Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate recess for 3 minutes so that the Prime Minister of Australia may be greeted.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 11:10 a.m., recessed and reassembled at 11:13 a.m. when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. NELSON of Florida).

TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Virginia is recognized for up to 10 minutes.

The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, my fellow Members of the Senate: This is a very sad day as we witness all of the heartbreaking implications, tragedies and losses last night as a result of yesterday’s dastardly terrorist attacks on the United States.

Yesterday’s attacks were attacks not just on our particular Commonwealth of Virginia or State of New York or the United States; rather it is an attack on freedom-loving people and all the principles that we stand for as a unique and great nation.

On Monday afternoon, Senator BOXER and I were ready to introduce a resolution condemning the suicide bombings in the Middle East. We would have introduced that resolution on Monday, but wanted to include another “whereas” clause recognizing the attacks in Israel on Sunday. We now see with great shock and horror that our United States is obviously not impervious to these suicide bombings and such vicious attacks on innocent people.

What we need to do now is coalesce. Coalesce as a people with our shared beliefs. Coalesce to comfort those who have lost loved ones. And then we must determine where we must improve and move forward to try to prevent such acts from occurring in the future.

First, our goal and prayers right now must be focused on the rescue, hoping that we can save those who are still alive. Secondly, we need to find and ascertain as many details and information as to determine how our security was breached so as to hopefully prevent it in the future. And thirdly of course, we will hold accountable those who are responsible for this attack and attain justice.

Presently, we are hearing stories of great heroes just in the first day of recovery. People who knew that the building was going to collapse, but nevertheless tried to save people out. On C-Span this morning, one of those who was just a volunteer helper knew what was going on . . .

where those who were emergency, fire and rescue workers and FBI agents were as well . . . knowing that the building was going to collapse . . . In those knowing those were the last minutes of their life trying to save other people.

The same was happening in Virginia where we have lost many lives, untold numbers indeterminate as yet, at the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, as well as the passengers on flight 77 flying from Dulles, Virginia, that was hijacked and crashed into the Pentagon.

Reports in Virginia indicate that casual- ties in the Pentagon may be as high as 800, or hopefully, as low as 100. I pray to God it is as low as possible.

There are great stories of bravery, with people going above and beyond what is expected, and that should give us comfort as a nation. This tragedy has affected many lives, and we still don’t know how many lives. It will probably take a week if not weeks to determine how many lives have been lost. In the area where my daughter attends, children were crying because their parents work at the Pentagone. Others work at Fort Belvoir and they worried that Fort Belvoir was being hit. There’s only maybe a couple of dozen houses in my development that my family just moved into but one youngster who came by our house to get to know my children . . . his father was on Flight 77 from Dulles.

So, as the days go forward, we’re all going to be hearing these stories of innocent people whose lives have been lost and the families that will forever be scarred with the loss of that loved one. Our thoughts and prayers must be with those families. Whether they’re lost in the New York City attack which includes victims from New York, Connecticut and New Jersey. Lost also are many people hailing from Virginia. Here in the D.C. area, I am sure there are folks from Maryland and the Dis- cincts and New England on the hijacked flight from Boston were lost.

Also undoubtedly lost were many people from California, since the destination of all of those flights was to be California.

This is truly a day that will live in infamy. History will record this as the most violent, insane, vile act that has ever been perpetrated on our homeland in the United States of America. We need to be united, coalesced as Americans, along with our allies in our re- solve, our resolve to pursue these cowardly conspirators who perpetrated these murderous acts.

Our responsibility and justice must be sure; we need to be swift in our assessment of culpability; and we need to be commensurately severe. In my view, we have allowed terrorism to go on too long, thinking that we could be im- mune from it. But nevertheless, we need to recognize that we’re going to have to wage warfare.

These people have struck against the symbol of American strength and power. They are not, though, going to be able to weaken the will of the people of the United States. We will come more united, defending our interests and our principles. We will also stick together, not just as Virginians and New Yorkers, but as Americans aiding and helping the families who have lost loved ones in what we believe will be our great nation.

The senior Senator from Virginia, JOHN WARNER, and I will work together to make sure that for those Federal, military and civilian employees that the Government will do all that we can to assist the families. And it’s not just as Virginians. I know that the Presiding Officer of the Senate, Senator NELSON, from Florida, cares just as much as anybody else does. And so we are all going to stick together in that regard for the grieving families of victims and their communities.

Finally, Mr. President, as we respond here at home to what we learn from these attacks, we cannot be tempted in any way to diminish what makes us a great nation. And what makes us a great nation is that this is a country that understands that people have funda- mental God-given rights and lib- erties and our government is con- stituted to protect those rights. We cannot—in our efforts to bring jus- tice—diminish those liberties.

Clearly, this is not a simple, normal criminal case. This is an act of war, and those rules of warfare apply. But at home and domestically, we need to make sure that we are not tempted to abrogate any civil rights such as ha- beas corpus or protections against un- reasonable searches and seizures, freedom of expression and peaceful as- sembly, or freedom of religion. And just because somebody may come from an ethnic background, that means nothing in the exercise of their rights as citizens. They are American citi- zens. And so let’s make sure that in our anger and in our efforts to bring jus- tice, we remember our basic foundational civil liberties and do not abrogate them.

We are a nation of laws, of good- hearted people, of loving people. And so I would say in closing, Mr. President, let’s make sure we pray for and com- fort those who have lost loved ones.

Let’s get the facts, move swiftly and properly. But most importantly, as Americans, let’s stay strong and vigi- lant. Let’s stay resolved, and let’s keep moving forward. I think all the world is watching, not just the Senate; they’re watching the United States and Americans. What will their impression? Let’s keep moving for- ward. We are the beacon for freedom-loving people in the world. By sticking together we will persevere. We will achieve justice. And we’ll come out safer and stronger in the end.
Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware, the manager of the resolution.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I yield myself up to 10 minutes to speak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I cannot think of any other legislature in the world where we would hear the speech we just heard by the junior Senator from Virginia, where his heart is aching, many in his constituency have died. Part of the building in his State is still burning.

In the ultimate American way, he called at the end of his speech for not abrogating the basic cherished liberties that this Nation has. I doubt whether one would hear that in any other assembly in the world after such an attack, going into the second tower has reverberated around the world and every leader in every country can picture the same thing happening in their nation.

I recently visited China with three of my colleagues. They have buildings in China that are built taller than the World Trade Center. I can picture the President of China sitting there envisioning the same thing happening. So I do not think all of a sudden there has been a conversion of democratic zeal on the part of those who are not often thought of as our allies to resolve with us to fight worldwide terrorism, but it is a reflection of the reality that the world has changed in a way that we all are vulnerable.

A further reality is that no one could have undertaken, this very well planned and executed, a terrorist act without an extensive network, without a place in which to plan it that was within earshot and eyesight of some country, without some people who, by their inaction at a minimum and their acquiescence, allowed this to occur. There will be very few places to hide. I predict, from this moment on, for these are not the acts of a single man or a single woman. They are and they were and they will, if they try again, have to be well planned, well funded, and widely supported by dozens upon dozens of individuals and individual leaders.

In speaking to the President, the Secretary of State, and other leaders in the beginning of the end of organized and legitimized terrorist activities.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. SANTORUM.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Delaware. I want to say to the Senator from Delaware, those are very eloquent and appropriate and I think appropriately forceful remarks. I am in agreement with every word he said. I think you are going to see today the U.S. Senate in agreement. Everyone is standing up in support of each other and in support of the President and the people. We are here for them. We are meeting today. We are meeting for them. I think it is an important sign that this beacon of freedom is open and that the U.S. Senate, the greatest deliberative body in the world, is meeting, talking, and I hope acting today, tomorrow, and for the weeks and months to come this year.

My wife, Karen, and I, and our whole family, watched television yesterday, just in amazement, in grief, in sorrow, and in tears. We went to church and prayed. We didn’t know what else to do but pretend they wish to be our friends and our European allies but from unexpected quarters.

I predict one thing has changed, though. I respectfully suggest the way we think all of a sudden there has been a conversion of democratic zeal on the part of those who are not often thought of as our allies to resolve with us to fight worldwide terrorism, but it is a reflection of the reality that the world has changed in a way that we all are vulnerable.

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September 12, 2001

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

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those who are struggling and to support those who are doing heroic things in Pennsylvania trying to recover what is left of the plane that crashed in Pennsylvania. Of course we have Philadelphia and New York as well, there are incredible stories of heroism, and at the Pentagon in northern Virginia. Our sympathies and our support go out to all of those men and women and their families.

In the days and weeks to come we will not only be mourning those who committed this act, and against those who harbor those who committed this act, and against those who support and encourage those who committed this act.

In the U.S. Senate, there are things we can do, sensible things we can do, to support our President and to support the American people.

First, as I mentioned before, we can support the American people right now with the resources they need to try to find survivors and repair the damage that was caused in this country.

Second, we need to bring up the Defense appropriations bill right now. We need to make sure we have the necessary tools in place to be able to defend our country. We need to look at the intelligence and counterintelligence that was directed at our country. We need domestic energy security.

These are the kinds of things I hope we in the Senate can join together to pass measures that are important and to prepare ourselves for the war ahead. This is a time for us to begin to put the building blocks in place so we can engage in a war against those who attacked this country. I am hopeful, in fact I am confident, that we can do so in a bipartisan way, in a way that will lend great honor and credibility to this great institution.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I thank the chairman.

I want to begin by thanking my colleague from Delaware for not only his managing this resolution but also for his eloquent remarks a few moments ago.

I also commend the distinguished majority leader, Senator DASCHLE, and the distinguished minority leader, Senator LOTT, and their respective leaderships that we have in Congress in which they conducted business in this body yesterday. I also commend the President of the United States for his very eloquent remarks last evening to the Nation.

I commend Don Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense for his efforts yesterday and for staying on the job while the Pentagon was burning. I know there were probably those on his staff and elsewhere who urged him to leave. I presume they made a good case for it. But I admire the fact that Don Rumsfeld stayed on the job yesterday with the men and women who were there—the injured, those who lost their lives, not to mention those who are fighting the blaze and trying to bring that incredible scene under control.

I think it is a very sad time. It has been said by others here this morning, and it will be said repeatedly this afternoon. There are no words I can utter in these next few moments that will serve to lessen the sense of loss that all of us feel as Americans. There is a sense of poignancy to all of this, obviously, if you are from New York. If you had a loved one who worked at the Pentagon, there is a special dimension. And, if you had a loved one on one of the four aircraft yesterday that left Newark, Boston, or Dulles, you are probably hurt today. Truly, there is a human dimension to this that we don’t have the ability to understand yet.

It is a God-given blessing during moments such as this that human beings are incapable of fully understanding and appreciating the depth of loss immediately. It will take days—or longer.

Oftentimes what we see with families when a person very close to them is lost, is that in the immediate hours and days after that loss, they function because they have to in order to manage affairs. But the true impact of loss is sometimes not felt for days and weeks afterwards. I think our country is in that state this very day.

So, I want to take a few minutes to talk about that human dimension. There will be plenty of time for us to debate bills on the floor of the Senate and to discuss the priorities we ought to have and who should be held responsible. But the human dimension of all of this is something I haven’t been able to get my hands around in these last 24 hours. I just can’t imagine what it must be like to be one of the victims of these terrorist acts, or to know that there is a loved one trapped somewhere in those buildings in lower Manhattan, or to be the family of a service man or woman who knows that just a few blocks from here their husband, wife, father, sibling, child, or neighbor is lying on the rubble of the Pentagon, or to be the family of one of the passengers on the planes hijacked yesterday. I can’t begin to imagine.

I want to start by telling those families that every one of us here in Congress agree with you, and we could express our sense of grief for you. In the days and weeks to come we will try to do that in ways that are meaningful.

I would also like to mention the fire department command that was told last evening that we don’t know what the numbers of emergency personnel lost are. There may be several hundreds
who lost their lives as they raced into those 110-storey buildings while trying to bring relief to others only to lose their lives in the collapse of those buildings.

Again, for those of you who watched the tragedy last year in Wooester, MA, or other places where firemen and emergency services people have given their lives, I suppose in one sense it is not a surprise that the dedication that we saw yesterday is seen so frequently around the country, but particularly because of the magnitude of the events yesterday, we are struck by it. And as Senator Biden, Senator Schumer, Senator Clinton, and Senator Warner mentioned in their very fine remarks this morning, the people who donated blood and who are offering services deserve our respect and admiration. So I express my gratitude to all of them.

We return to yesterday’s events, and we will. I have no doubt of this. However, building the kind of international cooperation necessary to do so is awfully difficult. Indeed, if there is a slight glimmer of a silver lining to this tragedy, it may be in the responses our President received yesterday from almost every civilized head of state around the globe—responses of support. Maybe in all of this tragedy and rubble, the possibility that the kind of response the world has been seeking for years may emerge like a phoenix from these ashes, and we will be able to forge the kinds of relationships that allow us to stamp out this cancer that has been with us for far too many years in Beirut, in the Marine barracks in Saudi Arabia, and other places. I saw the list of victims of past terrorist attacks the other day. It is many pages long—not of the magnitude we saw yesterday, but nonetheless, cumulatively hundreds and thousands of their lives. The hands of fanatics who believe the loss of innocent life is a justifiable means to achieve their extreme ends.

So maybe—just maybe—if there is any solace we can offer to the families of the people who have lost their lives, out of this we will begin to deal effectively with the scourge of terrorism. I hope that is the case. I hope the President will work on that, and I know we here in Congress will. It will be important that in the context of the terrorism around the world and when we strike, it needs to be right because the coalition that we need to build to respond to this requires that we act smartly, intelligently, and correctly. If we don’t, we run the risk of fracturing the very kind of coalition that will be necessary.

These terrorists had a remarkable success yesterday. They utilized American planes and American fuel to use as their bombs. That they went into three major airports, 15 or 20 people, I am told, in teams of 3 or 5, and commandeered the 4 aircraft and attacked 2 major sites, economically and militarily, and apparently had a target of a third, politically, is a stunning, stunning set of circumstances. We need to get some answers. Today may not be the day to get them, but I know my colleagues and millions of Americans have questions on their minds. People will have to answer how this could occur in the country.

Yet, I come back to the notion of the human element of all of this, and the human element also requires that I speak to those who are Muslims in our country. There has been a lot of chatter over the last 24 hours of who is responsible here—Islamic fundamentalists, do I know if that is right or wrong. I am not privy to that information. But I urge those who want to provide answers to this question to be careful. You only had to listen to the words of Dan Inouye to understand why we should not vilify all members of an ethnic group for the sins of a few individuals. You only need to walk a block away from here to a monument commemorating the imprisonment of thousands of people of Japanese descent 60 years ago. We have wonderful citizens here who are Muslims and practice the Islamic faith. I fear that sometimes in our momentary passions we can indict some wonderful Americans, wonderful people, innocent children in this country who were raised in a very proud and serious religion. So we need to be cautious about the rhetoric we use and the fingers we point before we have the facts before us.

Lastly, I say this. I see my friend and colleague from Texas on the floor. On Monday afternoon about 4 o’clock I got a call from a former colleague of ours, Bob Kerrey. He called me from a delivery room in New York to tell me that an hour and a half earlier he became the proud father of a young man named Henry. My colleague from Texas and her wonderful husband have taken on a magnificent responsibility—recently adopting the great love of their lives, Bailey Hutchison. I am going to leave here momentarily and go with my wife to Arlington to see her doctor. We are expecting a new arrival. I can’t tell you how proud I am of that blessed event.

I want to end on this note and say to young Henry and to Bailey and to my daughter or son, talking about our daughter, talking about his future, the way to end a speech than the ending that was just given by the Senator from Connecticut—talking about my daughter, talking about his future son, or son, talking about our former colleague Bob Kerrey’s new son. I have a call from a former colleague of ours, the Senator from North Carolina. Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I yield up to 10 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized up to 10 minutes.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I cannot think of a more appropriate way to end a speech than the crying that was just given by the Senator from Connecticut—talking about my daughter, talking about his future son or son, talking about our former colleague Bob Kerrey’s new son. I am proud of the kinds of places where we act smartly, intelligently, and correctly. I was very proud of the President in giving the order immediately to shut down air traffic in New York, and then throughout America, within minutes of the second terrorist act on the World Trade Center it was clear that it was terrorism. We shut down every airport and grounded every plane in America. I believe that was exactly the right thing to do and it was only the first response.

Today, the FAA issued an order banning all knives from air crafts brought on by passengers or in carry-on luggage. It used to be you could take a knife on an airplane that was shorter than 4 inches, like the kind many people carry on keyrings. That will no longer be allowed. I am glad the FAA took that immediate action because we know from early reports that those were the weapons used by these terrorists. The FAA has also ended curbside bag checks. Even things they are doing is right for our country right now.

Later this week I am going to introduce legislation to reinstitute the random drug testing of airline personnel. The withdrawal of this program will have U.S. law enforcement personnel randomly assigned to flights to help ensure our
safety. These are some of the many things we will address.

I was talking to Senator WARNER and Senator ALLEN this morning about legis-
lation that allows the the vesting and for retirement purposes of military
personnel who have died in the line of
duty such as the many victims at the
Pentagon yesterday.

I think their surviving spouse should receive survivor's retirement benefits
commensurate with the number of years they have served, which is not
presently the law. Senator WARNER is
going to push that bill through the
Armed Services Committee because of
his great leadership position and be-
because his constituents are so affected.

Many people are in dire straits right
now, not knowing what their future is
because of the number of people we lost
yesterday serving our country in the
Pentagon. We are going to see some
measures coming forward in the next
few days and weeks and months to try
to address the many issues that are
now occurring because of yesterday's
tragedy.

Today, however, is more of a solemn
moment. It is a moment of horror, a
moment of grief, a moment of tragedy,
and a moment for reflection. It is a mo-
ment which really can't be described,
but we all understand because we feel.

It was once said that "democracy is
based upon the conviction that there
are extraordinary possibilities in ordi-
nary people." We saw that yesterday—
for evil and for good.

Yesterday's attack stunned our Na-
tion, shocked a people, and destroyed
lives and buildings. The blasts and col-
collapse were felt across our Nation, both
physically and emotionally. But they
did not destroy our spirit, they did not
destroy our faith, and they will never
destroy our belief in freedom.

Yesterday's attack is now unfolding.

We are the very beacon of freedom
for the entire world—and we will not
let cowards extinguish that light.
Through the darkness, through the de-

dur, through the smoke, through the
doubt, the fear, and the despair, we will
not be defeated. We will continue to reign
across the world.

I thank the Chair and yield back my
time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. LIN-
COLN). The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I yield
to Senator DORGAN, who is next on our
list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sen-
ator from North Dakota is recognized
for up to 10 minutes.

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, I
listened to my colleague from Texas
and I share her sentiments. There are
unique moments in history, that are
unique moments in history, that are
together with a relentless
determination to combat the forces of
evil, and to reaffirm that our freedom
is secure. This, regrettably, is one of
those moments.

Cowards struck innocent men,

women, and children yesterday, but
really all of America was their target.

It was clearly an act of war, committed
by madmen, directed against our
country.

Our hearts are broken, but our spirit
is not. And the world should know that
we will not give in to terrorism.

Last evening, when I drove home from
the Capitol at about 11 in the
evening, clouds of black and gray
smoke billowed from the Pentagon
where one of those acts of terrorism oc-
curred. This morning, when I came
back to the Capitol at about 7 a.m.,
smoke still rose from the ashes of the
Pentagon.

Only F-16s and F-15s flew over our
country's capital and in the airspace
above New York City.

All of America is affected by this
deed in a very dramatic way—from
young folks to old folks.

Last evening, when I arrived home at
about 11 o'clock, my 14-year-old son
heard the door close, got out of bed,
and came up to me and said: Dad, what
happened? Who did this?

I told my son—and all of us in Con-
gress will tell America—that we will
search for, find, and punish those re-
ponsible for these acts of terrorism.

That is our pledge.

We must now wage war on terrorism.
And we must ask all the other coun-
tries in the world who believe in free-
doms we do to join us in this effort to
eradicate terrorism.

Terrorist camps cannot be allowed to
continue to train terrorists. Countries
that harbor terrorist camps must, as
the President said, pay a price for har-
oring them. We must re dedicate our-
selves to those tasks.

Yesterday, I thought about the car-
nage that has occurred in our country,
and the thousands of people who have
unbelievably lost their lives because of
these acts of terrorism. It reminded me
again of why our country has such an
enormous burden of responsibility to
lead the world, and especially why we
need to lead the world in combating the
proliferation of weapons of mass
destruction, in cutting the number of
nuclear weapons, and in stopping the
spread of nuclear weapons.

Yesterday it was a commercial air-
liner full of jet fuel. In the future it
could be a vial of deadly biological
agents that can kill a million people.
Or it could be a suitcase nuclear device
in the trunk of a rusty car parked on a
dock in one of America's largest cities.

If ever we must understand our world
leadership responsibility to stop the
spread of nuclear and biological weap-
ons, it is now.

Over a century ago, after the carnage
of the Battle of Gettysburg, Abraham
Lincoln said:

we have highly resolve that these dead
shall not have died in vain—that this nation,
der God, shall have a new birth of free-
dom—and that government of the people,
by the people, for the people, shall not perish
from the earth.

Today, in this time and in this place,
we should let those words from nearly
140 years ago again inspire our nation’s steely resolve that those who died yesterday did not die in vain.

America’s response to the deadly crime that came from those who loved them, their relatives, their friends—You are not alone. Our country grieves with you. And our country reaches out to you. You are not alone.

Today the U.S. Congress says to those who lost their lives, those who loved them, their relatives, their friends—You are not alone. Our country grieves with you. And our country reaches out to you. You are not alone.

Finally, Madam President, Shakespeare wrote:

Grief hath changed me since you saw me last.

We are all changed. Yesterday changed all of us. Our world has changed since yesterday. We all carry the heavy burden of grief, and we all carry the responsibility today to ensure that our response is swift, severe, and just. And we all carry the opportunity today to hold high the torch of freedom, and to say to the world: Yes, America’s heart is broken, but America’s spirit will not bend.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, I yield to Senator SPECTER and will reclaim my 10 minutes after him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I thank my distinguished colleague from North Carolina for yielding.

Madam President, today’s resolution speaks in the strongest terms condemning yesterday’s cowardly act of terrorism. Tomorrow, we must do more to bring the perpetrators to justice and take steps to see to it that such terror never occurs again.

While there have been many public comments pointing to the so-called signature of Osama (aka Usama*) bin Laden as yesterday’s terrorist attacks, we cannot, consistent with our values, make any judgments until we know more. But what we do know is that Osama bin Laden has been at war with the United States since 1989. We know that in indictments returned by the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York in 1998 for the attacks on U.S. Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, there were at least 213 people killed, and in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where 11 people were killed.

Prior to 1986, the United States did not have jurisdiction to try terrorists in U.S. courts for acts committed overseas. But following the murders of many people, including U.S. citizens in the Rome and Vienna airports in December 1985, I introduced legislation which became the Terrorist Prosecution Act of 1986, an act providing for the death penalty for anyone who assaulted, maimed, or murdered a U.S. citizen anywhere in the world, which provided the legal nexus for trying these defendants in a U.S. court.

Now, as a result of that legislation, these indictments have been brought against Osama bin Laden and his terrorist group known as al Qaeda.

For a fuller understanding of today’s acts of war against the United States, I must caution that the pertinent excerpts of these very lengthy indictments be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, there have been many declarations that what occurred yesterday with the trade towers and the Pentagon were acts of war. And there is no doubt about that. Similarly, what bin Laden did in Mogadishu in 1993 and in the Embassies in 1998 were acts of war. At this time, while the Congress should never act precipitously, I do suggest that consideration be given to a declaration of war against the political entity which harbors and has given aid and assistance to bin Laden’s terrorist organization and his co-conspirators, based on the indictments which already have been handed down, to which I have referred.

I do not propose to decide this issue today, but I do think it is important that research and factual analysis should begin.

More needs to be done than the resolution of today, which is very important, on condemnation of the terrorism of yesterday and the expressions of sympathy to the victims and their families, those who were on the planes, the passengers and the crew, and those in the Pentagon and the trade towers. But where we do know, without prejudging yesterday’s events, that bin Laden’s terrorist organization has been indicted for acts of terrorism, murdering U.S. soldiers, blowing up our Embassies, it is time to act.

Bin Laden is at war with the United States. It is time that we reciprocate.

There is a legal issue as to the status of the Taliban in Afghanistan, which we do not recognize as the government. The Taliban, however, control some 90 percent of the territory. For purposes of a declaration of war and for taking action, there is, in my legal judgment, a sufficient nation-state entity that we can act and we should not be prohibited from acting because there is no so-called true nation-state there at the present time.

While on a vastly different scale, when I was district attorney of Philadelphia and we had outstanding indictments, a warrant of arrest would be issued. We hunted down indicted, we brought them to court, we tried them, we convicted them, and we punished them.

The United States of America has the authority, from the indictments which have been handed down and the statement of our extraterritorial jurisdiction in the Terrorist Prosecution Act of 1986, to take the steps which are necessary to bring bin Laden and his co-conspirators to justice. We have the capacity, we have the capability, the military strength, to do what is necessary.

When demands have been made on the Taliban for the surrender of bin Laden and the Taliban or Afghanistan—or whatever entity we choose to denominate it as being—declines on the grounds that bin Laden is a guest, and yesterday there was a news conference where someone from the Taliban appeared on international television trying to defend the Taliban’s position, it is time we act. Where we have faced the extraordinary wounds from yesterday, and we may not be a continuation of bin Laden’s past attacks—time will tell—but in accordance with our values on the presumption of innocence and not rushing to judgment, we will await further developments as we find out what the facts are and who the perpetrators were yesterday, even though they do bear the so-called signature of bin Laden. But for the acts in 1993 in Mogadishu, for the attacks in 1998 on our Embassies in Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya, there is no doubt that we have the authority to act.

That is why I think with these outstanding indictments, which have pinpointed the evidence as to Osama bin Laden, that consideration should be given to responding to acts of war against the United States with the appropriate counterattack, to see to it that we take into custody bin Laden, bring him to the United States for trial, for conviction, and the potential of extradition in accordance with the death penalty which is provided by U.S. law.

I again thank my colleague from North Carolina. I thank the Chair and yield the floor.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
military command relocated to the
USAMA BIN LADEN, the defendant, and its
Jihad and made an audiotape recording of
and encouraged other persons to join the
efforts should be pooled to kill Americans
laration of Jihad included statements that
Kush mountains in Afghanistan. The Dec-
from the Arabian Peninsula'' (hereafter the
of the Two Holy Mosques; Expel the Heretics
produce chemical weapons;
known and unknown, made efforts to
components of nuclear weapons;
known and unknown, made efforts to obtain
sives from Khartoum to Port Sudan for
spirator helped transport weapons and explo-
Al Qaeda participated with Somali tribesmen in
Al Qaeda members began to provide training
of Al Qaeda that the United States forces
of Africa, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Sudan,
and the United States, particularly at the
Pakistan. In or about 1992, the leadership of
headquartered in Afghanistan and Peshawar,
Turkistan. In or about 1992, the leadership of
Al Qaeda, including its "emir" (or prince) USAMA BIN LADEN, the defendant, an its
military command relocated to the
t at or about early spring 1993, Al Qaeda members began to provide training and assistance to Somali tribes opposed to
the United Nations' intervention in Somalia.
1. On October 3 and 4, 1998, members of Al Qaeda traveled to Afghanistan to participate in and
from the Arabian Peninsula; (ii) killing United States citizens in the Philippines; (iii) killing United States
nationals of the United States in violation of
Title 18, United States Code, Section
th of a total of 18 United States soldiers and wound-
ed 73 others in Mogadishu;
m. On two occasions in the period from in or about 1992 until in or about 1995, Co-conspirators
employed by the United States military who
United States Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya and outside the jurisdiction of any
courts, USAMA BIN LADEN and others
known and unknown, made efforts to
produce chemical weapons;
o. At various times from at least as early as
1993, USAMA BIN LADEN and others
known and unknown, made efforts to
obtain the components of nuclear weapons;
o. At various times from at least as early as
1993, USAMA BIN LADEN and others
known and unknown, made efforts to
produce chemical weapons;
p. On or about August 23, 1996, USAMA BIN LADEN signed and issued a Declaration of Jihad entitled "Message from Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Ladin to His Muslim Brothers in the Whole World and Especially in the
Arabian Peninsula: Declaration of Jihad Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the
Two Holy Mosques in the Arabian Peninsula" (hereafter the
"Declaration of Jihad") from the Hindu
Kush mountains in Afghanistan. The Dec-
laration contained statements that
that efforts should be pooled to kill Americans
and encouraged other persons to join the
jihad against the American "enemy."
Q. In February 1996, USAMA BIN LADEN read aloud the Declaration of Jihad and made an audiotape recording of
such reading for worldwide distribution;
r. In February 1998, USAMA BIN LADEN
issued a joint declaration in the name of
Gamaat', Al Jihad, the Jihad Movement in
Bangladesh and the "Jamaat ul Ulema e
Pakistan" under the banner of the "International Islamic Front for Jihad on the Jews
and Crusaders," which stated that Muslims
should kill Americans—including civilians—
where in the world they can be found.
(Title 18, United States Code, Section
2332(a).
9. The objectives of the conspiracy in-
cluded: (i) killing United States nationals
employed by the United States military who
were stationed in Somalia as part of Oper-
ations in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Sa-
laam, Tanzania; and (ii) engaging in con-
duct to conceal the activities and means and
methods of the co-conspirators by, among
other things, establishing front companies,
providing false identity and travel docu-
ments, engaging in coded correspondence and
providing false information to the authori-
ties in various countries.
Overt Acts
10. In furtherance of the said conspiracy, and
to effect the illegal objects thereof, the
following overt acts, among others, were
committed.
The Provision of Guesthouses and Training
Camps
a. At various times from at least as early as
1989, Usama bin Laden, the defendant,
and others known and unknown, provided train-
ing camps and guesthouses in various areas,
including Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Sudan,
Somalia and Kenya for the use of Al Qaeda
members and others.
The Recruitment of American Citizens
b. At various times from at least as early as
... * * * COUNTS TWO THROUGH TWO HUNDRED TWENTY
SEVEN: THE AFRICA BOMBINGS
COUNT TWO: BOMBING OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN NAIROBI, KENYA, RESULTING IN MORE THAN 200 DEATHS
The Grand Jury further charges:
11. The allegations continued in para-
graphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.
12. On or about August 7, 1998, in Nairobi,
Kenya, and outside the jurisdiction of any
courts, USAMA BIN LADEN and others
known and unknown, made efforts to
produce chemical weapons;
13. At various times from at least as early as
1993, USAMA BIN LADEN and others
known and unknown, made efforts to
purchase chemical weapons;
14. At various times from at least as early as
1993, USAMA BIN LADEN and others
known and unknown, made efforts to
produce chemical weapons;
15. On or about September 12, 2001,
UNITED STATES NATIONALS
were killed in Afghanistan and Pakistan.
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(Titles 18, United States Code, Sections 1516 through 1520, 1528 through 1529 and 1532)
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I applaud the Senators from Delaware and the other Congressmen that debated this resolution and, of course, our leaders, Senator DACшеLE и Senator LOTT, for bringing this resolution before the Senate.

Most Senators will speak on the floor about yesterday's tragedy. It perhaps is impossible for the men and women of this body to say all the things that can be said and should be said. The 100 of us, though, are given the duty and the honor to speak for over 260 million Americans. I know in my case my wife Marcelle and I, like all Vermonters, pray for the victims of these heinous acts. We also pray for their loved ones who remain behind.

The heart of every American aches for those who died or have been injured. Think how the families and friends feel. I know that in my own State, the head of the Roman Catholic diocese, Bishop Angell, has been leading his congregation in prayer while his heart aches knowing that his brother and his sister-in-law died on one of the hijacked planes. Can you imagine the grief?

All day yesterday, last night and this morning, I have heard from my fellow Vermonters by phone and by Internet. I hear from my friends and members of my staff of the losses they have suffered of family and friends. I think of my own children, each one of whom were trying to call Washington yesterday—when all the phones were jammed, to find out where their mother and I were. You can replicate that for hundreds of thousands of people around the country.

We have tried to answer those calls. We have tried to get the answers for them and in so many cases the answers are terrible ones.

I listened to the news a little after 5 yesterday. I heard the name of a friend of mine who went into the World Trade building to help with the rescue and the building came down—and he died with hundreds of New York firefighters, police and FМS personnel.

I have said for so many years that in a democracy like ours, terrorism should not be our Achilles heel. It is clear that now more than ever we have to concentrate on the terrorist threat. I applaud the Democratic and the Republican leaders of the House and Senate for bringing us back into session today.

As our Capitol was evacuated yesterday, as I stood out here on the plaza and saw people coming out of our buildings, I said: Lord, let us get back in there as soon as possible for if we let terrorism shut down our democracy, it is terrorism that shuts down the American people that we were here today, including our loyal and brave staff.

I was proud to be in my seat representing Vermont when we opened the Senate and this building today. We know that quite possibly this building will be the site for the debate on this resolution and, of course, our leaders, Senator DACшеLE and Senator LOTT, for bringing this resolution before the Senate.

We will remain a just and good nation, the world's leader to defeat them, they must not let the terrorists win. If we abandon our democracy to battle them, they win. If we forget our role as the world's leader to defeat them, they win. And we will win. We will maintain our democracy, and with justice, we will use our strength.

We will not lose our commitment to the rule of law, no matter how much the provocation, because that rule of law has protected us throughout the centuries. It has created our democracy or what we do. Just as the brave men and women of our Armed Forces will not stop because of this dastardly attack on the Pentagon.

Franklin Roosevelt called December 7, 1941, the day Pearl Harbor was attacked, 'a date which will live in infamy.' Almost 60 years later, Americans face such another day and challenge to our democracy. Just as the people of this country became united in World War II, we must unite against the cowardice of evil and terrorism. As our leaders said this morning: We stand here not as Republicans or Democrats, we stand together.

We will be supportive of our President, our institutions and of each other because a challenge to our freedom is going to be answered by the strength of our democracy. Trial by fire can refine us or it can coarsen us. If we hold to our ideals, then it strengthens us. Our people, our values, our institutions are strong. President Roosevelt spoke of the arsenal of democracy. That arsenal—our ideals, our values, our freedom, our community, our humanity—sustains us and propels us forward. As much as our military weaponry those ideals are the arsenal of democracy. If nobody outside of America has any question about this: Americans are united. All the free world, all civilized nations, all caring people will join together at this difficult time. It has meant so much to hear the calls from around the world.

Our values, our resolve, our commitments, our sense of community will serve us well. I am confident that, as a nation, we will seek and serve justice. Our Nation, my neighbors and friends in Vermont demand no less, and I am confident that we must not let the terrorists win. If we abandon our democracy to battle them, they win. If we forget our role as the world's leader to defeat them, they win. And we will win. We will maintain our democracy, and with justice, we will use our strength.

COUNT TWO HUNDRED SEVENTEEN THROUGH TWO HUNDRED TWENTY-SEVEN: MURDERS IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

The allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.

On or about August 7, 1998, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and outside the jurisdiction of any particular state or district, Usama bin Laden, a/k/a "Usamah bin Muhammad bin Ladin," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin Ladin," a/k/a "Abu Abdullah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Haji," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafi," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khattab," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhi," a/k/a "Fazhi Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhi Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Nourrindle," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salem Saleh Bin Rashed," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel Latif," defendants, at least one of whom was first brought to and arrested in the Southern District of New York, and others known and unknown, unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly, did kill to and arrested in the Southern District of New York.

On or about August 20, 1998, in Dallas, Texas, and Arlington, Texas, the defendant Ronald Salim Saleh Bin Rashed, a/k/a "Moath," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salem Saleh Bin Rashed," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel Latif," defendants, at least one of whom was first brought to and arrested in the Southern District of New York, and others known and unknown, unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did kill to and arrested in the Southern District of New York.

COUNT 238: FALSE STATEMENTS

Mr. BIDEN. I yield to the Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY.

COUNTS TWO HUNDRED SEVENTY THROUGH TWO HUNDRED HUNDRED SEVENTEEN: MURDERS IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. I yield to the Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY.

COUNT 238: FALSE STATEMENTS

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I applaud the Senators from Delaware and the other Congressmen that debated this resolution and, of course, our leaders, Senator DACшеLE and Senator LOTT, for bringing this resolution before the Senate.

Most Senators will speak on the floor about yesterday's tragedy. It perhaps is impossible for the men and women of this body to say all the things that can be said and should be said. The 100 of us, though, are given the duty and the honor to speak for over 260 million Americans. I know in my case my wife Marcelle and I, like all Vermonters, pray for the victims of these heinous acts. We also pray for their loved ones who remain behind.

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The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, I have counted the number of today's U.S. Senators who were around on December 7, 1941. There are not many of us. Many present members of the Senate were not born. The Honorable Strom Thurmond was indeed around, and bless his heart, I am so pleased the able senior Senator from South Carolina is still here and active.

I remember that Sunday on December 7, 1941, when we came out of church and heard the news about the bombing of Pearl Harbor. As one of the staff editors of the afternoon 6-day-a-week newspaper in Raleigh, NC, we prevailed upon the then publisher of The Raleigh Times to publish an "extra"—and it was the last "extra" newspaper published in the State of North Carolina, to my knowledge. I recall that we sold approximately 12,000, which pleased the management of the newspaper.

After the paper was put to bed, I walked up the street to the Raleigh post office and into the Navy recruiting station to volunteer. I did pretty well, but was turned down because of my hearing in my left ear. I recall my disappointment. But over in the corner was a regular Navy chief petty officer. Mr. President, I have never met a chief petty officer of the regular Navy who didn't talk out of one side of his mouth.

He said: "Hey, boy, come over here." I went.

He said: "You want to get in this man's Navy?"

I said: "Yes, sir."

He said: "I have some friends in BUPERS." I did not know what BUPERS was, but I later found it was Bureau of Naval Personnel in Washington. I thought he was pulling my leg, but it turned out that he was not, because about 2 months later, I received a telegram: I was sworn into the Navy and went to San Diego for 2 or 3 months' boot camp.

Which is beside the point, except to say that the recruiting station that Sunday afternoon, December 7, 1941, was filled with young men, all wanting to defend their country. A lot of them did not know where Pearl Harbor was or what Pearl Harbor was, but they came anyhow because they realized that their country had been attacked unfairly.

Mr. President, that is the reason we won the war; that was a time when the accepted and effective policy of the United States of America was to seek out and find and, when necessary, destroy the leaders of forces resorting to violent harm to the American people.

That policy was in effect, as I say, on December 7, but in the years following, some in political circles decided to substitute only a vague warning to those making the Pearl Harbor crashing airliners loaded with innocent Americans.

Mr. President, I was encouraged to hear the President of the United States last evening and again this morning say, in effect, we are going to get them; they are not going to get by with it. That was the attitude in 1941 when Franklin Roosevelt—and I am the only one present in this Chamber at the moment who heard FDR say "this is a day that will live in infamy."

Well, Mr. President, yesterday was another day that must live in infamy. Not since the war of 1812 has the city of Washington been attacked by a hostile adversary. The attack on Pearl Harbor, of course, matched yesterday's cowardly, inexcusable, and swiftness that occurred yesterday. The losses are perhaps more enormous yesterday; in number in terms of innocent lives, than those astronomical numbers in 1941 at Pearl Harbor.

The policy I have just mentioned—of going after adversaries of the United States of America—was in effect on December 7, but somewhere along the line it began to dissipate after World War II. The mind-set in some political circles gradually was substituted for a two-fisted warning to the mean, cruel terrorists who made their threats yesterday by crashing airliners loaded with innocent Americans into public buildings in New York City and Washington.

That was the kind of terrorists who created that disaster yesterday; I hope I will live to see the day when it will once again be the unmistakable policy of the United States of America to search for and find that kind of sneaky slimy terrorist who created this morning's headlines by crashing those airplanes and creating destruction and disaster and bloodshed and loss of lives.

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison mentioned the young lady who called her husband from one of the planes on her cell phone. All of us had seen her many times on television and enjoyed her talent—and she will be missed. But I hope Americans will again be two-fisted, standing together.

President Bush laid down the bill of particulars, and I believe he is going to say let us get back in the game and punish those cruel terrorists.

I intend to do my best as a United States Senator to encourage and supplement such a revival of a policy that once protected the lives and property of America. I believe the President was right, December 7, 1941, was a day of infamy, and yesterday, September 11, 2001, was also a day of infamy.
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heart I extend my deepest condolences to the families and friends of the victims and to the courageous men and women whose life’s work has been to protect us in time of need.

In this moment of grief, we must and we will stand together as families, as communities, as one Nation.

Yesterday, America came under attack in a manner none of us thought imaginable. Our freedoms and liberties were challenged by cowardly, faceless fanatics who thought nothing of killing innocent people, women and children, hard-working men and women who dedicated their lives to believing in the American promise, the American dream, the values that we all cherish in a society.

In response to those attacks and this challenge, we need to be united in purpose to move swiftly, surely, thoughtfully, uncompromisingly, to do what we must do, to be ever vigilant, protecting our principles. It motivates us and moves us to work to protect our Nation.

I want to make sure we do everything we can to bring those who are responsible to justice, but we must be just as strong to make sure we rebuild and move forward in a sure and certain way.

I know one aspect of that in the financial world, and I am clear in my own mind that we will not hesitate, that we will not step back and we will marshal every resource to make sure things will move forward, and they will.

As we move forward from this tragedy, we must capture and hold those responsible, but the positive is where our hearts must be. But we will never forget.

Yesterday, Lady Liberty stood in our harbor, the New York/ New Jersey Harbor, and watched unspeakable horrors unfold, but today she stands tall. And so shall we, Madam President. I thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I thank my dear friend, my eloquent right—Mr. Kerry to speak for 5 minutes. We will be resolved to do everything—and do it well and do it right—to bring justice in the world.

Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, we stand proudly with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and with our President. We will be resolved to do everything—and do it well and do it right—to bring justice in the world.

Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Madam President, we have a long list. I ask unanimous consent that the next person on the list be Senator Kerry to speak for 5 minutes and that we extend the recess for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Madam President, I was interested in the order.
Mr. BIDEN. The order after that is HOLLINGS, FEINSTEIN, DURBIN, KENNEDY, LIEBERMAN, WYDEN, and WELLSTONE.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Thank you, Madam President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. Madam President, the order now before the Senate is that when the vote is completed, we will go into recess until 3:30 today.

Prior to the recess before the noon luncheon, there were two Democrats who had spoken, so now the Republicans have the opportunity to speak twice. Two Republicans would like to do that prior to the recess beginning.

If there is no objection, I ask unanimous consent that two Republicans be allowed to speak for up to 10 minutes each prior to the recess beginning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I ask that all Senators take their desks and that we vote from our desks on this resolution. I appreciate the cooperation from both sides.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the joint resolution pass? The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 100, nays 0, as follows:

[Yolcall Vote No. 273 Leg.]

YEAR—100

Akaka, Byrd
Allard, Breaux
Allen, Brownback
Baucus, Burns
Bayh, Byrd

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the recess originally scheduled to end at 3 o'clock be extended to the hour of 3:30 today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.