would suggest that all Americans, regardless of political philosophy, political party, or political persuasion intend to stand shoulder to shoulder in our effort to seek out those who would cause such destruction, anguish, and pain upon a free people.

There will be plenty of time in weeks and months and years again down the road to review the decisions that we have made during these days; but let no one mistake the resolve that I feel as a Member of this body, or as a citizen of this Nation, or those who stand with me in this institution in our support of President Bush and, again, our military as we seek answers across the globe.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12 of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 11 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

□ 1745

AFTER RECESS

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

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

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


Hon. J. Dennis Hastert,

The Speaker, House of Representatives,

Washington, DC.

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

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

With best wishes, I am
Sincerely,

JEFF TRANDAHL,
Clerk of the House.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

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


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

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

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

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

There was no objection.

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

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

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

H.J. Res. 64

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

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

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

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
This joint resolution may be cited as the “Authorization for Use of Military Force”.

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

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

(b) War Powers Resolution Requirements.—

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

(2) Applicability of other requirements.—Nothing in this resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution.

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

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

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

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

There was no objection.

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

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

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

The Constitution of the United States, the document that protects the
freedoms of all Americans, gives the Congress certain responsibilities. Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution says the Congress shall have power to provide for the common defense and the power to declare war.

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

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

These are the times that try men's souls. On September 11, we lost thousands of people, with thousands more injured, and with two symbols of the strength and vitality of our democracy, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, destroyed or badly damaged. A sworn enemy that dares not confront us in the open attacked us in the most cowardly way, by targeting innocent citizens of this great Nation. This enemy operates in the shadows, hates with an unnatural passion, and practices political fanaticism that glorifies violent death and condemns innocent life.

For too long, this enemy has been protected and supported and sheltered by rogue nations. The friends of our enemies are also our enemies, and they will bear equal responsibility. We must defend our Nation. We must defeat these enemies once and for all. We must eliminate the scourge of terrorism.

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

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

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

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

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

I am comforted by the work of the President and his team. They are assembling a worldwide coalition of civilized nations. These nations look to the United States for leadership, and they want to join us in this great crusade. We will provide that leadership. We have a job to do in this Congress and this authorization for the use of force is an important part of that responsibility.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must deny them that hope. Our forefathers, who won our liberty, bequeathed it to us in the knowledge that we must prove ourselves worthy of it. They were confident that we would not shrink from the measures necessary to defend it. All who have gone before us, all who have given their lives for their country and whose names we will never know, is why I ask my colleagues to put aside our differences and move beyond rhetoric and now act.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I rise in strong support of this resolution.

This week our Nation lost its innocence but found a new sense of unity and purpose. We now face a severe test, one demanding severe measures. The resolution before us empowers the President to bring to bear the full force of American power abroad in our struggle against the scourge of international terrorism. It will enable him, in the words of our Secretary of State, to eradicate terrorism, “root and branch.”

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

Mr. Speaker, the historic nature of this occasion cannot be overstated. Precious few times in our 225 years as a Nation have we been faced with such a grave and momentous decision. One need only look at the devastation, the brotherhood, the mourning in the wake of Tuesday’s monstrous terrorist attacks to grasp the awesome responsibility before us.
Mr. Speaker, the world is watching these deliberations and is asking: Is the United States up to the challenge? Are we, as a Nation, blessed for so much of our history with peace and prosperity, capable of mounting a cost-ly and concerted campaign against international terror? Let us today an-swer those doubts with a resounding af-firmation.

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

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

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

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

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

The President has a solemn responsi-bility to use this power wisely and not to consult with and report to the Con-gress throughout the long struggle ahead. We in Congress also have an on-going responsibility: to contribute to these efforts, monitoring the crisis, in-vestigating, gathering expert insights, and doing all in our power to ensure that these terrible events are never repeated.

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

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

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

We shall prevail.

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

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

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

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

The best tool the framers of the Con-stitution provided under these cir-cumstances is not use force, as I believe, this grant of authority and this purpose of force is to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States. In other words, we are not just engaging in an act of retali-a-tion or revenge, as satisfying as that will be, but we are taking action to prevent this from happening again to save the lives of Americans.

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

Mr. Speaker, it is very appropriate for this Congress to be granting spe-cific authority to the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against the terrorists that attacked America this week and against those that harbored the terrorists. It is im-portant that I believe, this grant of authority and this purpose of force is to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against America.

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We shall prevail.

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

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the dis-tinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL).

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

Mr. Speaker, it is very appropriate for this Congress to be granting spe-cific authority to the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against the terrorists that attacked America this week and against those that harbored the terrorists. It is impor-tant that I believe, this grant of authority and this purpose of force is to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States. In other words, we are not just engaging in an act of retali-a-tion or revenge, as satisfying as that will be, but we are taking action to prevent this from happening again to save the lives of Americans.

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

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

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

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

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

To say it in a way that perhaps Osama bin Laden might understand, we have to fight with a comprehensive fashion. It cannot be a symbolic act. It cannot be a one-time action. It must be comprehensive. We must be diligent and the American people must be patient.

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

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

I would hope as we do that, the people in this country would have patience with one another; that they would recognize that when the airplane slammed into those buildings, it killed Muslims and Christians and Jews and Asians and Germans and Italians and Irish and all the rest. It killed the landscape of the American society.

When we do this, we must understand that we cannot lose that national character, which is truly our liberties and freedoms that are the beacon of the light that goes out from this building to those people in those nations that yearn for them and do not have them.

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

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER), the ranking member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

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

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

The action that was taken by these terrorists against the American people must be responded to and it must be responded to with a most comprehensive fashion. It cannot be a symbolic act. It cannot be a one-time action. It must be comprehensive. We must be diligent and the American people must be patient.
the vote that I cast in 1991 to support then President George Bush in our Gulf War. Now we are at another grave moment of decision for our Nation.

This is a time when many nations will be looking at us and our resolve. This is a time when all of us will be asked to give of ourselves, to put our energy into the fight. This is a time when the world will see how much we will sacrifice to keep our freedom. This is a time when history will judge us.

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

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

Mr. President, we are wholeheartedly entrusting you with the most powerful military the world has ever known. We are doing so because we trust him to use this force with certainty, with confidence, to make it perfectly clear that this is not just our war, but a war that we all must join.

Mr. Speaker, the language before us is limited only by the slim anchor of its September 11 reference, but allows us to join with other nations to strike out against this enemy. It will be a determined effort, sustained over time with the full support and resources of this Nation. Let our enemies know that we stand together, one Nation under God, prepared to pay the price to bring terrorism to its knees.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, as I listened today to my colleagues respond on their own, away from this building, to what had happened, I noticed two overriding themes. One was in a free society that stands as a symbol for freedom of the world, we are not going to allow a cowardly acts that happened this week.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, it is easy to blame our intelligence agencies for what happened, but as long as we have allowed bin Laden and others to sit there in safety, launching attack after attack against America, some of those attacks will be successful. We must demand that the Taliban government hand Osama bin Laden and his henchmen over to us now and stop harboring terrorists. If they refuse, then we must initiate hostilities. We will prevail by aligning ourselves with the Northern
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

November 8, 2001

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This unspeakable act on the United States has forced me, however, to rely on my moral compass, my conscience, and my God for direction. September 11 changed the world and deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am convinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States. This is a very complex and complicated matter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1975, British statesman Edmund Burke said, “All that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing.” The same holds true today.

The free nations of the world must seize this opportunity and work together to end the evil of terrorism. As the rock of freedom in the world, America must lead the charge.

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

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding time, and I join my colleagues in support of this resolution authorizing the use of military force. Our American public and the free world look to us today for leadership and swift action. We cannot and we will not fail them.

The sheer horror of the events that transpired in New York and the Pentagon are unprecedented in our history and they demand strong, decisive and immediate action. We cannot, and we will not fail them.

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

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

Ms. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I thank you for your kind words, but I think it’s time for hate, the most callous would not understand.

Mr. Speaker, when my father’s generation, America’s greatest generation, fought and defeated the evil of the 1940s, they did it for us; and we have enjoyed peace and prosperity. Today, we do it for the Brandi Ungers of the next generation, for a free, a safe America.
terrorism, we must eliminate the entire infrastructure that sustains these organizations. This will involve getting tough with governments that aid and harbor terrorists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we go on the offensive. And we commit our sons and daughters to that enormous chore. This week, a reporter caught a citizen in New York taking dust off a car and putting it into a jar and he asked, “Is that your car?” The citizen said, “No. These are my friends. We have lost our friends.”

It is time to put an end to this madness.

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

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

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

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

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

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We also know that our response to these attacks will involve great sacrifice. Our troops, who have long earned our respect and admiration, will be called again into harm’s way and will need our unwavering support. Ordinary Americans, already sacrificing in the least of love and in their commitment to supporting our Nation, will be called upon to sacrifice still more. This battle will be...
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long and difficult, and it will require concerted resolve from all Americans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yes, this is retaliation.

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

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

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

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

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

And may God bless the United States of America.

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

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, the United States sustained, but heroically withstood, a terrorist attack of unprecedented magnitude. Mr. Speaker: this was not only an attack committed against this Nation as the leader of the free world, but was also an assault against all of humanity, against our very civilization as we know it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These terrorist attacks were clearly a crime against humanity. What does a democracy do to punish criminals? We give the President authority to use all necessary and appropriate force against persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided in these terrorist attacks. Make no mistake about

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless America.

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

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

Then, just as now, our Nation rose up as one. We respond to a horrid event with steadfast determination to defend ourselves and to find and punish the aggressors. The resolution before us gives the President authority to use all necessary and appropriate force against the terrorists or those who sponsor or support acts of terrorism.

We must be firm. Our investigation must be quick and retaliation must be certain. Yes, this is retaliation.

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

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

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

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

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

And may God bless the United States of America.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE).
Mr. Speaker, our national resolve expressed in the resolution before us is equally determined, and those responsible for these depraved attacks have every reason to fear it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the ranking member of our Committee on House Administration.

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

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

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

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

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese admiral who planned that treachery remarked, “I fear all we have done is awaken a sleeping giant and filled him with terrible resolve.”
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I support this resolution, but this Congress and the American people must understand that we are embarking on a very dangerous mission whose duration is unknown and whose irreconcilable enemies in this war hide in the shadows and retreat to the far reaches of the Earth. Our enemies do not have the courage to face us in open combat so our military leaders will need to adapt a new approach to win this war. But I strongly support this resolution because America must stand up once and for all and state to the world: no one with the means and the will to threaten the American people will be tolerated—anywhere on the face of the Earth.

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

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

After the attacks of this week, many Americans recalled Pearl Harbor. I thought of the Battle of Britain and Hitler's indiscriminate bombings of London, Churchill's words still so powerfully resonant: "He hopes by killing so many numbers of civilians and women and children that he will terrorize and cow the people of this mighty imperial city. Little does he know the spirit of the British nation or the tough fiber of the Londoners who have been bred to value freedom above their own lives." So true of America. Little do these petty tyrants and murderers know the spirit of the American people or the tough fiber of the New Yorkers, our defense workers, or the civilians who spared further casualties by taking down the hijackers and their own plane. It is a broad delegation of authority to make war on those who have attacked us. We do not do so lightly or without consideration for the weighty consequences of our act.

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

"What he has done," as Churchill has said, "is to kindle a fire in hearts here and afar which burns without a ceasing, long after all traces of the conflagrations he has caused have been removed."
New York or Washington, but Brussels or London. We have the responsibility and the power to bring these terrorists to justice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What they are about to learn is that America's fighting men are the most powerful warriors in the history of the world. Tonight I will tell them and with deep humility to give our President the power to use all necessary and appropriate force to vanquish the enemies of our peace. May God have mercy on their souls, because what the Presidential powers were, and to what extent the responsibility of the Congress was to review those actions taken by the President.

We are here today to empower President Bush to take such powers and such actions as may be necessary in order to find a way to punish, to retaliate against those who caused all this damage on the soil of America, and we join the President in our eagerness to give him that authority.

But I want to make sure that I understand this resolution. I have read it a dozen times over, because I want to make sure that the War Powers Act that we enacted yesterday on September 12, 2001, our commitment not to become embroiled in another war.

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

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

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

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

As great our Nation pulls together, let us be careful not to turn to hate or stereotyping. Justice must and will be served against those who caused all this damage on the soil of America, and we must be united and prepare for a prolonged and sustained campaign.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I served in the Congress during the heated debates about President Bush to use all necessary force to vanquish the enemies of our peace. May God have mercy on their souls, because what the Presidential powers were, and to what extent the responsibility of the Congress was to review those actions taken by the President.

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

Mr. Speaker, I served in the Congress during the heated debates about
at home. They should expect casualties as we take the battle to our enemies.

But they should take pride and draw confidence from the great reservoir of American patriotism and resolve. We Americans have always risen to the challenge, from settling this rugged land and gaining independence until today. Freedom again is challenged. We owe it to our son, Charles, and all our children to rise to this challenge so that they can live in a land where freedom is safe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By enacting this resolution, we speak with one voice. We are united behind our common cause and against our common foe. We should not take lightly the great effort that we set in motion. Now our generation will be given the chance to rise to the occasion and make the “Greatest Generation” proud.
We confront an enemy that is a threat to the civilized people of our times. Once our Nation rose to stave off tyranny. Now we must employ all our resources to stave off terror and fascism. We will answer this duty, and we will not go quietly and softly into the good night.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, in a strict sense, this resolution is not necessary, because the Constitution makes the President commander in chief; and as such, he has the power to strike back when our country is struck, as it was struck on September 11, and the War Powers Act confirms that power. Even though the President can retaliate without this resolution, he is far stronger with it. This is our way of saying that we are together in this cause. We approve the mission. We are one in our resolve. By this resolution, we say that unmistakably to the whole world, friends and foe alike.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I urge support of this resolution. God bless America.

Mr. LARGENT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. In the immediate aftermath of this act of war, we must wipe out terrorism and all those who are responsible for these attacks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must develop a vision for American involvement in the 21st century, for “without a vision the people perish.” Without question or debate, we must go to wherever length is necessary to hunt down and destroy those responsible for these attacks.

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

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structures that support them, not the citizens of nations who, in many cases, are already suffering under repressive regimes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sometimes, as now, in the short term a terrible swift sword is also necessary. America now recalls the words of Franklin Roosevelt 60 years ago when he said, "This generation has accepted a rendezvous with destiny." We defeated evil then, we will defeat evil now. Our generation has accepted a rendezvous with this destiny; and that is to rid the world of these plagues.

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

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

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

America is based on a Constitution and our laws. Under Section 202(3) of the War Powers Act, the President already has the ability to use the military to respond to an attack upon our country and our Armed Forces. Nothing in this joint resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Act. The President has authority to respond against those who perpetrated the acts on September 11.

Under the resolution of force pending today, Congress will reserve the right to review the President’s plans and actions. But make no mistake, this Congress will stand behind our young men and women in uniform who may be put in harm’s way and we will stand with President Bush as Commander in Chief.

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

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

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

Today we undoubtedly will approve this legislation, and the certification that the President will use the awesome force of the United States with great deliberation and wisdom.

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

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We must not telegraph our punches. Here's what that means: we don't tell the enemy how we will conduct our campaign, nor what kind of force to expect. It will be swift, overwhelming and deadly, but let that be all we tell bin Laden and his bunch.

Let us give our military the money they need and send them to do what they do best: fight and win wars. Our armed services have some of the most talented people in the nation, capable of doing whatever mission we need done.

Most importantly, let them utilize the example of surprise, which, as we all know is a brutally effective part of the arsenal. Finally, a word to the people who perpetrated this act of war.

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

We are a nation of laws, not people. It is our ideas and our commitment to liberties and democracy that bind us together under our Constitution.

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

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

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

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

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

Your power is in hate and wealth. We will win.

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

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

Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ENGLISH). Mr. ENGLISH. Mr. Speaker, Psalm 71 says, "Bring to a shameful end those who attack me. Cover with contempt and scorn those who seek my ruin."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Will we scurry back to where we came, or will we hold our heads high and proud and march forward to battle those who threaten our way of life? With this resolution, we have answered the question.

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

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS) with whom I share nois (Mr. SHIMKUS) with whom I share .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In responding as swiftly and surely as our military might permits, we must do our utmost to protect innocent civilians, a principle that stands in stark contrast to the practice of our brutal adversaries. We must carry out military action within the parameters of the Constitution and the War Powers Act, as this resolution provides. We must punish those heinous acts of Tuesday, acts as close to absolute evil as any of us will ever witness, and we must prevent anything like this from ever happening again—rooting out terrorism even as we renew our Nation’s commitment to alleviating the world’s suffering and injustice and serving as a beacon of hope to all mankind.

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

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield ½ minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. President, with this power, the decisions you will make will determine the future of this Nation and perhaps the world. May God bless you with restraint and compassion to make wise decisions, and may God have mercy on your soul if you do not understand the awesome power that you have been afforded by the Members of Congress who are placing our trust in you on behalf of the American people.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are filled with grief, yet buoyed by pride. Like all Americans, I want to right this wrong and to avenge these cold, calculated killings. While this might seem a forgone conclusion to the overwhelming majority of Americans abroad watching and awaiting our decision, this is the single most difficult obligation for a Member of this House to fulfill. In approving this measure, one is reaffirming one’s support for our nation, our President, our military leaders, and expressing our collective outrage and defiance on behalf of the thousands of American families that have been torn apart.

In this respect, this is an easy decision. But, as Members of Congress, we do not have the luxury of reacting solely on emotion.

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

Moreover, tonight each Member has the additional burden of knowing that in approving this measure we are not only responding to this action, but we will be embracing a monumental change in U.S. policy. With this resolution, we declare that we will no longer draw any distinctions, limiting our response to those individuals who materially participate in an act of terror and some agents of the United States and its citizens. We are clearly at a point of demarcation in U.S. foreign policy.

From this point forward, we say to the world, choose sides. Either you join us in the singular purpose of rooting out and destroying these networks of fear and networks of hate, or we will regard you as a co-conspirator and, as such, you will be subject to the same fate as the perpetrators.

Again, this seemingly simple adjustment is no insignificant matter. This is a major policy shift which presents numerous challenges. This resolution will change the tone and tenor forever. This was an attack on civility and as such it will require a monumental effort. It will require us to have the fortitude and strength of character to resolve it through to its conclusion without regard for the unavoidable unpleasantnesses. We must stay the course.

To deviate or to shy away would surely risk exposing our nation, our citizens and life as we know it to far greater dangers.

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

This was not just an attack on New York City, the Pentagon or even America, but rather an attack on civilization itself. It marks an escalation which cannot be ignored. We must join the other nations in an all out fight against these enemies of society. I applaud President Bush and Secretary Powell’s efforts to reach out and build international support. We must spare no efforts to seek the full support and cooperation of allies, as well as friends and foes in the Arab world. This effort will certainly require an unprecedented level of diplomatic cohesion and demonstration of political sensitivity. Failure to gain the support and cooperation of the international community will surely limit our effectiveness and expose this nation to grave dangers. We can ill afford to become isolated in this pursuit.

As a nation, America has slumbered in the naive belief inherent in our decisive military might, superior technology and the safe labor provided by the great expanse of open ocean. Heretofore, we have been afforded the luxury of remaining unsoiled by the dirty business of hatred so common in a majority of the world today. On Tuesday, we were rudely awaken, our naive sense of security shattered by the ugly realities of terror. We did not choose this course of our own volition, but having seen evil’s face we must be resolved to join the fight with everything we can muster.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, it was our friend, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Sam Johnson, who served about 6 years in Hanoi as a prisoner of war. He states that on his cell wall he had a little statement that said, “Freedom has a taste to it to those who fought and almost died that the protected will never understand.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A formal authorization to pursue the crusade, and their cohorts who committed these inhumane and incomprehensible acts is our collective statement about our national will. It is a will that reflects a national crusade that will inevitably prevail. I have no doubt of that. But we should be mindful that our national will should not be displayed with anger; it should be pursued in the name of justice. We
do not take this step in the name of vengeance. We take it in the full confidence that we are a special people, called upon to safeguard freedom and democracy. It is a task that we must accomplish with enough authority to eradicate wrongdoing without wronging the carefully crafted systems of checks and balances so essential to our democracy.

Neither should this body lightly yield the power of the purse by granting unlimited access to the public treasury to the Executive branch. The President must not be able to spend the public treasury in the pursuit of one individual and his followers. Only in this way can we prevent further acts of terrorism against the United States.

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

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

Terrorism is not confined to a single organization or a single group or a specific sect. All terrorists, even those not directly connected to this week’s attacks, are a deadly threat and must be neutralized. We cannot win the war against international terrorism unless we fight it.

This resolution, while helpful in some ways, ties the President’s hands and allows only the pursuit of one individual and his followers and supporters. I am disappointed that this limited resolution does not respond adequately to the need to protect the lives of freedom-loving people around the world.

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the distinguished vice chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding time.

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

Mr. Speaker, even before Tuesday’s atrocities, deaths from worldwide acts of terror were on the rise. But nothing could have prepared Americans, and the world, for the cruel and barbaric slaughter of so many innocent people. In 1999, 233 people were murdered by terrorists. In 2000, the number jumped to 405. In 2001, roughly half of all the terrorist incidents in the world were directed against Americans and U.S. assets. Each day, 10 to 12 threats are aimed at U.S. posts overseas. However, most of those are on foreign soil, so we were lulled into a false sense of security.

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

Today, it is all too clear that our initiatives have fallen short. And now, the president is before this resolution, with enough authority to eradicate wrongdoing without wronging the carefully crafted systems of checks and balances so essential to our democracy. We need this. We have no choice.

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

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we need to take heed from the ageless wisdom in Psalm 37, where David writes: "For evil men will be cut off, but those who hope in the Lord will inherit the land. . . . The wicked plot against the righteous and gnash their teeth at them; but the Lord laughs at the wicked, for he knows their day is coming. The wicked draw the sword and bend the bow to bring down the poor and needy, to slay those who are upright. But their swords will pierce their own hearts, and the bows will be broken . . . for the power of the wicked will be broken. "

The days of the blameless are known to the Lord . . . In times of disaster they will not wither . . . but the wicked will perish. I have seen a wicked and ruthless man flourishing like a green tree in its native soil, but he soon passed away and was no more; though I looked for him, he could not be found.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paraphrasing Winston Churchill: let us discharge our duties, and with justice, with firmness, with patience and fairness. Some day they may say this was their finest hour.
Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HAYES), a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

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

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

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

It is the justice of all of us to honor the victims of this tragedy by using this international spirit to do everything possible to stop the scourge of terrorism. Our President has shown leadership, prudence, wisdom, and courage in his response to the crisis. This resolution empowers our President and our men and women in uniform to win this war against terrorism and ensure freedom for our country and the world.

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 1/2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I was proud of my President and our President, George Bush, today in New York; I was proud of him in the National Cathedral; and I am proud of our country. The terrorists may have taken a bite out of the Big Apple on Tuesday, but they are the ones that are rotten to the core.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 1/2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON), a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

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

Yesterday I had the grim task of going to the Pentagon and looking at the rubble and seeing the grave, the unexpected grave, of almost 200 of our citizens buried beneath all the bricks and mortar and concrete. In this collection of dust, one of the workers who had been there for some time asked me, he said, "Tell me, we have been isolated here, we have been on premises, we don't have access to TV and radio; what are the American people saying, what are they thinking, what are you folks, members of Congress, hearing from back home?"

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

This legislation gives us that opportunity. It is essential.

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 1/2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from the State of Washington (Mr. MCDERMOTT).

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, there is an old Arab adage, "Vengeance is best served cold." The procedure we are dealing with here may seem somewhat tepid today, but I believe we are trying to do the right thing for the right reason.

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

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

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

Think about it for a minute. Watch who kills the most prey, the bull or the lion. Because the lion is quiet and watching, does not mean he is asleep. The lion is quiet and thoughtful. Because the lion is quiet and thoughtful, does not mean he is asleep. We, too, should use our brains, not just our strength and power. Your brains must be your strength.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, today we are authorizing the use of the U.S. military against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against us. We are simply at war. We did not seek this war; but make no mistake, we will respond. We will finish the conflict on our terms, but only after we determine that our enemies have been defeated.
The coming days, weeks and months will continue to test us. We will hear heart-breaking stories, see tragic images. We will continue to say good-bye to Americans who as they had off to defend us against terror and those who hate America, those who hate everything that America stands for: freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of democracy.

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

God bless our great country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tonight we consider another measure, this one to enable the President, our Commander in Chief, to use whatever means required to bring this crime to justice. For the memory of those who served and the memory of those innocent lives taken so very prematurely, it is the very least we can do. Americans by nature are not a vengeful people, but we need to respond to these attacks so as to ensure that this tragedy happen again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must destroy their will to fight, not out of revenge, but as a matter of self-defense. Because terrorists do not defend territory or populations, they cannot be confronted or defeated using traditional means. We cannot expect easy or quick solutions. We must be prepared for a protracted effort to eradicate these cowardly terrorists.

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

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, thank you and your colleagues for your remarks, not for priority of party but for the needs of our Nation.

Our people, the wonderful, good, decent people of our country, and as our guide. We must in the name of those that gave their lives this week.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. GEFFARDT. Mr. Speaker, first, I thank you and your colleagues for working so hard with all of us to present a completely united front to our enemies. These are our times. We have gathered together to begin the process of healing and then defending our American family, our beloved Nation.

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

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

The act of terror and inhumanity has produced American heroism that few people have witnessed in their lifetimes. Before our very eyes in the last 3 days we have seen the courage and resilience of the American people. They are rising to this moral challenge of our time.

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

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

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

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

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

New Yorkers line streets in Manhattan holding signs and flags in celebration of our rescue workers going off to rescue other Americans. Americans descended on emergency centers, set up by workers from the Red Cross, stood in line so they could give their blood so life could be pumped into the lives of the wounded.

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

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

Congress debates this historic resolution in their spirit and with them for our inspiration and as our guide. We literally and figuratively are following the lead of the American people. Humanity at its best.
ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, Shaw Boehlert, the chairman of the Committee on Science.

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, Shaw Boehlert, the chairman of the Committee on Science.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I stand committed to working together to build an effective anti-terrorism policy which will make our country and our world safer so that we will never have a recurrence of the nightmare we experienced last Tuesday again.

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

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

The Constitution says that the Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes and to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, to declare war, to provide calling forth the militia to repel invasions. That is what we are doing. But it also provides that the President shall be commander in chief of the forces of this Nation.
I think this resolution says eloquently that we are a Nation of laws; that we respond in a measured way, as provided in the Constitution of the United States; and that we can take pride in our response along with the people in their response to the events of this week.

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

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

In times of tragedy, America pulls together and America gets stronger. We defeated the forces of evil in World War II, we turned economic crisis into economic opportunities and beat the Great Depression, and we can and will defeat the evil acts committed against our country on Tuesday.

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

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

In times of tragedy, America pulls together and America gets stronger. That is who we are here to do today: to stand united, to say to the world there are no partisans here, only patriots. There is no difference between Democrats and Republicans, between the Congress and the President. We are speaking with one voice.

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

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

I just came back from the site of the tragedy in New York City with my colleagues from some of the Montgomery County, Maryland, victims, victims of the Pentagon attack. The victims include Michelle Hedenberger, Todd Reuben, William Getzfred, Ernest Willcher, Gerald Fisher, Lisa Young, Ted Moy. The list goes on. This is not New York or Pennsylvania. This is just so far what we have heard from the Pentagon. There will be a lot more coming, unfortunately, throughout this Nation.

We offer our prayers and support to these families of these heroes. We resolve to find the perpetrators and punish them harshly.

Without any question, this terrorist attack on our liberty and freedom is a strike against all nations that value democracy. It is an act of war, but we will not be intimidated. No act as cowardly as this one can go unanswered. I urge the President to act accordingly, cautiously and appropriately. I will cast my vote. We must stand in unity, pledging to defend freedom, unity and liberty.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS).

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, tonight with the passage of this resolution, it is time that we move from words to deeds. We must identify and destroy all those who perpetrated the horror on our country on Tuesday. We must then move swiftly to cut off their financing network, their infrastructure network, and all those who would aid and abet and support them.

Then we must embark on the long struggle of making the nations choose between obedience to terrorism or subscription to the rule of law and international cooperation.

There has been much eloquence in this Chamber in recent days from all sides. I am grateful for it. But the American people will not be satisfied with our eloquence. They want us to stand with our Armed Forces, stand with our allies around the world, and swiftly, swiftly settle the debt owed to us by those who brought harm upon this country on Tuesday.

Mr. GALLEGTY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN).

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this authorization for the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist acts committed on September 11 and to prevent any future acts of internal terrorism against the United States.

Today, Mr. Speaker, along with my colleagues from New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, I visited lower Manhattan and saw firsthand the physical destruction and I better understand now the human devastation. The
deaths of our fellow Americans, the destruction of our sovereign land, and this act of war against all Americans cannot and will not go unanswered.

As the President spoke to the world today from the National Cathedral, “This Nation is peaceful but fierce when stirred to anger. This conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others. It will end in a way and in an hour of our own choosing.”

Mr. Speaker, whether the hour be near or far, we stand united with our President and with the men and women of our Armed Forces.

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

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

Tonight we are walking on holy ground. We are prayerfully mourning the loss of thousands of Americans who have lost their lives. We are trying a way to comfort their families and give them peace.

At the same time, we are discussing a resolution on the use of force to bring the cowardly terrorists to justice and to make sure that we never have to suffer this horror again. To this end, I support this resolution because it clearly states that nothing in this resolution supersedes the requirements of the War Powers Act.

Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues have quoted President Roosevelt of another horrible day in our country’s life, that this day will live in infamy. I want to also quote his wisdom when he said, “We have nothing to fear but fear itself,” because that is the goal of the terrorist, to instill fear in the American people. That would be their greatest victory.

Yesterday I described to the American people and the unity that we will show them tonight should give them a clue that they will not have that success.

Yes, we are walking on holy ground, and as we proceed in discussing the use of force, we must proceed in a manner that will bring honor to those who have died. We must bring honor to their memory. May they rest in peace.

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

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, with this vote of resolve and unity, we believe we are on the road to victory.

Let every Nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”

Today a new President and a new generation are handed the torch of liberty that has been kept alight by the untold sacrifices of past generations of Americans.

Those terrorists who now challenge the will and values of this generation of Americans will soon find out that the awesome power of our military might will be matched only by our unprecendented national unity in defending America’s life and liberty.

In this vote and in our prayers, we in Congress speak for the American family, in strong support of our Commander in Chief and say, yes, we support the use of force, we need a broad and sustained campaign in order to win the battle on terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I believe standing together as a Nation, and this is the most united I have ever seen this House in 9 years, I believe we will win this battle. God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to thegentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD), the chair of the Democratic Women’s Caucus.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Mr. Speaker, today is a day I hoped I would never have to face, a day on which I would need to support the use of force.

I am sure that all of my colleagues agree that when we took the oath of office to honor and defend our country, we hoped and prayed we, as Members of Congress, would not have to use force to defend this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, as Tuesday morning, however, we all knew that the only response that would be understood by the evil force that undertook these treacherous actions would be the powerful response of the greatest military force in the world, the United States military.

However, our resolve must be based on the rule of law and reflect the lessons learned from history. The use of force is not something that we as Americans take lightly. America is a peace-loving Nation.

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

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Speaker, tonight we stand with our President as our Nation prepares to do battle with those who seek to destroy the American way of life. Tonight we vote to give our President full authority to use America’s full military might against those responsible for this week’s despicable attacks against the United States and its people.

A strong response to the deplorable attacks on the United States is essential. The terrorist infrastructure must be destroyed, and the message must go out to all who seek to harm us in the future that America will respond to cowardly acts of violence against our people quickly and decisively.

These are for America, but we will work together to seek justice for the victims of terrorism and to ensure that such contemptible acts never again occur.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of the resolution to end terror now. Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

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

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society is based upon: the sanctity of human life.

Mr. Speaker, I pray for my President.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we shall overcome someday.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Tom Davis).

Mr. Tom Davis of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of S.J. Res. 23. With the passage of this joint resolution, Congress stands united with the President and the brave men and women in uniform ready to wage war on global terrorism. Although S.J. Res. 23 is not a formal declaration of war, the resolution gives the President full authority to use force against these terrorists and is similar to the Persian Gulf conflict in 1991.

Of course, a key to making this work is the continued willingness of the executive to continue to consult with legislators. I am confident the President will do just that. Make no mistake, failure to act in unison at home and abroad will be interpreted by our enemies as weakness and an invitation to commit further atrocities. We have to put aside our differences, quiet our rhetoric and act decisively now.

Mr. Speaker, today I read Leonard Pitts' column in the Miami Herald. Addressing his words to the faceless cowards responsible for Tuesday's attacks he wrote:

"It occurs to me that maybe you just wanted us to know the depths of your hatred. If that's the case, consider the message received. And take this message in exchange: You don't know my people. You don't know what we're capable of. You don't know what you just started. But you're about to learn."

I urge all my colleagues to support S.J. Res. 23.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend and colleague, the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. Delauro), a member of the Democratic leadership, Ms. Delauro.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation. This week America suffered the worst attack in our Nation's history. It was an assault on the American people and a threat to the fundamental freedom that is the strength and the spirit of our strong Nation. There is no reasonable justification for the vicious attack that has taken such a toll on the American people.

Each day our intelligence officials obtain more information of the facts surrounding the events of September 11, 2001. It is clear that this was a carefully crafted plan for tremendous destruction. The criminals wanted to create a constant state of fear in American citizens across our great country. But the American people will not be bullied. They will not be cowed.

Mr. Speaker, our citizens are joined together in prayer, giving of their time, their love, their resources. There has never been a greater demonstration of unity.

With this resolution, our government also takes a stand. It reaffirms Congress' support for the President. It protects the President and the Congress. Our Commander in Chief and the Congress will work together to bring to justice and to punish those responsible for trying to bring the United States to its knees.

We stand tall. We stand proud. We stand ready to protect our freedom, our justice, and our liberty.

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

Mr. Cummings. Mr. Speaker, a great atrocity has been leveled against this Nation and its citizens. We must now seek justice for our Nation, the American people and humanity. But justice comes in many forms and the scales of justice must be carefully balanced.

On one side, we place our commitment to spare no effort in eradicating terrorism and punishing those responsible for these deplorable crimes. On the other, we balance the responsibility to hold true to our Nation's principles, to be cognizant of innocent life, and to use military force only when necessary. This is a difficult scale to balance, but I believe that we have a duty to reach the appropriate equilibrium that justice requires.

I strongly support the will of this President, Congress, and our citizenry to defend ourselves against our enemies with unrelenting force. It is my only hope that such force will be balanced and guarantees the justice we all deserve.

May God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Shерwood).

Mr. Shерwood. Mr. Speaker, we owe it to our people, we owe it to our history, we owe it to the folks that made us where we are. We owe it to those firefighters in New York. We owe it to our military personnel in the Pentagon. We owe it to those New Yorkers that have had their world brought down around their ears.

This resolution is good. It sets out what we are about to do, and I am in strong support of it. We owe it to the world to show the world that democracy will stand and that an isolated terrorist cannot hurt America permanently.

Mr. Speaker, we will send that message. We will send it with overwhelming force. God bless America.

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

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

Secretary of State Powell had it correctly when he said, terrorism is a scourge upon our civilization. I am pleased to stand in support of this call, this call of our military might to thwart the forces of terrorism. I am pleased because we must bring these terrorists not just to justice but to a punishment that will not soon be forgotten.

But I also want to call up tonight our most important weapon, our national will. We must have the will to send a clear signal that our fight is with terrorists, not with the Muslim world. We must have the will to fight over the long haul. And we have that will. We must have the will and the resolve to make it clear that while we will make adjustments in our life-styles, we will not surrender our fundamental freedoms.

In the final analysis, I believe the terrorists think we are too soft, that we are the soft, materialistic infidel. I think, as in World War II, we will show them they are wrong, because the message from our national will will be clear and simple. We will not yield.

God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to my good friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Houghton).

Mr. Houghton. Mr. Speaker, tonight we talk patriotism, and we should. And we talk sacrifice, and we should. And we talk courage. We talk all those things about humanity and we should. But I do think it is important for the American people to realize that this is going to be a very arduous, difficult, nasty, drawn-out struggle.

One of the great characteristics and many times it is unsung, but it is there, is perseverance. Just keeping on going. It is so important that we as a public and citizens understand that, because this is not going to be something which brave words will conquer. It is only our perseverance.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend, the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. Schakowsky).

Ms. Schakowsky. I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, along with all of my colleagues and all Americans, I believe that the United States of America must respond effectively and appropriately to this unprecedented attack on our people and our Nation. This resolution gives awesome responsibility to the President of the United States, but it should not be interpreted as unlimited power to use force or commit acts of aggression.

This resolution has been carefully drafted to restrict our response to those we know to be responsible for
Because vacation days are so hard to come by, many of us base our vacations around the 4th. This isn't necessarily for the sake of the holiday, but to simply save a vacation day, whatever the reason and for nothing wrong with any of the above practices, time and prosperity have mellowed the significance of our national birthday, as they have Memorial Day and Veterans Day.

Mr. Speaker, that's unfortunate for the simple reason that on nights like this one, we're reminded that no one gave us our freedom. No one gave us our liberty. And while their underlying principles were germinated in peaceful venues and distributed on pamphlets or word of mouth, ultimately they were borne through battle.

Maybe our children don't understand, but the United Nations wasn't there to let our forefathers conduct a plebiscite on whether the 13 colonies should remain part of England. Maybe we've become so used to living side by side that we're not even aware there wasn't any multi-national force willing to die by the tens of thousands to free their ancestors from slavery. And maybe we've grown so used to violence as entertainment the gristy images of Pearl Harbor don't affect us any more—now we need a Hollywood movie to convey the importance of a national tragedy.

Mr. Speaker, as we consider this resolution tonight, remember this: our freedom, our unity, our very way of life exist because previous generations of Americans have time and time again been willing to place a higher value on our freedom than on their own lives.

As much as I disdain the notion that taking human life is a decision for politicians to make—even when the political rhetoric that is designed to rally the nation, to move the public to support a position on the way forward. Yet, we do. We do this out of necessity, out of our need to protect ourselves.

To all my colleagues assembled here tonight, understand this: there will be Americans who will not survive the fighting to come. There will be casualties, both physical and psychological. There will be widows and the children who lose their only children. There will be spouses who lose their soulmates, and children who will be orphaned. There will be small towns who will lose the child who sang the best in the church choir, and big city neighborhoods who see heroes fall. There will be small towns who will lose their only child. There will be spouses who lose their soulmates, and children who will be orphaned. There will be small towns who will lose the child who sang the best in the church choir, and big city neighborhoods who see heroes fall. There will be small towns who will lose their only child. There will be spouses who lose their soulmates, and children who will be orphaned. There will be small towns who will lose the child who sang the best in the church choir, and big city neighborhoods who see heroes fall.

Let us ensure that when they come home Congress honors their sacrifice, not solely with parades, but for the rest of their lives.

Let us pledge tonight that veterans of this war are treated as first-class citizens as well as the heroes of all generations of Americans. We will find those who have flown the flag, those who have volunteered. And while there was sadness in their eyes, there was a determination in their movement, in their step, and in their actions. There was a commitment on their part to hold together and to band together and to do what needs to be done in that Herculean effort in trying to move the tons of rubble and steel to look for the precious body that still may be gasping for air and waiting for arrival of those to come to help them. I stood with those who were working, and I understood their pain in their heart and the sadness in their face but the determination that they have to make sure that those who perpetrated this crime never do it again, not to us but not to anyone in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support this resolution tonight. But, more than that, I rise as a proud American with all of my colleagues here in this House and all Americans throughout this country. We have taken the oath to defend the United States of America and to defend our freedom. This generation of Americans have time and time again been willing to place a higher value on our freedom than on their own lives.

If we are going to send Americans to forever silence those working to sow terror and horror against our Nation, then let us do everything in our power to ensure they have the resources they require.

Let us ensure that when they come home Congress honors their sacrifice, not solely with parades, but for the rest of their lives.

Let us pledge tonight that veterans of this and every war are treated as first-class citizens as well as the heroes of all generations of Americans.
Mr. Speaker, we did not choose this fight. It chose us; and now we have no choice but to stand back in the defense of our lives, to defend our way of life, and to remember throughout the ordeal to come what this fight is about, the lives that were lost and the freedoms and liberties that we preserve.

Mr. GALLEGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the chairman emeritus.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this joint resolution authorizing the just use of force against those who have attacked our Nation.

Our Constitution places the Congress at the center of any decision to use force over any extended period of time. It is time for us to carefully weigh and support this important decision.

It is long past due for armed action against those who have barbarically attacked our Nation. The individuals and nations involved in this terrorism deserve to feel the full wrath of our great Nation, and I am confident they will feel the wrath of the entire civilized world. The American people will lead that worldwide effort, united behind our commander in chief.

Earlier today I had the honor, along with my colleagues, to accompany President Bush to my home city of New York, witnessing firsthand the incredible abominable destruction at the World Trade Center. The President moved among those workers dedicated to rescuing the missing.

America is united behind our President, behind our Armed Forces, and behind all those who will join in our war against terrorism. And our Nation will not stand alone. We are all moved by the many manifestations of solidarity and sympathy that have come from leaders throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, our people have borne the deep pain and sorrow of this ruthless attack. We are beginning our recovery; and, by this legislation, for which I urge support, we are ready to defeat terrorism.

God bless America, and may God bless the American people.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield each time as he may consume to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS).

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

Mr. Speaker, as you know, under the authority of Act of the President already has the legal right to use force when this country is attacked—as was the case on Tuesday when some 5,000 Americans were killed in an unspeakable act of terrorism. So, in an important respect, this debate is more symbolic than legally necessary.

Americans have prayed in churches, synagogues, mosques and other places of worship over the last four days. They have prayed for strength, for courage, for an end to this horror, and for peace. They have heard sermons that spoke of love being stronger than hate, of the forces of good triumphing over evil. I will vote for this resolution because I believe that the use of force is one tool that we have at our disposal to fight against the horror of terrorism and mass murder. One tool but it is not our only tool, and it is something that must be used wisely . . . and with great discretion.

I believe that we must work with other nations to root out, capture and eliminate the terrorists who have caused such terrible suffering in our country and elsewhere. But we must also understand that widespread and indiscriminate force could lead to more violence and more anti-Americanism.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the developing world must know that we do not hate them, but only the terrorists who hide in their midsts and control their lives. By word and deed, we must show those people that we are on their side, rather than the terrorists who exploit them.

Mr. Speaker, the President has an enormous responsibility. I pray that he uses it well and that Congress provides him with effective guidance.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EVANS), the ranking member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution authorizing the President to use military force against the terrorist threat facing our Nation.

The events of this week will forever sear into the memory of this Nation. The sheer scale of this tragedy is almost unimaginable. In a single day, we lost more Americans than some of our bloodiest battles of our history, and it happened on our soil.

The shock and horror of these unconscionable acts have quickly turned into anger and rage. However, we must put this all into perspective. By passing the resolution before us today, we will show that America will act forcefully and decisively in the face of unspeakable evil. The resolution will empower the President and the armed services to take the steps necessary to defeat the forces of terrorism and punish the culprits who are responsible for these heinous acts.

Mr. GALLEGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS), the chairman of the Subcommittee on National Security of the Committee on Government Reform.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I have prepared comments, but I would just like to speak from my heart that when you go to the Pentagon and when you go to see ground zero in New York, you see an incredible contrast, the carnage of the buildings and the hope and vitality of the people.

When President Bush was there today and he stood up to speak to some of the rescue workers, some of them could not hear, and they yelled out, "We can't hear you." And he turned around to them and said, "But we can hear you. The whole world can hear you, and soon, those who committed this dastardly, cowardly act, will hear from us."

I am voting for this resolution so that they will hear from us. If I have one regret, it is that we did not give a President, our President, this power a few years ago to respond to terrorism when it first struck.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people I represent, I rise in strong support of authorizing the use of our Armed Forces against those responsible for the carnage in New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

Acts of war have been committed against innocent men, women, and children going about their daily business and routines that are considered innocent. After a decade of peace, we are reminded in the harshest way that the United States has violent and cowardly enemies—that while the cold war is over, the world is a more dangerous place.

A decade ago, Congress considered a resolution authorizing another President George Bush to use all means necessary to liberate Kuwait, a resolution I strongly supported. To this day, I consider the vote on that measure to have been the most important vote I cast during my service in the House.

Today, we face a far more daunting task. This time, our enemy is faceless. It hides in the shadows. Its mission is moral and spiritually bankrupt. It's united only in its hatred for our democratic ideals and peaceful way of life. A peace that lies ahead is a dangerous one. Defeating this enemy won't be easy, and it won't come quickly. Yet I am confident that authorizing force will save lives by preventing future acts of terrorism, and so I cast my vote without reservation.

Mr. Speaker, this is a defining moment for our nation. After consoling the families who have lost loved ones and after healing the wounded, our duty as a free people is to support, with all the resources available to us, the many men and women waging the war against terrorism.

I pray for the wisdom of our leaders, the courage of our Armed Forces, and that we will prevail over the evil that attacked us this week.

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

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, America stands united tonight.

We stand united with our President, and we support him.

We stand united as a people, so the world will know we cannot and will not permit these terrorists to rob us of our loved ones.

We stand united to defeat any attempts of terrorists to rob us of our

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freedom. We shall never surrender that freedom.

We stand united in support of the men and women who serve us in the Armed Forces and who will help us achieve justice.

We shall respond, and we will never forget the victims of this horrific attack.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that America will respond, and we will respond in a unified, factual and deliberate and committed manner, we will act out of resolve and out of faith. So, I rise to support this resolution.

We are today giving the President the authority to go after the people involved in these terrorist acts. However, there is a dual responsibility of the Congress and the President to work together in times of aggression against those who would do harm to the United States. It must be done with the administration, the President of the United States, in consultation with Congress.

I am prepared to support this resolution. I know there are others in this country who are fearful of entering into hostilities and war; but I do believe, that, in consultation under the War Powers Act of 1973, we are headed in the right direction, for that act ensures that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President will apply to the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances and to the continued use of such forces and hostilities or in such situations.

We are unified—our country must respond. We are determined to stand against those who have acted violently against the United States in order to bring about such a loss of life that we would crumble from FEAR. Never will that happen, because the principles that strengthen us of God and country—like truth will march on.

Mr. Speaker, Members of this Congress are truly united in their faith in God and country. That's why we are unwaivered in our convictions and interests against the acts of terror and cowardice perpetrated against us on September 11, 2001 at the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the crash in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. These egregious acts against American civilians_including those who were Americans and for their common love of freedom and democracy. Therefore there is little doubt that collaboration between Congress and the Executive is justified in this instance, as a matter of statutory and constitutional law.

The need for calm in compiling and analyzing the facts and evidence in this tragedy is great. Also the need for restraint and cultural sensitivity towards those in our communities who may be related to families and friends to be comforted by American Muslims, Arab-Americans and Asian-Americans. As Americans, we must demonstrate in this, our darkest hour, what makes us truly great: our love and acceptance of inclusiveness and cultural diversity. We must not attack innocent Americans who are simply different.

But upon our discovery of the culprits of these heinous acts, our response must be deliberate and firm. The actions we take today set us upon a new course in history. Not unlike the Founding Fathers faced against an unfathomable enemy and an inconceivable challenge. This Congress, like those brave patriots before us, pledges its sacred honor and stands at the precipice of this new world unafraid. We will overcome this terrible period in the history of our country and we will overcome.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I intend to support this resolution. Nearly every Member of Congress this week has said this: on Tuesday, September 11, our country was brutally attacked.

It was an act of war. It demands response.

Under our Constitution, the President of the United States is commander in chief. When America is attacked, he assumes the obligations of the commander in chief. It does not matter whether the President is someone you voted for. Our country has only one President and only one commander in chief.

This resolution authorizes the use of force by America. As a matter of law, the War Powers Act may not even require this resolution. The President likely already has the legal authority needed.

But this afternoon most of us prayed together at the National Cathedral. At the end of the service, we stood together and we sang “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.” As we sang, I could not help but recall that when “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” was written, our country was divided, and it was the last time on American soil when massive numbers of Americans died in war, until this Tuesday. At the end of the song, we sang, “As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free.”

While this resolution may not be legally required, it is important to show that we are united; that when America is attacked, Americans stand together. Those who died on Tuesday will have died to make us free.

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

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of Senate Joint Resolution 23, a resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States and its citizens. September 11, 2001, will be the date that will live forever in the hearts and minds of freedom loving people. On that date our country was attacked by terrorists in a way thought impossible. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children were murdered. It has touched the lives of thousands of families and of all Americans. It was an attack on our people and our freedom. The resolution before us authorizes the President to take the appropriate action including if needed the use of our military against those nations, organizations or people who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001.

The resolution specifically directs that such action be targeted to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such entities.

Mr. Speaker, we have an obligation to protect the safety of our citizens, particularly those within our own country. This resolution helps us carry out that responsibility. Our military force must only be used when it is clearly justified. This resolution limits that use to terrorist attacks.

We must not attack innocent men, women, and children. It has touched the lives of thousands of families and of all Americans. It was an attack on our people and our freedom.
resolution recognizes the role and responsibility of Congress in authorizing and committing our military to hostile action. The Constitution provides that the Congress has the power to "proclaim war" and the power to "declare war". The resolution strikes the right balance between the President and Congress and is in compliance with the War Powers Act, making it clear of the President’s obligations to consult with and inform Congress. It is the time for Congress to act. Let those who were responsible for these horrible deeds know that the Congress and the President and the American People are united and are resolved to bring the perpetrators to justice and to prevent such acts from ever happening again on our shores.

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

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I join with those in this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against those responsible for the September 11, 2001, attack on America.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, to all of those who have lost their lives and loved ones or been injured, on behalf of the people of the Seventh District of Illinois, we extend to them our heartfelt condolences.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we commend all of those who have committed tremendous acts of bravery, who have given of themselves during this period, who have given even their lives so that others might live. We thank them for their acts of heroism, and we shall stand together.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), the distinguished Chair of the Democratic Caucus.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, today we debate the gravest and most important matter that ever comes before the Congress, the use of military force.

Mr. Speaker, the cowardly, barbaric attack of September 11 was an assault upon America, upon humanity and upon the civilized world. It was the cold-blooded, calculated murder of untold thousands of innocent Americans. It was nothing less than evil, plain and simple.

Mr. Speaker, September 11 changed much about America and the world, but I am proud to say that it has not pervaded our democratic system. That is because the Congress and the President, as coequal branches of government, have worked together, consulting closely throughout the process. As a result, we have agreed to this resolution.

So we speak with one voice tonight, Mr. Speaker, and the House will overwhelmingly vote to authorize the President to use military force to respond to the terrorist acts of September 11.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is united in its commitment to bringing to justice those who perpetrated this assault on our people. But make no mistake, this campaign may be long and it may be difficult.

As we speak tonight, let us pray for the men and women of our armed services as they undertake this assignment for our Nation.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN), a senior member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, along with President, I, too, have just returned from ground zero, the site of the greatest single human tragedy in our Nation’s history. The towering pyramid of wreckage upon whose perimeter in New York City I have just walked hours ago is a monument, staggering in its dimensions and horrifying in its implications.

In that massive tomb, Mr. Speaker, lie the remains of a still-unknown number of my fellow New Yorkers and our fellow Americans. The terrorists who murdered these people conceive of themselves as the hand of God and have executed their wicked judgment against our people. And what were our countrymen’s crimes? Their crime was to go to work in a free Nation. Their crime was to get on an airplane. Their crime was to visit one of the greatest cities in the world. And, in many cases, Mr. Speaker, their crime was to attempt to save the lives of other human beings.

Mr. Speaker, the kind of havoc, murder and carnage which the terrorists have inflicted upon our Nation can only be compared to war. And war, Mr. Speaker, is what we will give them back. We know which neighborhoods these people live in. We know who their landlords are. We will find out where they get their paychecks. We will hunt them down, not only the most visible of their public leaders, but also the most hidden of their private supporters.

Tonight, Mr. Speaker, evil again is on the march, and we must respond. And respond we will. We will respond to the terror that lives in the shadows and that hides in the dark.

We know, Mr. Speaker, that we have not borne our final pain; but America is embarking on a great campaign, one which will not be easy, one which will take some time. Like the beginning of the Cold War, we may not be able to foresee the end of this conflict; but, Mr. Speaker, we can be certain of who the winner will be.

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

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, unimagined evil has been perpetrated against our free country. We must authorize our President to take all necessary actions to prevent those responsible for these dastardly acts from again inflicting such cowardly malice against our country and our way of life.

Today our Congress reflects the resolve and unity of the American people in supporting our President in restoring peace and security to our peace-loving country. The Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces has an awesome responsibility. Let us unite behind him as he carries out his duty to our people.

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

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, tonight I will vote to support our efforts to stop terrorism.

This is going to be a difficult vote for me; it is when I stepped off an airplane in Vietnam and joined my infantry unit, it has been my dream and it has been my prayer that no American would ever again have to shed their blood nor give their life on foreign soil. As a Member of Congress, I never dreamed of voting to send our American men and women into combat, but then I never dreamed I would be calling the mother and the father of a young man from Eureka, California, in my district, who was on board one of those hijacked airplanes on September 11.

This past Tuesday, terrorists attacked America and they attacked the American people. They murdered thousands of Americans, and we must ensure that we do all in our power to end terrorism and to stop the terrorists from striking again. Our country is great because the people of our country are great, and we will, with resolve, stand together to protect our freedom.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. UDALL).

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, when I swore my oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, I never imagined that this country or I would be where we are today. We each swear our allegiance to one another and to our country, yet the magnitude of our oath is only understood when we face situations like we face today. During trying times such as these, the American spirit manifestly and we find within ourselves the ability to overcome challenges once thought unthinkable and unimaginable.

The cowardly terrorists perpetrating these unimaginable acts may think they have won, but they better think again, because they have united us. A united America will overcome this evil. A
Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WALORSKI).

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

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, a previous speaker expressed disappointment that this resolution is not an explicit declaration of war. Let me reassure the gentleman. The recipient of America's forthcoming sword of justice will not be able to recognize the difference.

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

Mr. STRICKLAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, a previous speaker expressed disappointment that this resolution is not an explicit declaration of war. Let me reassure the gentleman. The recipient of America's forthcoming sword of justice will not be able to recognize the difference.

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

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, as I walked down here, I saw in the cloakroom NBC News reported that from cell phones they could tell that the people on the Pennsylvania flight fought the hijackers, and that that flight was likely targeted for the building where we stand. The vision of the World Trade Center and the vision of the Citadel, symbol of democracy for this globe, leads me to know in my heart and in my gut, this is the right thing for our Nation to do.

Our enemy does not understand our national family. He perceives our freedom of religion as weakness. He perceives our freedom of speech as lack of discipline. He is about to discover that he is wrong on all counts.

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

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman (Mr. LANTOS) for yielding me this time.

I rise tonight in strong support of this resolution to grant unprecedented authority to our President for the first time in U.S. history to deploy our Armed Forces against organizations and persons that are not nation states, as well as those that are nation states. We take this step with the certain knowledge that our first duty is to project and defend our Nation against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Never have we been more united in our cause.

We also take this step understanding the character of U.S. foreign policy for the last century has also yielded levels of hate against our Nation, by omission or commission, that demand deep and immediate reevaluation. We pray for our people who have had thrust upon them such unjust suffering. May God bless America and our allies with wisdom in our time to come.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM).

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, I, too, join the choir here of support for our President. This is an historic moment in our country, a sad moment. But I would just like to express a thought for the future.

We are kidding ourselves if we think this will be easy, and I do not believe anybody understands it to be easy. We are going to call up thousands of reservists soon, and we are going to put men and women in harm's way soon. This will not be a 100-hour ground campaign; this will not be an air war we watch on TV. This will affect every American family even deeper than it has now, but it is worth it.

This is the right thing to do. Let us end it now. Let us stand behind our President and go after the organizations from top to bottom who perpetrated such a heinous act. We can do it as a united family together and keep the spirit of September 11 alive. Do not give in to terrorism.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he or she may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CHRISTENSEN).

Mr. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I rise with a heavy, heavy heart, to join my colleagues to authorize our President, to use the necessary and appropriate force against those who will be identified as the perpetrators of the terrorists act of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, that killed so many of our loved ones, in a diabolical attempt to strike fear in the hearts of our Nation's leaders and all Americans.

Yes, we must vindicate those thousands of lives, like Sgt. Maudlin White of my district, so that their dying will not be in vain.

But, Mr. Speaker, I stand here humbled by the heavy responsibility that is ours—the specific authority to declare war that is bestowed by the Constitution, on us as Members of this body.

And though I stand here with my colleagues, in this awesome time of decision, I can beat us.

But we must, because now we fight a war, a war of hearts and minds, at work, at school, at church, and anywhere—are at risk, as was so clearly and tragically shown this week. And so, while many of us harbor reservations about the breadth of the powers bestowed, we must stand by our President, and for our fellow Americans, I pray for God's wisdom, and guidance, as he carries out the heavy weight of his office.

Mr. Speaker, if there was ever a time when decisive and immediate decisive military action would be required as soon as certain information was available, that time is now. But because of Tuesday's unprompted and unwarranted attacks in which innocent lives were snuffed out, for no apparent purpose save that of general hatred of Americans, America and all that she stands for.

The Bible tells us many things: It teaches that we should "not render evil for evil," but it also tells us "if one dies by the sword, one will die by the sword." The perpetrator of Tuesday's attacks and other attacks surely planned, used and will yet use the sword of violence against us, unless we stop them.

We must act, and act swiftly and decisively, but we must also prepare ourselves better to prevent further attacks, and examine through honest introspection, if we have, in any way, caused such for hate.

And as we prepare to exact justice on the perpetrators of this heinous crime, we must also be certain that we are indeed going after those who committed these crimes, and not be over-reaching in our response.

We must proceed with extreme and due caution, not so to wage war based on existing prejudices, motives, or questionable information, but we have already become one of the world's terrorists ourselves.

And so, prayerfully, I join my colleagues in support of this resolution to authorize our President, George W. Bush, to use the authority vested in him by the Constitution of the United States, to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States and our Allies.

May God bless and keep our President, and may God bless and keep America, and may our divine Parent bless and keep us all.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ROTHMAN).

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I just returned with some of my colleagues from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, from Ground Zero, at the World Trade Center in New York City. It was a terribly disturbing sight; almost incomprehensible, the magnitude of this horrific crime. But it was also an incredibly inspiring, uplifting moment, and it filled me with a tremendous sense of confidence in our future.

Confidence? The police, the firefighters, rescue workers, utility workers, Armed Forces, volunteers. Together, I know we, 270 million Americans, will win this war. United. No one can beat us.

It will not be quick or easy, but with the will to do what is necessary for however long it takes, the people of the United States of America will triumph, and I have no doubt about that.

We will prevail because the fire of freedom burns in us, and makes us unbeatable. God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SNEAD).

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution.

As someone who has seen the face of war for almost 4 years in Vietnam, I do not relish the idea of returning to this place and fighting a war like this one. I was yesterday at the Pentagon and today I flew with my colleagues to New York to visit Ground Zero, my military colleagues and my
constituents who have been killed and are missing in what can only be called an act of war.

So we have no choice but to respond to these acts with “all necessary and appropriate force.” In the names of the dead and of the missing, we can do no less. God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), the ranking Democrat on the Committee on Foreign Operations.

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

America stands at a threshold. Behind us lies our sense of security, now shattered by intentional and brutal acts of war. Before us lies our solemn obligation. Our steps over this threshold must be deliberate, they must be firm, and they must be brave.

Today, Congress invokes our authority, derived from our Constitution and the War Powers Resolution, to authorize the use of force against enemies of the United States. Our object is not to extract vengeance; merely retribution will not make Americans safe, nor will it purge terrorism from this world.

The battles ahead will be against an enemy who knows no boundaries and has no shame, an enemy with no flag and no official military, who lurks in the shadows of the world, cloaked in malevolent ideology and attacks us indiscriminately. These will be battles unlike any we have ever known and we must stand united with our President, our allies, and each other as we navigate the coming storm. The coming days and weeks will give us a clear picture of who stands on the side of justice and who does not.

Those who stand against us, actively, by organizing, financing, or executing terrorism, or passively, by sheltering terrorists and their allies, or implicitly, by teaching hatred to children or justifying violence against innocents, or implicating the governments and the people of nations prove again and again that terrorism must be tolerated in any corner of the globe.

This resolution gives to our President the tools to begin a long and arduous campaign to end this terrorism. It will not end with the punishment of one man or group or even one nation sympathetic to their cause. It will end with a victory so brutal and decisive that no one or group, no matter how much they hate freedom, will dare to risk repeating the terror they have put the world through for the last 30 years.

No nation state, no matter how much they hate America as the world’s most conspicuous example of freedom, will find it in their nation’s interest to attempt to surreptitiously support them. This will not be quick or easy, but this is a united Congress, this is a dedicated President, the American people are fully committed to our goal, and we will succeed.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. CLEMENT).

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

Mr. Speaker, not one member of this body ran for election to go to war. We need to think about how they affect the issues that we deal with today, we need to think about how they affect the lives and the safety of our families. My thoughts and prayers are with the families. There is no doubt, all of our own lives hold more value to us than before, and we have been forever changed as individuals and as a nation by experiencing such a devastating loss.

In the days ahead, we must take a multifaceted approach in order to destroy terrorism and terrorists around the world.

Make no mistake, the Congress fully supports our President and will hold those responsible who did those atrocious actions. We will do whatever is necessary to promote and protect our way of life and to protect our families. America remains a strong democracy, and the resilience of our people will prevail.

Just a few weeks ago, I was in New York City; and I was toured around by the Port Authority Police. We were over there with the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MICA) with the Subcommittee on Aviation, and they showed us New York.

Some of those people who took me around are not with us anymore. I assure Members, we will remember them, we will remember their memories, and we will do everything we can to bring about justice for all.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our valued colleague, the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELAZQUEZ).

Ms. VELAZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this resolution on behalf of my constituents and all New York. Those who wear the uniforms of firefighters, paramedics, nurses, and doctors are our soldiers. We will not let their courage, big heart, and hard work to rebuilding our city amid the rubble be forgotten.

We are facing a different kind of war requiring a different kind of response. We will need more vigilance at home and more cooperation abroad. Flexibility and creativity are required to prevent further assaults. We must be smarter and faster than our foe.

We support this action because our cause is just. There is no conceivable justification for shedding the blood of innocents. We do not seek vengeance, for Americans are not a vengeful people. Americans cherish justice, and that is what we seek here.

This resolution would allow us to pursue, prosecute, and punish these criminals. We do this because civilized nations prove again and again that terrorists have no legitimacy among either the United States or our friends and allies.

With the sustained and inalterable will of the American people demonstrating here tonight, and the cooperation of peace-loving people around the world, we will prevail. I strongly support this resolution.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, (Mr. HOLT).
Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, today, even as we bind the wounds and thousands of brave Americans still work to free those who are trapped, to care for those who are injured, to recover those who are lost, Congress, on behalf of our good and brave people, must act.

Mr. Speaker, this is the time for our Nation to lead in the fight against terror, to strike a blow for future generations for all people against those who would try to achieve their goals through violence, terror, and bloodshed. While these cowardly acts have shaken buildings, they cannot shake the strong foundations of our nation's, our peoples' spirit, our great democracy.

Today we show that we are Americans united, united for our foes to see and for our friends to see. Today we show the world that the manner in which we respond illustrates what makes America great and shows America to be good.

I join with all of my colleagues in Congress in expressing our Nation's sorrow and outrage against this evil event; even more, our firm resolve to root out terrorism. It will require a long, hard effort, and a full measure of wisdom and courage. Those cowards failed. Our freedom is not our vulnerability, it is our greatest strength.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. STUPAK).

Mr. STUPAK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. I suspect most Members will support it. As we have heard from voices throughout the land, people are looking for swift, re- vengeful action from our Armed Forces.

In my own district, my own constituents are mourning the death of Army Major Kip Taylor, who died in Tuesday's attack on the Pentagon. I am sure we all want swift retribution, but I am reminded of the old saying that revenge is a dish best served cold.

This resolution authorizes the President to strike, and to strike hard. But let us make sure we identify our targets carefully. Today as we gathered at the National Cathedral on this day of prayer and remembrance, we sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

We sang those words that we hope will send a chill through our enemies: “He hath loosed the faithful lightning of his terrible swift sword.”

Mr. Speaker, the sword we loosen tonight is indeed terrible. May its aim be swift and true in bringing us justice and peace.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as he might consume to our distinguished Democratic whip, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Bonior).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for managing the time today on this most important resolution and for his contributions, as well as the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY).

Mr. Speaker, together we mourn our Nation's terrible, terrible losses and our hearts ache; and we know that the days ahead will not be very easy. But in these past difficult days, America has once again shown the world and perhaps even ourselves, Mr. Speaker, just who we are, a land of courage and generosity and extraordinary quiet hero- rous; a people of many colors, faiths, backgrounds; a people who stand united, not just in defense of our Na- tion but of our most cherished ideals, freedom, tolerance, diversity, and de- mocracy.

When the world watched our national prayer service earlier today they heard the healing words of many faiths. A Muslim, a Jewish rabbi, and Christian clergy.

These Americans, like the rest of the world, all worship God in their own way. But the common faith they share, what we have witnessed in the torrent of goodness this week as neighbors help neighbors and strangers help strangers, is that hate can never conquer our national spirit.

We must prepare ourselves for the uncertain months and perhaps years ahead. Every one of us will be asked to give more, to do more, to help pull the plow of freedom forward.

With this resolution, we commit our- selves to that endeavor, to bring those who attacked us on September 11 to justice and to build a safer world. We draw strength from our unity of pur- pose in the unwavering support of friends and allies around the world.

Today, we join together not as Demo- crats nor Republicans, but Mr. Speaker, as proud Americans prepared to de- fend freedom as our forebears did be- fore us.

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

Before yielding back the balance of the time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for yielding me this time, and I thank both him and the gentleman from California (Mr. LAN- 

TOS) for your leadership on the floor during this debate.

I would like to thank, Mr. Speaker, all my colleagues, all these Members of the Honorable Members of Representatives. Today I have had a rare opportunity. I had an opportunity to listen to most of the speeches, and it was a good debate about a serious subject. Mr. Speaker, this is a serious moment for each and every one of us, and you can see it in our faces, and you can see it weighing in our hearts.

Every now and then, Mr. Speaker, we are called upon to understand and reach deep into our hearts and minds to understand who we are as a Nation. I have seen it before my eyes in all the scenes we have seen described here tonight and the horror of the attack and the splendor of our heroic response. Even in the most brief circumstances, with our hearts broken, we reached out to help others across this land.

I think, Mr. Speaker, there is one phrase from our sacred documents that tells us who we are, why are we here, why did we come to this land from all other this world, with all our different creeds, denominations, Nations of ori- gin, nationalities.

We came here in search of one thing. We came here to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. That is what we wanted. We have had to struggle too many times, Mr. Speaker, in the history of this great world and we have tried to play out that wonder- ful drama as a marvelous experiment in the history of the world. We have had to struggle against our own imperfections and there has been hurt; and we tried to overcome that hurt. On so many other occasions we have been called upon to struggle for the freedom that we love so much against the enemies of freedom. Even in the begin- ning of this great Nation, with the minutemen, we took to our muskets to ward off our freedom. And another time we fought with one another, and just about lost the greatness of this Nation and we brought it back together.

But for the most part, Mr. Speaker, we have had to spend our young men and women in the defense of freedom for other people, and I always admired us so much for that.

What Nation ever in the history of the world has so much loved freedom that they spent their own peace to de- fend the freedom of people other than themselves? That is to be known, that is to be respected, that is to be cherished, that is to be protected.

And now we are challenged again. Why do they challenge us? What do they seek to achieve? Are they wanting to change our commitment to freedom across the globe? Do they think we are weak? Do they think we will sup- press other people and deny them their rights? A great Nation does not change the course of its policies towards other
The world has not changed, but I believe the American people have. Our Nation is now ready to recognize that we have been in a war for many years. Our people now recognize that if we do not defend ourselves in that war from those for whom our lives, our children, and our way of life are a daily affront, we will not survive as a Nation. We must now exercise the right under the United Nations Charter to collective self-defense.

I wish we had a choice, but the charred rubble and the thousands of dead Americans lying just blocks from my office in Manhattan, and the hundreds more a stone’s throw from this very building demonstrate that we do not.

Mr. Speaker, let us have the blessings of liberty for ourselves, but oh so much more importantly, for our posterity.

Mr. Speaker, the World Trade Center is in my district, and I just this moment returned from traveling in the district with the President, walking through the ruins of the World Trade Center, where there are thousands of bodies buried.

I have spent much of my career speaking out against the use of military force when I believed it was unwarranted. In many ways, my political awakening began with my active opposition to the war in Vietnam. But, Mr. Speaker, those of my colleagues who are rightly skeptical of the use of force, and who recognize how very reluctant we must be when sending our young men and women into harm’s way, must understand the threat and the stakes if we fail to act.

Many have said that the events of Tuesday changed the world forever. The world has not changed. The people who carried out this murderous attack on our Nation, the organizations which recruited, trained, and supplied them, the governments which gave them shelter and support are still there. We now know without any doubt what the price of inaction, of appeasement, of willful blindness will be.

The world has not changed, but I believe the American people have. Our Nation is now ready to recognize that we have been in a war for many years. Our people now recognize that if we do not defend ourselves in that war from those for whom our lives, our children, and our way of life are a daily affront, we will not survive as a Nation. We must now exercise the right under the United Nations Charter to collective self-defense.

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Many have said that the events of September 11, 2001, changed the world forever.

But if our lives were changed forever, the world was not. The people who carried out this murderous attack on our Nation, the organizations which recruited, trained, and supplied them, the governments which gave them shelter and support, the fanatical leaders who have whipped up hatred so great that young people were willing to fly planes filled with innocent civilians into crowded office buildings—all of these despicable murders and demagogues have been at work for years. The only thing that has changed is that we have now joined the family of nations which has far too long paid a terrible price because we have failed to act.

We do not know without any doubt what the price of inaction, of appeasement, of willful blindness, will be. When we allow nations which offer shelter and pay tribute to these murderers to pretend that they are our friends, we get the betrayal we ourselves have invited. Anyone who witnessed the mobs in the Palestinian territories celebrating our tragedy in the streets understands the attitude of our enemy in this war; they shake your hand and then cheer your pain.

So the world has not changed, but I believe the American people have. Our Nation is now ready to recognize that we have been in a war for many years, and our people now recognize that if we do not defend ourselves in that war from those for whom our lives, our children, and our way of life are a daily affront, we will not survive as a Nation.

The Constitution gives Congress the awesome power to declare war and authorize the use of military force in the defense of the Nation. The United Nations Charter gives member states the right to “collective self-defense.” Tonight we do just that. I wish we had a choice, but the charred rubble and the thousands of dead just blocks from my office in Manhattan, and the hundreds more a stones throw this very building, demonstrate that we do not.

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This is going to be a long prolonged fight. As our President said, it is a war, a war on terrorism, but a war that we will win. I am very, very proud; proud of this country and proud to be an American. God bless America.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. I, too, came back from ground zero in New York, the site of so much wreckage and destruction. And for those who say that this was done by cowardly, faceless villains, yes, they were cowardly; but the face that we see is the face of evil and hatred in our world today.

We contrasted that evil with the hope and the determination and the courage of the firefighters and police officers and rescue squad personnel working with the glimmer of hope of finding additional survivors. For these individuals who labored in the toughest of circumstances for 3 days, it was incredible to see their faces light up with words of encouragement from our President.

There was so much noise and machinery. There was a firefighter in the back who yelled, "Mr. President, we can't hear you." And the President responded, "But I can hear you, and all of America can hear you. And for those who took down those buildings, they are going to hear from us."

Tonight's resolution represents our opportunity to make sure that they do hear from us. Tonight, we have an opportunity to stop this evil. We do not seek revenge; we seek justice. We know that this is not going to be a short-term project. We need to bear down and have perseverance for the long haul.

We will root out those who were responsible for that massacre, and America will stare down the face of evil and hatred.

To those who have endured so much suffering, we will not let you down.

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I am voting for this resolution with a heavy heart, but without hesitation.

Like the hearts of all Americans, my heart is heavy with grief for all those killed and injured in this week's despicable attacks. It is weighted with sympathy for all their families and friends, and with concern for what may lie ahead for our country and for other people around the world.

But no matter how heavy our hearts, we in the Congress and throughout America know we must not lose heart.

We know we must not hesitate to fulfill our responsibilities to our fellow citizens and to our country.

We know that if we do, we will be giving way to terror and giving victory to those who seek to terrorize America.

And all Americans—Christians, Jews, Muslims, and all others, too—know that we cannot let these criminal deeds go unanswered.

And I am not the only one. Another key part of the answer. It says the President can use force in a "necessary and appropriate" response directed at those who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001," as well as those who harbored the perpetrators, so they will not commit new offenses. It is broad, but it is not unlimited. It covers the culpable but it is not aimed at anyone else.

In other words, in voting for this resolution, I am voting not for vengeance but for justice. I think it is the duty of all civilized people to insist on meting out justice to those who are guilty, including those who have aided and abetted the perpetrators—and we must not hesitate to carry out that duty.

But we have another duty as well—a duty to ourselves and to the things we hold most dear.

To paraphrase Churchill, this week may prove to be only the end of the beginning of events that will challenge us all. Those events likely will test our resolve in persisting through a long and unsettling struggle. And they definitely will test our dedication to our own principles. As the President has made America what it is and so have made us hated by those who hate those principles.

We must not waiver in defending those principles. We must not weaken in our determination to maintain our Constitution and democracy.

And we must not surrender or reduce the basic freedoms and the rights of all Americans—because, if we do any of those things, we will have lost the struggle, whatever the results of the use of force authorized by this resolution.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, American governance today is confronted with an unprecedented challenge. A concerted terrorist attack has been perpetrated against our institutions, people, and way of life. As legislators we are obligated to look to our constitutional heritage to craft an appropriate response. What is clear is the imperative to act. What is less clear is the methodology to pursue.

Terrorism is neither easily understood nor combated. The assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon represent perhaps more a conspiracy of hatred than a tradition as understanding. The rationale for an international police action led response by U.S. Armed Forces must be rooted in traditional just war doctrine.

There is in the Western tradition a hallowed tradition of war doctrine developed by ecclesiastics and jurists, followed by statesmen, instinctively accepted by the peoples of many countries. Briefly, it holds that for war to be considered just, it must be animated by a just cause and informed by righteous intention, that it be undertaken by a lawful political authority and only as a last resort, and that justifying actions be proportionate to the wrongs committed.

With this resolution Congress is obligated to lay forth an intent to hold accountable to the bar of justice perpetrators of a crime against civilized values. We do this, however, with no intent to wage a war that is not proportional or precipitate breaches between the Moslem and Judeo-Christian worlds. Indeed, we act out of a desire to emphasize what unites rather than divides the three great monotheistic religions.

All moral communities are structured by religious teachings. The Ten Commandments are relevant to discussion of this resolution because just as the Judeo-Christian tradition emphasizes the civilized belief that "Thou shalt not kill," the Koran states: "do not kill any one whom Allah has forbidden . . .

The distinction that matters is not nuanced differences between the Old and New Testaments and the Koran, but between committed individuals of faith and fanatics. The former are concerned principally with improving their own lives; the latter with imposing their beliefs on others. Yet it is impressive how closely St. Paul's admonition about morality—"that we all see through a glass darkly—parallels Mohamed's directive "follow not that of which you have not the knowledge . . . do not go about in the land exultingly, for you cannot cut through the earth nor reach the mountains in height."

These parallels are important in this discussion because as we contemplate the use of
force, we the representatives of the American people have an obligation to emphasize the commonality of our values. We respect Islam and Islamic nations. The only brief we hold is against terrorism. We must expose, manipulate hatred and employ tactics of terror.

Here, to return to just war doctrine, a central tenet is proportionality. Care must be taken in any military action to limit to the maximum extent possible collateral damage and seek instead individual accountability. We must in the American tradition pay a decent respect to the opinions of mankind. Otherwise, we will not only create more terrorists than we root out and cause a world currently sympathetic to our dilemma to turn against us, however righteous our cause. Fanaticism, in other words, should be matched by a commitment to right or wrong, not counter-fanaticism. The fundamental goal of the policy we sanction this evening must be prevention, not revenge.

Finally, a note about historical parallels. The Gulf of Tonkin, after all, involved an unconfirmed rifle attack from a wooden boat against a U.S. naval vessel in a combat zone off the shores of Vietnam. No one was killed or injured; no damage was inflicted. In this case, an unprovoked, cowardly attack was launched against American citizens and military personnel on American territory. The Congress, in conformity with the War Powers Resolution which resulted from the lack of constitutional clarity that engulfed our involvement in Vietnam, has no choice except to authorize executive discretion. What this debate must frame, however, is both the discretion that is appropriately delegated to the President or underscored under the Constitution and the limits or nature of judgement that must be applied to the circumstance. In this regard, this Member simply wishes to place in the Record a concern for the need for international cooperation and proportionality of response. Fundamentally, at this stage, the crimes that have been committed are of a few against two symbolic bastions of civilization. The goal should be individual accountability of parties that plan and participate in terrorism or harbor terrorist activity. Prayerfully, a war on terrorism need not precipitate a war between cultures or states.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. It authorizes the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those who attacked our country on September 11, or those who aided or harbored them. The death and destruction that rained down from the skies on Tuesday has horrified and outraged the entire nation. We can never diminish the innocent lives that were lost, but we honor their grievous loss when we act to prevent such a heinous crime from happening again.

The enemy that did this must be identified and punished. Their network must be uprooted. In the difficult effort ahead, we must be resolute, determined and united in purpose. The resolution before the House tonight reinforces and supports the powers granted to the President in the Constitution and those granted him under the War Powers Act. More than that, it underscores the determination of Congress to stand with the President, the men and women of our nation’s armed forces, and all Americans in the great task before us. As a freedom loving people, we did not seek this fight. But as nation that loves freedom, we shall not shun it. Let us stand together and pass this resolution.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart, one that is filled with sorrow for the families and loved ones who were killed and injured in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Only the most foolish or the most callous would not understand the grief that has gripped the American people and millions across the world.

This unspeakable attack on the United States has forced me to rely on my moral compass, my conscience, and my God for direction.

September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am convinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States.

I know that this use-of-force resolution will pass although we all know that the President can wage a war even without this resolution. However difficult this vote may be, some of us must urge the use of restraint. There must be some of us who say, let’s step back for a moment and think through the implications of our actions today—let us more fully understand its consequences.

We are not dealing with a conventional war. We cannot respond in a conventional manner. I do not want to see this spiral out of control. This crisis involves issues of national security, foreign policy, public safety, intelligence gathering, economics, and murder. Our response must be equally multi-faceted.

We must not rush to judgment. Far too many innocent people have already died. Our country is in mourning. If we rush to launch a counter-attack, we run too great a risk that women, children, and non-combatants will be caught in the crossfire.

Nor can we let our justified anger over these outrageous acts by vicious murderers inflame prejudice against all Arab Americans, Muslims, Southeast Asians, or any other people because of their race, religion, or ethnicity.

Finally, we must be careful not to embark on an open-ended war with neither an exit strategy nor a focused target. We cannot repeat past mistakes.

In 1964, Congress gave President Lyndon Johnson the power to “take all necessary measures” to repel attacks and prevent further aggression. In so doing, this House abandoned its own constitutional responsibilities and launched our country into years of undeclared war in Vietnam.

At that time, Senator Wayne Morse, one of two lonely votes against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, declared, “I believe that history will record that we have made a grave mistake in substituting a ‘presumption of war’ in the Constitution of the United States. . . . I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake.”

Senator Morse was correct, and I fear we make the same mistake today. And I fear the consequences.

I have agonized over this vote. But I came to grips with it in the very painful yet beautiful memorial service today at the National Cathedral. As a member of the clergy so eloquently said, “We cannot let us not become the evil that we deplore.”

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight in strong support of this resolution. What we are doing tonight is authorizing the use of our Armed Forces for war. It is a war we did not ask for and it is a war we did not start. But the primary responsibility of any government must be the protection of its citizens, and so Tuesday’s attacks on the citizens of the United States have left us with no choice. The perpetrators of these heinous crimes must be found, and then they must suffer the consequences of their deeds.

I take this vote tonight knowing there will be challenges ahead. There will be danger. And there will be sacrifice. But this is a war we must win. For us as Americans, and for the world.

Terrorists use fear as a weapon. But we will not surrender to fear. Because they are not just facing the best-trained and best-equipped military the world has ever known; they are facing the fierce determination and the quiet anger of the American people. The attacks on Tuesday were designed to bring chaos to the United States, but it has done just the opposite. We stand together as one nation. We understand there will be challenges ahead. And we know what must be done. And that is why we are here tonight and authorizing the President to use all necessary force to destroy these terrorist organizations. September 11th is a day we will always remember, and I believe it is a day the enemies of freedom will live to regret.

Mr. WU. Mr. Speaker, as brave Americans continue to rescue and treat those trapped under the remains of the World Trade Center and the damaged Pentagon, my heart and prayers continue to be with those who have lost loved ones and those with loved ones still to be found.

Today, I have seen Americans in our finest hour. We have experienced the deepest of loss, sadness, despair, and anger. But Americans have joined together to help each other, and I am proud.

We Americans demand that individuals, organizations, or countries responsible for this monstrous act be brought to justice. Our actions must be deliberate, decisive, and effective.

We will not deliberately attack innocent civilians and become like our attackers. And, the President & the Four Constitution grants to Congress the authority “To declare War.”

This is one of the most profound of powers. The Founders recognized that the power to send our sons and daughters to war is the ultimate power any nation can make. They invested this power in Congress, the institution closest to the people.

I believe this solemn congressional responsibility is critical to protecting the delicate balance of power between the legislative and executive branches. The power was carefully crafted and has allowed the United States to remain one of the most stable and enduring democracies in the world.
I would have strong reservations about a resolution authorizing the use of force in an open ended manner reaching far beyond responding to this specific terrorist attack on America. This resolution authorizes the President to use military force against the Taliban regime.

This resolution restates the authority I believe Congress already granted to the President under Section 2(c)(3) of the War Powers Resolution. My reading is that nothing in this resolution supercedes congressional authority under the Constitution or War Powers Resolution and the President would continue to be bound by the reporting and consultation requirements. Under this resolution, Congress reserves the right to review the President’s plans and actions.

The purpose of our restatement, of this use of force resolution, is to demonstrate that America stands united. I pray that President Bush will use the awesome powers of the United States with wisdom.

Mr. HILLEARY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the next move in our war on terrorism. Our Armed Forces, and the important action this body takes today. This resolution means America will go into our war on terrorism with a solid front.

We’re not retaliating because we’re angry, although we are. We’re not doing this out of revenge, although it is. This is not simply about justice, although we are entitled to justice. Rather, we are retaliating to save our freedom and way of life. These who were viciously attacked on September 22th would be attacked again, maybe with nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons. If we were to allow the perpetrators to go unpunished, or even lightly punished. But we won’t. America is a peaceful nation, but when our freedom and security are challenged as they are now, we will do whatever it takes to protect our way of life.

I do not take this decision lightly. This war is going to be an extensive and costly one. This vote will result in the likely loss of life for a good number of American servicemen, and the certain upheaval of many American families. We will find those barbarians, those who harbored them, we will not become terrorists. We must not become filled with the evil which we abhor in the terrorists. We must strike back, but must do so consistently with the values that we hold dear. This resolution is to deter and prevent future acts of terrorism against our citizens. The authorization we give the President today is unlimited. Congress will monitor progress of our military actions and work with the President to ensure that our actions under this resolution are necessary and appropriate, consistent with our values, in conjunction with our friends and allies, and in accordance with international laws.

In America, the strength of our resolve is our strength. We will recover and rebuild our broken lives, our buildings and our way of life. Let us pray that God’s grace and wisdom will guide us through the difficult days ahead.

Mr. MASCARA. Mr. Speaker, we gather here this evening to examine America’s intention to exercise her right of self-defense and her obligation to protect her citizens. I stand shoulder to shoulder with my colleagues to announce, through this joint resolution, that acts of terrorism will not be tolerated. At present, these acts may be nameless, trained, well-financed, and filled with hate towards America, but we will soon know who they are and they will rue the day they chose to attack American freedom.

I take no solace or comfort in voting for any resolution. But I do feel compelled to stand, with a united voice, to the actions of these ruthless enemies. We are not alone in our nation’s financial center and on the heart of our national defense, the Pentagon, and the hundreds of people who died there, must not go unpunished. I know I stand united with my colleagues tonight, shoulder to shoulder, in supporting the President of the United States to give him the authority and tools necessary to seek justice to this most horrific act of violence.

This nation has never wanted war. We are a peaceful nation. And, I do not take these actions that we are authorizing tonight lightly, but I believe the American people understand that there are those times when the actions by others must be answered. This is one of those times. We must respond, in kind and with a united voice, to the actions of these ruthless enemies. I know the American people are willing to endure even a protracted campaign, if necessary, in order to secure the future of our country.

I urge my colleagues to vote unanimously in support of this resolution. God bless the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on September 11th, America faced the mountains of evil. We cannot forget. What the enemies of America perceive as weakness, we celebrate as strength—freedom, tolerance, democratic governance. No enemy can ever take these things from us, because they are ingrained in our institutions, our way of life, and our very character. In times of trial, these principles give America the strength and resolve to meet any challenge, no matter how great. We will rise to this challenge as we have done countless times before. As we mourn our dead, we prepare for our future and our very character.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Joint War Powers Resolution, but not without reservation. Clearly, the terrorist attacks on September 11th caused unprecedented death, destruction and despair in our nation. The attacks struck a blow not only to our citizens and buildings, but also against our values and ideals. They touched all of us; and we must seek justice, honor our fellow citizens, and prevent further terrorist acts.

Today, we join with the President to undertake such acts as are necessary to prevent any future acts of terrorism against our citizens. Today, and for many days ahead, we hurt, we mourn, and we honor the memory of those whose lives were taken by the terrorist attacks, and those whose lives were lost in courageous rescue efforts. Many of our citizens are angry, indeed, enraged and want to strike back, and we must strike back.

We do not understand and may never understand why anyone would commit such unseemly, heinous deeds. The terrorists sought to instill in us fear and insecurity. To submit, we must strike back. We must take the necessary actions to safeguard our lives and American interests, but we must not relinquish our cherished freedoms and values.

In America, we cherish our values, our humanity, our love of justice. Therefore, as we pursue the terrorists, and those who aided or harbored them, we must not become terrorists. We must not become filled with the evil force which we abhor in the terrorists. We must strike back, but must do so consistently with the values that we hold dear. The President should act only on the basis of convincing evidence of the identity of the terrorists, and employ that force which is necessary to deter and prevent future acts of terrorism against our citizens. The authorization we give the President today is unlimited. Congress will monitor progress of our military actions and work with the President to ensure that our actions under this resolution are necessary and appropriate, consistent with our values, in conjunction with our friends and allies, and in accordance with international laws.

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I urge my colleagues to vote unanimously in support of this resolution. God bless the United States.
the commitment of a Nation roused to righteous anger. Whether it takes weeks, months, or years, we will prevail.

To those who have spilled the blood of American service men and women—and those who have harbored them, our message is a simple one: You can run, but you can’t hide. America will track you down, and for what you have done, you will pay. You will pay. God bless this House, and God bless America.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, September 11, 2001, is a day that none of us in this Chamber—none of us in this country—will forget. It is a day when our nation experienced an attack unlike we have ever seen. Thousands of lives in our nation were lost and many, many more were forever changed because of the despicable and deliberate acts of terrorists. As we observe this National Day of Prayer and Remembrance for this terrible tragedy, our hearts are with all the victims and their families, and our thoughts and prayers are with those who are still reeling from the rubble and hopefully find additional survivors.

We can no longer think of these terrorist attacks as something that we see on television that happen only in far away lands. The threat to our national security is evident, and our response to the threats at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon is critical. It must be strong, it must be carefully calculated, and it must be swift.

The time has come for the United States to make a full force effort to eliminate the terrorist networks across the globe, and I urge my colleagues to support this resolution authorizing the President to use such necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for the terrorist attacks on September 11 and anyone or any country who assisted them.

This is no easy task, but our troops are ready, and our government stands united, Democrats and Republicans alike, in our resolve to end terrorism in the United States.

Yes, Tuesday was dark day for America. But, Mr. Speaker, it was not near as dark as the days of the war, for all practical purposes the United States has fought to sustain in harm’s way is a thing of the past. We can no longer think of these terrorist attacks as something that we see on television that happen only in far away lands. The threat to our national security is evident, and our response to the threats at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon is critical. It must be strong, it must be carefully calculated, and it must be swift.

The time has come for the United States to make a full force effort to eliminate the terrorist networks across the globe, and I urge my colleagues to support this resolution authorizing the President to use such necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for the terrorist attacks on September 11 and anyone or any country who assisted them.

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in strong support of this resolution. All American’s have been reminded that freedom comes at a price. The citizens of the United States who are fighting for the evil perpetrators who masterminded these attacks. The American spirit is alive and well, and our commitment to seek out and take action against those who would commit such heinous and cowardly acts is unwavering. We will not allow these terrorists to alter the kind of world that our children and grandchildren grow up in.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support the use of American military forces against the terrorist organizations that plotted to attack our peaceful Nation. This will be the most important vote I take as a Member of Congress. With this vote, I put my trust in our President, the men and women of our Armed Forces, and our fellow Americans. We will overcome this tremendous challenge with honor, dignity, and justice.
Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.J. Res. 64 to authorize the President to use whatever means necessary to respond to the heinous, barbaric terrorist acts of September 11. I am proud to stand here in unity with my Democratic and Republican colleagues in support of our President, our Armed Forces, our law enforcement personnel, and our entire great nation, as we seek justice for these horrible atrocities.

On September 11, we were violently attacked in an act of war. It was not a war of our choosing. Indeed, Americans are by their nature a good people, and we seek to settle our differences through peaceful means. But when we are violently attacked, we respond with tremendous resolve. This is not a war of our choosing. But we must choose today to forcefully respond to this cowardly act to ensure that it never happens again.

Ten years ago, I was proud to stand in this chamber as we debated a similar resolution to authorize the use of force, but when we finished our debate and passed the resolution, we all stood united behind our President. Because we are a strong, healthy democracy, we know when to put our differences aside for the greater good of peace, prosperity, and security.

Today we are confronted with an even greater challenge to the future of our democracy. But I believe our courage, resolve, and unity today has never been stronger. Only a week ago, we were passionately debating the budget and taxes. Those issues, important as they are, now pale in comparison to the challenge before us. Today we cast aside our labels of Democrat or Republican, and we stand as one America.

The perpetrators of these heinous acts will be found, their terrorist networks will be eradicated, and justice will be served. This will not happen overnight. Every American should be prepared for a long campaign. But we will succeed. When America’s spirit is moved, it is unbound by conventional limits. When America’s freedom is threatened, it responds resolutely.

The terrorists who committed these atrocities will never understand the power of American freedom, and they will always underestimate American resolve. That is because they live in fear of a world that embraces our ideals of freedom, democracy, and equality. While terrorists plot behind closed doors to destroy human lives, compassionate and courageous Americans risk their lives to save lives—as our firefighters and other rescuers heroically demonstrated in the past few days.

The authorizing act that authorizes today will likely result in lives lost—a reality not of our choosing but forced upon us by the events of September 11. But the eradication of terrorist networks that threaten America, and the punishment of nations that harbor these criminals, will proceed in an orderly, methodical fashion to come—not just of Americans, but of all people in the world who cherish freedom and democracy as a way of life. We must use the full might of America and its allies to create a secure world for all of us to live in.

The challenge we face with one swift, despicable act of terrorism. We will never be able to return to the world that existed before September 11. But America has the tremendous resilience to heal, recover and grow stronger after great periods of tragedy. We will meet this new challenge, and rebuild a society that embraces even more vigorously the ideals of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support H.J. Res. 64 to give the President the unwavering support he needs to successfully execute America’s mission. Eradicating this terrorist threat is a daunting—but achievable—challenge. America will prevail, because our cause is just. Freedom will endure, because America is its protector.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I’ve been in Congress for nearly six years. Never have I been so torn over a vote. Even though I am going to vote for this legislation, I have deep concerns and grave reservations about it.

First, it is too narrow. We need a comprehensive anti-terrorist approach. This legislation does not represent such a comprehensive approach. And war against terrorism around the world. It only pertains to the terrorism associated with the events surrounding September 11, 2001. This legislation fails to develop a strategy to combat and prevent potential or future acts of terrorism.

Second, and paradoxically, it is too broad. The literal language of this legislation can be read as broadly as executive interpreters want to read it, which gives the President awesome and undefined power. As written, the resolution could be interpreted, if read literally, to give the President the authority to deploy or use our armed forces domestically.

Earlier today I voted to support $40 billion in supplemental spending for a fight against terrorism and public social spending for New York’s recovery. Tonight I would have preferred to support a vote to reaffirm the authority of the President under the War Powers Act, which gives the President all the authority he currently needs to fight terrorism and protect the citizens of the United States. That would give Americans more time—60 or 90 days—to consider the full issues and facts involved on September 11.

I support the President’s commitment to investigate, capture, and punish all of those responsible for this horrible and inhumane deed. This was not only an assault on our nation and our people, but an indiscriminate attack on civilian life. Thus, I also support and approve removing the sanctions and support systems of terrorists. I urge all governments to unite to investigate this crime, to prevent its recurrence, and to bring to justice those who are responsible. I support doing whatever is constitutionally lawful and necessary to isolate those nations who sponsor and harbor terrorists. But I am not voting to give the President new authority—in the words of Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz—to “end support for those who harbor terrorists.”

I support the President’s commitment to respond to this outrage effectively—by eliminating the underlying grievances that is motivating the terrorism in the first place. What we must do is affirm the principles that came under attack on September 11—respect for innocent civilians and life, and legal process. That is the logic of the terrorists of victory.

Recently President Bush said the United States “will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbored them.” But we must make distinctions. In the words of Human Rights Watch, we must distinguish “between the guilty and the innocent; between those who commit atrocities and those who may simply share their religious beliefs, ethnicity, or national origin. People committed to justice and law and human rights must never stand on the side of the perpetrators of such acts. That is the most important distinction of all.”

Another Member asked, “By voting for this resolution, are we granting the President new authority to conduct extra-legal and extra-constitutional assassinations?” If we are, we are becoming like the terrorists we despise. What does killing people already willing to die really accomplish? It will only create martyrs and multiply terrorists.

We must not become like those who believe that the end justifies any means in the struggle against terrorism. That is the logic of the terrorists. We must respond to this outrage, but we must not validate this logic. We must respond to this outrage effectively—by eliminating the underlying grievances that is motivating the terrorism in the first place. What we must do is affirm the principles that came under attack on September 11—respect for innocent civilians and legal process. That is how to rob the terrorists of victory.

Another Member asked that we needed to show national unity. A vote to reaffirm the War Powers Act would have given us the national unity we need and would have given us 60 or 90 days to investigate this matter more fully and see more clearly what we are actually looking at.

Another Member said she had been in Congress for 19 years, but never had been asked to make a decision and cast a vote with so little information. In light of one Senator’s breach of trust, the administration is now withholding information from Members of Congress. We are voting huge sums of money to be prepared to vote $100 billion to fight terrorism. And if, after 60 or 90 days, President Bush returned with a request and a rationale for new and expanded presidential authority, I would—and I would be willing to vote to grant him that as well—but not now.

In private meetings all day yesterday, Members raised serious questions and concerns that troubled me greatly.

Some Members raised the similarity to the open-endedness of this resolution to the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. We do not want a repeat of the Johnson administration—which used it to provide dubious legal cover for a massive and unwinnable war in Vietnam—for either a similar domestic or foreign overreach against terrorism. I’m not willing to give President Bush carte blanche authority to fight terrorism. We need to agree to fight it together within traditional constitutional boundaries.

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and granting virtual unlimited authority to the President with little actual information.

Other Members expressed a concern that if we are going to conduct a “comprehensive and sustained terrorism that eliminating terrorists and terrorism root and branch” that we must give Americans an understanding of why there are so many people in the world who hate us. We must explore and learn why people are willing to give their lives in suicidal missions; and why their supporters dance and celebrate in the streets when these terrorists inhumanely succeed to destroying American lives and our symbols of economic power and military might.

I have raised the concern that we need more time to explain to the American people that this is a new kind of protracted war. This is not the kind of war former President Bush fought in the Persian Gulf that ended in just over a month. This is a war that will be fought in public places on our shores and within our borders. It is a public war, public purpose, in our subways, in our airports, in our train stations, in our colleges and universities, at our sporting events, and possibly with chemical and biological weapons. The War Powers Act would have allowed us at least 60 to 90 days to better understand and inform the American people about the nature of the war that today they are so anxious to fight.

I too am deeply hurt, distraught, in mourning, fearful, and angry. But we must resist the temptation to allow ourselves to become like those we today so despise. Terrorist violence must be halted, but the pain and hatred that reign must be heard and addressed. Human beings become terrorists in an ocean of despair. Therefore, any comprehensive approach to ending terrorism must address the waves of pain and injustice of the ocean. The most effective anti-terrorist campaign is one that replaces the despair and hopelessness of the terrorist’s supporters with a policy that brings dignity, respect, and justice to every person, neighborhood, community, and nation in the world.

Mr. WATSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the use of force against those persons responsible for recent acts of terrorism against the United States. The resolution is balanced and seeks to ensure that the Congress will be included in the consultative process when and if U.S. troops are introduced into hostilities. I strongly believe that the resolution will continue to enjoy strong bipartisan support only if the Executive, in good faith, consults with and informs the Congress in a timely manner.

I should also note that the resolution is not a carte blanche endorsement for the use of force against any suspected terrorist group anywhere in the world, but is more narrowly crafted to endorse all necessary and appropriate use of force against nations, organizations, and armed groups that have committed or participated in the attacks that occurred on September 11.

Mr. Speaker, although I support the resolution, I am mindful of the gravity and seriousness of putting U.S. troops and other government personnel in harms way. It is highly probable lives will be lost in the struggle to excise the cancer of terrorism whenever it poses a threat to the U.S., the Western world, and our allies in the non-West.

Other countless innocents will also lose their lives. This is not Desert Storm, an operation of relatively short duration that witnessed minimal loss of American lives. Our national commitment to the task ahead of us will require vigilance and forbearance. It will also require that we remain mindful of the fact that the United States is an open society and that any policy or action implemented by the U.S. Government will ultimately fail if it does not have the support of the American people, our regional allies.

Mr. Speaker, in this time of tragedy that has provoked visceral outrage, we must, nonetheless, continue to exercise prudence and good judgment in the prosecution of the U.S. response to these terrorist acts. Indeed a military response alone could ultimately prove to be counterproductive, instead fueling anti-U.S. sentiment, increased alienation, and heightened fanaticism. Instead of eliminating the virus of terrorism we could be creating a new and more virulent strain. Any military action must also be accompanied by a sustained economic and political response aimed at eliminating all centers of terrorist activities while enhancing the stability and strength of our regional allies.

The task ahead of us is complicated and any resolution will not be quick or easy. Our ultimate success in rooting out terrorism will require patience, sustained commitment, and more, not less, engagement in the world.

I pledge my support to the President as he leads the United States forth to meet this historic challenge.

Mr. VITTER. Mr. Speaker, this week’s terrorist attacks against the American people are nothing less than cold-blooded murder and an act of war. I fully support this resolution and urge the President to use any and all means necessary against those nations, organizations, and persons who committed or participated in these heinous acts.

These attacks will only strengthen our resolve to defend the United States and our way of life. These attacks are not just an attack against this wonderful land we call America—they attack all of us, our democracy, our values, our civilization. As a nation, we will not rest until we have methodically defeated those who use fear as a weapon against the principles for which our country stands. We are coming after them full throttle.

Finally, we must not forget that thousands of Americans lost their lives this week, and many thousands more lost mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, friends and colleagues. My heart, my prayers, and my condolences go out to them all.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, the United States suffered perhaps the darkest day in its history. Yesterday, this body approved legislation to aid the families of the victims and those that gave their lives trying to save them. Today, we respond to the terrorists that carried out this horrific act. I strongly support this resolution to authorize the President to use the necessary force to find and punish those responsible.

I do not believe passing this resolution is легитимny. The Constitution gives the President the power to strike back at our aggressors. However, I do believe that it is necessary for Congress to show overwhelming support for the battle that lies ahead. It will not be an easy fight, and it will not be a short one. But it is a confrontation that we will meet head on, united by the memory of those lost and the values and freedom we hold so dearly. And we will be victorious.

Mr. Speaker, tonight we send a clear message to the world that we are prepared to respond to the forces of hate as previous generations have done before us. I am confident that the compassion and resolve that has come to define the American spirit will see us through this most trying time. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today to address the necessity, imposed on us by unspeakable acts of terrorism, for the United States to respond to the killing and injuring of thousands of our fellow citizens, almost all innocent civilians.

This Nation has the right and obligation to both respond to and defend itself from the violence of terrorism and its perpetrators. Those persons and/or entities that were either directly involved in or provided any assistance to the acts of September 11 pose a clear and present danger to the lives of our people and to our very national security. We will find those responsible and make certain that they, and anyone who helped them, are fully punished.

This attack on America and its people will not stand.

Moreover, as we cannot rule out future attacks on U.S. soil or to American interests overseas, we must take a comprehensive approach to this challenge. Appropriately, we will utilize the first rate capabilities of our Armed Forces to ensure the personal security of each and every one of us, at home and abroad. To that end, we commit ourselves by the resolution before us, to root out terrorism wherever it is found around the world.

It will not be an easy task to defeat terrorism. It will require considerable resources and patience. There is no quick solution. I am confident, however, that the President and the Congress, working together, will find the methods to do just that.

As a member of the Armed Service Committee, I along with my committee colleagues will perform our duty in providing U.S. Armed Forces the necessary resources to deter and defeat the threat of terrorism. I know that our colleagues will support our work.

There is yet considerable work to be done in the days and months ahead. I am confident that our Nation, and our Armed Forces called upon to defend all Americans, will meet the challenges that lie ahead—but just as we have from Concord and Lexington through the war in the Persian Gulf, we will turn the page, and we will be victorious.

I strongly urge passage of the resolution.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against the nations, organizations, and individuals involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks on citizens of the United States.

These were reprehensible attacks against innocent men, women, and children. Anyone who was involved in planning or carrying out these attacks must be punished swiftly and severely.

Moreover, since it is logical to assume that the parties which planned and provided...
logical support for Tuesday's terrible attacks are interested in—and capable of—carrying out similar attacks in the future, it is imperative that the United States use whatever means are necessary to prevent them from doing so.

Finally, it is important to recognize that the United States has aggressively pursued legal and diplomatic measures over the last 30 years to curb terrorism—and that it is logical to conclude from this experience that such measures will not be effective enough to deal with the threat that terrorism poses today.

For these reasons, I support this resolution. I believe that the United States Government has no choice but to utilize military force to punish the organizers of the September 11 attacks and protect the people of this nation from future terrorist threats.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, today was one of the saddest days in the history of our beloved country. It is impossible to watch the events caused by evil unfold before our eyes without pondering the history that is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.

I believe this resolution achieves these goals. The body of this resolution is appropriately limited to those entities involved in the attacks that occurred on September 11th. It is reiterates the existing constitutional powers of the President to take action to defend the United States, but provides no new or additional grant of powers to the President.

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can break the links between terrorists. We can contribute to a world that is not only secure from the threat of terrorism, but also free of the poverty and oppression that are its breeding grounds. We must exercise the political will to make this happen.

This resolution helps us begin to achieve these goals, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. STUMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this resolution. Since the terrible and tragic events of Tuesday, this country and the rest of the world have witnessed the determination of the American people to come together, to rally around our President, and to transcend the tragedy that fell our great Nation.

America’s anger at those who planned and perpetrated these terrorist acts is palpable. This Congress has stood as one in expressing our grief over the tragic loss of life, our pride in those who continue the rescue and recovery efforts, and our determination to ensure that those who support the use of terror are severely punished. Now, we must express our unified support for the President to take all necessary and appropriate actions to ensure that the terrorists and their supporters do not win in their effort to undermine our way of life.

Mr. Speaker, the President has been forceful and direct—freedom and democracy are under attack by a determined enemy. This battle will take time and resolve, he stated, but we will win. In our effort to root out the evil that is terrorism, we will once again call upon the dedicated men and women who voluntarily serve our country in uniform. It is their greatness that gives us confidence in our ultimate victory.

The fight against terrorism will be a long and difficult campaign. It requires a serious commitment. But the President must know that the Congress supports him by providing him with the tools he needs to prosecute this battle. The Congress has already agreed to provide significant additional funds for the war on terrorism. Now, in this decisive moment, we must stand behind our troops and send a clear signal to the enemies that the President’s actions have our unanimous support.

Passage of this resolution will send that signal.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BALDACCI. Mr. Speaker, America was changed forever on Tuesday morning. Every one of us has been deeply affected by the terror attack on our Nation. Virtually all of us know someone or know of someone who was directly impacted.

Yesterday, I visited the Pentagon and saw first-hand the destruction that was inflicted on that building and its occupants. I am not able to find words to adequately convey just how chilling a scene it was, and I will never forget those ghosts of the first responders that haunt my mind.

Law enforcement officials are moving swiftly to identify those who were responsible for this heinous crime. Soon it will be clear who committed these unspeakable acts, and those who supported and protected them. And once it is clear the United States will respond.

We respond not simply out of revenge. We act because war has been declared upon America. We act because our world must be rid of terrorists who think nothing of destroying innocent lives. We act in the name of thousands of innocent victims.

This was not just an attack on four planes, or two buildings, or one nation. Rather, it was an attack on democracy and freedom around the globe. America and our allies will rise to the occasion and fight this scourge just as we have risen to defeat past threats to civilization and democracy.

To that end, today I will vote to authorize President Bush to use all necessary and appropriate force to respond to the terror attacks on our nation. This resolution conveys the resolve of the Congress and the American people that those responsible for this heinous crime will be identified and punished.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of President George W. Bush, by agreeing to grant him the authorization to use the resources of the United States to eradicate the evil forces that perpetuate terrorism, through the use of all necessary and appropriate means.

The barbaric, heinous attacks launched against the civilian and military population of this great nation on September 11, 2001 must not, and will not be tolerated, nor go unpunished.

I ask the people of this great nation, and our allies around the world, to stand with President Bush and support him with their voices, their continued heroic deeds and volunteerism, and most importantly, with their prayers.

I ask the people of this Nation to pray for forgiveness for the immorality in this country that has become so widespread and which has contributed to the fragmentation of religious thought.

I ask the people of this nation to thank God for the many blessings which have been so generously bestowed upon this nation.

God be with those who have paid the ultimate price for liberty and freedom, and with those who will do so in the future in the effort to restore security and peace for all of us.

God bless this great land, the United States of America.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. We must ensure that our Commander in Chief can bring the full power of the United States Armed Forces to bear against the villains who struck our nation so cruelly the morning of September 11th. We act not out of wrath, but with the solemn realization that evil must not go unchecked, that our security must be defended, and that our liberty must be upheld.

We stand together tonight united in our resolve to fight the scourge of terrorism and protect our nation and its people. We understand that it will not be easy and that it will require sustained action, commitment, and vigilance. We must steel ourselves for the months ahead and bear in mind the words inscribed on the base of the Marine War Memorial: “To the Memory of All Who Served in World War II, 1941-1945, and Common Virtue.” They remind us of the character and courage of those who serve in our Armed Forces, and I think they also apply to all who put their own lives on the line in an effort to save lives during and after Tuesday’s terrible attacks. Now is the time for valor for all Americans.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, in the aftermath of the recent terrorist attacks on the United States, Americans have responded to the cries of their fellow citizens. From the many emergency personnel who arrived moments after the first impact, to the volunteers from all over the country arriving to help at the sites, and to the emergency personnel who arrived moments after Tuesday’s terrible attacks, to the United States Congress, who has appropriated $40 billion to help the recovery efforts, we have responded. Now it is time to plan the next part of our response: how to punish the perpetrators of this attack and how to prevent future attacks.

The country has come together to get through this time of great tragedy. Members on both sides of the aisle have appropriately put aside partisan politics and present a united front against terrorism.

Most Americans feel that we should strike back at the individuals, groups, or nations that were involved in these atrocities. I, too, think we should respond to this heinous attack, bring those involved to justice, and put an end to global terrorism. That said, however, I do not think we should get carried away in our response. I do not think that the Congress should turn over our constitutional responsibilities to the President. The resolution we are debating today, I fear, begins to do just that.

When writing the Constitution, our Founding Fathers created a balance of powers between the three branches of government to prevent one branch from inappropriately dominating another. Although the Constitution empowers the President as Commander in Chief, it gives the Congress the sole power of declaring war. This resolution gives the President the power to conduct a war without reporting to or consulting with Congress. Frankly stated, it cedes congressional authority to the President.

I have real reservations about the resolution we are considering today. It should contain explicit language ensuring that the President reports to Congress and consults with us in planning and executing a military response. But it does not.

That being said, this resolution is better than earlier versions that were considered. It now makes clear that nothing supersedes the War Powers Act, which requires the President to report and consult with Congress.

Given those facts, I will support the resolution before us today. However, I will continue to insist that the President make Congress an integral part of our nation’s response to these attacks. To do otherwise goes against the best interest of the people we represent and the democracy we seek to protect.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution granting authority to the President to use force to respond not only to the attack on the United States on September 11, 2001.

Our country was the target of an unprovoked, cowardly and vicious attack on Tuesday morning. This act of war committed against our people must not go unanswered. We need to conduct a war against the enemy not just on the battlefield, but in the hearts and minds of the American people.

Law enforcement officials are moving swiftly to identify those who were responsible for this heinous crime. Soon it will be clear who committed these unspeakable acts, and those who supported and protected them. And once it is clear the United States will respond.

We respond not simply out of revenge. We act because war has been declared upon America. We act because our world must be...
This must be seen as a monstrous attack aimed at the security and way of life of freedom-loving people throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately describe my feelings or the feelings of Americans with regard to the attack on New York and Washington. However, I know that through the sadness and anger will grow an unbending determination not to be intimidated by the forces of terror and death. America is a great and a good country. We are also now a united people with a common purpose—to seek out and crush the terrorists and their supporters.

I urge support for this resolution, for our President and for the people of the United States.

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. Our nation was viciously attacked on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, leaving children without fathers and mothers, parents mourning their missing children, citizens experiencing terrible emptiness and loss. All Americans feel the horror, shock, and fear, and anger.

The country has been attacked, and as Commander-in-Chief, the President has the power to act to defend the United States of America. Congress recognized this nearly thirty years ago in the War Powers Resolution.

Yet by recognizing the authority our President already possesses under the War Powers Resolution, we send a strong statement of national unity. By approving this resolution today, we stand united, as one nation, stating clearly to the perpetrators of this crime, and those who would attack our country in the future, that we will protect our citizens and ensure the guilty are punished.

The horrible crisis is also an opportunity. It is an opportunity for the United States to once again demonstrate to the world the sources of its strength and greatness. I am not speaking of our military might, although it is powerful. We will demonstrate our greatness by the way we seek justice and the way we promote freedom. We will determine with certainty who is culpable and punish them and those who aid them, rather than let our rage lash out indiscriminately.

Community leaders in my district have produced a statement expressing their outrage and sorrow. Wisely they noted that the victims of this attack reflect the diversity of America. They wrote in fact that: "the backgrounds of its innocent victims are representative of the world's diversity, from Africa to the Americas, Europe to Asia, the Middle East, and beyond." As we move forward in seeking justice for the many families experiencing this common loss, we must direct our punishment only upon the guilty.

The American people stand behind this quest for justice. With our many friends around the world, we will fight to end the scourge of terrorism. As we rise to this challenge, we must not falter in our defense of our strengths without sacrificing our cherished principles. Our constitutional liberties stand as an example to the world of what freedom means. We must never forget that we pursue justice in order to secure liberty.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker. Evil. It is a word we use too lightly. A word we use when hor- rible, distasteful, bad would be more appro- priate. It is a word which should be reserved for only the most monstrous and inhuman of circumstances. My colleagues, we have wit- nessed evil this week. The twin tragedies in New York and Washington, the massacre of innocent men and women, was not just an act of war. Those who preach freedom in par- ty, providing the world with a new day of peace, love and freedom to join us in this crusade.

Before all else, we seek, upon our common treasure, the blessings of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our whole people. May we pursue the right—without self-righteousness. May we know unity—without conformity. May we grow in strength—without pride in self. May we, in all our dealings with all the peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and serve justice. And so shall America—in the sight of all men of good will—prove true to the honorable purposes that bind and rule us as a people in all this time of trial through which we pass.

May God bless this mighty nation and shed his grace and blessings upon the men and women of America's armed forces.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker. I rise in support of this resolution. In his funeral oration, the great Athenian leader Pericles said, "heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epigraph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast of every man who has lived at all, a love peace and freedom to join us in this crusade. The community of nations must unite to ensure that these freedoms have nowhere to run and nowhere to hide.

Together, we must hunt these criminals down to the ends of the earth and assure they cause of freedom. But, we can look their mothers and fathers in the eye and say to them now that this is what must be done. I have little doubt that they understand and that they will take comfort knowing that their children are heroes in a new greatest generation.
pay dearly for the crimes they have committed against humanity.

The resolution before us provides the President with a specific authorization, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to use force against those responsible for the September 11th terrorist attack.

I do not view this as an open-ended authorization for this or any future President to wage war on any one at any time. It is, instead, in the words of the resolution, an authority to use force against "those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons."

All Americans stand behind our President, his advisers, and the brave men and women of our Armed Forces who will be asked to carry out this mission. Our thoughts and our prayers will be with them in the days and months ahead.

We know their task will not be easy. But they should go forward armed with the knowledge that they have the support of all Americans—as expressed by the unanimous vote of their elected representatives.

That is what this resolution signifies, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to start by expressing my sorrow and outrage at Tuesday's cowardly attack. Tuesday's savagery tore our national fabric, but the tragedy also united the Nation. Our immediate priorities are treating survivors, supporting victims' families, restoring essential services, protecting our civil liberties, healing the national psyche and finding and judging anyone who participated in the horrendous act. We all share these imperatives and will do all that we can to help. We all support the President in these endeavors.

This is the indomitable strength of our country. But our eyes also turn to the future with three critical questions, each of which calls for answers that when the balance is readjusted it should be done cautiously, with great care and with an eye beyond today's headlines. Just as terrorism can destroy lives and property, so can we turn our back on our most treasured freedoms. On Tuesday, one TV network commentator, during an interview, flatly asked his advisers, and the brave men and women of our Armed Forces who will be asked to carry out this mission. Our thoughts and our prayers will be with them in the days and months ahead.

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PREVENTING SCAPEGOATING

Times of great stress also spawn scapegoating. These are very stressful times for America, and signs of scapegoating have already surfaced. The twenty-first century has taught us the terrible consequences of directing hostility toward an entire group of people. America is a long way from being able to overcome discrimination simply on the basis of religion, ethnicity, and race. Now, we must guard against turning diffuse feelings of anger against a whole group of Americans such as Muslims or Arabs, if a handful of their members are accused of Tuesday's murders. Already, shops and businesses owned by Americans of Arab descent—and I emphasize Americans—have been harassed and in some cases burned. Individuals have been attacked. These hate crimes must be stopped immediately. Federal, state and local officials should use their powers of persuasion and public to stop it and, if necessary, vigorously enforce every applicable law. I will ask the appropriate authorities in Detroit to convene a city-wide conference to address this danger and to explain the need for New Year's resolutions. I have also introduced a sense of the Congress resolution condemning these hate crimes.

PREVENTING GOUGING

There is one point that I should not have to make. Regrettably it appears that I do. If there ever were a time when all Americans should show a spirit of cooperation, collaboration, and mutual concern surely this tragedy is it. Yet there are credible reports of price gouging, profiteering, and other despicable efforts to exploit the situation. Fuel prices have soared in parts of the Midwest have jumped alarmingly. There is a price of New York had to war. Grocers and other merchants against raising prices as customers seek to stock up in the face of uncertainty. This selfish behavior is intolerable. I am calling on the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the Federal Trade Commission to immediately establish a joint task force to police and pursue any anti-trust price hikes in energy fuels.

I also commend my state's Attorney General, Jennifer Granholm, for taking legal action against nine Michigan gas stations accused of price gouging. In notice of intended action served yesterday and today, Granholm accuses each station of charging prices for gas that are "grossly in excess" of the market-based price at which gasoline would normally be sold. The Michigan Consumer Protection Act expressly prohibits such sales practices as unfair and unconscionable under the law.

Next, I will turn to the specific language of this resolution. THE RESOLUTION

In terms of the specifics of the resolution, as ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, I believe it is important that the Record reflect what the resolution does and does not do. By not declaring war, the resolution preserves our precious civil liberties. This is important because declarations of war trigger broad statutes that not only criminalize interference with troops and aids, but also authorize the President to apprehend "alien enemies." Having said that, the President has declared that we are in a national emergency. Such an emergency triggers other, less severe statutes, including criminal prohibitions on the destruction of war materials.

Second, this resolution does not give the President perpetual authority to use military
force. Not only does Congress have the constitutional duty to oversee the President’s use of our men and women in uniform, if has every expectation of revisiting the President’s need of the use of U.S. Armed Forces during his pursuit of the terrorists. Should Congress later determine that the President needs more or less authority than he has been given, we will act accordingly.

Finally, this resolution implicitly requires that the President comply with section 4(a) of the War Powers Resolution. That section requires the President to report to Congress whenever U.S. Armed Forces are introduced into hostilities, into foreign territories while equipped for combat, or into foreign territories to substantially enlargeth an existing force. These reports will allow Congress to ensure that the needs of the President and the Armed Forces are being met during this on-going crisis.

Mr. Speaker, let us grieve for the victims. Let us protect the destruction. But let us also re dedicate ourselves to preserving those very principles that have been the ultimate source of America’s strength.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, this week my emotions have been all over the gamut. On the one hand I have seen my son take a step closer to becoming the youngest mayor in the history of Detroit. Yet, my joy has been destroyed by the hands that inflicted the worst attack against the United States since Pearl Harbor. I share the pain of Tuesday’s attack with millions of Americans who have witnessed the subsequent carnage. My emotions cry out for retribution; yet my head tells me that while we must be resolute, we must also be deliberate and circumspect.

For now, in this battle, we stand at the edge of the abyss. We are poised to make the leap that our nation has rarely been called on to make; yet when called to do so. Today, our determination to triumph over terrorism must be resolute and undeterred. It is with a heavy heart that I stand before the American people prepared to assemble an international coalition to fight terrorism. Working with our allies and other nations concerned about this scourge, we have a real opportunity to make the world safer for freedom and democracy.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Mr. Speaker, I will miss the roll call vote on H.J. Res. 64, which will formally authorize the use of military force against the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001.

I have scheduled very important meetings in California over the weekend and Monday with district employers and employees to discuss the defense budget and other matters of national security. These meetings have been scheduled for some time, and cannot be easily reconfigured. Therefore, during the vote I will be unable to participate. The events of Septem ber 11 were horrific, and I request that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reflect that had I been present and voting, I would have cast my vote in favor of the resolution authorizing the use of military force.

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give the President the authorization and support he needs to respond to the acts of terror committed this week against the American people.

When I was elected to this House, I took an oath to “support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.” Today I reaffirm that vow by giving the President the authority to prosecute the battle against our enemies wherever they may hide.

The armed forces of the United States are the best in the world. And the men and women serving in them are ready to act and know our cause to be just.

There is no justification for these despicable actions. There is no justification for providing support and assistance to those who would wage war against innocent men, women and children. There is no place to hide from our coming actions.

In the words of another great President who led this nation in a time of turmoil, Abraham Lincoln, “Let us have faith that right makes might; and that in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.”

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution and in doing so, I stand in support of the President, the men and women of our Armed Forces, and Americans everywhere.

This egregious crime has struck the heart and soul of America but we will not falter or fail in our ideals and values; we will recover. This process is underway in the rescue, recovery and investigative efforts happening in Pennsylvania, New York, and the Washington DC areas.

Last night both bodies of Congress passed a supplemental aid package to assist the President in providing necessary aid and support in the wake of these tragedies. Now, Congress should give the President the authority to find and punish those responsible for these crimes against humanity.

If the goal of these attacks was to demoralize or scare America and other peace loving nations, let me be clear in saying that these terrorists failed their mission. I say to them, your ungodly actions will be punished. We are a strong and united America.

The deplorable events that occurred on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, were undeniably an act of war. There is no other way to classify the murder of defenseless, innocent civilians. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this resolution, giving the President our support to reinforce that the use of terror as a weapon will never be tolerated.

The SPEAKER. All time for debate has expired. Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the joint resolution is considered as having been read for amendment and the previous question is ordered.

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

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

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. TIERNEY

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. TIERNEY. I am, in its current form, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TIERNEY moves to recommit the joint resolution H.J. Res. 64 to the Committee on International Relations with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Add at the end the following new section:

SEC. 3. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; CONSULTATION.

(a) REPORTS.—At least once every 60 days after the date of the enactment of this resolution, the President shall submit to Congress a summary on the status of efforts made to carry out this resolution.
September 14, 2001

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(b) Sense of Congress.—It is the sense of Congress that, in addition to complying with subsequent reporting requirements under applicable provisions of law, including sections 3 and 4 of the War Powers Resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Tierney) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I join all of our colleagues and all Americans in our sorrow for Tuesday's victims and in our outrage for the despicable acts of cowardice which have so changed our lives. Tonight, we show our unity; and by so doing we serve notice that we, as a Nation, are resolved to hold accountable those responsible for Tuesday's terrorism.

As we go forward, I do not think this Congress wants to purposely abdicate its constitutional obligations and responsibilities. It seems unlikely that this Congress would knowingly deny itself the information that may well be necessary in the future in order to intelligently carry out its work with the President in meeting their shared responsibilities in the area of national security. Yet if we pass the resolution tonight, without first adding the language of this motion to recommit, I am concerned that that is precisely what might occur.

As written, the joint resolution refers to the War Powers Resolution but could arguably be read not to require more than periodic reports to Congress, if any reports at all. Even the periodic reports could mean at least 6-month intervals could pass without adequate knowledge by which Congress could carry out its responsibilities.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, successive executives have historically challenged the constitutionality of the War Powers Resolution. By passing this motion to recommit, we can cure that ambiguity in the record.

In 1991, then President George H. W. Bush asked Congress to authorize his use of force, and he signed a joint resolution that included a requirement that the President submit to Congress at least once every 60 days a summary on the status of his efforts.

There is no reason why this Congress should ask for less as we join with this President, and no reason why in the spirit of unity, and consistent with the Constitution and the precedent set by his own father, that this President would not sign a resolution containing similar language.

So I move now to recommit the joint resolution to the Committee on International Relations with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith in its amended form.

This is both a formal and a simple amendment, Mr. Speaker. It will not delay our action here tonight. It continues to unite us in support of the President’s existing authority to act to prevent future acts of terrorism and to locate and deal appropriately with those responsible for the tragic events of September 11. But it does clarify that the President report the status of his efforts to carry out this resolution. It does express our sense that as parties with a shared constitutional responsibility, the President comply with the statutory authority by consulting regularly with Congress and reporting every 60 days.

Whenever there exists a national emergency created by attack upon the United States, the Constitution empowers the President, as Commander in Chief, to introduce United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances.

This joint resolution reaffirms that power.

Congress and the American people want the President to be able to act to prevent future acts of terrorism; and so it is no surprise that the Constitution allows for such authority and no surprise that Congress acts to restate it tonight.

We should remember that national security is a shared responsibility, Mr. Speaker, requiring joint efforts and mutual respect by Congress and the President. Congress has a co-equal branch of government, specifically empowered by the Constitution, with the power to declare war and to make all laws which will be necessary and proper for the carrying into execution of that power.

So while we specifically have not declared war tonight, we do make a law by which the President may engage United States Armed Forces in action against others.

The responsibilities of Congress, I believe, Mr. Speaker, obligate us to remain informed and to have consultation with the President concerning any action under this resolution. Our continued ability to act in concert as co-equal branches of government demands that we have the right to be informed.

We want to act in unison and we need the President's cooperation to do that. As a matter of mutual respect and as a sign of unity, as well an act of constitutional statutory compliance, Mr. Speaker, I ask that we all vote to recommit and have it come back forthwith as amended.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the gentleman from Massachusetts to recommit the pending joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, if adopted, the motion would seek to reimpose on the President the restrictions of the War Powers Resolution with regard to consultation with Congress and will impose new reporting requirements that go well beyond those contained in the War Powers Resolution. This is illogical because the whole point of the joint resolution we are considering this evening is to clear away legal underbrush that might otherwise interfere with the ability of our President to respond to the treacherous attack on our Nation that took place 3 days ago. Most importantly, we are stripping away the restrictions of the War Powers Resolution.

It hardly makes sense to re impose and, in one case, tighten the restrictions of the War Powers Resolution, if our larger purpose is to make it easier for the President to respond to terrorism.

In any other case, I might understand and sympathize with the interest of the gentleman in keeping the President on a short leash as he goes about exercising the authority we give him tonight. But this is not any other case. This is a situation in which our Nation has been attacked by a sinister enemy, and thousands of our fellow citizens have been killed.

I, for one, do not want to restrain our President as he goes about responding to this heinous attack. Many have compared the attack on Tuesday on our Nation to Pearl Harbor. After Pearl Harbor Congress declared war on Japan. We did not declare war subject to the requirement that President Roosevelt consult with Congress before sending our Armed Forces into action and periodically submit reports to Congress on how he was dealing with Japan.

Many Americans died on Tuesday than died at Pearl Harbor. Congress should not restrain the response of President Bush to this act of aggression any more than President Roosevelt was restrained in his conduct of World War II.

I urge my colleagues to defeat the motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the gentleman's motion to recommit the pending joint resolution.

If adopted, the motion would seek to reimpose on the President the restrictions of the War Powers Resolution with regard to consultation with Congress, and will impose new reporting requirements that go well beyond those contained in the War Powers Resolution. This is illogical because the whole point of the joint resolution we are considering this evening is to clear away legal underbrush that might otherwise interfere with the ability of our President to respond to the treacherous attack on our Nation that took place three days ago. Most importantly, we are stripping away the restrictions of the War Powers Resolution. It hardly makes sense to re impose—and in one case, tighten—the restrictions of the War Powers Resolution if our larger objective is to make it easier for the President to respond to terrorism.

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SO the joint resolution was passed. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. PETRI. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 342 I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted “yea.”

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of earlier today, Senate Joint Resolution 23 is passed.

Without objection, a motion to reconsider Senate Joint Resolution 23 is laid on the table, and House Joint Resolution 64 is laid on the table.

There was no objection.

PRESERVING VIABILITY OF UNITED STATES AIR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Momentarily I withdraw it, if the Speaker asks me to. You are the Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is asking you to momentarily withdraw it.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. You have got that.

CONDEMN PRICE GOUGING WITH RESPECT TO MOTOR FUELS FOLLOWING TERRORIST ACTS OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Energy and Commerce be