

this Nation, in a joint meeting. He is in the Chamber.

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RECESS

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).

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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 heart-breaking implications, tragedies and lives lost 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 stayed there trying to usher 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 . . . staying there 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, undetermined as of 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 casualties 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 middle school that my daughter attends, children were crying because their parents work at the Pentagon. Others work at Fort Belvoir and they worried that Fort Belvoir was being hit. There's only maybe a couple of dozen houses in our 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 learning 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 District lost. Clearly people from Massachusetts 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 resolve, our resolve to pursue these cowardly conspirators who perpetrated these murderous acts.

Our response 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 immune 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 become 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 whatever way we can. 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 harmed 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 fundamental God-given rights and liberties and our government is constituted to protect those rights. We cannot—in our efforts to bring justice—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 habeas corpus or protections against unreasonable searches and seizures, the freedom of expression and peaceable assembly, 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 citizens. And so let's make sure that in our anger and in our efforts to bring justice, 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 comfort 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 vigilant. Let's stay resolved, and let's keep moving forward. Because, indeed, 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 forward. We are the beacon for freedom-loving people in the world, and 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 legislative body 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, and I compliment him for it.

My heart and my sympathy go out to our colleagues from New York and Virginia in particular, but all those who have had their fellow citizens and their constituents victimized by this act. This is a time to mourn but not to despair, a time for resolve but not remorse, a time for sober investigation and not recrimination, and a time to unite, not to debate.

Some have said yesterday and today that all has changed, all has changed for America. I know what they mean by that, and I respect their view, but I pray that is not true. I pray that is not true. I pray my junior colleague from Virginia is correct when he says the one thing we cannot allow to change is the values upon which this country is built, for if that were to occur, then they would be able to declare victory, genuine victory.

I predict one thing has changed, though. I respectfully suggest the way of life of present and future terrorists has changed forever. The future of organized terrorist cells is about to welcome the 21st Century in a way they never anticipated, for in this dastardly act they may have done what no other group of people could possibly have done, and that is to unite the civilized world, unite our allies in Europe who share our values, unite our Russian friends, our Chinese friends, unite the world, because that image of that plane smashing 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 as tall or 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 regrettably well executed, 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 complicity, 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 administration, they are impressed by what they believe to be the heartfelt, sincere, and resolute offers of support to deal with terrorism that not only come from expected quarters such as England, France, Germany, Italy, and our European allies but from unexpected quarters.

The word should go out to those who pretend they wish to be our friends that they are going to have to make some very difficult choices. Pakistan in particular is going to have to make a very difficult choice, very soon, for we are counting. We are counting and we are looking. Words will not be sufficient. Actions will be demanded.

All of us say we will never let this happen again. Well, the act of a single individual strapping explosives to their body is probably something no one can ever guarantee will not happen, but dealing with well organized, well-funded, well-coordinated, massive actions is something that can be done only in a multilateral way, only internationally.

No matter what we do, if we fail to lead the world in a multilateral unity of absolute resolve, I say to you, sadly, that this could happen again. But I am convinced it will not.

Today, as it has for 212 years, the U.S. Congress has convened. Two miles down Pennsylvania Avenue, President Bush sits in the Oval Office leading the executive branch and the country in a wide-ranging investigation to find those who committed these barbarous acts. Around this city and around New York, dedicated public servants are back at their desks in Federal office buildings doing the people's business. New York—the city that never sleeps—has worked around the clock in search of survivors, and they will find some. Around the Nation, citizens of every age, every race, and every religion grieve for their fellow citizens. But they stand united. They stand united in support of our Nation, which has endured over two centuries against all enemies, foreign and domestic. They stand united in readiness to answer the

call for their fellow neighbors. As Senator CLINTON and Senator SCHUMER pointed out, they lined the blocks in New York City to give blood. I would be dumbfounded if you did not see black faces, Asian faces, Hispanic, every race, and every religion standing in that line. They stand united in support of the President of the United States, as do all of us here in the Senate.

Much will be said today and in the days ahead about the appropriate responses to these heinous acts. But for now let me just say this. This is not a struggle over ideology. This is not a struggle over religion. This is a struggle between civilization and barbarity.

Let there be no doubt that the United States and civilized nations of the world will unite and win this struggle. Our enemies will not, and can not, defeat us. This country will go on, deeply wounded by the loss of so many but strengthened by our resolve and our commitment to sustain this great democracy.

I see in this cataclysmic tragedy the beginning of the end of organized and legitimized terrorist activities.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire, the Republican manager of the resolution, is recognized for 10 minutes.

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

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

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 go to church and pray that somehow and in some way people would survive this horrible tragedy.

It has been a very difficult time for a lot of us. It has been a horrible time for the people of New York and the people in northern Virginia.

We are committed, as you heard the President say today, to do everything we can here in Washington, DC, to help

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. And of course in 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.

I think it is important for us to know, as the Senator from Delaware said, that things should not change here in America. I could not agree with him more. Things must not change with respect to our freedom and our democracy. But there are certain things that must change. I think the Senator from Delaware hit the nail on the head when he said that our actions towards terrorists must change.

What happened yesterday was not merely a hijacking of a domestic airline flight. What happened yesterday was an enemy missile loaded with explosives—11,000 gallons of jet fuel—that exploded into targets here in the United States of America. It was an act of war. It was an enemy missile that was directed at our country. We must respond accordingly to this act of war—to those who perpetrated it. We are at war with terrorists and with those nations that harbor them, that finance them, and that in any way encourage and support them. I think it is important that we say so here in the United States Senate, at some point, that this is war with the forces of evil that attacked this country.

This is not—and I can't stress this more strongly—a time merely to bring people to justice. It is a time to wage war and win a war against 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 authorization bill and 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 operations of this country and determine soon whether we should enhance that capability, which is obviously insufficient. We here in the United States Senate must do something about it. We must do something about it now. It is important for us to come together at a time of national crisis and emergency, when our country is threatened, to pass the necessary

bills for our Government to fight the war in which it will be engaged during the coming weeks, months—and maybe longer.

We need to make sure we have the diplomatic representation to represent us, as the Senator from Delaware said, and I agree with him 100 percent, we need to form an international coalition. We need a U.N. Ambassador. We do not have an Ambassador to the United Nations. I cannot think of a more important time since the U.N. was created that we need an Ambassador to the United Nations. And we don't have one. That nomination is sitting in the Foreign Relations Committee. I hope we can get that nomination to the floor as quickly as possible so we can begin the very important work the Senator from Delaware has laid out in building a coalition necessary to fight this terrible scourge that has attacked this country.

Finally, we need to do something about our energy needs. Members have told me about places in America where they were charging \$3 to \$5 a gallon for gasoline yesterday. Yes. Energy will be a very important issue for this country, and very soon. We need to consider this bill. Particularly if we are engaged in fighting terrorism around the world, we need to have more domestic security. 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 leadership teams for the dignity and manner 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 to be 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.

This 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 there is a special 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 in 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 wishes there were some way 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 firemen and policemen. We were 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 Wooster, 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 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 have to respond 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 so many 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 people lost their lives at 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 being in a rush to respond to this—and there is a passion we all feel that makes one want to strike out and grab somebody and make them pay for what they did that we temper our anger. I hope we have enough sense now to know that 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 Amer-

ican 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 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, Islamic extremists? I don't 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 INOUE 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 yet unborn child that we are going to build a world for you that is deserving of the kind of place you ought to have. Previous generations did it for us. Certainly, those of our colleagues who served in World War II, Vietnam, Korea, made it possible for us to live in a land of peace and democracy. Our responsibility is no less to future generations. The words "an act of war" have

been used. I agree with that. We need to respond to this and to build the kind of society to sustain our democratic values, which we have embraced for more than 200 years, through trials and tribulations. To Henry, Bailey, and to this yet unborn child of mine, we commit to you that you will live in a peaceful world. That is our common goal. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. 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 ending that was just given by the Senator from Connecticut—talking about my daughter, talking about his future daughter or son, talking about our former colleague Bob Kerrey's new son.

Every time we reflect upon World War I or World War II or the Korean War or Vietnam or Desert Storm, I am reminded that it is our responsibility to keep the zeal for freedom alive, which was paid for by the blood of so many. I certainly will be committed, along with Senator DODD and everyone in the Senate, to making sure that my daughter, Bailey, has the opportunity to live in the same wonderful country that I have been able to grow up in and love.

In the coming days and weeks, we are going to be talking about specifics on how we deal with this tragedy. In fact, there are some things coming out now to show that we are acting decisively. 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 then 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 baggage checks. Everything they are doing is right for our country right now.

Later this week I am going to introduce legislation to reinstitute the random sky marshal program. Reinstitution 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 legislation that would allow the vesting 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 survivors 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 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 moment 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 ordinary people." We saw that yesterday—for evil and for good.

Yesterday's attack stunned our Nation, shocked a people, and destroyed lives and buildings. The blasts and 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 was filled with images of horror and unspeakable evil, but also of the American spirit, as individuals and a nation rose to the occasion, met the crisis head on, came together to rescue fellow citizens, and also to show a united front to those who are trying to intimidate us.

Ronald Reagan once said, "No crisis is beyond the capacity of our people to solve; no challenge too great." We are proving that to be true. Already we are being touched and inspired by the actions of ordinary people rising to the extraordinary circumstances and proving that they are heroes.

To those who did this and to those who support them: No, we will never give up. We will never back down. And we will never let anyone destroy our spirit. Freedom is too great—protecting freedom transcends all other of our duties.

That is why we, the Congress, present to you to the Nation and to the world a united front. A front united by grief, horror, and a firm resolve to do our job to provide for the common defense. It

is our constitutional obligation, but it is also our personal determination.

As we, the Members of Congress, stood on the Capitol steps last night, my colleagues and I were of one mind and one heart. We will remain so.

Just one person started singing "God Bless America," and every Member of Congress just joined in spontaneously.

We are one with those who are struggling desperately to survive, with those fighting courageously to rescue others, with those waiting hopefully for news of loved ones—and with those committed to punish those responsible.

This is not just an official resolve; it is also personal, and every one of us is going to have a personal story.

Yesterday I spent hours on the telephone calling hospitals. Each one of my staff members had a different hospital to call every 30 minutes, looking for the husband of one of my staffers whose office was located in the Pentagon at the exact impact point of the crash. He finally was able to get through to her, and he was OK. He was one of the lucky ones.

But there were those who were not so lucky, such as my friend, whom I loved dearly, Barbara Olson; that courageous young woman who had so much spunk, who called her husband Ted from the airplane that hit the Pentagon with a cell phone, and gave us our first indication of what was happening and how this was unfolding.

Hope is the strength of an individual; it is the strength of a nation. Though nothing in our history compares to this horrifying event, nothing in our character will let us lose hope or let us be consumed by fear.

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 debris, through the clouds of dust, that light still shines, and from it, freedom and hope will continue to reign across the world.

I thank the Chair and yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. LINCOLN). The Senator from Delaware.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator 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 too often born of tragedy, when Americans stand 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 terrorists.

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 occurred. This morning, when I come 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 Congress will tell America—that we will search for, find, and punish those responsible for these acts of terrorism. That is our pledge.

We must now wage war on terrorism. And we must ask all the other countries in the world who believe in freedom as 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 harboring them. We must rededicate ourselves to those tasks.

Yesterday, I thought about the carnage that has occurred in our country, and the thousands of people who have undoubtedly 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 airliner 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 weapons, it is now.

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

... we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—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 took them from us will be dedicated to destroying the ability of terrorists to wage this kind of war, and giving those who live a new birth of freedom from the fear and the impact of terrorist acts.

Today the U.S. Congress says to those in New York, in Virginia at the Pentagon, in Pennsylvania, and all around America—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 terrorism never occurs again.

While there have been many public comments pointing to the so called signature of Osama (aka "Usama") bin Laden as to 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, going back to 1998 when Osama bin Laden and his coconspirators in al Qaeda were indicted for killing 18 U.S. soldiers and wounding 73 others in Mogadishu in 1993. So Osama bin Laden has been at war with the United States for a long time.

We know further that Osama bin Laden was indicted again 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, where at least 213 people were 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 of 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 the way bin Laden has waged war against the United States, I ask unanimous consent 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 bin Laden and his coconspirators, 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 so 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 indictees. 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 coconspirators 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 they may or 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 execution 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.

## EXHIBIT 1

[United States District Court, Southern District of New York, 98 Cr.]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA v. USAMA BIN LADEN, a/k/a/ "Usamah bin-Muhammad bin-Laden," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Laden," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Abu Abdallah," a/k/a "Qa Qa," DEFENDANT  
COUNT ONE: CONSPIRACY TO ATTACK DEFENSE UTILITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

The Grand Jury charges:

*Background: Al Qaeda*

1. At all relevant times from in or about 1989 until the date of the filing of this Indictment, an international terrorist group existed which was dedicated to opposing non-Islamic governments with force and violence. This organization grew out of the "mekhtab al khidemat" (the "Services Office") organization which had maintained (and continues to maintain) offices in various parts of the world, including Afghanistan, Pakistan (particularly in Peshawar) and the United States, particularly at the Alkifah Refugee Center in Brooklyn. From in or about 1989 until the present, the group called itself "Al Qaeda" ("the Base"). From 1989 until in or about 1991, the group was headquartered in Afghanistan and Peshawar, Pakistan. 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

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of Al Qaeda that the United States forces stationed in the Horn of Africa, including Somalia, should be attacked;

k. Beginning in 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;

l. On October 3 and 4, 1993, members of Al Qaeda participated with Somali tribesmen in an attack on United States military personnel serving in Somalia as part of Operation Restore Hope, which attack killed a total of 18 United States soldiers and wounded 73 others in Mogadishu;

m. On two occasions in the period from in or about 1992 until in or about 1995, Co-conspirator helped transport weapons and explosives from Khartoum to Port Sudan for transshipment to the Saudi Arabian peninsula;

n. 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-Laden 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; Expel the Heretics from the Arabian Peninsula" (hereafter the "Declaration of Jihad") from the Hindu Kush mountains in Afghanistan. The Declaration of Jihad included statements that efforts should be pooled to kill Americans and encouraged other persons to join the jihad against the American "enemy";

q. In or about late August 1996, USAMA BIN LADEN read aloud the Declaration of Jihad and made an audiotape recording of such reading for worldwide distribution; and

r. In February 1998, USAMA BIN LADEN issued a joint declaration in the name of

Gamaa't, 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—anywhere in the world where they can be found.

(Title 18, United States Code, Section 2155(b).)

MARY JO WHITE,  
United States Attorney.

[United States District Court, Southern District of New York, S(2) 98 Cr. 1023 (LBS)]  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA v. USAMA BIN LADEN, a/k/a "Usamah bin-Muhammad bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Shaykh Usamah bin-Ladin," a/k/a "Abu Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; MUHAMMAD ATEF, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; WADIH EL HAGE, a/k/a "Abdus Sabbur," a/k/a "Abd al Sabbur," a/k/a "Norman," a/k/a "Wa'da Norman"; FAZUL ABDULLAH MOHAMMED, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; MOHAMED SADEEK ODEH, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Nourelidine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and MOHAMED RASHED DAUD AL-OWHALI, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," a/k/a "Abdul Jabbar Ali Abdel-Latif," DEFENDANTS

## INTRODUCTION

The Grand Jury charges:

*Background: Al Qaeda*

1. At all relevant times from in or about 1989 until the date of the filing of this Indictment, an international

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with representatives of the government of Iran, and its associated terrorist group Hezbollah, for the purpose of working together against their perceived common enemies in the West, particularly the United States.

COUNT ONE: THE CONSPIRACY TO KILL UNITED STATES NATIONALS

8. From at least 1991 until the date of the filing of this Indictment, in the Southern District of New York, in Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, the Philippines and elsewhere out of 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 Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Wadih el Hage, a/k/a "Abdus Sabbur," a/k/a "Abd al Sabbur," a/k/a "Norman," a/k/a "Wa'da Norman"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Nourelidine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," 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, together with other members and associates of al Qaeda and others known and unknown to the Grand Jury, unlawfully, willfully and knowingly combined, con-

spired, confederated and agreed to kill nationals of the United States in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2382(a).

9. The objectives of the conspiracy included: (i) killing United States nationals employed by the United States military who were serving in Somalia and on the Saudi Arabian peninsula; (ii) killing United States nationals employed at the United States Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; and (iii) engaging in conduct to conceal the activities and means and methods of the co-conspirators by, among other things, establishing front companies, providing false identify and travel documents, engaging in coded correspondence and providing false information to the authorities 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 training camps and guesthouses in various areas, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Sudan, Somalia and Kenya for the use of al Qaeda and its affiliated groups;

*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 paragraphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.

12. On or about August 7, 1998, in Nairobi, Kenya, 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 Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Nourelidine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," 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 maliciously damage and destroy, and attempted to damage and destroy, by means of fire and an explosive, buildings, vehicles and other personal and real property in whole and in part owned and possessed by, and leased to, the United States, to wit, the defendants, together with other members of al Qaeda, an international terrorist organization, detonated an explosive device that damaged and destroyed the United States Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, and as a result of such conduct directly and proximately caused the deaths of at least 213 persons, including Kenyan and American citizens.

(Title 18, United States Code, Sections 844(f)(1), (f)(3), and 2.)

COUNT THREE: BOMBING OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, RESULTING IN AT LEAST 11 DEATHS

The Grand Jury further charges:  
 13. The allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.  
 14. 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 Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," 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 maliciously damage and destroy, and attempted to damage and destroy, by means of fire and an explosive, buildings, vehicles and other personal and real property in whole and in part owned and possessed by, and leased to, the United States, to wit, the defendants, together with other members of al Qaeda, an international terrorist organization, detonated an explosive device that damaged and destroyed the United States Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and as a result of such conduct directly and proximately caused the deaths of at least 11 persons, including Tanzanian citizens.

(Title 18, United States Code, Sections 844(f)(1), (f)(3) and 2.)

COUNTS FOUR THROUGH TWO HUNDRED SIXTEEN: MURDERS IN NAIROBI, KENYA

The Grand Jury further charges:  
 15. The allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 7 are repeated herein.  
 16. On or about August 7, 1998, in Nairobi, Kenya, 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 Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rasheed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," 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 the persons listed below during the course of an attack on a federal facility involving the use of a dangerous weapon, to wit, the defendants detonated an explosive device that damaged and destroyed the United States Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, and as a result of such conduct directly and proximately caused the deaths of:

Count	Victim
4	Bontia Achola

Count	Victim
5	Samson Oduor Ahomo
6	Margaret Akinyi
7	Jesse Nathaniel Aliganga
8	Syllia Ambasa
9	Elizabeth Anyango
10	Monica Apondi
11	Patricia Atieno
12	Allan Sabato Bando
13	Rosetta Baraza
14	Julian Leotis Bartley, Jr.
15	Julian Leotis Bartley, Sr.
16	Christine Bonyo
17	Daniel Kiprono Cheruiyot
18	Jean Daluz
19	Sheikh Fahat
20	Eva Nyanjau Gacheru
21	Jane Wangui Gacheru
22	Alice Nduta Gachiri
23	Raphael Johnson Gathumbi
24	Agnes Wanjiru Gitau
25	Lawrence Ambrose Gitau
26	Joel Kamau Githumbi
27	Benard Mugambi Gitonga
28	Susan Wairimu Gitu
29	Rosemary Njeri Gituma
30	Hassan Hukay Guracha
31	Burhan Aden Hanshi
32	Molly H. Hardy
33	Kenneth Ray Hobson
34	Anthony Kibato Irungu
35	George Irungu
36	Jane Wangari Itotia
37	Dorine Aluech Jow
38	John Karoki Kahuthu
39	Geoffrey Kaleo
40	Francis Kihara Kamuti
41	Lawrence Gitau Kamuti
42	Margaret Wanjiku Kangi
43	Charles Mugo Karanja
44	Lucy Nyawira Karigi
45	Moses Kariuki
46	Christine Wairumu Karumba
47	Prabhi Kavalal
48	Francis Kibe
49	Jackline Nyawira Kibera
50	Felistus Njeri Kimani
51	Rael Mburu Kimani
52	Stephen Maina Kimani
53	Simon Kinuthia
54	Joe Kiongo
55	Arlene Bradley Kirk
56	Francis Kabathi Kiu
57	Dominic Kivuva
58	David Ndula Koimburi
59	Julian Kwali
60	Peter Mbevi Kyelo
61	Moses Muli Kyule
62	Emmanuel Machambele
63	Denis R. Madegwa
64	Ann Mumbi Maina
65	Frank Maina
66	Lidiah Ndinda Maingi
67	Cecelia Mamboleo
68	Mary Louise Martin
69	James Otieno Masea
70	Anne Nyambura Mathenge
71	Pity Mwhiki Mathenge
72	Simon Peter Ngumo Matu
73	Jane Mary Maweu
74	Lydia Mukiri Mayaka
75	Doreen Mbayaki
76	Francis Mbogo
77	Francis Ndungu Mbogua
78	Rachael Kabendi Mboya
79	Lucy Waruthi Mbonya
80	Stephen Waweru Mburu
81	James Mathenge Migwi
82	Elizabeth Onyango Mito
83	Ahmed Warko Mohammed
84	Luciano Mugambi
85	Justus Njeru Mugendi
86	Gilbert Mugo
87	Peter Irungu Mugo
88	Josphat Mutua Muia
89	Edward Mukaya
90	Loise Njeri Mukoma
91	Samuel Vondo Mulalia
92	Francis Mukenyi Muleki
93	Thomas Mundanyi
94	Benson Wathigu Muniri
95	Caroline Mumbi Muraguri
96	Tirus Muraguri
97	Catherine Mureithi
98	John Gitau Muritu
99	Alice Waruguru Muriuki
100	Mary Wanjiku Muriuki
101	Robert Migwi Muriuki
102	Ruth Mwakai Musyoka
103	Wilson Kipkorir Mutai
104	Florence Mwende Muthama
105	Emmanuel Njaga Muthuria
106	Daniel Maundu Mutinda
107	Josphine Nzilani Mutinda
108	Catherine Ndumi Mutua
109	Caroline Karambo Mutuiiri
110	Gloria Ngatha Mutuiiri
111	Geoffrey Munyiri Mutunga
112	Patrick Kariuki Muturi
113	Gabriel Mwandime
114	Harrison Njuguna Mwangi

Count	Victim
115	Naftali Mwangi
116	Roseline Wanjiku Mwangi
117	Samuel Githua Mwangi
118	Moses Aston Mwani
119	Ann Mwaniki
120	Isack Mugeru Mwaria
121	Pamela Mboya Mwenge
122	Edwin Mungai Mweya
123	Abdalla Musyoki Mwilu
124	Nkruma Tonny Myizala
125	Moses Namayi
126	Mary Nyaga Ndirango
127	Caroline Ndolo
128	Martin K. Nduati
129	Julius Ndulu
130	Edwin Paul Ndumbi
131	Ephraim Kingori Ndungu
132	Peter Njeri Ndungu
133	Joyce Njeri Ng'ang'a
134	John Mwangi Ngaragari
135	Peter Macharia Ngugi
136	Abel Mugambi Njau
137	Simon Mwangi Njima
138	Catherine Wambara Njoka
139	Agatha Njoki
140	Jacinta Njoki
141	Francis Ndungu Njoroge
142	Grace Nyambura Njoroge
143	William Waitaha Njoroge
144	Godfrey Muchori Njuguna
145	Patrick Njuguna
146	Beatrice Nyambura
147	Michael Oduor Nyandeba
148	Elizabeth Nyarotso
149	Vincent Kamau Nyoike
150	Janet Ndoome Nzioka
151	Kimeu Nzioka
152	Magdaline Mbithe Nzioka
153	Joseph Ngove Nzwilli
154	Margret Atieno Obonyia
155	Joshua Aneah Obonyo
156	Fredrick Ebra Ochieng
157	Michael Ochieng
158	Francis Olewe Ochilo
159	Lawrence Olum Ochoka
160	Ann Michelle O'Connor
161	Duncan Odhiambo
162	Emma Odhiambo
163	John Odhiambo Oduor
164	Maurice Okach Oholla
165	Simon Otieno Olang
166	Sherry Lynn Olds
167	Kitalian Olotono
168	Hanson Nyabera Omae
169	Hindu Omari
170	Edwin Omori
171	Enock Omweno
172	Lucy Onono
173	Eric Obur Onyango
174	John Ouko Onyango
175	Caroline Opat
176	Silvia Oriendo
177	Godfrey Okoro Orono
178	Elizabeth Achieng Orwa
179	Evans Osongo
180	Dominic Olango Otieno
181	Elias Otieno
182	Julius Otieno
183	Mathew Walunya Otieno
184	Rogers Otoro
185	Elijah Ngito Owino
186	Josiah Odera Owor
187	Rachael Pussy
188	Margret Lilelo Rading
189	Ruth Mukami Rungu
190	Joseph Ondari Salamba
191	Timothy Odhiambo Sande
192	Uttam Lal Thomas Shah
193	Hassan Jarso Soka
194	Shadrack Nyaga Thito
195	Samuel Mbugua Thuo
196	Phaema Vrontamis
197	Gloria Wangechi Wachira
198	Shadrack Mwangi Maganyu
199	James Mwangi Wainaina
200	Teresa Kiongo Wairimu
201	Sabena Walter
202	Adams Wamai
203	Rachel Wambui
204	John Gitau Wanutwe
205	David Soita Wanabacha
206	John Amos Wangari
207	Sharon Wangechi
208	Gladys Wangui
209	Margaret Wangui
210	Mercy Wanjiku
211	John Mwangi Wanyoike
212	Margaret Wasike
213	Margret Njeri Waweru
214	Fredrick Maloba Yafes
215	Ann Mumo Zakayo
216	Unidentified male

(Title 18, United States Code, Sections 930(c) and 2.)

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

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

18. 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 Abdallah," a/k/a "Mujahid Shaykh," a/k/a "Hajj," a/k/a "al Qaqa," a/k/a "the Director"; Muhammad Atef, a/k/a "Abu Hafs," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry," a/k/a "Abu Hafs el Masry el Khabir," a/k/a "Taysir," a/k/a "Sheikh Taysir Abdullah"; Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, a/k/a "Harun Fazhl," a/k/a "Fazhl Abdullah," a/k/a "Fazhl Khan"; Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a/k/a "Abu Moath," a/k/a "Noureldine," a/k/a "Marwan," a/k/a "Hydar"; and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, a/k/a "Khalid Salim Saleh Bin Rashed," a/k/a "Moath," 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 the persons listed below during the course of an attack on a federal facility involving the use of a dangerous weapon, to wit, the defendants detonated an explosive device that damaged and destroyed the United States Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and as a result of such conduct directly and proximately caused the deaths of:

Count	Victim
217	Abdulhaman Abdulah
218	Eisha Paulo Elia
219	Hassan Siyad Harane
220	Ramadhani H. Mahundi
221	Mtendeje Rajabu Mbegu
222	Abdallah Mohamed
223	Abas William Mwila
224	Almosaria Yussuf Mzee
225	Shamte Yusuph Ndale
226	Bakari Yusuph Nyumbo
227	Dotto Seleman

(Title 18, United States Code, Sections 930(c) and 2.)

\* \* \* \* \*  
 . . . stated to a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he had never heard that "Abu Ubaidah al Banshiri," a military commander for Usama Bin Laden, had died when in truth and fact WADI EL HAGE knew that "Abu Ubaidah al Banshiri" had died in Kenya in 1996.

(Title 18, United States Code, Section 1001.)

COUNT 238: FALSE STATEMENTS

38. On or about August 20, 1998, in Dallas, Texas, and Arlington, Texas, the defendant Wadih el Hage, a/k/a "Abdus Sabbur," a/k/a "Abd al Sabbur," a/k/a "Norman," a/k/a "Wa'da Norman," in a matter within the jurisdiction of the executive branch of the government, to wit, a criminal investigation based in the Southern District of New York, unlawfully, willfully and knowingly, did make materially false statements and representations, to wit, the defendant falsely stated to a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he did not know Mohamed Sadeek Odeh and did not recognize his photograph when in truth and fact el Hage knew Mohamed Sadeek Odeh.

(Title 18, United States Code, Section 1001.)

MARY JO WHITE,  
 United States Attorney.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I applaud the Senators from Delaware and North Carolina for leading the debate on this resolution and, of course, our leaders, Senator DASCHLE 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.

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 so often the answers are terrible ones.

I listened to the news a little after 5 this morning. 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 FMS 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, then terrorism wins. We had to say to 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 was the target of the plane that crashed, but we know that this building must be opened because the people's business is done here. No country, and no terrorist, no matter how evil, no matter how twisted, no matter how diabolic can close the symbols of U.S. 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. And, just as the people in New York City who make up the fiber of ingenuity, innovation, economics, and learning in our country. The rest of the country will pick up the torch.

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 these ideals are the arsenal of democracy.

Let nobody outside our shores have 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 commitment, 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, but 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.

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. It has made us what we are in history. We are a just and good nation. We will remain a just and good nation,

but we are a nation capable of a terrible fury, and our enemies must know that. Madam President, our enemies will know that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, I yield myself 10 minutes, and I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to deliver my remarks seated at my desk.

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

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 waiver; 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 threats by 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 actions in both surprise 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 these 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 innocent American people. FDR was right, December 7, 1941, was a day of infamy, and yesterday, September 11, 2001, was also a day of infamy.

We must stand together and vote together and never be deterred in our efforts to put an end to this sort of thing, wherever it happens around this world.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I say to my colleague from North Carolina, we have on our side 10 minutes now, but one of our colleagues has to go to California and one up to New Jersey because of so many folks involved in the Trade Tower. If they can split their 10 minutes, will it be all right to have them go in succession? I spoke with the Senator from Mississippi about this.

Mr. HELMS. That is fine.

Mr. BIDEN. I understand the Senator from Mississippi has a statement he wishes to make first.

Mr. COCHRAN. Madam President, I thank the Senator for yielding to me. The resolution before the Senate should be considered by those who have planned and perpetrated the heinous attacks in New York City and Washington as more than a warning. It is a promise that will be kept.

We pledge today our whole hearted support for President Bush and his commitment to hunt down those responsible for these atrocities and to punish them in a way that is commensurate with their horrible acts.

At the same time we are committing ourselves to provide the resources our government and our President may need as Commander in Chief to wage a war to eradicate terrorism. I am pleased the Senate is united in this resolve to help ensure that we will do all we are able to do to ensure these tragedies are never repeated.

I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. BIDEN. I thank the Senator from Mississippi.

Madam President, I yield 5 minutes, or slightly more if he needs it, to the Senator from New Jersey. I thank him for accommodating the Senator from California as well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CORZINE. Madam President, I thank you for this opportunity to speak. I am awestruck by the passion I feel among all of the Senators in this Chamber.

Today, America's people in the civilized world join hands and hearts to share our grief and our love and to steel our will. First for victims, we share our grief. We share our love with the ones who are the heroes of rescue, and we truly steel our will against the evil actors of terrorism.

In my home State of New Jersey, there are unknown numbers of families heartbroken with the horror of yesterday's tragedy. The personal friendships and relationships affected in my own life are acutely painful. As do all of my colleagues, from the bottom of my

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, to rescue 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, to uncompromising justice. I know we all recoil with horror as we think of those who died in the destruction of the World Trade Center. It was a true symbol of America's financial and economic strength, just as certainly as the Pentagon represents our military strength.

I worked for many years in that neighborhood I saw buried under the rubble yesterday. In fact, I commuted through that building for over 20 years, and I fear for the many whose paths I crossed there because of potentially unspeakable horrors.

Equally shocking, it is just as difficult to imagine hijacked airliners being taken from Newark International Airport, where I have traveled literally thousands of times. But these shocks and circumstances which are not only personal to me but to everyone cannot allow us as a nation to weaken our resolve.

I boil with anger at what has occurred and share with my country men and women the belief that we will leave no stone unturned tracking down those responsible for these acts. I, too, join in a chorus that says we must hold all accountable, including those who harbor these criminals and give them aid and comfort. They have no clean hands.

Our Nation was born of strife and the horrors of war, but we built a country with the brick and mortar of freedom and democracy. That is what we have to defend. We have defended over the centuries the fundamental liberties that make us so strong and, as spoken about so eloquently, including the rule of law. We have become the world's lone superpower, the world's beacon of freedom because of those bricks and mortar that built the American dream.

It is our responsibility at this moment in time to stand strong on those principles. It motivates us and moves us to be ever vigilant, protecting our security and freedoms. We fought too hard and, frankly, we care too much. Millions of men and women have sac-

rificed their lives over time to secure those freedoms. Yesterday, others joined in that sacrifice. We honor them, but we must not be deterred. Our resolve must be strengthened.

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 friend, my chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, for this opportunity and for his eloquence, indeed, his vigilance on this topic. I am proud to be on his committee and to head his Subcommittee on Terrorism.

Today, I rise with pain in my heart and great emotion to offer my prayers and my condolences for the people in this country who have been directly hit by an act of war, people of my State of my birth, New York, looking at that skyline, the people who work at the Pentagon every day, who have chosen to work to protect our Nation, and the people of California who were on those planes that were hijacked and, of course, to every other individual who was directly affected, and all of us will have our stories.

I first thank the people of California for their outpouring of love and support for the people of this country. There were vigils, there were prayer services in every denomination yesterday. There was an outpouring of people giving blood.

People did not know what to do. The L.A. County Search and Rescue Team somehow got a plane at 4 a.m. They boarded on that plane and they are on the ground in Manhattan. Indeed, we are one country east coast to west, north to south. I have never seen such unity.

One of our colleagues said we remember where we were when tragedy hit this country. In my lifetime, I remember too many things—not as many things as perhaps Senators who are older, but I certainly remember where I was when I saw John Kennedy go

down and Martin Luther King go down, the *Challenger* disaster, and yesterday the image of our planes, commercial American planes, four of them, going down crashing into buildings, being used as lethal weapons against our people—an image that has shaken us but has not shaken our resolve.

Once I was on a plane that was in some type of mechanical trouble. We had to make an unscheduled landing. For an hour we really didn't know if we were going to make it. In that time, passengers were consoling each other and getting out their fears, attendants were reading the crash landing manuals. I reached for the phone. I called my family. I left a message. I thought: Did I tell them before how much they mean to me? All I could think of yesterday was about the people on those planes, every one of whom had a family. Basically, as I understand it, they knew they were going to go down, and in many cases, as I understand, were being told if they wanted to call their families, they were crashing. The utter terror, the utter callousness of this, the inhumanity of this, is unbearable, what our people went through on those planes and then those innocent people working in the Pentagon and the World Trade Center.

I am going to make a very strong statement. When we look back into history and what happened in Bosnia, people suffered genocide because of their nationality, and to the Holocaust, people suffered annihilation because of their nationality. People were killed yesterday because they were Americans. People were killed not because they were bad people—they were good people—they were killed because they were Americans.

It is time for us to say we will fight and stand up for them and their memories. We will take a stand against inhumanity that occurred on our own soil. We are resolved to honor those who died. We are resolved to make our Nation as safe as it can be from those acts. We are resolved to hold those who planned these attacks and who harbor these people absolutely 100-percent accountable. We will hold them accountable. They must pay because this is the test of a civilized nation. We lead the civilized nations of the world. We will not back down.

I 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 Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. 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. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for up to 5 minutes.

Mr. KERRY. I thank the Chair. I thank my colleague.

Madam President, never in the time I have been here—and perhaps in the modern history of the Senate—has any of us come to the floor with such a weight as today, with our hearts literally heavy and aching with the pain of what we have witnessed and what we know so many families are experiencing today, and also with a sense of outrage at the loss of every innocent citizen and every single person who went to work expecting a normal day, every police officer who put themselves into harm's way, every fireman who tried to save a life and lost their own, and at the astonishing number of their loss with the experience of a breach in their special brotherhood and sisterhood that can never be healed, the loss of emergency personnel. These losses are felt by all of us in a very special, personal, and searing way.

It is also fair to say that all of us have a deep feeling of outrage and resentment for the killing of our innocent citizens, for the attack against our country, for the fear and panic we saw in the faces and voices of our people; children crying; parents, wives, brothers, sons, and daughters waiting for word.

Yesterday I was on the phone to the husband and daughter of a woman—a friend—lost in the second flight to penetrate the World Trade Center. The pain and depth of loss in their voices was excruciating. And the helplessness to do anything but to share that pain and offer comfort brought an even deeper sense of anger and resolve for the acts that occurred.

But it is also critical that all of us remember, as we talk about responses, and war against terrorism, that our rhetoric be matched by our actions. If indeed there is a war against terrorism, I remind my colleagues that in a war the first shots are never the last, the first strike is never the worst.

What happened yesterday was terrible and horrendous, but we must prepare ourselves and steel ourselves for the possibility of worse until we achieve our goal. And to do that we have to be more prepared than we are today, and we have to take the fight wherever we need to, and in ways that we are, frankly, not yet prepared.

I will say, from personal experience, when you are in a war, you do not throw money at the enemy; it's bullets or other actions that are real. We cannot guarantee that some fanatic is not

going to find a way to upset civilized order. But we can guarantee that anyone facilitating or associated with such an act will pay the highest price.

There are few organizations that could achieve what happened yesterday. We know who they are. We know who supports them. We should demand that those people cooperate with us in turning them over to us.

Finally, it is important for the world to see that we will go back immediately to the business of a great democracy. We must—all of us—be back at the work of our Nation. We must show that our effort to build a better country goes on, the mission of educating our children for full citizenship goes on, the job of making our country stronger goes on.

I believe one of the first things we should commit to as a country, with Federal help, that underscores our Nation's purpose, is to rebuild the towers of the World Trade Center and to show the world that we are not afraid; we are defiant.

To those who might say, "why create another target?" The answer is simple: If we are indeed at war with terrorism, there is no shortage of targets in the United States. There is a White House, and a Capitol, and countless other tall buildings. This is not a question of targets; it is a question of strength and of our national resolve to stand up and show our strength. That is the best monument we could build to those who died yesterday.

In Massachusetts, Madam President, we particularly grieve and feel the full measure of what happened yesterday. Two of those flights came out of our airport. Many of those people on those flights—the vast majority of them—came from our State.

So to all of those who currently await word or those who know because of the nature of the flights, we extend our deepest condolences and we grieve together as citizens of Massachusetts and of this great country.

I thank the Chair.

#### RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until the hour of 1:45.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:54 p.m., recessed until 1:44 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Ms. STABENOW).

#### 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.

Mr. REID. 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 unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

#### TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—Continued

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:

[Rollcall Vote No. 277 Leg.]

YEAS—100

Akaka	Bennett	Breaux
Allard	Biden	Brownback
Allen	Bingaman	Bunning
Baucus	Bond	Burns
Bayh	Boxer	Byrd