us to pursue, prosecute, and punish these criminals. We do this because civilized nations prove again and again that terrorists have no legitimacy among them.

With the sustained and inalterable will demonstrated here tonight, and the cooperation of peace-loving people around the world, we will prevail. I strongly support this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, (Mr. HOLT).

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

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, today, even as we bind the wounds as thousands of brave

Americans still work to free those who are trapped, to care for those who are injured, to recover those who are lost, Congress, on behalf of our good and brave people, must act.

Mr. Speaker, this is the time for our Nation to lead the world in the fight against terror, to strike a blow for future generations for all people against those who would try to achieve their goals through violence, terror, and bloodshed. While these cowardly acts have shaken buildings, they cannot shake the strong foundations of our nation's, our peoples' spirit, our great democracy.

Today we show that we are Americans united, united for our foes to see and for our friends to see. Today we show the world that the manner in which we respond illustrates what makes America great and shows America to be good.

I join with all of my colleagues in Congress in expressing our Nation's sorrow and outrage against this evil event; even more, our firm resolve to root out terrorism. It will require a long, hard effort, and a full measure of wisdom and courage. Those cowards failed. Our freedom is not our vulnerability, it is our greatest strength.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. STUPAK).

Mr. STUPAK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. I suspect most Members will support it. As we have heard from voices throughout the land, people are looking for swift, revengeful action from our Armed Forces.

In my own district, my own constituents are mourning the death of Army Major Kip Taylor, who died in Tuesday's attack on the Pentagon. I am sure we all want swift retribution, but I am reminded of the old saying that revenge is a dish best served cold.

This resolution authorizes the President to strike, and to strike hard. But let us make sure we identify our targets carefully. Today as we gathered at the National Cathedral on this day of prayer and remembrance, we sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

We sang those words that we hope will send a chill through our enemies: "He hath loosed the faithful lightning of his terrible swift sword."

Mr. Speaker, the sword we loosen tonight is indeed terrible. May its aim be swift and true in bringing us justice and peace.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as he might consume to our distinguished Democratic whip, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for managing the time today on this most important resolution and for his contributions, as well as the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

Mr. Speaker, together we mourn our Nation's terrible, terrible losses and

our hearts ache; and we know that the days ahead will not be very easy. But in these past difficult days, America has once again shown the world and perhaps even ourselves, Mr. Speaker, just who we are, a land of courage and generosity and extraordinary quiet heroes; a people of many colors, faiths, backgrounds; a people who stand united, not just in defense of our Nation but of our most cherished ideals, freedom, tolerance, diversity, and democracy.

When the world watched our national prayer service earlier today they heard the healing words of many faiths. A Muslim imam, a Jewish rabbi, and Christian clergy.

These Americans, like the rest of the world, all worship God in their own way. But the common faith they share, what we have witnessed in the torrent of goodness this week as neighbors help neighbors and strangers help strangers, is that hate can never conquer our national spirit.

We must prepare ourselves for the uncertain months and perhaps years ahead. Every one of us will be asked to give more, to do more, to help pull the plow of freedom forward.

With this resolution, we commit ourselves to that endeavor, to bring those who attacked us on September 11 to justice and to build a safer world. We draw strength from our unity of purpose in the unwavering support of friends and allies around the world.

Today, we join together not as Democrats nor Republicans, but Mr. Speaker, as proud Americans prepared to defend freedom as our forebears did before us.

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

Before yielding back the balance of our time, may I just say that I arrived on these shores in August of 1947, and in all those years I have never been more proud to be an American than this week. The unity, the goodness, the commitment, the decency of our people has been so obvious and clear and so powerful and moving. This country will stand united as we destroy international terrorism, however long it takes.

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

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of our time to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY).

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for yielding me this time, and I thank both him and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for your leadership on the floor during this debate.

I would like to thank, Mr. Speaker, all my colleagues, all these Members of this House of Representatives. Today I have had a rare opportunity. I had an opportunity to listen to most of the speeches, and it was a good debate about a serious subject. Mr. Speaker, this is a serious moment for each and



every one of us, and you can see it weighing in our hearts.

Every now and then, Mr. Speaker, we are called upon to understand and reach deep into our hearts and minds to understand who we are as a Nation. I have seen it before my eyes in all the scenes we have seen described here tonight and the horror of the attack and the splendor of our heroic response. Even in the most brief circumstances, with our hearts broken, we reached out to help others across this land.

I think, Mr. Speaker, there is one phrase from our sacred documents that tells us who we are, why are we here, why did we come to this land from all other this world, with all our different creeds, denominations, Nations of origin, nationalities.

We came here in search of one thing. We came here to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. That is what we wanted. We have had to struggle too many times, Mr. Speaker, in the history of this great world as we have tried to play out that wonderful drama as a marvelous experiment in the history of the world. We have had to struggle against our own imperfections and there has been hurt; and we tried to overcome that hurt.

On so many other occasions we have been called upon to struggle for the freedom that we love so much against the enemies of freedom. Even in the beginning of this great Nation, with the minutemen, we took to our muskets to win our freedom. And another time we fought with one another, and just about lost the greatness of this Nation and we brought it back together.

But for the most part, Mr. Speaker, we have had to spend our young men and women in the defense of freedom for other people, and I always admired us so much for that.

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What Nation ever in the history of the world has so much loved freedom that they spent their own peace to defend the freedom of people other than themselves? That is to be known, that is to be respected, that is to be cherished, if only by ourselves.

And now we are challenged again. Why do they challenge us? What do they seek to achieve? Are they wanting to change our commitment to freedom across the globe? Do they think we are a bother to them as they try to suppress other people and deny them their rights? A great Nation does not change the course of its policies towards other nations and other people because of the cruel, inhumane acts of terrorism by barbaric people who do not understand respect. We will not change who we are and what we stand for in this world and who we have been and what we have stood for in this world because of this.

I am told that in some instances, with some of these people, they hate our religion. We only ask that we all gather together and give respect for one another in our religious beliefs. We try to do that for others, and I believe

as a Nation we do it well. Not perfect, but well. And we work so hard at doing that for others we require that it be the same for us.

Tonight, we have gathered here to discuss something, and I have heard so many of my colleagues in this body say it, it is something we do not want to do, to join again in authorization with our President, the commander in chief of the United States of America, to commit our young men and women in uniform to the field of danger in the defense of freedom. A simple thing, done over and over and over again.

We have been reminded by others, some of us, of the costs we might expect these young men and women to pay, the costs that have been paid by the heroes we have talked about in this debate. This will not come cheap. There will be mamas and daddies with broken hearts with the loss of the most precious gift the good Lord has ever given them: their children.

But when mothers and fathers in this great land lend their children to the cause of freedom, they do just that. We do not commit our children for frivolous reasons to fields of danger. This is not about revenge. It is not in our heart. We are a good Nation. We are a kind Nation. We will forgive our enemies in victory; and we struggle to forgive ourselves for our imperfections, but we do not commit our children to acts of vengeance.

We do not cheapen the heroism of our great American heroes with the quest of territory or the thought of dominance of other people. We will spend our heroes only for freedom, decency and respect; for the right to live an ordinary mundane everyday life, to go to work and be left alone, to do our bit and share with others, to hold our children and put them to bed at night with a very simple little kiss on the cheek and a very soft little assurance: sleep safely, my darling, for you are in America and you are free and you are safe and our heroes have made it so for you.

Mr. Speaker, let us vote for this resolution. Let us take this harsh task. Let us ask our young men and women once more in America to go out and be the sensational heroes at risk that they never wanted to be and, bless our hearts, that we never wanted them to have to be. Let us get this done. Let us remove this blight on the world. And, Mr. Speaker, let us have the blessings of liberty for ourselves, but oh so much more importantly, for our posterity.

(Mr. NADLER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, the World Trade Center is in my district, and I just this moment returned from traveling in the district with the President, walking through the ruins of the World Trade Center, where there are thousands of bodies buried.

I have spent much of my career speaking out against the use of mili-

tary force when I believed it was unwarranted. In many ways, my political awakening began with my active opposition to the war in Vietnam. But, Mr. Speaker, those of my colleagues who are rightly skeptical of the use of force, and who recognize how very reluctant we must be when sending our young men and women into harm's way, must understand the threat and the stakes if we fail to act.

Many have said that the events of Tuesday changed the world forever. The world has not changed. The people who carried out this murderous attack on our Nation, the organizations which recruited, trained, and supplied them, the governments which gave them shelter and support are still there. We now know without any doubt what the price of inaction, of appeasement, of willful blindness will be.

The world has not changed, but I believe the American people have. Our Nation is now ready to recognize that we have been in a war for many years. Our people now recognize that if we do not defend ourselves in that war from those for whom our lives, our children, and our way of life are a daily affront, we will not survive as a Nation. We must now exercise the right under the United Nations Charter to collective self-defense.

I wish we had a choice, but the charred rubble and the thousands of dead Americans lying just blocks from my office in Manhattan, and the hundreds more a stone's throw from this very building demonstrate that we have no choice. We must pass this resolution. We must wage the war that has been thrust upon it. We must do it resolutely, and we must be victorious and rid the world of this scourge of terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from my congressional district and walked with the President through the ruins of the World Trade Center. Somewhere in those charred and twisted ruins lie the bodies of relatives, friends, children, colleagues, neighbors, firefighters, police officers, working people, and innocent tourists.

I have spent much of my career speaking out against the use of military force when I believed it was unwarranted. In fact, in many ways my political awakening began with my active opposition to the war in Vietnam. But, Mr. Speaker, those of my colleagues who are rightly skeptical of the use of military force, and who recognize how every careful we must be when we consider sending our young men and women into harm's way, must look carefully at this threat and understand the stakes if we fail to act.

Many have said that the events of September 11, 2001, changed the world forever.

But if our lives were changed forever, the world was not. The people who carried out this murderous attack on our Nation, the organizations which recruited, trained, and supplied them, the governments which gave them shelter and support, the fanatical leaders who have whipped up hatred so great that young people were willing to fly planes filled with innocent civilians into crowded office buildings—all of these despicable murders and demagogues have been at work for years. The only

thing that has changed is that we have now joined the family of nations which has far too long paid a terrible price because we have failed to act.

We now know without any doubt what the price of inaction, of appeasement, of willful blindness, will be. When we allow nations which offer shelter and pay tribute to these murders to pretend that they are our friends, we get the betrayal we ourselves have invited. Anyone who witnessed the mobs in the Palestinian territories celebrating our tragedy in the streets understands the attitude of our enemy in this war; they shake your hand and then cheer your pain.

So the world has not changed, but I believe the American people have. Our Nation is now ready to recognize that we have been in a war for many years, and our people now recognize that if we do not defend ourselves in that war from those for whom our lives, our children, and our way of life are a daily affront, we will not survive as a nation.

The Constitution gives Congress the awesome power to declare war and authorize the use of military force in the defense of the Nation. The United Nations Charter gives member nations the right to "collective self-defense." Tonight we do just that. I wish we had a choice, but the charred rubble and the thousands of dead just blocks from my office in Manhattan, and the hundreds more a stones throw this very building, demonstrate that we do not.

(Mr. ENGEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I, too, have just come back from New York with the President, and I must say that I still have the mud all over me. Being a New Yorker, born and bred, I was not prepared for what I saw at ground zero.

Ten years ago, Mr. Speaker, I stood in the well and was one of the Democrats who crossed party lines to support the first President Bush in the Persian Gulf War to do what he needed to do as our commander in chief, and I now do the same 10 years later with President Bush.

This is a very difficult time for all Americans. We need to band together to fight this scourge of terrorism, and I think we know it now more than ever before. I have never been more proud to be an American. I have never been more proud to be a New Yorker, to see the firemen, the policemen, the iron workers, and everyone else working together to try to find more survivors, to try to do whatever they can to help each other.

This is going to be a long prolonged fight. As our President said, it is a war, a war on terrorism, but a war that we will win. I am very, very proud; proud of this body and proud to be an American. God bless America.

(Mr. FERGUSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. I, too, came back from ground zero in New York, the site of so much wreck-

age and destruction. And for those who say that this was done by cowardly, faceless villains, yes, they were cowardly; but the face that we see is the face of evil and hatred in our world today.

We contrasted that evil with the hope and the determination and the courage of the firefighters and police officers and rescue squad personnel working with the glimmer of hope of finding additional survivors. For these individuals who have worked in the toughest of circumstances for 3 days, it was incredible to see their faces light up with words of encouragement from our President.

There was so much noise and machinery. There was a firefighter in the back who yelled, "Mr. President, we can't hear you." And the President responded with, "But I can hear you, and all of America can hear you. And for those who took down these buildings, they are going to hear from us."

Tonight's resolution represents our opportunity to make sure that they do hear from us. Tonight, we have an opportunity to stop this evil. We do not seek revenge; we seek justice. We know that this is not going to be a short-term project. We need to bear down and have perseverance for the long haul. We will root out those who were responsible for that massacre, and America will stare down the face of evil and hatred.

To those who have endured so much suffering, we will not let you down.

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I am voting for this resolution with a heavy heart, but without hesitation.

Like the hearts of all Americans, my heart is heavy with grief for all those killed and injured in this week's despicable attacks. It is weighted with sympathy for all their families and friends, and with concern for what may lie ahead for our country and for other people around the world.

But, however heavy our hearts, we in the Congress and throughout America know we must not lose heart.

We know we must not hesitate to fulfill our responsibilities to our fellow citizens and to our country.

We know that if we do, we will be giving way to terror and giving victory to those who seek to terrorize America.

And all Americans—Christians, Jews, Muslims, and all others, too—know that we cannot let these criminal deeds go unanswered.

This resolution is a key part of the answer. It says the President can use force in a "necessary and appropriate" response directed at those who "planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001," as well as those who harbored the perpetrators, so they will not commit new offenses. It is broad, but it is not unlimited. It covers the culpable but it is not aimed at anyone else.

In other words, in voting for this resolution, I am voting not for vengeance but for justice.

I think it is the duty of all civilized people to insist on meting out justice to those who are guilty, including those who have aided and abetted the perpetrators—and we must not hesitate to carry out that duty.

But we have another duty as well—a duty to ourselves and to the things we hold most dear.

To paraphrase Churchill, this week may prove to be only the end of the beginning of events that will challenge us all. Those events likely will test our resolve in persisting through a long and unsettling struggle. And they definitely will test our dedication to our own principles—the very principles that have made America what it is and so have made us hated by those who hate those principles.

We must not waiver in defending those principles. We must not weaken in our determination to maintain our Constitution and democracy. And we must not surrender or reduce the basic freedoms and the rights of all Americans—because, if we do any of those things we will have lost the struggle, whatever the results of the use of force authorized by this resolution.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, American governance today is confronted with an unprecedented challenge. A concerted terrorist attack has been perpetrated against our institutions, people, and way of life. As legislators we are obligated to look to our constitutional heritage to craft an appropriate response. What is clear is the imperative to act. What is less clear is the methodology to pursue.

Terrorism is neither easily understood nor combatted. The assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon represent perhaps more a conspiracy of hatred than a traditionally understood act of war. Yet the rationale for an international police action led by U.S. Armed Forces must be rooted in traditional just war doctrine.

There is in the Western tradition a hallowed just war doctrine developed by ecclesiastics and jurists, followed by statesmen, instinctively accepted by the peoples of many countries in tradition and right. Briefly, it holds that for war to be considered just, it must be animated by a just cause and informed by righteous intention, that it be undertaken by a lawful political authority and only as a last resort, and that rectifying actions be proportionate to the wrongs committed.

With this resolution Congress is obligated to lay forth an intent to hold accountable to the bar of justice perpetrators of a crime against civilized values. We do this, however, with no intent of territorial aggression nor desire to precipitate breaches between the Moslem and Judeo-Christian worlds. Indeed, we act out of a desire to emphasize what unites rather than divide the three great monotheistic religions.

All moral communities are structured by religious values. Thus our revolution against British authority was premised upon "self-evident" individual rights and legitimized by an "appeal to heaven," a higher law of conscience which precedes the more mundane civil laws of society. In establishing our constitutional form of government the Founders brought into being not a secular system, but a desecularized one premised on the dual conviction that no political leader or institution speaks for God, and at the same time, that under God, truth and right are not matters ultimately decided by majority vote.

The decision not to establish a state church, however, was never intended to precipitate a divorce of religious values from politics. Citizens were expected to derive their values

from religion, but to practice their faith by example rather than coercion; to be moral without moralizing. Likewise, governance was intended to be rooted in law and due process and the resolution we are now debating is intended to underscore the role of our legislators in advancing a foreign policy decision.

Here, it demands stressing that for a community founded as "one nation, under God," a critical basis for making judgments of the nature thrust today before Congress is the Ten Commandments, the essence of the ethical teachings of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. As the scholar Huston Smith puts it: "It is through the Ten Commandments that Hebraic morality has made its greatest impact upon the world. Taken over by Christianity and Islam, the Ten Commandments constitute the moral foundation of half the world's population."

As Smith and others have pointed out, the ethical precepts contained in the Ten Commandments—whether as worded in Exodus 20: 1–17 or Deuteronomy 5: 6–21 of the Hebrew Bible, as summarized by Jesus of Nazareth in "two great commandments," Matthew 22: 37–39 in the New Testament, or as in the injunctions and prohibitions in Surah 17: 22–39 of the Koran—represent the minimum standards of conduct if life in community is to be an enduring possibility.

The Ten Commandments are not the exclusive possession of a single religious tradition nor the expression of a particular moral code. Rather the importance of the Ten Commandments lies not in their uniqueness but in their universality. They are not only the final word in any area, they are the first word. This is why, over three thousand years after their formulation, they remain the moral cornerstone of half the world.

The Ten Commandments are relevant to discussion of this resolution because just as the Judeo-Christian tradition emphasizes the civilized belief that "Thou shalt not kill," the Koran states: "do not kill any one whom Allah has forbidden . . ."

The distinction that matters is not nuanced differences between the Old and New Testaments and the Koran, but between committed individuals of faith and fanatics. The former are concerned principally with improving their own lives; the latter with imposing their beliefs on others. Yet it is impressive how closely St. Paul's admonition about modesty of judgment—that we all see through a glass darkly—parallels Mohamed's directive "follow not that of which you have not the knowledge . . . do not go about in the land exultingly, for you cannot cut through the earth nor reach the mountains in height."

These parallels are important in this discussion because as we contemplate the use of force, we the representatives of the American people have an obligation to emphasize the commonality of our values. We respect Islam and Islamic nations. The only brief we hold is against parties that manipulate hatred and employ tactics of terror.

Here, to return to just war doctrine, a central tenet is proportionately. Care must be taken in any military action to limit to the maximum extent possible collateral damage and seek instead individual accountability. We must in the American tradition pay a decent respect to the opinions of mankind. Otherwise, we will not only create more terrorists than we root out and cause a world currently sympathetic to

our dilemma to turn against us, however righteous our cause. Fanaticism, in other words, should be matched by a commitment to right or wrong, not counter-fanaticism. The fundamental goal of the policy we sanction this evening must be prevention, not revenge.

Finally, a note about historical parallels. The Gulf of Tonkin resolution is not proper precedent. Tonkin, after all, involved an unconfirmed rifle attack from a wooden boat against a U.S. naval vessel in a combat zone off the shores of Vietnam. No one was killed or injured; no damage was inflicted. In this case, an unprovoked, cowardly attack was launched against American citizens and military personnel on American territory. The Congress, in conformity with the War Powers Resolution which resulted from the lack of constitutional clarity that engulfed our involvement in Vietnam, has no choice except to authorize executive discretion. What this debate must frame, however, is both the discretion that is appropriately delegated to the President or underscored under the Constitution and the limits of nature of judgement that must be applied to the circumstance. In this regard, this Member simply wishes to place in the RECORD a concern for the need for international cooperation and proportionality of response. Fundamentally, at this stage, the crimes that have been committed are of a few against two symbolic bastions of civilization. The goal should be individual accountability of parties that plan and participate in terrorism or harbor terrorist activity. Prayerfully, a war on terrorism need not precipitate a war between cultures or states.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. It authorizes the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those who attacked our country on September 11, or those who aided or harbored them. The death and destruction that rained down from the skies on Tuesday has horrified and outraged the entire nation. We can never replace the innocent lives that were lost, but we honor their grievous loss when we act to prevent such a heinous crime from happening again.

The enemy that did this must be identified and punished. Their network of support must be uprooted. In the difficult effort ahead, we must be resolute, determined and united in purpose. The resolution before the House tonight reinforces and supports the powers granted to the President in the Constitution as Commander in Chief and those granted him under the War Powers Act. More than that, it underscores the determination of Congress to stand with the President, the men and women of our nation's armed forces, and all Americans in the great task before us.

As a freedom loving people, we did not seek this fight. But as nation that loves freedom, we shall not shun it. Let us stand together and pass this resolution.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart, one that is filled with sorrow for the families and loved ones who were killed and injured in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Only the most foolish or the most callous would not understand the grief that has gripped the American people and millions across the world.

This unspeakable attack on the United States has forced me to rely on my moral compass, my conscience, and my God for direction.

September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am con-

vinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States.

I know that this use-of-force resolution will pass although we all know that the President can wage a war even without this resolution. However difficult this vote may be, some of us must urge the use of restraint. There must be some of us who say, let's step back for a moment and think through the implications of our actions today—let us more fully understand its consequences.

We are not dealing with a conventional war. We cannot respond in a conventional manner. I do not want to see this spiral out of control. This crisis involves issues of national security, foreign policy, public safety, intelligence gathering, economics, and murder. Our response must be equally multi-faceted.

We must not rush to judgment. Far too many innocent people have already died. Our country is in mourning. If we rush to launch a counter-attack, we run too great a risk that women, children, and other non-combatants will be caught in the crossfire.

Nor can we let our justified anger over these outrageous acts by vicious murderers inflame prejudice against all Arab Americans, Muslims, Southeast Asians, or any other people because of their race, religion, or ethnicity.

Finally, we must be careful not to embark on an open-ended war with neither an exit strategy nor a focused target. We cannot repeat past mistakes.

In 1964, Congress gave President Lyndon Johnson the power to "take all necessary measures" to repel attacks and prevent further aggression. In so doing, this House abandoned its own constitutional responsibilities and launched our country into years of undeclared war in Vietnam.

At that time, Senator Wayne Morse, one of two lonely votes against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, declared, "I believe that history will record that we have made a grave mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States . . . I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake."

Senator Morse was correct, and I fear we make the same mistake today. And I fear the consequences.

I have agonized over this vote. But I came to grips with it in the very painful yet beautiful memorial service today at the National Cathedral. As a member of the clergy so eloquently said, "As we act, let us not become the evil that we deplore."

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight in strong support of this resolution. What we are doing tonight is authorizing the use of our Armed Forces for war. It is a war we did not want, and it is a war we did not start. But the primary responsibility of any government must be the protection of its citizens, and so Tuesday's attacks on the citizens of the United States have left us with no choice. The perpetrators of these heinous crimes must be found, and then they must suffer the consequences of their deeds.

I take this vote tonight knowing there will be challenges ahead. There will be danger. And there will be sacrifice. But this is a war we must win. For us as Americans, and for the free world.

Terrorists use fear as a weapon. But we will not surrender to fear. Because they are not

just facing the best-trained and best-equipped military the world has ever known; they are facing the fierce determination and the quiet anger of the American people. The attacks on Tuesday were designed to bring chaos to the United States, but it has done just the opposite. We stand together as one nation. We understand there will be challenges ahead. And we know what must be done. And that is why we are here tonight and authorizing the President to use all necessary force to destroy these terrorist organizations. September 11th is a day we will always remember, and I believe it is a day the enemies of freedom will live to regret.

Mr. WU. Mr. Speaker, as brave Americans continue working to rescue and treat those trapped under the remains of the World Trade Center and the damaged Pentagon, my heart and prayers continue to be with those who have lost loved ones and those with loved ones still to be found.

Since Tuesday, I have seen Americans in our finest hour. We have experienced the deepest of loss, sadness, despair, and anger. But Americans have joined together to help each other, and I am proud.

We Americans demand that individuals, organizations, or countries responsible for this monstrous act be brought to justice. Our actions must be deliberate, decisive, and effective.

We will not deliberately attack innocent civilians and become like our attackers.

Article I, section 8 of the our Constitution grants to Congress the authority "To declare War."

This is one of the most profound of powers. The Founders recognized that the power to send our sons and daughters to war is the most important decision a nation can make. They invested this power in Congress, the institution closest to the people.

I believe this solemn congressional responsibility is critical to protecting the delicate balance of power between the legislative and executive branches. This balance of power was carefully crafted and has allowed the United States to remain one of the most stable and enduring democracies in the world.

I would have strong reservations about a resolution authorizing the use of force in an open ended manner reaching far beyond responding to this specific terrorist attack on America. This is not that resolution.

This resolution restates the authority I believe Congress already granted to the President under Section 2(c)(3) of the War Powers Resolution. My reading is that nothing in this resolution supercedes congressional authority under the Constitution or War Powers Resolution and the President would continue to be bound by the reporting and consultation requirements. Under this resolution, Congress reserves the right to review the President's plans and actions.

The purpose of our restatement, of this use of force resolution, is to demonstrate that America stands united. I pray that President Bush will use the awesome powers of the United States with wisdom.

Mr. HILLEARY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of our Commander-in-Chief, our Armed Forces, and the important action this body takes today. This resolution means America will go into our war on terrorism with a solid front.

We're not retaliating because we're angry, although we are. We're not doing this out of

revenge, although it is. This is not simply about justice, although we are entitled to justice. Rather, we are retaliating to save our freedom and way of life. Those who were violently attacked on September 22nd would be attacked again, maybe with nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons next time, if we were to allow the perpetrators to go unpunished, or even lightly punished. But we won't. America is a peaceful nation, but when our freedom and security are challenged as they are now, we will do whatever it takes to protect our way of life.

I do not take this decision lightly. This war is going to be an extensive and costly one. This vote will result in the likely loss of life for a good number of American servicemen, and the certain upheaval of many American families. Our enemies don't think America has the stomach for an ugly sustained fight like this one. Our enemies are wrong.

Ten years ago, I was on the receiving end of a resolution like this one, just another young Air Force officer, waiting for the word. I know it was an agonizing decision for many members of this body, but it was the right one for America and for the world. I believe this one is, too. We need to remember this when the going gets tough. Right is right, and must be defended.

It says in the seventh Psalm that, "He who digs a hole and scoops it out falls into the pit he has made. The trouble he causes recoils on himself; his violence comes down on his own head." In the near future, the violence of America's enemies will come down on their own heads. We will find these barbarians, we will hunt down those who harbor them, and we will make an example of them. We did not start this. But we will finish it.

God bless the victims and their families, God bless our brave soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines. And God bless America.

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Joint War Powers Resolution, but not without reservation. Clearly, the terrorist attacks on September 11th caused unprecedented death, destruction and despair in our nation. The attacks struck a blow not only to our citizens and buildings, but also against our values, our freedoms, our way of life. They touched all of us; and we must seek justice, honor our fellow citizens, and prevent further terrorist acts.

Today, we join with the President to undertake such acts as are necessary to prevent any future acts of terrorism against our citizens. Today, and for many days ahead, we hurt, we mourn, and we honor the memory of those whose lives were taken by the terrorist attacks, and those whose lives were lost in courageous rescue efforts. Many of our citizens are angry, indeed, enraged and want to strike back, and we must strike back.

We do not understand and may never understand why anyone would commit such unspeakable, horrific deeds. The terrorists sought to instill in us fear and insecurity. To this, we must not submit; we must strike back. We must take the necessary actions to safeguard our lives and American interests, but we must not relinquish our cherished freedoms and values.

In America, we cherish our values, our humanity, our love of justice. Therefore, as we pursue the terrorists, and those who aided or harbored them, we must not become terrorists. We must not become filled with the evil

force which we abhor in the terrorists. We must strike back, but must do so consistently with the values that we hold dear. The President should act only on the basis of convincing evidence of the identity of the terrorists, and employ that force which is necessary to deter and prevent future acts of terrorism against our citizens. The authorization we give the President today is not unlimited. Congress will monitor progress of our military actions and work with the President to ensure that our actions under this resolution are necessary and appropriate, consistent with our values, in conjunction with our friends and allies, and in accordance with international laws.

We are a strong and resilient nation. We will recover and rebuild our broken lives, our buildings and our way of life. Let us pray that God's grace and wisdom will guide us through the difficult days ahead.

Mr. MASCARA. Mr. Speaker, we gather here this evening to declare America's intention to exercise her right of self-defense and her obligation to protect her citizens. I stand shoulder to shoulder with my colleagues to announce, through this joint resolution, that acts of terrorism will not be tolerated. At present, these cowards may be nameless, well-trained, well-financed, and filled with hate towards America, but we will soon know who they are and they will rue the day they chose to attack American freedom.

I take no solace or comfort in voting for this resolution, but I do it proudly. Let there be no doubt: while we did not seek this fight, we are more than ready to finish it. America burns with a seething, unyielding, smoldering anger that will not be extinguished until it has punished this ruthless foe.

Never again should Americans wake up to see their precious landmarks hit by airplanes. Never again should Americans wake up to see the symbols of their military strength and superiority attacked by cowards. Never again should Americans have to wonder if the symbols of their cherished democracy are safe. In short, never again.

I support this resolution with a firm resolve. We will win this campaign against terrorism. May God bless the United States of America.

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to express my strongest support possible for H.J. Res 64, a resolution authorizing the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks against our country. I want to thank the leadership of both parties for acting as quickly as they did to bring this legislation forth.

Mr. Speaker, only a few hours ago, I stood at Ground Zero, in lower Manhattan, with President Bush and many of my colleagues and viewed first hand the devastating destruction that occurred in New York City on Tuesday morning, September 11, 2001. We saw the mountains of rubble that once was the World Trade Center. We saw the neighboring buildings that surround this area that are also damaged. We talked to city and state officials and learned about the tremendous economic impact this event will have. But most importantly, what we did not see was the thousands of people, mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, friends all, who were indiscriminately killed by cowards. This attack on our innocent citizens, this attack on our nation's financial center and on the heart of our national defense, the Pentagon, and the hundreds of people who died there, must not go

unpunished. I know I stand united with my colleagues tonight, shoulder to shoulder, in supporting the President of the United States to give him the authority and tools necessary to seek justice to this most horrific act of violence.

This nation has never wanted war. We are a peaceful nation. And, I do not take these actions that we are authorizing tonight lightly, but I believe the American people understand that there are those times when the actions by others must be answered. This is one of those times. We must respond, in kind and with a united voice, to the actions of these ruthless forces. I know the American people are willing to endure even a protracted campaign, if necessary, in order to secure the future of our country.

I urge my colleagues to vote unanimously in support of this resolution. God bless the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. speaker, on September 11th, America came face to face with undisguised evil. We did not blink. What the enemies of America perceive as weakness, we celebrate as strength—freedom, tolerance, democratic governance. No enemy can ever take these things from us, because they are ingrained in our institutions, our way of life, and our very character as a people.

In times of trial, these principles give America the strength and resolve to meet any challenge, no matter how great. We will rise to this challenge as we have done countless times before. As we mourn our dead, we prepare for war. Americans are people of goodwill. We do not seek war, and waging war is something we do neither with relish nor with joy. But wage war we must, with all the ferocity and all the commitment of a Nation roused to righteous anger. Whether it takes weeks, months, or years, we will prevail.

To those who have spilled the blood of American innocents, and those who have harbored them, our message is a simple one: You can run, but you can't hide. America will track you down, and for what you have done, you will pay. You will pay. God bless this House, and God bless America.

Mr. ROSS. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, September 11, 2001, is a day that none of us in this Chamber—none of us in this country—will forget. It is a day when our nation experienced an attack unlike we have ever seen. Thousands of lives in our nation were lost and many, many more were forever changed because of the despicable and deliberate acts of terrorists. As we observe this National Day of Prayer and Remembrance for this terrible tragedy, our hearts are with all the victims and their families, and our thoughts and prayers are with those working so hard to remove the rubble and hopefully find additional survivors.

We can no longer think of these terrorist attacks as something that we see on television that happen only in far away lands. The threat to our national security is evident, and our response to the attacks at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon is critical. It must be strong, it must be carefully calculated, and it must be swift.

The time has come for the United States to make a full force effort to eliminate the terrorist networks across the globe, and I urge my colleagues to support this resolution authorizing the President to use such necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for the terrorist attacks on September 11

and anyone or any country who assisted them.

This is no easy task, but our troops are ready, and our government stands united, Democrats and Republicans alike, in our resolve to end terrorism in the United States.

Yes, Tuesday was dark day for America. But, Mr. Speaker, it was not near as dark as the days that lie ahead for the evil perpetrators who masterminded these attacks. The American spirit is alive and well, and our commitment to seek out and take action against those who would commit such heinous and cowardly acts is unwavering. We will not allow these terrorists to alter the kind of world that our children and grandchildren grow up in.

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in strong support of this resolution. All American's have been reminded that freedom comes at a price. The citizens of the United States have fought to sustain one's right to remain free, engaging in major conflicts from our birth during the Revolutionary War, to the War of 1812, the Mexican War, Civil War, Spanish-American War, World War I and II, Korea, Vietnam, and finally the gulf war.

Each conflict cost precious lives, but those men and women gave their lives so that future generations would continue to live under the blanket of freedom. We all feel the tremendous loss of life—loved ones, friends, colleagues—and our prayers are steadfast with the victims, their families, and those brave souls who are risking their lives at this very moment in search and rescue operations.

My colleagues, we are about to vote on a course of action that again pits hope against terror—and—freedom against oppression. Our enemies will never know freedom, because they are imprisoned by hate—and for that—they have already lost.

As we stand united behind our President and with our fellow Americans, I offer the following reflection: After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Admiral Yamamoto lamented that his country's action had "awakened a sleeping giant." My colleagues, that giant has awakened again.

For the Lord is my light and my salvation—whom shall I fear? The Lord is the stronghold of my life—of whom shall I be afraid? When evil men advance against me to devour my flesh, when my enemies and my foes attack me, they will stumble and fall.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the House and Senate in support of H.J. Res. 64, to authorize the use of our Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent terrorist attacks against the United States. Passing this resolution and sanctioning the use of our courageous armed forces is not something we do lightly, hastily, or in pursuit of vengeance. Putting the men and women of our military in harm's way is a grave decision that should only be resorted to when no other course of action is appropriate.

This resolution is a deliberate, well-considered, and I believe proper response to the deplorable acts of terror committed against our country, our people, and indeed, the entire civilized world.

Passing this resolution demonstrates to our country and to all the nations of the world our united resolve to punish those responsible for these heinous acts, and more importantly, ensures that perpetrators of terror are not allowed to continue their campaign of violence

against innocent persons both here and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, by passing this resolution we send this critical message to our military: We stand behind you as you prepare to defend our country and the ideals of freedom and democracy, for our citizens and the world community.

Mr. OXLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have heard this plea from my constituents in the fourth congressional district in these numbing days following the unconscionable terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon: Find those who did this. Make them answer for their evil. Defend the ideals that our predecessors fought for, to make this a safer and more peaceful world for the generations to come.

I was in this House a decade ago when we debated a resolution to support our President, George Bush, when he went to war against Saddam Hussein. I hoped never to have to speak to a military challenge of that magnitude again. But on September 11, America was attacked at home by an enemy that hides in shadows and kills without conscience.

By authorizing the use of all necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for terrorist attacks, this Congress shows that it and the American people stands behind our President, George W. Bush, and civilized society. While it is not a technical declaration of war, for all practical purposes the United States is at war with those who want to harm our people, disrupt our economy, shatter our security, and destroy our democratic values. All nations in the world who profess the values of civilization should be with America on this defining mission.

We will win before the causes of liberty and justice are more powerful than the forces of evil and hatred. Americans have answered this call before. This time, the enemy is not so much a single country as a destructive concept called terrorism. But we will prevail because this new challenge has once again shown that we are the United States. We know what we are fighting for: the triumph of liberty, freedom, and peace over fanaticism and violence. Our response is just, and our cause will prevail.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, tonight, I vote to support the use of America's military force against the terrorist organizations that plotted to attack our peaceful Nation. This will likely be the most important vote I take as a Member of Congress. With this vote, I put my trust in our President, the men and women of our Armed Forces, and my fellow Americans. We will overcome this tremendous challenge with honor, dignity, and justice.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight with a heavy heart.

The floor we stand on here is the centerpiece of American democracy. It has been the site of weighty debates, presidential addresses, and critical votes. I have witnessed and participated in many of these since I was first elected to represent the people of North Carolina's 3rd District in 1994. As a servant of the people, these events are all humbling.

However the vote we are poised to take today is one of my most significant votes in my congressional career—and the most important type of vote that Congress ever takes. Today we vote to authorize the Commander-in-Chief to send our brave men and women in uniform into harm's way.

This is not a vote to be taken lightly. We do so with righteous cause—to respond to the despicable acts of war committed against the American people and the very freedoms and ideals for which our Nation stands. And we do so with the solemn understanding that some of the men and women that we send to fight this new war may not return. They may be from districts around the country—they may be from my own.

But the action we take tonight is absolutely necessary.

Our Nation was violated, our people slaughtered, our democracy threatened. Justice must be delivered—the victims of this tragedy deserve it and the American people demand it.

This resolution will demonstrate to the world—and most importantly those who committed these horrendous crimes—that the United States will respond. And when she does, it will be with the full weight and support of the President, this Congress, and the American people.

Let me be clear—this is not just a vote about the use of force or even terrorism. This is a vote to protect the freedoms of the people of the United States of America. I urge my colleagues to join me in that effort by supporting this important resolution.

God bless our President, God bless the men and women in uniform who will carry out this conflict, and God bless our great Nation.

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.J. Res. 64 to authorize the President to use whatever means necessary to respond to the heinous, barbarous terrorist acts of September 11. I am proud to stand here in unity with my Democratic and Republican colleagues in support of our President, our Armed Forces, our law enforcement personnel, and our entire great nation, as we seek justice for these horrible atrocities.

On September 11, we were violently attacked in an act of war. It was not a war of our choosing. Indeed, Americans are by their nature a good people, and we seek to settle our differences through peaceful means. But when we are violently attacked, we respond with tremendous resolve. This is not a war of our choosing. But we must choose today to forcefully respond to this cowardly act to ensure that it never happens again.

Ten years ago, I was proud to stand in this chamber as we debated a similar resolution to address the aggression of Saddam Hussein. We had principled differences over the use of force, but when we finished our debate and passed the resolution, we all stood united behind our President. Because we are a strong, healthy democracy, we know when to put our differences aside for the greater good of peace, prosperity and security.

Today we are confronted with an even greater challenge to the future of our democracy. But I believe our courage, resolve and unity today has never been stronger. Only a week ago, we were passionately debating the budget, taxes and Social Security. Those issues, important as they are, now pale in comparison to the challenge before us. Today we cast aside our labels of Democrat and Republican, and we stand as one America.

The perpetrators of these heinous acts will be found, their terrorist networks will be eradicated, and justice will be served. This will not happen overnight. Every American should be prepared for a long campaign. But we will succeed. When America's spirit is moved, it is un-

bound by conventional limits. When America's freedom is threatened, it responds decisively.

The terrorists who committed these atrocities will never understand the power of American freedom, and they will always underestimate American resolve. That is because they live in fear of a world that embraces our ideals of freedom, democracy and equality. While terrorists plot behind closed doors to destroy human lives, compassionate and courageous Americans risk their lives to save lives—as our firefighters and other rescuers heroically demonstrated in the past few days.

The actions that we will authorize today will likely result in lives lost—a reality not of our choosing but forced upon us by the events of September 11. But the eradication of terrorist networks that threaten America, and the punishment of nations that harbor these criminals, will preserve countless lives for many generations to come—not just of Americans, but of all people in the world who cherish freedom and democracy as a way of life. We must use the full might of America and its allies to create a secure world for all of us to live in.

Our world changed dramatically with one swift, despicable act of terrorism. We will never be able to return to the world that existed before September 11. But America has the tremendous resilience to heal, recover and grow stronger after great periods of tragedy. We will meet this new challenge, and rebuild a society that embraces even more vigorously the ideals of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support H.J. Res. 64 to give the President the unwavering support he needs to successfully execute America's mission. Eradicating this terrorist threat is a daunting—but achievable—challenge. America will prevail, because her cause is just. Freedom will endure, because America is its protector.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I've been in Congress for nearly six years. Never have I been so torn over a vote. Even though I am going to vote for this legislation, I have deep concerns and grave reservations about it.

First, it is too narrow. We need a comprehensive anti-terrorist approach. This legislation does not represent such a comprehensive strategy and war against terrorism around the world. It only pertains to the terrorism associated with the events surrounding September 11, 2001. This legislation looks backward, not forward. This legislation fails to develop a strategy to combat and prevent potential or future acts of terrorism.

Second, and paradoxically, it is too broad. The literal language of this legislation can be read as broadly as executive interpreters want to read it, which gives the President awesome and undefined power. As written, the resolution could be interpreted, if read literally, to give the President the authority to deploy or use our armed forces domestically.

Earlier today I voted to support \$40 billion in supplemental spending for a fight against terrorism and public social spending for New York's recovery. Tonight I would have preferred to support a vote to reaffirm the authority of the President under the War Powers Act, which gives the President all the authority he currently needs to fight terrorism and protect the citizens of the United States. That would give all Americans more time—60 or 90 days—to investigate more and learn more about all of the issues and facts involved on September 11.

I support the President's commitment to investigate, capture, and punish all of those responsible for this horrible and inhumane deed. This was not only an assault on our nation and our people, but an indiscriminate attack on civilian life. Thus, I also support and approve removing the sanctuaries and support systems of terrorists. I urge all governments to unite to investigate this crime, to prevent its recurrence, and to bring to justice those who are responsible. I support doing whatever is constitutionally lawful and necessary to isolate those nations who sponsor and harbor terrorists. But I am not voting to give the President new authority—in the words of Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul D. Wolfowitz—to “end states who sponsor terrorism.” We need to operate within traditional constitutional constraints.

I would have preferred to have voted to reaffirm the War Powers Act because it, after 60 or 90 days of the President launching a military response to these terrorist attacks, the President had returned with more information on who did this and how it happened, I might be prepared to vote \$100 billion to fight terrorism. And if, after 60 or 90 days, President Bush returned with a request and a rationale for new and expanded presidential authority, I may have been willing to vote to grant him that as well—but not now.

In private meetings all day yesterday, Members raised serious questions and concerns that troubled me greatly.

Some Members noted the similarity to the open-endedness of this resolution to the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. We know the consequences of the vote, which was based on insufficient information and, in that instance we now know, deception. Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Ernest Gruening of Alaska voted “No” on August 7, 1964, and they are seen as wise and heroic today. I am not voting “Yes” on September 14, 2001, for an open-ended Tonkin Gulf-type Resolution. I do not want a repeat of the Johnson administration—which used it to provide dubious legal cover for a massive escalation of an unwinnable war in Vietnam—for either a similar domestic or foreign over-reach against terrorism. I'm not willing to give President Bush carte blanche authority to fight terrorism. We need to agree to fight it together within traditional constitutional boundaries.

Another Member asked, “By voting for this resolution, are we granting the President new authority to conduct extra-legal and extra-constitutional assassinations?” If we are, we are becoming like the terrorists we despise. What does killing people already willing to die really accomplish? It will only create martyrs and multiply terrorists.

We must not become like those who believe that the end justifies any means in the struggle against terrorism. That is the logic of the terrorists. We must respond to this outrage, but we must not validate this logic. We must respond to this outrage effectively—by eliminating the underlying grievances that is motivating the terrorism in the first place. What we must do is affirm the principles that came under attack on September 11—respect for innocent life and international law. That is how to rob the terrorists of victory.

Recently President Bush said the United States “will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbored them.” But we must make distinctions. In the words of Human Rights



Watch, we must distinguish “between the guilty and the innocent; between those who commit atrocities and those who may simply share their religious beliefs, ethnicity, or national origin. People committed to justice and law and human rights must never descend to the level of the perpetrators of such acts. That is the most important distinction of all.”

Another Member said we needed to show national unity. A vote to reaffirm the War Powers Act would have given us the national unity we need—and would have given us 60 days to investigate this matter more fully and see more clearly what we are actually looking at.

Another Member said she had been in Congress for 19 years, but never had been asked to make a decision and cast a vote with so little information. In light of one Senator’s breach of trust, the administration is now withholding information from Members of Congress. We are voting huge sums of money and granting virtual unlimited authority to the President with little actual information.

Other Members expressed a concern that if we are going to conduct a “comprehensive and sustained war against terrorism that eliminates terrorists and terrorism root and branch” that we must give Americans an understanding of why there are so many people in the world who hate us. We must explore and learn why people are willing to give their very lives in suicidal missions; and why their supporters dance and celebrate in the streets when these terrorists inhumanely succeed to destroying American lives and our symbols of economic power and military might.

I have raised the concern that we need more time to explain to the American people that this is a new kind of protracted war. This is not the kind of war former President Bush fought in the Persian Gulf that ended in just over a month. This is a war that will be fought in public places on our shores and within our borders—in our crowded public buildings, in our subways, in our airports, in our train stations, in our colleges and universities, at our sporting events, and possibly with chemical and biological weapons. The War Powers Act would have allowed us at least 60 to 90 days to better understand and inform the American people about the nature of the war that today they are so anxious to fight.

I too am deeply hurt, distraught, in mourning, fearful, and angry. But we must resist the temptation to allow ourselves to become like those we today so despise. Terrorist violence must be halted, but the pain behind their rage must be heard and addressed. Human beings become terrorists in an ocean of despair. Therefore, any comprehensive approach to ending terrorism must address the waves of pain and injustice of the ocean. The most effective anti-terrorist campaign is one that replaces the despair and hopelessness of the terrorist’s supporters with a policy that brings dignity, respect, and justice to every person, neighborhood, community, and nation in the world.

Ms. WATSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the use of force against those persons responsible for recent acts of terrorism against the United States. The resolution is balanced and seeks to ensure that the Congress will be included in the consultative process when and if U.S. troops are introduced into hostilities. I strongly believe that the resolution will continue to enjoy strong bipartisan support only if the Ex-

ecutive, in good faith, consults with and informs the Congress in a timely manner.

I should also note that the resolution is not a *carte blanche* endorsement for the use of force against any suspected terrorist group anywhere in the world, but is more narrowly crafted to endorse all necessary and appropriate use of force against nations, organizations, and persons that participated in the attacks that occurred on September 11.

Mr. Speaker, although I support the resolution, I am mindful of the gravity and seriousness of putting U.S. troops and other governmental personnel in harms way. It is highly probable that more U.S. lives will be lost in our struggle to excise the cancer of terrorism wherever it poses a threat to the U.S., the Western world, and our allies in the non-West. Other countless innocents will also lose their lives. This is not Desert Storm, an operation of relatively short duration that witnessed minimal loss of American lives. Our national commitment to the task ahead of us will require vigilance and forbearance. It will also require that we remain mindful of the fact that the United States is an open society and that any policy or action implemented by the U.S. Government will ultimately fail if it does not have the support of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, in this time of tragedy that has provoked visceral outrage, we must, nonetheless, continue to exercise prudence and good judgment in the prosecution of the U.S. response to these terrorist acts. Indeed a military response alone could ultimately prove to be counterproductive, instead fueling anti-U.S. sentiment, increased alienation, and heightened fanaticism. Instead of eliminating the virus of terrorism we could be creating a new and more virulent strain. Any military action must also be accompanied by a sustained economic and diplomatic response aimed at eliminating all centers of terrorist activities while enhancing the stability and strength of our regional allies.

The task ahead of us is complicated and any resolution will not be quick or easy. Our ultimate success in rooting out terrorism will require patience, sustained commitment, and more, not less, engagement in the world.

I pledge my support to the President as he leads the United States forth to meet this historic challenge.

Mr. VITTER. Mr. Speaker, this week’s terrorist attacks against the American people are nothing less than cold-blooded murder and an act of war. I fully support this resolution and urge the President to use any and all means necessary against those nations, organizations, and persons who committed or participated in these heinous acts.

These attacks will only strengthen our resolve to defend the United States and our way of life. These attacks are not just an attack against this wonderful land we call America—they are attacks against our people, our democracy, our values, our civilization. As a nation, we will not rest until we have methodically defeated those who use fear as a weapon against the principles for which our country stands. We are coming after them full throttle.

Finally, we must not forget that thousands of Americans lost their lives this week, and many thousands more lost mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, friends and colleagues. My heart, my prayers, and my condolences go out to them all.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, the United States suf-

fered perhaps the darkest day in its history. Yesterday, this body approved legislation to aid the families of the victims and those that gave their lives trying to save them. Today, we turn our attention to the pursuit of the terrorists that carried out this horrific act. I strongly support this resolution to authorize the President to use the necessary force to find and punish those responsible.

I do not believe passing this resolution is legally necessary. The Constitution gives the President the power to strike back at our aggressors. However, I do believe that it is necessary for Congress to show overwhelming support for the battle that lies ahead. It will not be an easy fight, and it will not be a short one. But it is a confrontation that we will meet head on, united by the memory of those lost and the values and freedom we hold so dearly. And we will be victorious.

Mr. Speaker, tonight we send a clear message to the world that we are prepared to respond to the forces of hate as previous generations have done before us. I am confident that the compassion and resolve that has come to define the American spirit will see us through this most trying time. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today to address the necessity, imposed on us by unspeakable acts of terrorism, for the United States to respond to the killing and injuring of thousands of our fellow citizens, almost all innocent civilians.

This Nation has the right and obligation to both respond to and defend itself from the violent enemies of our freedom and liberty. Those persons and/or entities that were either directly involved in or provided any assistance to the acts of September 11 pose a clear and present danger to the lives of our people and to our very national security. We will find those responsible and make certain that they, and anyone who helped them, are fully punished. This attack on America and its people will not stand.

Moreover, as we cannot rule out future attacks on U.S. soil or to American interests overseas, we must take a comprehensive approach to this challenge. Appropriately, we will utilize the first rate capabilities of our Armed Forces to ensure the personal security of each and every one of us, at home and abroad. To that end, we commit ourselves by the resolution before us, to root out terrorism wherever it is found around the world.

It will not be an easy task to defeat terrorism. It will require considerable resources and patience. There is no quick solution. I am confident, however, that the President and the Congress, working together, will find the means and methods to prevail.

As a member of the Armed Service Committee, I along with my committee colleagues will perform our duty in providing U.S. Armed Forces the necessary resources to deter and defeat the threat of terrorism. I know that our colleagues will support our work.

There is yet considerable work to be done in the days and months ahead. I am confident that our Nation, and our Armed Forces called upon to defend all Americans, will meet the challenges that lie ahead—just as we have from Concord and Lexington through the war in the Persian Gulf.

I strongly urge passage of the resolution.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against the nations,

organizations, or individuals involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks on citizens of the United States.

These were reprehensible attacks against innocent men, women, and children. Anyone who was involved in planning or carrying out these attacks must be punished swiftly and severely.

Moreover, since it is logical to assume that the parties which planned and provided logistical support for Tuesday's terrible attacks are interested in—and capable of—carrying out similar attacks in the future, it is imperative that the United States use whatever means are necessary to prevent them from doing so.

Finally, it is important to recognize that the United States has aggressively pursued legal and diplomatic measures over the last 30 years to curb terrorism—and that it is logical to conclude from this experience that such measures will not be effective enough to deal with the threat that terrorism poses today.

For these reasons, I support this resolution. I believe that the United States Government has no choice but to utilize military force to punish the organizers of the September 11 attacks and protect the people of this nation from future terrorist threats.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, today was one of the saddest days in the history of our beloved country. It is impossible to watch the events caused by evil unfold before our eyes without feeling great sorrow and great anger. We will never forget the sorrow we collectively feel as a nation. Mr. Speaker, we will also never forget the anger and fury we feel toward those who have hurt and killed so many innocent Americans. I pledge my fortune and honor to do everything in my power to bring justice on all those who have so injured this country and its citizens as we pass this resolution.

However, today was a day of prayer and I was moved by the prayer service at the National Cathedral here in our Nation's Capital. I was very touched by the comments of our President at that service, Mr. Speaker, and now make them a part of this RECORD as we put on the shoulders of our President a burden no one man can possibly bear without the help of God.

Mr. Speaker, the President's words today:

We are here in the middle hour of our grief. So many have suffered so great a loss, and today we express our nation's sorrow. We come before God to pray for the missing and the dead, and for those who loved them.

On Tuesday, our country was attacked with deliberate and massive cruelty. We have seen the images of fire and ashes and bent steel.

Now come the names, the list of casualties we are only beginning. They are the names of men and women who began their day at a desk or in an airport, busy with life. They are the names of people who faced death and in their last moments called home to say, be brave and I love you.

They are the names of passengers who defied their murderers and prevented the murder of others on the ground. They are the names of men and women who wore the uniform of the United States and died at their posts.

They are the names of rescuers—the ones whom death found running up the stairs and into the fires to help others. We will read all these names. We will linger over them and learn their stories, and many Americans will weep.

To the children and parents and spouses and families and friends of the lost, we offer

the deepest sympathy of the nation. And I assure you, you are not alone.

Just three days removed from these events, Americans do not yet have the distance of history, but our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.

War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder.

This nation is peaceful, but fierce when stirred to anger. This conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others; it will end in a way and at an hour of our choosing.

Our purpose as a nation is firm, yet our wounds as a people are recent and unhealed and lead us to pray. In many of our prayers this week, there's a searching and an honesty. At St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, on Tuesday, a woman said, "I pray to God to give us a sign that he's still here."

Others have prayed for the same, searching hospital to hospital, carrying pictures of those still missing.

God's signs are not always the one we look for. We learn in tragedy that his purposes are not always our own, yet the prayers of private suffering, whether in our homes or in this great cathedral are known and heard and understood.

There are prayers that help us last through the day or endure the night. There are prayers of friends and strangers that give us strength for the journey, and there are prayers that yield our will to a will greater than our own.

This world He created is of moral design. Grief and tragedy and hatred are only for a time. Goodness, remembrance and love have no end, and the Lord of life holds all who die and all who mourn.

It is said that adversity introduces us to ourselves.

This is true of a nation as well. In this trial, we have been reminded and the world has seen that our fellow Americans are generous and kind, resourceful and brave.

We see our national character in rescuers working past exhaustion, in long lines of blood donors, in thousands of citizens who have asked to work and serve in any way possible. And we have seen our national character in eloquent acts of sacrifice. Inside the World Trade Center, one man who could have saved himself stayed until the end and at the side of his quadriplegic friend. A beloved priest died giving the last rites to a firefighter. Two office workers, finding a disabled stranger, carried her down 68 floors to safety.

A group of men drove through the night from Dallas to Washington to bring skin grafts for burned victims. In these acts and many others, Americans showed a deep commitment to one another and in an abiding love for our country.

Today, we feel what Franklin Roosevelt called, "the warm courage of national unity." This is a unity of every faith and every background. This has joined together political parties and both houses of Congress. It is evident in services of prayer and candlelight vigils and American flags, which are displayed in pride and waved in defiance. Our unity is a kinship of grief and a steadfast resolve to prevail against our enemies. And this unity against terror is now extending across the world.

America is a nation full of good fortune, with so much to be grateful for, but we are not spared from suffering. In every generation, the world has produced enemies of human freedom. They have attacked America because we are freedom's home and defender, and the commitment of our fathers is now the calling of our time.

On this national day of prayer and remembrance, we ask almighty God to watch over our nation and grant us patience and resolve

in all that is to come. We pray that He will comfort and console those who now walk in sorrow. We thank Him for every life we now must mourn, and the promise of a life to come.

As we've been assured, neither death nor life nor angels nor principalities, nor powers nor things present nor things to come nor height nor depth can separate us from God's love.

May He bless the souls of the departed. May He comfort our own. And may He always guide our country.

God bless America.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

I support our President as he seeks to respond effectively to this unparalleled attack, which has left our nation shocked and angered. But no matter the rate we feel today, our response must reflect our national character, and be guided by justice and our right to self-defense, not by vengeance.

I want those responsible for these heinous crimes to be hunted down and held accountable—in full compliance with our Constitution and our laws. They must pay for their murder of thousands of innocent American citizens and others.

I want to break the global network of terrorism so that no other nation, people or group will know the pain and sorrow America is not experiencing. To be successful, we will need a multilateral, coordinated effort of law enforcement, intelligence and military resources. We cannot do this alone.

I want the best of America to continue to shine—so that the world is reassured that the United States remains a haven for freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of association. Our heritage is rooted in diversity and tolerance, and nothing must abrogate the fundamental freedoms and rights of our people.

I believe this resolution achieves these goals. The body of this resolution is appropriately limited to those entities involved in the attacks that occurred on September 11th. It appropriately and explicitly abides by and invokes the authority of the War Powers Resolution. It reiterates the existing constitutional powers of the President to take action to defend the United States, but provides no new or additional grant of powers to the President.

The President should still consult regularly with the Congress about his intentions, actions and policy as they evolve. The president and the Congress must work together, in concert, in order to maintain the unity so necessary to success. That will require timely consultation, reporting and updates, and a genuine desire to maintain the bipartisan support for this undertaking.

We know military action alone will never defeat terrorism. Last Tuesday, we saw the consequences of raw hate. It has no logic. It has no respect for human life or dignity. It holds no promise for the future. It has no single base or leader. We can, however, begin to address some of the underlying problems that can lead to terror.

We can continue our leadership to help negotiate just and lasting solutions to the world's many conflicts, including in the Middle East.

We can renew our engagement with the international community to find solutions to the global challenges of our times: the environment, weapons proliferation, disease and intolerance.

Our country is unified. We can respond effectively to the horror of September 11th. We

can break the links between terrorists. We can contribute to a world that is not only secure from the threat of terrorism, but also free of the poverty and oppression that are its breeding ground. We must exercise the political will to make this happen.

This resolution helps us begin to achieve these goals, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. STUMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this resolution.

Since the terrible and tragic events of Tuesday, this country and the rest of the world have witnessed the determination of the American people to come together, to rally around our President, and to transcend the tragedy that fell our great Nation.

America's anger at those who planned and perpetrated these terrorist acts is palpable. This Congress has stood as one in expressing our grief over the tragic loss of life, our pride in those who continue the rescue and recovery efforts, and our determination to ensure that those who support the use of terror are severely punished. Now, we must express our unified support for the President to take all necessary and appropriate actions to ensure that the terrorists and their supporters do not win in their effort to undermine our way of life.

Mr. Speaker, the President has been forceful and direct—freedom and democracy are under attack by a determined enemy. This battle will take time and resolve, he stated, but we will win. In our effort to root out the evil that is terrorism, we will once again call upon the dedicated men and women who voluntarily serve our country in uniform. It is their greatness that gives us confidence in our ultimate victory.

The fight against terrorism will be a long and difficult campaign. It requires a serious commitment. But the President must know that the Congress supports him by providing him with the tools he needs to prosecute this battle. The Congress has already agreed to provide significant additional funds for the war on terrorism. Now, in this decisive moment, we must stand behind our troops and send a clear signal to our enemies that the President's actions have our unanimous support.

Passage of this resolution will send that signal.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BALDACC. Mr. Speaker, America was changed forever on Tuesday morning. Every one of us has been deeply affected by the terror attack on our Nation. Virtually all of us know someone or know of someone who was directly impacted.

Yesterday, I visited the Pentagon and saw first-hand the destruction that was inflicted on that building and its occupants. I am not able to find words to adequately convey just how chilling a scene it was, and I will never forget those gruesome images.

Law enforcement officials are moving swiftly to identify those who were responsible for this heinous crime. Soon it will be clear who committed these unspeakable acts, and those who supported and protected them. And once it is clear the United States will respond.

We respond not simply out of revenge. We act because war has been declared upon America. We act because our world must be rid of terrorists who think nothing of destroying innocent lives. We act in the name of thousands of innocent victims.

This was not just an attack on four planes, or two buildings, or one nation. Rather, it was an attack on democracy and freedom around the globe. America and our allies will rise to the occasion and fight this scourge just as we have risen to defeat past threats to civilization and democracy.

To that end, today I will vote to authorize President Bush to use all necessary and appropriate force to respond to the terror attacks on our nation. This resolution conveys the resolve of the Congress and the American people that those responsible for this heinous crime will be identified and punished.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of President George W. Bush, by agreeing to grant him the authorization to use the resources of the United States to eradicate the evil forces that perpetuate terrorism, through the enactment of H.J. Res. 64.

The barbaric, heinous attacks launched against the civilian and military population of this great nation on September 11, 2001 must not, and will not be tolerated, nor go unpunished.

I ask the people of this great nation, and our allies around the world, to stand with President Bush and support him with their voices, their continued heroic deeds and volunteerism, and most-importantly, with their prayers.

I ask the people of this Nation to pray for forgiveness for the immorality in this country that has become so widespread and which has contributed to the fragmentation of religious thought.

I ask the people of this nation to thank God for the many blessings which have been so generously bestowed upon this nation.

God be with those who have paid the ultimate price for liberty and freedom, and with those who will do so in the future in the effort to restore security and peace for all of us.

God bless this great land, the United States of America.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. We must ensure that our Commander in Chief can bring the full power of the United States Armed Forces to bear against the villains who struck our nation so cruelly the morning of September 11th. We act not out of wrath, but with the solemn realization that evil must not go unchecked, that our security must be defended, and that our liberty must be upheld. We stand together tonight united in our resolve to fight the scourge of terrorism and protect our beloved country and its people. We understand that it will not be easy and that it will require sustained action, commitment, and vigilance. We must steel ourselves for the months ahead and bear in mind the words inscribed on the base of the Marine War Memorial Iwo Jima: "Uncommon Valor Was a Common Virtue." They remind us of the character and courage of those who serve in our Armed Forces, and I think they also apply to all who put their own lives on the line in an effort to save lives during and after Tuesday's terrible attacks. Now is the time for valor for all Americans.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, in the aftermath of the recent terrorist attacks on the United States, Americans have responded to the cries of their fellow citizens. From the many emergency personnel who arrived moments after the first impact, to the volunteers from all over the country arriving to help or donate blood, to the United States Congress, who has

appropriated \$40 billion help pay for recovery efforts, we have responded. Now it is time to plan the next part of our response: how to punish the perpetrators of this attack and how to protect ourselves in the future.

Our country has come together to get through this time of great tragedy. Members on both sides of the aisle have appropriately put aside partisan politics and present a unified front against terrorism.

Most Americans feel that we should strike back at the individuals, groups, or nations that were involved in these atrocities. I, too, think we should respond to this heinous attack, bring those involved to justice, and put an end to global terrorism. That said, however, I do not believe—even in times of extreme crisis—that the Congress should turn over our constitutional responsibilities to the President. The resolution we are debating today, I fear, begins to do just that.

When writing the Constitution, our Founding Fathers created a balance of powers between the three branches of government to prevent one branch from inappropriately dominating another. Although the Constitution empowers the President as Commander in Chief, it gives the Congress the sole power of declaring war. This resolution gives the President the power to conduct a war without reporting to or consulting with Congress. Frankly stated, it cedes congressional authority to the President.

I have real reservations about the resolution we are considering today. It should contain explicit language ensuring that the President reports to Congress and consults with us in planning and executing a military response. But it does not.

That being said, this resolution is better than earlier versions that were considered. It now makes clear that nothing supersedes the War Powers Act, which requires the President to report and consult with Congress.

Given those facts, I will support the resolution before us today. However, I will continue to insist that the President make Congress an integral part of our nation's response to these attacks. To do otherwise goes against the best interest of the people we represent and the democracy we seek to protect.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution granting authority to the President to use force to respond to the attack on the United States on September 11, 2001.

Our country was the target of an unprovoked, cowardly and vicious attack on Tuesday morning. This act of war committed against our people must not go unanswered and I urge the President to use the authority we are about to give him in an appropriate and decisive manner. We must prevail over our enemy and we must be willing to use the force necessary to achieve total victory.

At this dramatic moment in our history, as we grieve for the loss of thousands of innocent lives and begin to bury our dead, we must not lose sight that this was not just an attack on our government or even our nation. This must be seen as a monstrous attack aimed at the security and way of life of freedom-loving people throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately describe my feelings or the feelings of Americans with regard to the attack on New York and Washington. However, I know that through the sadness and anger will grow an unbending determination not to be intimidated

by the forces of terror and death. America is a great and a good country. We are also now a united people with a common purpose—to seek out and crush the terrorists and their supporters.

I urge support for this resolution, for our President and for the people of the United States.

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. Our nation was viciously attacked on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, leaving children without fathers and mothers, parents mourning their missing children, families experiencing terrible emptiness and loss. All Americans feel the horror, shock, fear, and anger.

The country has been attacked, and as Commander-in-Chief, the President has the power to act to defend the United States of America. Congress recognized this nearly thirty years ago in the War Powers Resolution.

Yet by recognizing the authority our President already possesses under the War Power Resolution, we send a strong statement of national unity. By approving this resolution today, we stand united, as one nation, stating clearly to the perpetrators of this crime, and those who would attack our country in the future, that we will protect our citizens and ensure the guilty are punished.

The horrible crisis is also an opportunity. It is an opportunity for the United States to once again demonstrate to the world the sources of its strength and greatness. I am not speaking of our military might, although it is powerful. We will demonstrate our greatness by the way we seek justice and the way we promote freedom. We will determine with certainty who is culpable and punish them and those who aid them, rather than let our rage lash out indiscriminately.

Community leaders in my district have produced a statement expressing their outrage and sorrow. Wisely they noted that the victims of this attack reflect the diversity of America. They wrote in fact that: "the backgrounds of its innocent victims are representative of the world's diversity, from Africa to the Americas, Europe to Asia, the Middle East, and beyond." As we move forward in seeking justice for the many victims, we must direct our punishment only upon the guilty.

The American people stand behind this quest for justice. With our many friends around the world, we will fight to end the scourge of terrorism. As we rise to this challenge, we must do so relying on America's strengths without sacrificing our cherished principles. Our constitutional liberties stand as an example to the world of what freedom means. We must never forget that we pursue justice in order to secure liberty.

Mr. BONILLA. Mr. Speaker, Evil. It is a word we use too lightly. A word we use when horrible, distasteful, or bad would be more appropriate. It is a word which should be reserved for only the most monstrous and inhuman of circumstances. My colleagues, we have witnessed evil this week. The twin tragedies in New York and Washington, the massacre of innocents, must never happen again. Today, with this legislation, we are sending the world a message. We are stating that America does not recoil in the face of evil. On the contrary, America rises up.

In the last century we faced down the evils of Nazism and Communism. Today, we will face down the evils of terrorism. This evil al-

though a phantom will not be able to hide. The basic goodness that we have seen demonstrated by the firemen, police, military, and civilians at the rescue scenes reflects the basic goodness of America. The selflessness, determination and patience tell us that freedom will be preserved and triumph over this threat.

My colleagues, the forces of evil signed a death warrant for terror last Tuesday. They have unleashed the wrath of the American people. The struggle ahead may be a long one. Ultimately, we will triumph. We will preserve freedom for future generations. We will guarantee hope remains for all mankind. My colleagues please join me in voting for this resolution. God bless America.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Joint Resolution 64, which will authorize the use of force in responding to the terrorist threat that violated the shores of the United States on September 11, 2001. I do not take this action lightly. I fully recognize that this single resolution, though brief in text, will have far-reaching consequences. But, I am certain that this is the only right course of action for our institution and our nation.

The violence that left so many innocent Americans dead or injured or grieving for the loss of a beloved family member or friend was no less than an act of war. Those who preach fear and hatred declared war upon our nation and our people. Indeed, they declared war on all civilized nations and freedom-loving peoples. We must respond in like kind.

In fact, it is our duty to respond with all the power of our principles and all the might of our great and prosperous United States. God has given us a noble land, as Senator Albert Beveridge once said, "a land that can feed and clothe the world; . . . a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe." We must use the gifts that have been showered upon America from the heavens to save the world from tyranny once again.

Just as we did in World War II when we defeated a tyranny of bigotry and hatred, we must engage in an all-out assault against this new tyranny of fear and terror. We are unified in spirit and in purpose and, we are joined by nations far and near. In the end, we will prevail, providing the world with a new day of freedom and peace.

While I am certain that our road will end in victory, I know that it will likely be a long and arduous road to travel. It will not be neat. It will not be without bloodshed or loss of life. It will not be brief. But it will be right and it will be just.

It is not easy to stand before my colleagues and my country knowing that our actions will send young men and women into battle for the cause of freedom. But, we can look their mothers and fathers in the eye and say to them now that this is what must be done. I have little doubt that they understand and that they take comfort in knowing that their children are heroes in a new greatest generation.

And, I feel confident that the American people will stand with those heroes day in and day out until our enemies have been vanquished. I am overwhelmed with an enormous sense of pride and patriotism at the selflessness that so many Americans have shown in recent days in supporting the brave public safety workers and in consoling the bereaved. That indefatigable spirit will sustain us in any battle against any evil.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to remember the words of our President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his Second Inaugural Address to the nation as we to pass this important resolution:

Before all else, we seek, upon our common labor as a nation, the blessings of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our whole people. May we pursue the right—without self-righteousness. May we know unity—without conformity. May we grow in strength—without pride in self. May we, in all our dealings with all the peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and serve justice. And so shall America—in the sight of all men of good will—prove true to the honorable purposes that bind and rule us as a people in all this time of trial through which we pass.

May God bless this mighty nation and shed his grace and blessings upon the men and women of America's armed forces.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution.

In his Funeral Oration, the great Athenian leader Pericles said "heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart."

The terrible events of the last few days already have produced many heroes, from the firemen and the police officers who gave their lives to rescue others, to the airline passengers who appear to have sacrificed themselves to save their fellow citizens.

And like the heroes of ancient times, our heroes also have the whole earth for their tomb; for enshrined in every breast is a record of their deeds that we will carry forever with us.

We will never forget what happened on September 11, 2001.

And we must resolve ourselves that these lives of those who perished in this tragedy will not have been sacrificed in vain—that out of their deaths will arise a new commitment to preserve and defend our American freedom.

We must now go about the grim task of identifying the monsters responsible for starting this war and those who may be harboring them; assuring that they pay a very heavy price for their actions.

In doing so, we call upon all of those who love peace and freedom to join us in this crusade. The community of nations must unite to assure that these terrorists have nowhere to run and nowhere to hide.

Together, we must hunt these criminals down to the ends of the earth and assure they pay dearly for the crimes they have committed against humanity.

The resolution before us provides the President with a specific authorization, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to use force against those responsible for the September 11th terrorist attack.

I do not view this as an open-ended authorization for this or any future President to wage war on any one at any time. It is, instead, in the words of the resolution, an authority to use force against "those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons."

All Americans stand behind our President, his advisers, and the brave men and women of our Armed Forces who will be asked to carry out this mission. Our thoughts and our prayers will be with them in the days and months ahead.

We know their task will not be easy. But they should go forward armed with the knowledge that they have the support of all Americans—as expressed by the unanimous vote of their elected representatives.

That is what this resolution signifies, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to start by expressing my sorrow and outrage at Tuesday's cowardly attack. Tuesday's savagery tore our national fabric, but the tragedy also united the Nation. Our immediate priorities are treating survivors, supporting victims' families, restoring essential services, protecting our civil liberties, healing the national psyche and finding and judging anyone who participated in the horrendous act. We all share these imperatives and will do all that we can to help. We all support the President in these endeavors. This is the indomitable strength of our country.

But our eyes also turn to the future with three critical questions, each of which calls for thorough congressional hearings. First, how should we punish those guilty of these dastardly crimes, once we determine who were involved? Second, how can we make sure this nightmare never occurs again? How can we better collect intelligence, tighten security and insist that other Nations do their share to prevent terrorism? Third, how can we pursue both of these goals without abandoning America's hallmark commitment to civil liberties or forgetting the necessity to constantly battle ethnic, religious and racial prejudice.

#### PUNISHING THE PERPETRATORS

This week, a United Airlines flight attendant expressed the thoughts of many Americans when she told the press "As horrible as it is to say, I want revenge." Clearly the United States will not stand for such a brutal assault on our citizens and our country. The perpetrators must be punished. But if we unleash the full fury of America's military might and we kill innocent people in the process, we will be no better than the terrorists who unleashed their fury on America's civilian population. These acts of hijacking, murder, and terrorism are crimes for which there are laws and punishments under Federal law. These atrocities are not known to have been committed by nation-states but rather by cowardly individuals who we should arrest and try as our justice system demands. We must react with righteousness and justice and not allow ourselves to succumb to the momentary seduction of emotional revenge.

And if we do retaliate, we must exercise our best efforts, as we have always done, to minimize collateral damage against innocent civilians. To disregard that concern because feelings are running so high is to take a path to mayhem that we will live to regret.

#### PREVENTING RECURRENCE

Some voices have described Tuesday's attack as a "massive intelligence and security failure." That path could easily lead to frenzied finger-pointing that would distract us from necessary improvements. Of course, we must upgrade air travel safety through a greater government role in airport security, rather than airline hired-security employees. Some airline pilots and other observers have deemed current

security at some U.S. airports as a "farce." We now know the terrible price paid for our neglect.

Similarly, intelligence collection about potential threats must be improved. We should not underestimate U.S. technical and human intelligence capabilities and past FBI and CIA successes in detecting and disrupting terrorists' plans. Nevertheless, Tuesday's disaster demands improved analysis of information that pours in daily. If that is now hindered by "information overload", we must deal with that. But in intelligence, as in athletics, the best defense is a good offense. The best way to defend against terrorism is to penetrate terrorist groups in order to preempt their plots before they begin. We have probably neglected this aspect of intelligence gathering, preferring instead to rely on the latest technology. This must change.

But as we take bold steps to ensure our security, we must be equally vigilant to protect our liberties. On Tuesday, one TV network commentator, during an interview, flatly asked what civil liberties should be cut back for certain groups in this country. There is always tension between public safety and liberty, a tension that we have tested each time we faced a new threat. Americans are proud of our commitment to protecting citizens from foreign and domestic threats without abandoning the Constitution's guarantee of civil liberties. There has been backsliding, to be sure, such as the relocation of innocent Japanese-American families in the post-Pearl Harbor panic. While the Supreme Court later upheld the constitutionality of that action in the *Korematsu* case, most scholars now regard that as one of the modern Court's most shameful decisions. Eventually, the U.S. Government apologized to the surviving victims and provided compensation. Thus, history demonstrates that we must periodically review the delicate balance between national security and civil liberty, and that when the balance is readjusted it should be done cautiously, with great care and with an eye beyond today's headlines. Just as terrorism can destroy lives and property, so can it destroy us from within, causing us to turn our back on our most treasured freedoms.

#### PREVENTING SCAPEGOATING

Times of great stress also spawn scapegoating. These are very stressful times for America, and signs of scapegoating have already surfaced. The twentieth century has taught us the terrible consequences of directing hostility toward an entire group of people. America has a long, difficult history of struggling to overcome discrimination simply on the basis of religion ethnicity and race. Now, we must guard against turning diffuse feelings of anger against a whole group of Americans such as Muslims or Arabs, if a handful of their members are accused of Tuesday's murders. Already, shops and businesses owned by Americans of Arab descent—and I emphasize "Americans"—have been trashed and in some cases burned. Individuals have been attacked. These hate crimes must be stopped immediately. Federal, state and local officials should use their powers of persuasion and publicity to stop it and, if necessary, vigorously enforce every applicable law. I will ask the appropriate authorities in Detroit to convene a city-wide conference to address this danger and to exercise the necessary leadership. I have also introduced a sense of the Congress resolution condemning these hate crimes.

#### PREVENTING GOUGING

There is one point that I should not have to make. Regrettably it appears that I do. If there ever were a time when all Americans should show a spirit of cooperation, collaboration, and mutual concern surely this tragedy is it. Yet there are credible reports of price gouging, profiteering, and other despicable efforts to exploit the situation fuel prices have soared in parts of the Midwest have jumped alarmingly. The mayor of New York has had to warn grocers and other merchants against raising prices as customers seek to stock up in the face of uncertainty. This selfish behavior is intolerable. I am calling on the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the Federal Trade Commission to immediately establish a joint task force to police and pursue any abrupt price hikes in energy fuels.

I also commend my state's Attorney General, Jennifer Granholm, for taking legal action against nine Michigan gas stations accused of price gouging. In notice of intended action served yesterday and today, Granholm accuses each station of charging prices for gas that are "grossly in excess" of the market-based price at which gasoline would normally be sold. The Michigan Consumer Protection Act expressly prohibits such sales practices as unfair and unconscionable under the law.

Next, I will turn to the specific language of this resolution.

#### THE RESOLUTION

In terms of the specifics of the resolution, as ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, I believe it is important that the RECORD reflect what the resolution does and does not do.

By not declaring war, the resolution preserves our precious civil liberties. This is important because declarations of war trigger broad statutes that not only criminalize interference with troops and recruitment but also authorize the President to apprehend "alien enemies." Having said that, the President has declared that we are in a national emergency. Such an emergency triggers other, less severe statutes, including criminal prohibitions on the destruction of war materials.

Second, this resolution does not give the President perpetual authority to use military force. Not only does Congress have the constitutional duty to oversee the President's use of our men and women in uniform, it has every expectation of revisiting the President's need of the Armed Forces during his pursuit of the terrorists. Should Congress later determine that the President needs more or less authority than he has been given, we will act accordingly.

Finally, this resolution implicitly requires that the President comply with section 4(a) of the War Powers Resolution. That section requires the President to report to Congress whenever U.S. Armed Forces are introduced into hostilities, into foreign territories while equipped for combat, or into foreign territories to substantially enlarge an existing force. These reports will allow Congress to ensure that the needs of the President and the Armed Forces are being met during this on-going crisis.

Mr. Speaker, let us grieve for the victims. Let us restore the destruction. But let us also rededicate ourselves to preserving those very principles that have been the ultimate source of America's strength.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, this week my emotions have run the gamut. On the one hand I have seen my son take a step closer

to becoming the youngest mayor in the history of Detroit. Yet, my joy has been destroyed by the hands that inflicted the worst attack against the United States since Pearl Harbor. I share the pain of Tuesday's attack with millions of Americans who have witnessed the subsequent carnage. My emotions cry out for retribution; yet my head tells me that while we must be resolute, we must also be deliberate and circumspect.

For now, as a nation, we stand at the edge of the abyss. We are poised to make the leap that our nation has rarely been called on to make; yet when called to do so, we have leaped with everything that we have. We are poised today to leap into the abyss of war and we cannot do so timidly. Our determination to triumph over terrorism must be resolute and undeterred. It is with a heavy heart that I stand before the American people prepared to tip my hand in favor of using military force. War intrinsically means the loss of lives. And I know that, in addition to the blood that has already been shed, our actions today will sanction further bloodshed of our sons and daughters. However, there are times when circumstance leaves us no choice. Tuesday's attack has left no doubt that our enemies seek to bring America under siege. We have no choice but to protect ourselves, and I have no choice but to support this joint resolution authorizing the President to respond militarily against our enemies.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution, which authorizes the use of force against those responsible for planning and carrying out Tuesday's horrific terrorist attacks. I don't take this lightly. Authorizing the use of our military is one of the most awesome responsibilities we have as members of this body. But at this moment we have no choice. We know the hijackers had ties to Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organization, which also bombed our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and attacked the U.S.S. *Cole*.

The American people will no longer tolerate these barbaric acts. We must do whatever it takes, including the use of military force, to tract down bin Laden and destroy his organization. But this isn't just about bin Laden. There are other radical groups that engage in international terrorism, including Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. To win the war against terrorism, we must eliminate the entire infrastructure that sustains these organizations.

This will involve getting tough with governments that aid and harbor terrorists. Syria allows Hezbollah to operate freely in Southern Lebanon. Iran recently hosted a terrorist "summit," and routinely provides arms and other assistance to Hezbollah and other radical groups. bin Laden is a "guest" of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The suicide bombers of Islamic Jihad and Hamas are nurtured by the Palestinian Authority.

The time has come for these and other governments to make a fundamental choice: Will they continue to support those responsible for taking the lives of thousands of innocent men, women and children? Or will they realize the error of their ways and end their financing, facilitating and harboring of terrorists and their organizational infrastructure, and their state-sponsored incitement of terrorist acts? For if they choose to continue their present course they are not states of concern, they are not rogue states, they are our enemies.

I applaud the administration's efforts to assemble an international coalition to fight terrorism. Working with our allies and other nations concerned about this scourge, we have a real opportunity to make the world safer for freedom and democracy.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Mr. Speaker, I will miss the rollcall vote on H.J. Res. 64, which will formally authorizes the use of military force against the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001.

I have scheduled very important meetings in California over the weekend and Monday with district employers and employees to discuss the defense budget and other matters of national security. These meetings have been scheduled for some time, and cannot be easily reconfigured. Therefore, during the vote I will be unavoidably detained. The events of September 11 were horrific, and I request that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reflect that had I been present and voting, I would have cast my vote in favor of the resolution authorizing the use of military force.

Mr. OSE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give the President the authorization and support he needs to respond to the acts of terror committed this week against the American people.

When I was elected to this House, I took an oath to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic." Today I reaffirm that vow by giving the President the authority to prosecute the battle against our enemies wherever they may hide.

The armed forces of the United States are the best in the world. And the men and women serving in them are ready to act and know our cause to be just.

There is no justification for these despicable actions. There is no justification for providing support or assistance to those who would wage war against innocent men, women and children. There is no place to hide from our coming actions.

In the words of another great President who led this nation in a time of turmoil, Abraham Lincoln, "Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution and in doing so, I stand in support of the President, the men and women of our Armed Forces, and Americans everywhere.

This egregious crime has struck the heart and soul of America but we will not falter or fail in our ideals and values; we will recover. This process is underway in the rescue, recovery and investigative efforts happening in Pennsylvania, New York, and the Washington DC, areas.

Last night both bodies of Congress passed a supplemental aid package to assist the President in providing necessary aid and support in the wake of these tragedies. Now, Congress should give the President the authority to find and punish those responsible for these crimes against humanity.

If the goal of these attacks was to demoralize or scare America and other peace loving nations, let me be clear in saying that these terrorists failed their mission. I say to them, your ungodly actions will be punished. We are a strong and united America.

The deplorable events that occurred on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, were undeniably an act of war. There is no

other way to classify the murder of defenseless, innocent civilians. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this resolution, giving the President our support to reinforce that the use of terror as a weapon will never be tolerated.

The SPEAKER. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the joint resolution is considered as having been read for amendment and the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. TIERNEY

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. TIERNEY. I am, in its current form, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TIERNEY moves to recommit the joint resolution H.J. Res. 64 to the Committee on International Relations with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Add at the end the following new section:  
**SEC. 3. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; CONSULTATION.**

(a) REPORTS.—At least once every 60 days after the date of the enactment of this resolution, the President shall submit to Congress a summary on the status of efforts made to carry out this resolution.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that, in addition to complying with subsection (a), the President should comply with all other reporting and consultation requirements under applicable provisions of law, including sections 3 and 4 of the War Powers Resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. TIERNEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I join all of our colleagues and all Americans in our sorrow for Tuesday's victims and in our outrage for the despicable acts of cowardice which have so changed our lives. Tonight, we show our unity; and by so doing we serve notice that we, as a Nation, are resolved to hold accountable those responsible for Tuesday's terrorism.

As we go forward, I do not think this Congress wants to purposely abdicate its constitutional obligations and responsibilities. It seems unlikely that this Congress would knowingly deny itself the information that may well be necessary in the future in order to intelligently carry out its work with the President in meeting their shared responsibilities in the area of national security. Yet if we pass the resolution tonight, without first adding the language of this motion to recommit, I am concerned that that is precisely what might occur.

As written, the joint resolution refers to the War Powers Resolution but