SENATE—*Friday, September 14, 2001*

The Senate met at 9 a.m., and was called to order by the Honorable JON S. CORZINE, a Senator from the State of New Jersey.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, as we seek Your grace as healing for our grief-filled hearts, we reaffirm some very powerful presuppositions about You and Your providential care for Your creation. Strengthen our conviction that You do not cause tragedies. We dismiss that false question, ''Where was God in the midst of the tragic terrorist attack?'' You were with us giving us courage and hope. You created humankind: to know, to love, and to serve You. We reverently reflect on what must have been Your most crucial decision when You created humankind: You gave us freedom of choice, knowing that there can be no response of love without choice, but also that humankind would abuse this freedom. There is an objective force of evil in the world that often has been expressed through people, and movements, and nations. Heinous acts happen. You are not dissuaded. You suffer with us, and, with ways we could not plan, bring good out of evil. Not even death can separate us from You. This life is but a small part of the whole of eternity. In the midst of our anguish over those who died in Tuesday's tragedies, remind us of the shortness of time and the length of eternity. Make us communicators of love and strength to those who continue to suffer in the grim aftermath of terrorism. Bless the Senators and the entire Senate family with a fresh gift of faith to trust You and a renewed assurance that, ''though the wrong seems oft so strong, You are the ruler yet!'' Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable JON S. CORZINE led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. BYRD).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, September 14, 2001.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable JON S. CORZINE, a Senator from the State of New Jersey, to perform the duties of the Chair.

ROBERT C. BYRD,
President pro tempore.

Mr. CORZINE thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. I thank the Chair.

SCHEDULE

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, there will be caucuses held by both parties at 9:15 a.m. today. As soon as the caucuses have completed their deliberations, we will enter into morning business for a period of time. My hope and my expectation is that we will take up both the supplemental appropriations bill, as well as the resolution having to do with the circumstances we are facing in providing the President with additional authority. That resolution, as well as the supplemental appropriations bill, will be the subject of deliberation and debate today, perhaps tomorrow. The House of Representatives has indicated they will be in session tomorrow to take up the resolution.

It is my hope that perhaps we might be able to complete our work today, but until I have had the opportunity to consult more with the Republican leader, I am unable to make any more definitive judgment about the time it will take to complete our work on both of these matters. We were negotiating late into the evening last night. I thank all of those who participated.

We concluded our work successfully after midnight last night. We will now be in a position to take up the supplemental appropriations bill. I will consult with the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the ranking member, as well as the Republican leader, as we consider just what the sequence will be throughout the day.

There will be rollcalls. We are unclear about the timing of those rollcalls or whether or not a Saturday session may be required. I call attention to that expectation.

I also remind Senators that there is a memorial service at the National Cathedral at noon. While the more optimistic view is that we could perhaps begin boarding buses as early as 10 o'clock to accommodate logistics and security, it may be that we will be boarding a little later than that in order to accommodate whatever other considerations in the schedule there will be this morning.

I remind Senators that there will be a need to board buses sometime, I would say, at least prior to 11 o'clock, but we will make more definitive announcements with regard to boarding the buses as well as the specific schedule in the time ahead.

BABY GRACE

Also, Mr. President, in what has been a very dark hour for this country and for this institution, it is hard to find anything for which we can celebrate, but we can celebrate this morning. Senator DODD and his wife Jackie had a baby girl last night. Her name is Grace. She is 7 pounds. They are doing well. I congratulate Senator DODD, Jackie, and welcome Grace into this world of ours.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—H.R. 2291 AND H.R. 2833

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I understand that the following bills are at the desk, having been read the first time: H.R. 2291 and H.R. 2833. I ask unanimous consent that it be in order, en bloc, for these two bills to receive a second reading, and I would then object to any further consideration.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The bills will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. DASCHLE. I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask the majority leader, am I correct that after the caucuses, there will be a short period of time for morning business, or do we know for sure?

Mr. DASCHLE. I respond to the Senator from Minnesota, there probably will be some time, but we will be in morning business at least for another 15 minutes.

Mr. WELLSTONE. This morning.

Mr. DASCHLE. This morning.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I have 5 minutes—I do not intend to take any more than that—in morning business.

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MINNESOTANS MOBILIZE

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I thank the Chair. My congratulations to CHRIS and Jackie on the birth of their daughter.

Mr. President, there are many times to speak in this Chamber. Today I speak from the Senate floor to make the remarks of one Senator from Minnesota part of our historical record. The Senator from South Dakota is right, it is a very somber time. The unthinkable happened.

We have witnessed the slaughter of parents and their kids. I want to talk about this in the following way: First of all, it sounds so political to do this, but I want to thank the people of Minnesota for mobilizing the way they have mobilized: the blood banks, the offers of assistance, the prayers. Nothing could be more important.

As a Senator from New Jersey, as someone who worked in the World Trade Center, the Chair has probably a more direct understanding of the agony and the hell of so many families, but I am very proud that the people of Minnesota, in every way possible, are there for support.

This represents the best in our country. I say this because I want to say, drawing on the Minnesota example, that I do not want to let these terrorists ever take away from us as Americans the greatness of our country, including the values by which we live. I am talking about the civil liberties of Americans, and I am talking about the freedom that is so important to each and every one of us.

I say this as well because unlike these terrorists who slaughtered parents and kids, let us be clear, as we pass a resolution and move forward, that when we respond, our intention is to target the people that are responsible for this. Unlike these terrorists and what they did to Americans, we care about innocent civilians. We care about parents and kids.

Our effort must be focused on the people who are responsible, their network, their organizations. Our greatness, even in carrying out military action, is always to do everything we can to make sure innocent people do not lose their lives.

These are our values. This is what we are about. Whether it be how we now conduct ourselves as a nation, or the kind of military action that we are going to be taking, we will never let these terrorists take away from us what has made our country great.

As the son of a Jewish immigrant who fled persecution from Russia, I have always cherished our freedoms, and I always will. I hold that dear, and I believe that Americans hold it dear. As the son of a Jewish immigrant who fled persecution from Russia, I have always believed the greatness of our country is the value we place on human life. I am not responding to anybody's particular comments. But of course we will always care and make sure that to the maximum extent possible there will not be loss of lives of innocent people, wherever they live. That is what we are about.

Our effort is going to be targeted to these terrorists, targeted to their organization, targeted to their infrastructure. As many people have written in the papers, as Tom Friedman said today in the New York Times, which was right on the mark, and as I think Secretary Powell has been trying to say, our efforts will not be a single action, and may not be done right away. It is going to be a long, difficult struggle. I believe people in our country and in Minnesota are united in this, but we need to do this the smart way. We need to do this the right way.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The motion was agreed to, and at 9:16 a.m. the Senate recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 10:16 a.m. when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. BAYH).

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAYH). The majority leader is recognized.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, as I think certainly everyone on the floor knows, but for those who may be viewing our proceedings and should know, our caucuses have been meeting for the last hour to review the work which has been done by colleagues on both sides of the aisle in concert with the administration and with the House of Representatives. This work has been ongoing now for several days. The Appropriations Committee, through the leadership of Senator BYRD and Senator STEVENS, on the use of force resolution, through the leadership of many of our colleagues on both sides, again in concert with the White House, have given their reports to the caucuses.

I am about to propound a unanimous consent request that would allow us to vote on both the use of force resolution and the appropriations supplemental. We would hold open the RECORD for purposes of additional comment. I will read the unanimous consent request. Let me say, before I do read the request, how much I appreciate, once again, the leadership of our Republican leader. As he has throughout the week, he has been remarkable. We could not be where we are today, this country or this institution, without the strong partnership and leadership he has shown. I commend him, and I thank all of our colleagues for their remarkable participation during this difficult week.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, if Senator DASCHLE will yield, I thank him for his remarks and I will respond in kind appropriately, but I will wait until after the unanimous consent is reached.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—S. 1426 AND S.J. RES. 23

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to consideration of S. 1426, the supplemental appropriations bill; that upon its reporting, it be laid aside and the Senate proceed to the consideration of S.J. Res. 23, the use of force legislation; that the Senate vote on final passage of the appropriations bill, to occur immediately; that the vote on final passage of the use of force resolution occur immediately upon the disposition of the appropriations bill; that no amendments or motions be in order to either bill; that the preamble to the joint resolution be agreed to; and that when the Senate receives from the House its supplemental appropriations bill, it be read a third time and agreed to, provided that it is identical to the bill which the Senate has passed.

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

The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for agreeing to this request. I, too, want to thank Senator DASCHLE, Senator REID, the leadership on the Democratic side of the aisle, and Senators NICKLES, GRAMM, DOMENICI, STEVENS, and WARNER who have worked on these resolutions, and many others.

I realize this is a dramatic action in both cases. That is what is called for.

I have never seen a better example of Members standing together, working together, swallowing our legalistic desires and our budgetary restraint feelings. These are difficult times. We have got to act decisively. The American people expect it of us and they will accept nothing less. We are doing that. We are moving today to provide humanitarian funds to assist in the cleanup, disaster assistance, and military action that is necessary.

In a perfect world, maybe we would do it differently—with more money,

less money, more language, less language—but the world has changed, and we are acting appropriately.

With regard to the use of force language, again, I think it has been worked on by Democrats, Republicans, and the administration. If you look at it carefully, I think it does the job without putting us at risk. Senator DASCHLE said the conference was ready to go to do these things. I think this is the right thing, and I commend both conferences for this decisive action.

Thank you for your leadership.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask that Senators, again, vote from their desks.

2001 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR RECOVERY FROM AND RESPONSE TO TERRORIST ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES

AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will first report the Senate bill.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1426) making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001 for additional disaster assistance, for antiterrorist initiatives, and for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the Senate Joint Resolution.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S.J. Res. 23) to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States.

Mr. DASCHLE. I ask unanimous consent it be in order that I ask for the yeas and nays on on both the supplemental appropriations bill and the Joint Resolution.

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

Mr. DASCHLE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

AIRPORT AND AIRLINE SECURITY

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, the Senate will pass a $40 billion supplemental appropriation in response to Tuesday's terrorist attack.

One of the top priorities must be to increase our airport and airline security. I hope that some of the funds provided in this bill will be used to place air marshals on commercial planes and to improve security personnel in airports.

Would the chairman of the Appropriations Committee inform me of his intention with this funding regarding airport and airline security.

Mr. BYRD. I agree with the Senator from California on the importance of increasing airport and airline security to prevent our Nation from experiencing a tragedy like this. In my opinion, funds in this bill could be for air marshals and airport security personnel.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, the agreement reached in this body provides $40 billion to respond to the attacks in New York and Washington, and the plane crash in Pennsylvania, as follows:

$10 billion available immediately for the President to utilize;

$10 billion available 15 days after the President submits a plan;

$20 billion available for allocation in subsequent acts.

This compromise provides the initial $20 billion sought by the President with virtually no restriction, and provides a second $20 billion pursuant to the President's commitment to the Governor of New York and the New York delegation that $20 billion would be available for the domestic response and recovery effort.

The President can use any of the funds for national security purposes—but of the total of $40 billion, not less than $20 billion is only available for the domestic recovery effort.

As context, Congress initially provided $15 billion for the gulf war effort; nearly $10 billion for the California earthquakes. All of the funds are available until expended, to ensure there is no rush to obligate prematurely.

The arrangement fulfills the President's commitment to New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania for the families of those on board the hijacked aircraft, and ensure adequate funds are available for any initial military or intelligence requirements, without a competition for funds between those two needs.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, Ernest Hemingway observed that ''life breaks us all, and afterward many are strong at the broken places.''

America's heart is broken. What happened on Tuesday was not simply an attack against America. It was a crime against democracy, against decency itself.

The more we learn, the more we grieve for the innocent victims of these unconscionable attacks: the people of New York, and those of New Jersey, Connecticut, and all who were in and around World Trade Center at the time of these attacks; our men and women serving at the Pentagon; and, the passengers and crew of American Airlines flights 11 and 77, and United Airlines flights 93 and 175.

Today, with the passage of this supplemental bill, we take a step toward healing, and we begin the process of growing stronger at the broken places.

It has been an extraordinary few days here in Congress. As we come together to consider how we can act, how we can help, how we can serve, we forget to consider those things that once divided us.

Today, we are not Democrats or Republicans. We are Americans.

We stand together as one Congress, one people. And we say together, with one voice, we will do whatever needs to be done to care for the victims, to comfort the families, to address this threat to our homeland, and to let our enemies know: We will find them. And we will have justice.

This bill we are considering provides 40 billion dollars to provide aid to the victims of the attacks, and to deal with the consequences of those attacks. The money will be used to: repair the horrific damage caused by these attacks, and help begin the process of recovery; improve attack and disaster preparedness; enhance our counterterrorism efforts; make our planes and other systems of transportation safer and more secure; and strengthen our national security.

But we need to remember: in the end, this isn't about money, because money is only a means. This is a statement of our commitment to help our fellow Americans in their time of need, to protect our Nation from the most insidious of threats, and to ensure that those who had a hand in these evil acts are held accountable.

This is a first step. It is the first of many. Because we will do whatever it takes. And, ultimately, we will grow strong in the broken places.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, in the aftermath of Tuesday's tragic events, security has necessarily been tightened at all our borders. This includes the border crossings at the Port of Detroit, including the Ambassador Bridge, the Detroit-Windsor Tunnel, and the Blue Water Bridge in Port Huron. The U.S. Customs Service is inspecting every vehicle and almost every truck crossing into the United States at these ports of entry, which is what should be the case after such a terrible breach of our Nation's security.

These ports of entry are important commercial routes for the transport of the just-in-time delivery auto parts to American auto manufacturing plants which are supplied from Canada and elsewhere. Just-in-time delivery means an industry must have the ability to move its products quickly from point to point. An unfortunate side effect of the tightened security is that significant delays of up to 12 hours in some cases have occurred at the bridges and tunnel. This has meant that the just-in-time delivery systems that the auto manufacturers rely on have broken down. As a result, automobile assembly plants in the United States do not have the necessary parts and many have shut down. Others may have to shut down soon for lack of parts.

This backup at our northern border during these extraordinary times highlights and aggravates an existing and

chronic problem of under-staffing of Customs inspection and INS personnel at the Port of Detroit and along the Northern border in general. Congress was already beginning to address this shortfall before Tuesday's tragedy exacerbated the problem.

As we pass an emergency supplemental bill today that will provide $40 billion in disaster relief and humanitarian aid to help respond to the destruction caused by Tuesday's tragedy, we should not forget the security needs at our borders. Specifically, we need to be sensitive to the economic impact additional security measures have on industries that depend on just-in-time delivery of product from Canada and elsewhere. This doesn't mean that we should be any less vigilant in inspection at the border. To the contrary, it means we should be sure that we commit adequate resources to preform these inspections without hurting our economy in the process.

The simple solution would be to direct a portion of the $40 billion to increase Customs and INS staffing levels at our northern border and at the Port of Detroit in particular where this need has been most clearly demonstrated. It makes good domestic security sense and it makes good economic sense.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I want to express my strong support for S. 1426, the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations bill for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred on September 11, 2001, and for S. J. Resolution 23, which authorizes the use of force against those responsible for the attacks launched against the United States. On this day of remembrance in our country, we must also face the need to respond and rebuild.

As we are faced with another critical moment in our Nation's history, I am proud to be a member of the United States Senate and the Senate Appropriations Committee, as we work in a nonpartisan way to provide support to the victims of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The Senate approved this critically important funding legislation of $40 billion by a vote of 96–0 earlier today. The United States Congress and the President have worked together to demonstrate that the United States will stand together and put our partisan differences aside as we address this tragedy facing our great country.

This funding will also help our country as we begin to rebuild and work to find those responsible for these reprehensible and cowardly acts of terrorism. Today, I join members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, Democrats and Republicans, in supporting our President and our country by approving legislation to authorize the use of force against those responsible for the despicable acts of terrorism made against our Nation on September 11, 2001.

Innocent Americans were killed at the hands of our enemies. Our Nation grieves their loss and remembers an innocence now lost. Now, it is time to act swiftly and decisively against those who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks in order to prevent future aggression against Americans at home and abroad.

The war declared by these terrorists is a new kind of conflict. Unlike wars of the past, the attack was not made by one military against another, battling over borders. Instead, the attacks came from a faceless source and focused on innocent civilians. Their aim was to undermine our Nation's freedom, our liberties, and to destroy us from within through fear, hatred, and rage. We must not and will not allow terrorists to ultimately win this war.

I think about the families of those who have lost loved ones this week, the children who are now orphans, and those who still await word on the missing. We hold them in our hearts and keep them in our prayers. As the parent of a son in the U.S. Army, I also share the pride felt by those currently serving our Nation and protecting our freedoms in the military and in our communities as police and firefighters. The coming weeks and months will by trying, and we must stand with one voice in support of these brave men and women.

It is important that we also stand as one America against any example of violence against people based on their religion or ethnicity. We will have lost this war against terrorism if our country's diversity becomes threatened.

We will remember those we've lost. We will respond against those responsible. And we will rebuild our Nation's confidence and security.

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, today the Senate has taken a somber step toward a new kind of war. Congress has resolved that military force may be necessary to end the scourge of terrorism. Today we took a solemn vow that we will strike back at those who have killed thousands of American citizens. Those responsible for the attack on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the crash of an airliner in Pennsylvania will now face the full fury and capability of this great Nation.

But the United States will not react blindly. We do not want revenge, we want justice and security. We act today to defend America and punish our enemies. Unnecessary violence will do nothing to erase the losses suffered by the American people.

Part of what we are fighting to protect, is the Constitution and the role of Congress in a crisis. This resolution faithfully and responsibly executes our duty under the Constitution. We have not ceded our power to the President, Congress remains a co-equal branch and a partner with the President in this struggle.

We stand together in this Chamber and with the President. Shoulder to shoulder we are prepared to do whatever is necessary to restore peace and security to the land. Our will is resolute, our hearts are steadfast, and our minds are fixed. We will not rest until the task before us is complete.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I rise at this time to lend my full support to S. 1426 the emergency supplemental appropriations bill.

The United States is engaged in war against terrorism. We have been engaged in that war for a long time, but seldom has it tread upon our Nation's soil. On September 11, it did, in a most horrific way.

Last night, this body took a great step in its fight against terrorism. We passed legislation that will significantly improve the effectiveness of our intelligence and legal apparatus.

The measure before us will provide much needed funds to the President to help heal the wounded, repair the broken and enable our Nation's military, justice, and intelligence agencies to carry out the arduous duties that lay before them. The threat will not soon go away. The missions of the agencies we provide for with the funds from this bill will continue long past the day when these funds will run out.

It is up to us, our colleagues in the House and the President and his administration to develop a long-range plan and provide the resources to the men and women who will carry out necessary steps to prevent what happened 3 days ago from ever happening again. It is up to us to promote and insure the Nation's resolve in the coming days, months, and years.

So, I support emergency supplemental legislation.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, this Tuesday, September 11, 2001, the United States of America suffered devastating attacks.

What happened Tuesday was not only an attack against America. It was a crime against democracy, and decency. It was a crime against humanity.

Our hearts and prayers go out to the many who lost their lives. To the thousands who are injured and suffering. To the families of all the victims. And to the rescue workers and medical personnel who continue to work around the clock to try to save lives.

At the Pentagon yesterday, I saw the horrendous devastation. I saw the courage and determination of the Montgomery County Urban Search and Rescue Team and many others working to shore up the structure and search the rent and burnt symbol of America's military power. I was deeply moved by the two Chaplains who bless the remains as each victim is found and removed.

The physical impact of these attacks hit New York City, at the Pentagon, and in Pennsylvania. But the real impact is on all of America, on all of the free world.

The direct victims were passengers on domestic flights, civilians and members of our Armed Forces working at the Pentagon, people working at or visiting the World Trade Center, and rescue workers. But all Americans share the pain of those who lost loved ones. We feel this as an attack on each and every one of us, and on our way of life.

I am so proud of the way Americans are responding to this national tragedy. We are united. We are helping each other. We are steadfast. We are strong.

Today, the Senate is taking action. We are doing our part as representatives of the American people. I am proud to join in the unanimous support for emergency supplemental appropriations and a resolution authorizing the use of force.

I have pledged to provide President Bush the resources for rescue, response and recovery, to investigate these attacks, and to improve security. Today, we are appropriating $40 billion to do that.

We are making resources available immediately to support Federal, State and local search, recovery and rebuilding efforts. To investigate, and prosecute domestic and international terrorism. To increase transportation security. To repair public buildings. And to support national security readiness. The President has tremendous flexibility, consulting appropriately with Congress, to use these funds.

We can and will prevail over terrorism. But we must also take strong action against those who attacked our Nation. Today, we are also adopting a resolution authorizing the President to use ''all necessary and appropriate force.''

The resolution specifically targets ''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. . . .'' Moreover, the resolution only authorizes action ''in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States. . . .'' The requirements of the War Powers Resolution remain in force. Congress may decide to give the President further authorization once we have discovered with greater certainty who is responsible for these barbaric acts.

America's law enforcement and intelligence agencies are vigorously pursuing their investigations to find all those responsible. Whoever they are, they must now know that America is committed to rooting them out and exacting a severe price for their barbarity. And America's friends and allies are rightly ready to join us.

Much work remains for the Senate, for the Congress, for our government, for our Nation, to respond and recover and rebuild. Today we are taking critical steps to sustain the recovery efforts and take appropriate action against terrorism.

We will not sacrifice our ideals in pursuit of the monsters who carried out these attacks. We will not compromise the principles for which so many Americans have fought and died.

But we will root out those who committed these atrocities. We will have justice. And we will move forward, a stronger nation than before.

At our prayer service in the Rotunda on Wednesday evening, I asked God to give us the courage and wisdom to respond rightly to these attacks on America. I believe we are doing so today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill was ordered to a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. JEFFORDS) is necessarily absent.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from Ohio (Mr. VOINOVICH), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CRAIG), and the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that if present and voting the Senator from Ohio (Mr. VOINOVICH) and the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS) would each vote ''yea.''

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAYH). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 96, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 280 Leg.]

YEAS—96

Akaka	Dorgan	Lugar
Allard	Durbin	McCain
Allen	Edwards	McConnell
Baucus	Ensign	Mikulski
Bayh	Enzi	Miller
Bennett	Feingold	Murkowski
Biden	Feinstein	Murray
Bingaman	Fitzgerald	Nelson (FL)
Bond	Frist	Nelson (NE)
Boxer	Graham	Nickles
Breaux	Gramm	Reed
Brownback	Grassley	Reid
Bunning	Gregg	Roberts
Burns	Hagel	Rockefeller
Byrd	Harkin	Santorum
Campbell	Hatch	Sarbanes
Cantwell	Hollings	Schumer
Carnahan	Hutchinson	Sessions
Carper	Hutchison	Shelby
Chafee	Inhofe	Smith (NH)
Cleland	Inouye	Smith (OR)
Clinton	Johnson	Snowe
Cochran	Kennedy	Specter
Collins	Kerry	Stabenow
Conrad	Kohl	Stevens
Corzine	Kyl	Thomas
Crapo	Landrieu	Thompson
Daschle	Leahy	Thurmond
Dayton	Levin	Torricelli
DeWine	Lieberman	Warner
Dodd	Lincoln	Wellstone
Domenici	Lott	Wyden

NOT VOTING—4

Craig	Jeffords	Voinovich
Helms		

The bill (S. 1426) was passed, as follows:

S. 1426

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Untied States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to provide emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001, namely:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND FUNDS

APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

EMERGENCY RESPONSE FUND

(INCLUDING TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

For emergency expenses to respond to the terrorist attacks on the United States that occurred on September 11, 2001, to provide assistance to the victims of the attacks, and to deal with other consequences of the attacks, $40,000,000,000, to remain available until expended including for the costs of (1) providing Federal, State, and local preparedness for mitigating and responding to the attacks, (2) providing support to counter, investigate, or prosecute domestic or international terrorism, (3) providing increased transportation security, (4) repairing public facilities and transportation systems damaged by the attacks, and (5) supporting national security: *Provided*, That these funds may be transferred to any authorized Federal Government activity to meet the purposes of this Act: *Provided further*, That the Congress designates the entire amount as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985: *Provided further*, That $40,000,000,000 shall be available only to the extent that an official budget request, that includes designation of the $40,000,000,000 as an emergency requirement as defined in the balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, is transmitted by the President to the Congress: *Provided further*, That the President shall consult with the chairmen and ranking minority members of the Committees on Appropriations prior to the transfer of these funds: *Provided further*, That of the $40,000,000,000 made available herein, $10,000,000,000 shall not be available for transfer to any Department or Agency until 15 days after the Director of the Office of Management and Budget has submitted to the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations a proposed allocation and plan for use of the funds for that Department or Agency; $20,000,000,000 may be obligated only when enacted in a subsequent emergency appropriations bill, in response to the terrorist acts on September 11, 2001: *Provided further*: That the President shall transmit an amended budget request proposing an allocation of funds: *Provided further*, That not less than one-half of the $40,000,000,000 shall be for disaster recovery activities and assistance related to the terrorist acts in New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001, as authorized by law: *Provided further*, That the Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall provide quarterly reports to the Committees on Appropriations on the use of these funds, beginning not later than January 2, 2002: *Provided further*, That the President shall submit to the Congress as soon as practicable detailed requests to meet any further funding requirements for the purposes specified in this Act.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 1. Funds appropriated by this Act, or made available by the transfer of funds in this Act, for intelligence activities are deemed to be specifically authorized by the Congress for purposes of section 504 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 414).

SEC. 2. Funds appropriated by this Act, or made available by the transfer of funds in this Act, may be obligated and expended notwithstanding section 10 of Public Law 91–672, section 313 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, fiscal years 1994 and 1995, and section 15 of the State Department Basis Authorities Act of 1956.

This Act may be cited as the ''2001 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States.''

Mr. BOND. I move to reconsider the vote and move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, again, I ask Senators to vote from their desks on this very momentous vote we are about to take.

For the information of all Senators, we want to get on the buses just as quickly as possible after this vote. For those who are going to be attending the memorial service, they will be right down in front of the steps. So we can accommodate all Senators by quickly going, as soon as the vote has been completed, to the buses for transportation to the National Cathedral.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I inquire of the distinguished majority leader if the Senate will be able to stay in session for people who will not be able to stay later to make a statement regarding the bill and joint resolution being passed today.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, we will need some help in presiding. There are many people going to the memorial service, so some people will not be in this Chamber. So we will need some cooperation with the presiding.

Mr. DASCHLE. With an understanding we may be shorthanded with Presiding Officers, my intention was for those who were unable to attend the memorial service, we would stay in session until noon for Senators to speak for up to 5 minutes. We will resume then, following the memorial service, for Senators who may wish to come back and express themselves on the two matters on which we will have voted this morning—or other issues. And we will be in later in the day for purposes of confirming a number of nominees that are prepared for consideration as well.

We will come back after the memorial service.

Mr. LOTT. Did you propound a UC on the time for the 5 minutes?

Mr. DASCHLE. I did not.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent Senators be limited to 5 minutes as in morning business, following the vote, up until noon today.

Mr. BYRD. Reserving the right to object, and, of course, I will not, Mr. President, may I say to the distinguished majority leader—if I may have 1 minute——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. There will be no necessity to worry about a Presiding Officer. There will be one.

Would the Chair state the question when the leader is finished for the benefit of the Senate?

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senators be permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes as in morning business until the hour of 12 o'clock noon.

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

Mr. DASCHLE. I thank the Chair and thank all Senators.

Mr. President, I also announce that this will be the last vote of the day and we will not have any votes Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday of next week.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise to express my strong support for S.J. Res. 23, the joint resolution for use of military force.

As we consider this legislation, our fellow Americans in New York and at the Pentagon—indeed throughout this great country, are recovering those who are still lost, assisting their loved ones to cope, and determinately getting on with the effort to build that which has been torn down. The $40 billion supplemental appropriations bill that we just passed unanimously demonstrates our determination to assist in the recovery and rebuilding process.

We still have some unfinished business that needs to be attended to today. In the aftermath of the treacherous terrorist attack on the United States and its citizens on September 11, I believe that it is extraordinarily important that the Congress speak with a united voice to authorize the President to use force. In doing so, we will send a strong message of unity behind the President to our fellow citizens, to the international community, and to those connected with these terrorist acts and those who might be considering future acts of terrorism against us.

By this joint resolution, we are authorizing the President to take military action as necessary and appropriate against those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided those terrorist attacks or harbored such organizations or persons.

In doing so, we will be empowering the President and expressing our strong support for him and for the men and women in our Armed Forces. In my view, it is only by doing so that we can prevent those nations, organizations, and persons from conducting terrorist attacks against us in the future.

I believe it is important to note that this joint resolution would authorize the use of force even before the President or the Congress knows with certainty which nations, organizations, or persons were involved in the September 11 terrorist acts. This is a truly noteworthy action and a demonstration of our faith in the ability of our Government to determine the facts and in the President to act upon them.

I believe it is also important to note that this authorization for the use of force is limited to the nations, organizations, or persons involved in the terrorist attacks of September 11. It is not a broad authorization for the use of military force against any nation, organization, or persons who were not involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks.

This joint resolution is based upon and is an exercise of the Congress' constitutional war powers role as codified in the War Powers Resolution. It also expressly confirms the conditions on the exercise of Executive power under that resolution. In that regard, I want to note that the statement in the last ''Whereas'' clause relating to the constitutional authority of the President to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States is to be read in conjunction with the War Powers Resolution. That is why words in earlier drafts of this joint resolution, which might have been interpreted to grant a broader authority to use military force, were deleted and that is why the references to the War Powers Resolution were added. It does not recognize any greater presidential authority than is recognized by the War Powers Resolution nor does it grant any new authority to the President.

Finally, I want to encourage my colleagues to vote in favor of this joint resolution. It is my fervent hope that we will achieve a unanimous vote. I believe we owe it to those who have been lost, to their loved ones and friends, and to the men and women of our Armed Forces who will be placed in harms way to protect us from future terrorist acts.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, in 1936, Winston Churchill addressed the British House of Commons to highlight the extraordinary growth of German military power and the threat it posed to the security of Europe. In his historic address, ''The Locust Years,'' Churchill warned of complacency in the face of a Nazi threat that would doom Europe's peace and blacken European civilization. In Churchill's words:

> The era of procrastination, of half-measures, of soothing and baffling expedients, of delays, is coming to its close. In its place we are entering a period of consequences. . . . We cannot avoid this period; we are in it now . . . [What has] staggered me . . . has been the dangers that have so swiftly come upon us in a few years, and have been transforming our position and the whole outlook of the world.

We in America today have entered a period of consequences. We do not face

the imminent prospect of war against a great power. We face instead a threat more insidious, one that will require the best of America to defeat: the reality of catastrophic terrorism in our midst.

No longer do we perceive the only great threat to our security in the hostile maneuvers of foreign armies; no longer do vast oceans protect us from the plots and violence of the Old World; no longer do we sit in splendid isolation, flush with prosperity and naive with peace.

A new day has come, a new test of the values upon which our Nation was founded. It calls us to a national mission unlike any we have known. Our Founding Fathers would well understand the nature of this challenge, for they prevailed against even greater odds in defending the American experiment. Let us seek strength from their example, and courage in their wisdom, as we protect the legacy they built.

We must destroy this international network of terror in all its guises, and deprive its architects, executioners, and sponsors of safe harbor anywhere in this world. We will find the enemy, and they will suffer the full, awesome measure of our justice.

These were not just crimes of mass murder against the United States; they are acts of war. The American people now know that we are at war. They will make the sacrifices and show the resolve necessary to prevail.

To see this mission through, Congress should encourage the President to use all necessary means to overcome and destroy this enemy, in what will be a long and trying campaign for freedom. Under the Constitution, the President already possesses this authority, but it is enhanced, and our cause strengthened, by the support of the Congress.

History will judge us for our support of this resolution, just as the 102nd Congress is judged for its resolution authorizing military action against Iraq. When faintness of heart carries the day, history's judgment is cruel.

The stakes today are higher than before the Persian Gulf War: this mission is harder, will take longer, and ends not with the capture or death of Osama bin Laden, but with the destruction of the terrorist networks that threaten our way of life, and the defeat of nations supporting and collaborating with this evil. These nations, too, are our enemies.

Those who have seen war do not seek it lightly. But war has been thrust upon us, and the stakes couldn't be higher.

The era of procrastination and half-measures has ended. The ''post-Cold War era,'' the prosperity and peace that attended it, is over. We now have a higher purpose. Like other turning points in American history, when our founding principles were put at grave risk, we today rise proudly to the challenge.

American resolve is not in doubt. Let us give our Commander in Chief all necessary authority to put power behind our purpose, in the name of our sacred heritage of freedom, and the glory of all whose sacrifice has preserved it.

Two years before Britain's appeasement of the German war machine at Munich, Winston Churchill called not for a policy of half-measures to tame the foreign threat, but a posture of peace through strength to prepare for victory over it. Britain's freedom required no less. In Churchill's words:

> The inheritance in our possession represents the prolonged achievement of the centuries . . . There is not one of our simple uncounted rights today for which better men than we are have not died on the scaffolds or the battlefield. We have not only a great treasure; we have a great cause.

America's freedom, and the values that protect us in the face of evil, are our great and glorious cause. We rededicate ourselves to it today, to our prolonged achievement of the centuries, with humble pride and righteous fury, as we seek to make of this world a better, safer place for all.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, we cannot undo the grave events that took place on Tuesday or bring back the loved ones that so many families have lost or quickly restore the sense of security that Americans took for granted. But with resolve and determination we can take actions to root out those who perpetrated these dastardly and heretofore unimaginable events.

There should be no question in the minds of those who are responsible for these attacks, or in the minds of those who have aided and abetted them, that the United States will take all necessary and appropriate steps to respond and to prevent them from undertaking additional attacks against our country. In keeping with our very values that were under attack this week, we must respond rationally and judiciously, not out of anger and sadness.

This resolution leaves no doubt that the Congress is united in full support of the President. We have given the President the authority that he needs to respond to this unprecedented attack on American citizens on U.S. soil. This resolution allows the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or individuals who are responsible for this attack and against those who helped or harbored them. But it does not give the President a blanket approval to take military action against others under the guise of fighting international terrorism. It is not an open-ended authorization to use force in circumstances beyond those we face today. Under the Constitution the President has the authority to act if there is an imminent attack on the United States. That authority is recognized in this resolution.

The tragedy our Nation experienced this week brought home to every American the reality of terrorism. Now we must respond. That response must be forceful and unequivocal. I am confident it will be.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, the attack on the United States this week leaves all of us jolted and angered. To respond to this terror is both our fate and our challenge. Our response to that attack must reflect our national character. As a great Nation, we must respond powerfully. But our response must be guided by justice and by our right to self defense, not by vengeance. We must act to hold accountable those responsible for these terrorist attacks. But to be true to our traditions and our Founders, we must act within the confines of the Constitution and the law. I believe that the resolution before us achieves that goal.

The War Powers Resolution of 1973 explicitly recognizes the President's authority to take immediate action as Commander in Chief of the United States Armed Forces to respond to this unprovoked attack on the United States. As such, there is no reason to suggest that the action we take here today is required in advance of any immediate military response by the President. In the interest of demonstrating our national resolve to act firmly and decisively, however, and as a demonstration of our commitment to working in close cooperation with our Commander in Chief to respond to this aggression, we act today to authorize the use of force, as required by the War Powers Resolution.

I commend the President and his administration for seeking the resolution before us today, for working with the Congress, and for recognizing the requirement under the Constitution and the law for joint authorization. As well, I commend those who negotiated the specific language of this resolution, and in particular, Senators BIDEN, LEVIN, and KERRY. They deserve our thanks for insisting that we honor the War Powers Resolution.

Like any legislation, this resolution is not perfect. I have some concern that readers may misinterpret the preamble language that the President has authority under the Constitution to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism as a new grant of power; rather it is merely a statement that the President has existing constitutional powers. I am gratified that in the body of this resolution, it does not contain a broad grant of powers, but is appropriately limited to those entities involved in the attacks that occurred on September 11. And I am particularly gratified that this resolution explicitly abides by and invokes the War Powers Resolution.

In taking this action today, we are not responding to a distant threat to

international peace and security; we are responding to a direct attack on the United States. This is not a humanitarian response to a foreign crisis, but a defensive action to protect the lives of Americans here at home.

At the same time, we must recognize that this war will be unlike any other we have fought in the past. Our enemy is not a state with clearly defined borders. We must respond instead to what is quite likely a loose network of terrorists that do not function according to a strict hierarchy. We must respond to a highly mobile, diffuse enemy that operates largely beyond the reach of our conventional war-fighting techniques.

Given the immense difficulties involved in identifying our enemies, we must take great care to guard against making mistakes as we pursue them across an obscured terrain. We must not act on misguided prejudices or incomplete information. We must not cause needless harm to innocent bystanders. Our response will be judged by friends and foes, by history, and by ourselves. It must stand up to the highest level of scrutiny: It must be appropriate and constitutional.

Within this confusing scenario, it will be easy to point fingers at an ever increasing number of enemies, to believe that the ''the enemy'' is all around us, that the enemy may even be our neighbor. The target can seem to grow larger and larger every day, before the first strike even occurs. And this, of course, is exactly what the terrorists want. They seek to inflate their numbers and their influence by retreating into the shadows. They seek to turn us against each other, and to turn us against our friends and allies across the world, but we will not allow this to happen.

We must also take great care to maintain a careful distinction between those organizations or states that have knowingly harbored or assisted terrorists, and those that have acted carelessly in providing unintended aid or shelter. We must punish those who have knowingly supported our enemy, we must strengthen the capacity of all others to respond appropriately. We must invite those who have unintentionally harbored terrorists to work with us to locate them, to eliminate them, to renounce them, and to begin a new era of vigilance, if they are to be regarded as friends of the United States.

Our fight against a faceless, shadow enemy also raises another difficult dilemma, for how will we know when we have defeated this enemy? How can we tell whether our enemy has merely regrouped to strike again on another day or at another hour? There can be no peace treaty with such an enemy, but there must be a lasting and discernible peace. We should consider this in determining the frequency and duration of consultations between the Congress and the President over the conduct and status of this demanding struggle.

We enthusiastically support our President as he prepares the response to this unparalleled attack. The President has two paths open to him, as any President would under the Constitution. On the one hand, he may act using his powers as Commander in Chief, while remaining subject to the terms of the War Powers Resolution for any sustained action. Or on the other hand, he may seek a declaration of war under Article I of the Constitution.

If this is indeed to be a war, then the President should seek a declaration of war. We cannot allow our cherished Constitution to become a dead letter. And it should go without saying that to declare a war, he must identify our adversary.

If this will be something short of a war in the broadest sense, then it is proper that we will pass a resolution that gives such broad powers to the President that he could thereby conduct a full-scale war across the globe without the consent of Congress. This would, as well, fly in the face of the structure that our Constitution sets up.

The drafters of the War Powers Resolution sought to fulfill the intent of the Framers of the Constitution and to ensure that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President would apply to the introduction of U.S. Armed Forces into hostilities.

In today's world, when candor and cooperation between co-equal branches of government seem paramount, the War Powers Resolution has become a bit like the family relative that nobody wants to talk about. But we need to talk about it. Our legislative horizons need to move beyond the era when a President could secretly deploy thousands of troops in Cold War struggles outside of the view of a television camera.

There is only one circumstance in which a President may act without statutory authorization, and that is to respond to legitimate emergencies. None among us doubt that we confront such an emergency today, and that it may grow into a sustained struggle.

The Constitution foresaw and history has since demonstrated that there will continue to be events to which the President must respond in the defense of the country, or in response to urgent and vital interests abroad.

Congress owns the war power. But by this resolution, Congress loans it to the President in this emergency. In so doing, we demonstrate our respect and confidence in both our Commander in Chief and our Constitution.

Emergencies can well demand a response of such decisiveness, secrecy, or dispatch that can only be provided by the President as Commander in Chief. But even when emergencies occur, it is our tradition for the President to act, and then seek what has been called ''indemnification'' from the Congress.

In prosecuting the Korean War, President Truman decided not to do that in 1950. And his decision is widely viewed as the most egregious abuse of constitutional war powers in the history of the United States. President Eisenhower's more constructive working relationship with Congress was tempered by the Truman experience.

Even President Johnson, the father of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, considered Truman to have made a serious error in failing to seek congressional authorization.

As one U.S. Congressman has said: ''Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation, whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so, whenever he may choose to say he deems it necessary for such purpose—and you allow him to make war at pleasure.''

Those were the words of Congressman Abraham Lincoln. Years later, at the outbreak of the Civil War, President Lincoln himself deployed U.S. Armed Forces without the authorization of Congress, but later told the Congress that these actions, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand and public necessity, trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them.

Thus Lincoln explicitly sought congressional approval of his emergency actions by statute. He never claimed to have full and independent constitutional support for his initiatives.

Congressional ratification was an essential legitimating step for his actions. Later the Supreme Court upheld his action in the famous 1863 prize cases.

So, by this resolution, Congress vouchsafes the legitimacy of a struggle that must have the continuing approval of the representatives of the people. It is the framework for a continuing consensus and communicates support to our President in this emergency. We acknowledge that this legitimate emergency permits the President to act unilaterally without turning our back on who wields the war power under the Constitution, and we trust that if he does, he will turn to Congress to legitimize his actions as appropriate. We have made clear that our support for appropriate action will be forthcoming. And we trust that, by taking up this resolution at this time, there will be no need for after-the-fact measures such as indemnification, no question in anyone's mind about our resolve and commitment.

I take pains to raise these issues because they matter, they go to the core of our Constitution and the brilliant separation of powers that guard our democracy. Unfortunately, there have been too many cases in which we have

been asked to make loans of the war power in other than emergency situations. As many of our colleagues said during the 1994 debate regarding Haiti, it is not enough to seek the approval of the U.S. Security Council or of a regional alliance like the OAS or NATO only then to ignore the role, the central role, of the United States Congress.

I also recognize that power-of-the-purse legislation relating to the commitment of U.S. armed forces is an available remedy, but not an ideal model. The distinguished President Pro Tempore, Senator BYRD, in testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee in February 1994, likened the power of the purse to a watering hole in the forest to which all the animals eventually must come to drink. I agree with the distinguished President Pro Tempore's characterization; the power of the purse is an excellent and effective tool in most matters for which we appropriate public funds.

But I worry, nonetheless, about how close we would come to a constitutional crisis if we were to rely on such measures as a last resort in a war powers struggle with the President. In a way, it illustrates our level of urgency about preserving our constitutional war power responsibilities, and they risk infringement upon the President's equally valid constitutional responsibilities as Commander in Chief.

The War Powers Resolution is as relevant today as it was enacted in 1973.

It is all too apparent that the post-Cold War environment has ushered in an era of threats unforeseen by the founders. These threats reinforce the need for the Congress to make its will known when our troops are to be deployed in potentially dangerous situations.

While I believe that the heinous acts perpetrated against the United States by still-unidentified terrorists on September 11, 2001, could justify U.S. and allied military action, I believe that any such actions, if they are to be sustained, must be properly authorized by the Congress.

Since coming to the Senate in 1993, I have encouraged discussion and vigorous congressional debate regarding the situations in Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo because of my conviction that Congress has both a right and a duty to express its will about the wisdom of committing our troops to a potential conflict. Many of these instances were not adequately considered and did not follow an appropriate Congressional authorization.

That same conviction makes it essential that the Congress should make its will known. We must not abdicate our responsibility to the victims of September 11, and to the mothers and fathers, the sons and daughters, the wives and husbands of our servicemen and women, who for us will be the point of the sword of justice.

Moreover, abiding by the constitutional and statutory scheme in this case is not only the right thing to do as a matter of law, but it is also the most effective thing to do. Because it follows the constitutionally and statutorily prescribed procedures, this resolution will strengthen our nation's efforts. Our careful and deliberate acts in this Congress are the manifestation of the will of the American people, and we will marshal that mighty force behind our President and our military. When we abide by our Constitution and our law, we are as strong as we possibly can be, and we are far stronger than the malevolent force that we soon will engage.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I rise today in full support of S.J. Res. 23, authorizing the use of the U.S. Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States.

As the President and many of my colleagues have asserted since the heinous acts of Tuesday past, we are at war. In fact, we have actually been at war against terrorists for a long time, but seldom has it touched our shores. The time has come for us, and for our allies, to act with all appropriate force to remove the threat of similar acts occurring on our soil, or the soil of other free nations.

As the President has stated, America is the primary target because we are the shining beacon of freedom and democracy. In recent days, our allies have recommitted themselves to the support of those ideals, and they have pledged their support for the actions that must be taken in response to the murderous crimes of September 11.

With so much of the world behind us, there will never be a better time for us to make a concerted effort to rid outselves of the threat of terrorism. Today we have put partisan politics behind us and created a joint resolution that authorizes the President to use ''all necessary and appropriate force'' against the terrorists who perpetrated these acts and the countries of organizations that supported, aided and harbored them.

We stand united in our resolve to take whatever actions are deemed necessary by the President to defeat the enemy—terrorism.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I rise in support of the joint resolution authorizing the use of U.S. Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent act of war against this Nation, to deter future attacks, and to disable the machinery of terror.

With the end of the cold war came the hope of even greater prosperity and freedom for people the world over. That promise has been threatened and attacked in the most vicious and monstrous assault on American soil ever. But make no mistake, it has not been squelched. The forces of evil have had their day. Now, we will have ours.

It is no exaggeration to say that this is a defining moment not only for the United States, but for the principles and ideals for which it stands. It comes down to this: Either you stand with those principles and ideals, or you stand against them. Unlike almost any other issue we debate on this floor, this matter is that simple.

Either we move to crush those who disregard human life on a massive scale, or we surrender humanity to the hands of madmen. Either we send the message that the world will not be a hostage to terror, or we submit to an infinite cycle of hopeless victimization. That is our choice. It is that simple.

But just because the choice is simple does not mean the decision is easy. To the contrary, there is nothing more difficult than committing our troops to a dangerous mission. While we do not yet know what form that mission will be, we know it will require tremendous sacrifice. This is the one vote that not a single one of us ever wants to make, but now we must make.

I well remember being in the White House in January of 1991, at a meeting in the Cabinet room to discuss the use of force in the Persian Gulf. During the meeting, the President excused himself to take a call from the Secretary of State on the progress of the talks with the Iraqi foreign minister. When he returned, the look on his face told me the talks had failed. Force would have to be used. I will never forget that moment. I will never forget this moment—none of us will.

Winston Churchill, in preparing his nation for the full onslaught of the Axis blitzkrieg, told his fellow countrymen, ''Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty.'' All of us—here in Washington and throughout the country—must brace ourselves for the duty before us. There will be days of triumph, and days of tears. But in the end, we know that our cause is just, and we know we will prevail.

Whoever is responsible for this heinous act against humanity must know the full force of our fury. How tragic it is that we must return suffering for suffering, but we know from the history of human experience that it is a price we must be prepared to pay in defense of liberty. Sadly, from all we know of these faceless cowards, it is the only dialogue they and others like them understand. For them, the language of violence is the only language they speak. For them, the taking of life is the apex of human expression.

That is not the world I want for us. That is not the world I want for our children. Terrorism is quite literally a cancer in the body politick, elusive by its nature, insidious in its stealth, and requiring the most early detection and eradication possible. And that is what we intend to do. Either that, or terrorism will destroy the rule of law from the inside out, along with the

basic tenets by which we are able to live together and thrive and enjoy ''life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'' in a civilized society.

We must remember that this unprovoked attack was on soil that is American, against ideals that are global. Indeed, two of the very targets themselves, the twin towers of the World Trade Center, were international buildings rooted in U.S. ground. The lives that were lost—American, Australian, British, and countless others—are in a way symbolic of the freedom that was lost not only in the United States, but in countless nations across every hemisphere of the globe.

So while we may lead the charge, we do not stand alone. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization to which we have pledged our unyielding support, as well as many other nations beyond those we might consider our traditional and closest allies, will now be there in support of our mission, a mission that ultimately is larger than any one Republic, any one people.

In this particular instance, right now, we know not against whom we aim. For that reason, it is all the more important we give the President broad latitude to take whatever action is necessary to punish the perpetrators and help ensure that such a catastrophe never reoccurs. This Joint Resolution grants the President discretion in destroying the soul of whatever organization has jabbed at the heart of democracy. It is a resolution born of necessity, and rooted in precedent.

In 1962, when Cuba posed the threat of spreading communism and endangering the security of the United States, Congress approved a joint resolution stating that the United States will use force if necessary to halt the spread of communism in this hemisphere. The resolution declared that the United States was determined to prevent, by whatever means necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere, and to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States.

On January 12, 1991, in the wake of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, both houses of Congress passed the ''Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution'', which I supported. The resolution authorized the President to use the U.S. Armed Forces pursuant to U.N. Security Council Resolution 678 to achieve implementation of the earlier Security Council resolutions calling for the repulsion of Iraq from Kuwait.

On January 16, former President Bush made the determination required by the Resolution that diplomatic means had not and would not compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. On January 18, he reported to Congress ''consistent with the War Powers Resolution'' that he had directed U.S. forces to commence combat operations.

Now, we are faced with the bloodiest attack ever on American soil, the first of this magnitude in this history of the continental United States. This resolution states 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, or harbored such organization or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons.''

This resolution, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, is precisely the right course for the Congress to take at this momentous juncture in American history. Our thoughts and prayers are with all the men and women of our Armed Services, who will be at the vanguard of our struggle against whatever evil force has darkened the world.

We cannot allow these forces of darkness to take root in the fertile soil of this new century. Rather, the time has come to eradicate terror at its roots. We have no choice if we are to remain the authors of our own destiny, a destiny that has no room for those who would shackle freedom with the twin specters of fear and violence. It is time to unleash the full resources and force and determination of this great nation against this unimaginable evil. This atrocity cannot stand, and let history one day record that it did not stand.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I strongly support the bipartisan resolution to authorize the use of force and the emergency supplemental appropriation to help our nation recover and respond to this vicious terrorist atrocity.

The use-of-force resolution authorizes the President to use force against any nations, organizations, or persons involved in the terrorist attacks last Tuesday and to take all appropriate steps to prevent future acts of terrorism against the United States. This is an appropriate and needed response to the vicious and horrifying recent attacks on America.

Those who murder American citizens must find no hiding place, and those who harbor terrorists must pay the price. America must be decisive and effective in apprehending terrorists and identifying and punishing those who give them support.

Our Government is working hard to find the perpetrators of this crime, and this effort deserves the full support of Congress. Our response to these atrocities will and must be strong and decisive.

At the same time, we all agree that our response must not be indiscriminate. We should only act when we are certain who the perpetrators of these atrocities are.

These shameful attacks demonstrated America's vulnerability to terrorist attacks, and an effective and appropriate response is essential. Despite our efforts to prevent terrorism, a vast international network of terrorists has been organized to work against America's interests at home and abroad. We cannot permit these terrorists to succeed.

These atrocities have strengthened our resolve to root out the terrorist network and protect the safety of American citizens at home and abroad. Our resolve is strong to defend and uphold democracy and freedom, the founding principles that have made our Nation great. We should spare no resources to protect these profound values.

The need for extra resources cannot be understated. The devastation caused by the attacks in New York and at the Pentagon have already dwarfed the largest recent catastrophe, Hurricane Andrew, where losses were estimated at over $18 billion.

This emergency supplemental appropriations bill provides $40 billion for the full range of response, recovery, relief, and repair efforts to help Federal, State, and local governments to support counterterrorism activities to carry out the investigations and eventual prosecution of those who committed these acts and to guarantee increased security for our nation's airports.

These funds will enable America's law enforcement agencies to continue their urgent efforts to identify all persons who were involved in these atrocities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has launched the largest investigation in its history, involving more than 4,000 special agents and 3,000 support personnel. At the crime scenes in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania FBI agents are sifting through the wreckage to identify the terrorists and their victims, and to locate weapons, flight recorders, and other items that will enable us to understand how these crimes occurred. Across the nation and around the world, agents are pursuing thousands of leads about the suspected perpetrators and supporters of these terrorist acts.

FBI Director Robert Mueller has expressed a total, unwavering commitment to the challenge. We in Congress are committed to providing full resources to it and all other federal law enforcement agencies involved in this investigation. We will do whatever it takes.

Our airports must also be made secure. Some of these funds should be used for hiring additional sky marshals, so that they can be deployed on

domestic flights. Funding should also be allocated to effective baggage screening technologies, airport personnel training, and background checks.

Additional resources are clearly needed to win this all-important battle against terrorism. All of our counterterrorism assets must be strengthened—in the military, in our intelligence community, and in our public health infrastructure including needed steps to counter the threat of biological weapons in the hands of terrorists.

This week's devastating attacks in New York and at the Pentagon are a call for action not only to respond forcefully against the perpetrators of these outrages, but also to strengthen our defenses against future attacks. A central part of this effort must be to improve the Nation's preparedness against biological terrorism. The Office of Emergency Preparedness estimates that 40 million Americans could die if a terrorist released smallpox into the American population; Anthrax could kill 10 million.

We must strengthen our national capacity to prevent such attacks, and also to detect, monitor, and contain any plague released by a bioterrorist attack. The troops in the front line of the battle against bioterrorism will be medical and public health workers. We must give them the weapons they need to win that battle.

Finally, in the aftermath of this week's attacks, as we reach out and come together as a nation, we must also deal with the profound psychological impact of these events on the victims and their families, on the many emergency personnel who responded so courageously to this crisis, and on the large number of children across the country who have also been affected. It is my hope that a high priority of the resources being appropriated by this legislation will be used to make post-trauma services and support widely available to all those who need them.

Again, I commend President Bush for his strong commitment to win the ongoing battle against terrorism, and I commend as well, the strong bipartisan spirit in which Congress has joined in this all-important commitment. America will be a stronger nation because of this attack.

VOTE ON S.J. RES. 23

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CRAIG) and the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that if present and voting the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS) would vote ''yea.''

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 98, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 281 Leg.]

YEAS—98

Akaka	Durbin	McCain
Allard	Edwards	McConnell
Allen	Ensign	Mikulski
Baucus	Enzi	Miller
Bayh	Feingold	Murkowski
Bennett	Feinstein	Murray
Biden	Fitzgerald	Nelson (FL)
Bingaman	Frist	Nelson (NE)
Bond	Graham	Nickles
Boxer	Gramm	Reed
Breaux	Grassley	Reid
Brownback	Gregg	Roberts
Bunning	Hagel	Rockefeller
Burns	Harkin	Santorum
Byrd	Hatch	Sarbanes
Campbell	Hollings	Schumer
Cantwell	Hutchinson	Sessions
Carnahan	Hutchison	Shelby
Carper	Inhofe	Smith (NH)
Chafee	Inouye	Smith (OR)
Cleland	Jeffords	Snowe
Clinton	Johnson	Specter
Cochran	Kennedy	Stabenow
Collins	Kerry	Stevens
Conrad	Kohl	Thomas
Corzine	Kyl	Thompson
Crapo	Landrieu	Thurmond
Daschle	Leahy	Torricelli
Dayton	Levin	Voinovich
DeWine	Lieberman	Warner
Dodd	Lincoln	Wellstone
Domenici	Lott	Wyden
Dorgan	Lugar	

NOT VOTING—2

Craig	Helms

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 23) was passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S.J. RES. 23

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

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

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

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

Whereas, the President has authority under the Constitution to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States.

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) 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 future 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.

THREE IN 29 YEARS

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, as of today, during my nearly 29 years in the Senate, I have missed a total of three votes because of ''traffic jams.'' The first was during my 4th year in the Senate. The other two occurred this morning when I was unable to get to the Senate Chamber in time to cast my affirmative votes for H.R. 2888 and S.J. Res. 23, both of which were approved without a dissenting vote.

Needless to say, I deeply regret I was unable to reach the Senate Chamber in time to vote for the two critical measures approved by the Senate today.

The enormity of Tuesday's terrorist attacks is proving more apparent every day. It is obvious that the lives of all Americans have changed as a result of these heinous crimes against the United States and, indeed, all civilization.

Needless to say, I strongly support the Senate's giving President Bush the authority to root out and destroy the heinous terrorists responsible for such brutality and also, of course, the governments harboring them. Needless to say, I support the necessary funding to enable the President to begin this solemn responsibility. I commend the Senate, of course, for its responsible and appropriate actions to provide sufficient funding to help the recovery effort in New York, Washington, D.C. and elsewhere.

This is only the beginning of the resources Congress must provide to eradicate the terrorists that perpetrated such horrific violence against America and the American people.

Mrs. Helms and I join our fellow Americans in mourning the victims and praying for their loved ones, and we also share the resolve to fight terrorism in any form, by any available means, unless and until we are confident that America will never again have a day like Tuesday, September 11, 2001.

MORNING BUSINESS

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, a number of Senators wish to speak.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Texas will suspend until the Senate is ordered. The Chair, as President pro tempore, designates the senior Senator from Alaska, Mr. STEVENS, to take the Chair and, after a period of time, designates in open session that Mr. BAYH will resume the chair.

The Senator from Texas.

(Mr. STEVENS assumed the chair.)

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I know a number of Members want to speak. I want to propose that we go back and forth across the aisle and set an order for those who are here and wish to speak. I ask unanimous consent that we be allowed to do that, and I would like to be on the list as soon as possible.

Mr. INHOFE. Reserving the right to object, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be recognized for up to 10 minutes. I know that we are talking about 5-minute intervals. I will make that request now and then we will worry about in what order we go.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I just ask that if the Senator wants to speak for 10 minutes, could he then wait until others who are trying to go to the National Cathedral, let them have 5 minutes and then perhaps take his 10 minutes?

Mr. INHOFE. I am glad to wait until approximately 11:30, if necessary.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak for up to 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has the floor. The Senator is recognized pursuant to a previous order.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, is my understanding correct that we will go back and forth, side to side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That has not been ordered.

Mr. KERRY. I ask unanimous consent that we speak alternatively, from side to side.

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

The Senator from Texas is recognized.

A UNITED RESPONSE

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, there is a time to talk and there is a time to act. The Senate today has unanimously acted with force, with resolve, and with unanimity. We spoke for the people of our country about the heinous situation in which we find ourselves, and also about the resolve to keep this from happening again.

We have passed a resolution giving the President of the United States our support and authorization for the use of military force against any person or any country that is helping the people who did the despicable acts of September 11. I heard a young woman on television this morning whose brother was lost in one of the World Trade Center Towers. The young woman was asked what she thought the response of the United States should be. She said, ''I don't really want to go to war. I just don't want anyone else to have to suffer what I am suffering today.'' I just want to say to that young woman, and to all of the other families of the victims of September 11, 2001, that it is exactly what we did today that will prevent other people in the future from suffering what she is suffering.

If we do not respond with force, we will put American lives in jeopardy, and we will not be doing our job of protecting the people of our country whom we were elected to protect.

No one would ever have the United States move before we had absolute evidence about who perpetrated this atrocity, but when we have that evidence, we are going to move.

The Senate is speaking today in support of the President to take military action against those who have attacked our country, our people, our way of life, our very freedom.

The most important responsibility I believe I have as a Senator is to keep the freedom that so many have died for in past years for our country. We are the beacon of freedom in the world. We are a democracy that has proven that, through our voting capabilities, we can become the strongest nation on Earth. It is freedom that is the foundation of the democracy and our way of life.

To make sure we keep the freedom we have known—our mothers, fathers, grandmothers, and grandfathers have known—for our children and grandchildren, we must act decisively when an act of war has been perpetrated on innocent people of our country.

As to the act that occurred on September 11—a day we will never forget in our lifetime, nor will our children or grandchildren ever forget—the only way we can respond to that kind of attack on our people and our freedom is to say we will fight, not just today or next month or 2 months from now, but we are in this for the long haul, and we are going to rid the world of the despots who believe they can prey on innocent citizens against freedom-loving people in the world.

I am proud of the Senate. I am proud that we did not dillydally around to say, ''I wonder what we ought to do,'' but we are putting our faith in the President of the United States, our military forces, and our leaders who have the decisionmaking capabilities and the control of the military to act on our behalf and on behalf of the people of our country to assure that this will not happen again, and the force that we use will have the appropriate impact to protect ourselves and our freedom-loving allies wherever they may be in the world.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, my mom has an expression: Out of every tragedy, something good will come if you look hard enough.

I know the Presiding Officer, if he will forgive this point of personal reference, has had his share of personal tragedy. Everyone in this Chamber has. Some of us have gotten those phone calls that the people in New York are getting from cell phones and/or from a police officer and/or from a morgue.

We know there is not a darn thing we can do now for those people except—it is strange the way human nature works, and I know the Presiding Officer knows this—except it is amazing how those people in that circumstance draw strength from the knowledge that other people understand their pain, that other people empathize with them, that other people care about what they are going through. It amazes me that you can draw strength from that.

I think what we are doing and the Nation is doing is the right thing. Most important, what we did today should be noted is not likely to occur in any other country in the world, and that is, that we just a few moments ago operated under the rule of law.

In all our anger, all our frustration, all our feelings, very bluntly, of hatred that exists now for those who perpetrated the act against us, we did not pell-mell just say: Go do anything, anytime, anyplace, Mr. President; you have to just go. We operated as our Founders, who were not naive people, intended us to operate. We operated under the rule of law.

We went to our civil bible, the Constitution, and we said: What does it call for here? What it calls for is the U.S. Congress to meet its constitutional responsibility, to say: Mr. President, we authorize you, in the name of the American people, to take action, and we define the action in generic terms which you can take.

We gave the President today, as we should have and as is our responsibility, all the authority he needs to prosecute war against the individuals or countries responsible, without yielding our constitutional right to retain the judgment in the future as to whether or not force against others could, should, or would be used.

That is remarkable. I suspect not many people know, other than my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Texas, a former professor, one of the brightest guys with whom I ever worked, unfortunately leaving the Senate at the end of his term; what the leading scholar in the Senate, Senator

BYRD, knows and what the experienced Senator from Alaska knows. My friend from Oklahoma is the only one in this place who can fully understand, I suspect, along with his Oklahoma colleague, what our friends from New Jersey, New York, Virginia, the District, and Maryland are going through. He understands it. He has internalized it. He knows it.

I believe it is fairly remarkable that, in spite of the reasons for the attack on us and our way of life, we adhered to the rule of law; that even in this calamity, we acted with dispatch but under the law, under the Constitution.

The resolution provides the President clear authority ''to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons that 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.'' In short, the President is authorized to go after those responsible for the barbaric acts of September 11, 2001 to ensure that those same actors do not engage in additional acts of international terrorism against the United States.

The authority permits the President wide latitude to use force against the broad range of actors who were responsible for the September 11 attacks. If any nation harbored the terrorists while they were in training, that nation may be subject to American military power. If a nation or organization financed the operation, they may be subject to American military power. It does not limit the amount of time that the President may prosecute this action against the parties guilty for the September 11 attacks. We must all understand that the use of force will not be easy or quick. In extending this broad authority to cover those ''planning, authorizing, committing, or aiding the attacks'' it should go without saying, however, that the resolution is directed only at using force abroad to combat acts of international terrorism.

The authority granted is focused on those responsible for the attacks of September 11. The President's lawyers originally proposed that the resolved clause also include language authorizing military force to ''deter and preempt any future acts of terrorism against the United States.'' Of course, the President has the Constitutional authority to deter terrorism through a broad range of means, including diplomatic measures, economic sanctions, seizing of financial assets, or deployment of forces. The President must also ensure that Executive Branch agencies devote the necessary resources and apply the full measure of the federal criminal laws to deter, prevent and punish terrorism. Further, the President has the authority under the Constitution to use force to preempt an imminent attack, including a terrorist attack, against the United States. Rather than purporting to extend these authorities in the resolved clause, the final whereas clause reflects these recognized powers of the President.

I suggest what others have said, and that is, the President of the United States has our prayers, he has our good wishes, and he has our commitment under the Constitution now to support him in what action he takes as defined by the authority he has. That is a big deal. It is a big deal. It is worth noting.

Lastly, I compliment the President on his patience, on his resolve, and his understanding of the need of certitude because the worst thing we can do, as he is uniting the world, is to act precipitously to meet our instinct for response immediately. I compliment him. I compliment his Secretary of State for the way he is handling this situation.

I conclude by saying that I do not see what happened on the 11th as the beginning of the end of our way of life. I see it as the beginning of the end of terrorism as it has been able to be spawned over the last three decades. The world has come face to face with the reality that nation states, no matter what their ideological disposition, are all in jeopardy. We are united in understanding that we cannot allow these networks to be spawned.

I thank my colleagues for allowing me to speak at this moment. Again, I compliment them all, Democrat and Republican, in the way we have stood united.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, today, in a bipartisan unanimous vote, we gave the President the money and the power to make war on those who have made war on us.

We are down, it seems to me, to a stark and bitter choice: We can hunt down those who made war on us and make war on them where they live, or we can allow them to make war on us where we live. We can either change our lifestyle, limit our freedom, reduce our prosperity, or we can change the lifestyle of those who have made war on us. I am not indifferent to that choice. I subscribe to the thesis that when our enemies are on the run, they cannot have the resources and the communications to carry out the kind of terrorist war they carried out against the Pentagon and against the World Trade Center.

We have to be aware and we have to accept up front that if we go too far in limiting our freedom or our prosperity in trying to fight this war, then we are ceding the very thing the war is about. So I believe very strongly this money and this vast commitment of authority and power is meant to go after our enemies and to pursue them to the end of the earth and to never let up in that process.

I do not believe this is going to be an easy war to fight, and I believe it is going to be a costly war to fight.

Our enemies have a hate for capitalism and for democracy that we cannot comprehend or understand. I believe until they are hunted down, captured, or killed we can never reestablish the safety we felt prior to last Tuesday.

I also want to make it clear that I believe we have to choose sides in this conflict. Those countries that harbor or abet or tolerate the actions of terrorists on their soil are making war against the United States of America, and I believe that we have to hold them accountable.

Finally, I want to thank our leaders. I want to thank Senator BYRD, for working to come up with a responsible appropriation. I think it is clear that under these circumstances, the Congress would literally be willing to pass any appropriations bill and spend any amount of money. As this conflict lengthens, as other priorities emerge, as we need more resources, as we ultimately will in this conflict, we will wish we had been responsible. I think we took an important and responsible first step today. I personally believe we should set up a joint bipartisan committee with the job of overseeing these expenditures, just as the Truman Commission oversaw the expenditures of World War II. The job of this committee would not be to determine how the money is spent but to simply see it is being spent as we appropriate it; to see we are not being gouged in terms of prices when there is no competitive bidding, as there generally is not when you are doing things on an emergency basis; to try and see that we are being good stewards of the taxpayers' money and getting the return on that money in comforting people who have been hurt, helping those who have lost loved ones, rebuilding things that have been destroyed, and prosecuting this war against our enemies.

It should be a joint bipartisan committee or commission to work with the GAO to see the money is well spent, to see it is spent for the purposes we provided it, to see we are being charged reasonable prices, and to hold people accountable for things they do under emergency situations in terms of prices that are charged. We did that in World War II. Harry Truman did an excellent job, and the country benefitted from it.

It should obviously not be something on the scale of what we did in World War II, but something similar to that would be helpful. I intend next week, when we come back, to talk about it. I hope my colleagues will look at that idea, look back at what Harry Truman

did in his committee in terms of following the expenditures on the war and how well the money was being spent and holding people accountable.

I am proud of the Senate today, and I think we have a right to be proud. I believe the American people are proud.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. INHOFE. Will the Senator yield for a unanimous consent request?

Mr. BYRD. Absolutely.

Mr. INHOFE. I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, I be recognized for up to 15 minutes.

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

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma for his courtesy toward me. He was prepared to speak before I speak. I offered to wait and have him go ahead but he said no, so I thank him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to speak for not to exceed 7 minutes, and I ask the Chair indicate when I have 1 minute left.

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

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

Today, the Senate passed the fiscal year 2001 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States.

Mr. President, the emergency supplemental appropriations bill adopted earlier today is an extraordinary response to extraordinary events. It sends a strong and unmistakable message to the world that the United States is prepared to move swiftly on all fronts to respond to the horrific attacks on our citizens and our territory. The unity and determination that have propelled this bill through Congress 72 hours after the assault on America speaks volumes about the strength and resiliency of our system of government.

The supplemental provides $40 billion, to remain available until expended, to respond to the terrorist events of September 11, 2001. This is an extraordinary bill that responds to extraordinary events. The President has not presented the Congress with any detailed estimates of agency needs in response to these terrorist acts. This is not a criticism. Federal Government agencies, such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Department of Defense, and the Corps of Engineers, are on the ground, focusing all of their attention on responding to the crisis.

Initially, the administration requested authority to spend any amount of money, for any purpose. The Constitution gives the power of the purse to the Congress. It is the Congress that has the responsibility to make sure that the needs of our people are met. This left my good friend Senator STEVENS and me with a dilemma. How do we meet the clear and immediate need for funding while protecting the prerogatives of Congress?

On Wednesday, Senator STEVENS and I joined with our Senate leaders and the House leaders at a meeting with the President to discuss our response to these evil terrorist acts. At that meeting, I laid out four goals for funding the Federal response. First, we must appropriate a specific amount for particular purposes, not a blank check, not a Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, with ill-defined goals. Second, to reinforce bi-partisan unity, we must all have trust and candor on the use of these funds. Third, the President must consult with the Congress in the allocation of the funds. Finally, there must be regular reporting to the Congress.

Mr. President, the supplemental bill that the Senate approved today meets each of those goals. The bill provides $40 billion, all designated by the Congress as an emergency, and is contingent on the President designating the full amount as an emergency.

Funds are available to: (1) provide Federal, State and local preparedness for mitigating and responding to the attacks; (2) provide support to counter, investigate, or prosecute domestic or international terrorism; (3) provide increased transportation security; (4) repair public facilities and transportation systems damaged by the attacks; and (5) support national security.

Not less than $20 billion of the $40 billion is for disaster assistance and disaster recovery activities in New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

Funds are available in three segments.

The President has $10 billion available to him after consultation with the Chairmen and Ranking Members of the Appropriations Committees.

The President has a second $10 billion available to him after the Director of the Office of Management and Budget has submitted to the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations a proposed allocation and plan for the use of the funds, and he then must wait 15 days. This will allow the Committees to review the President's plans and make suggestions—possibly enter into some negotiations with the President or his Office of Management and Budget Director.

The President has an additional $20 billion available only when the amounts are allocated to specific programs in a subsequent emergency appropriations bill.

Mr. President, I stress that this bill is just the first order of business for Congress. This bill deals with what has already happened but does not fully deal with it. Of course, even as scores of rescue workers continue to sift the rubble of the World Trade Center and search for victims in the shattered wing of the Pentagon, we in Congress must start looking forward. We must take steps now—today, tomorrow, next week—to re-double our efforts to intercept would-be terrorists before they can launch an attack.

As most Americans, I am amazed by the sophistication, organization, and complexity of Tuesday's attacks on the United States. This was not a casual effort or the work of a lone madman. These attacks took elaborate planning, significant manpower, and detailed knowledge of U.S. aircraft and aviation systems. I have great admiration for our nation's intelligence agencies. I believe that they provide tremendous service to our nation with the resources they have, and I know that we rarely hear about their success stories. But it is, frankly, beyond belief that such a massive and well-coordinated assault on our nation could be executed without any discernable signals. It is beyond belief that our nation, with its vast and powerful network of worldwide intelligence resources, could be caught so utterly unprepared.

It has long been acknowledged that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Well, we have been forewarned. Now, we must focus our efforts on improving our intelligence-gathering systems so that we have a chance to thwart a terrorist plot before it can be executed, before innocent lives can be lost. The stunning attack on the heart of America's military, financial, and transportation centers has exposed our vulnerabilities.

As we move quickly to provide assistance to the victims of these horrible acts, to improve security at our airports, to rebuild the Pentagon, and to repair the devastation of New York's financial district, so must we move to rebuild our intelligence capabilities. This emergency supplemental appropriations bill is the first step in a long road that will not end in my lifetime. We must guard against being sidetracked by politics or partisanship.

There will still be politics. We have other things to do along with these matters. There will still be some politics and some partisanship, but we must not be sidetracked by politics or partisanship. Congress and the President have demonstrated this week that in times of crisis there is no center aisle. There is no aisle between us. We can overcome our political differences and work together. Make no mistake about it, we are in a time of crisis, and it is a time of suspended crisis. We will weather this crisis, but it will last a long time. We will emerge stronger. We must work together to achieve that goal.

I close by commending Senator TED STEVENS, former chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, a very

valued Member of this body, for his tireless strength and dedication and patriotism. I commend Representative BILL YOUNG of Florida for his dedication to purpose, for his cooperation, for his characteristic courtesy to those across the Capitol and across the aisle. I commend Representative DAVID OBEY for his tenacity and determination, his patriotism, his dedication to the separation of powers in this great country of ours—all of these people for their outstanding contribution to this extraordinary bill. I could not sit down without commending, also, the Speaker of the House, our two leaders, in particular, Mr. DASCHLE and Mr. LOTT, and our excellent staffs who have worked long hours and rendered invaluable assistance, without whom we could not succeed in this mighty effort.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized under the previous order for 15 minutes.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I will identify myself with the remarks of the previous speaker, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia. He is a very wise man. He has thought this through. We have heard a lot of wisdom in the last few days in this Chamber.

Sometimes a child has an innocent wisdom that is more wisdom than anything we hear in this Chamber. My wife and I have four children and nine grandchildren. I can recall when my No. 2 son, who is now a hand surgeon, was very small, I was teaching him how to ride a bicycle. We have all had this experience, running beside them, and finally they are balanced and they make the first trip around the block. He came up the hill panting away. He looked at me and said: Daddy, I wish the whole world was downhill.

We know the whole world is not downhill. We think about these things. I had a phone call from my daughter, Molly, on Tuesday after this tragedy happened. She is a professor at the University of Arkansas, and a very accomplished one. She has four children—three boys and a little girl. In fact, the little girl she just adopted from Ethiopia. Her older boys are Jason, age 5; the next one is Luke, who is 3 years old. She was taking him to kindergarten.

On the way to kindergarten, they were listening to the radio. It is Ed Koch speaking from New York. He said—I believe she told me—three times in a row: We need to kill bin Laden. We need to kill bin Laden. We need to kill bin Laden.

Little 5-year old Jason looked at up and said: Mommy, who is bin Laden?

She said: bin Laden is a very evil, bad man.

He said this. He said: Instead of killing Mr. bin Laden, why don't we do a powerful prayer, and we will build a powerful shield around him so that he cannot hear the voices of the devil. He will only hear the voice of God, and God will be in his heart.

I thought, that is the real intellect in America.

I believe that God is in the hearts of more Americans today than perhaps ever before. People realize that there is something bigger than what has been happening here on Earth.

I think because of four reasons I probably had more opportunities to respond to this disaster than others. Those four reasons are: No. 1, I am on the Intelligence Committee; No. 2, I am on the Senate Armed Services Committee; No. 3, I am a licensed pilot; and No. 4, I am from Oklahoma.

As far as being a pilot is concerned, I believe that since the retirement of John Glenn, Senator Glenn of Ohio, that leaves me as the last active commercial pilot in the Senate.

I have been called by a lot of people in the media to talk about those issues. For example, most of my pilot friends would have thought the same as I did on Tuesday afternoon before any of the details came in, that virtually anyone who knew the basics of flying could take over an airplane that is already in the air and apply those basics to go hit a target—until I heard some of the details—for example, the 757 that I believe we now know, after picking up these fragmented details—we came to the conclusion, which may or may not be right, and we have expressed them here on the floor—the 757 was headed for the White House and for some reason made a diversion, for reasons which we don't know. Maybe that was the original plan. Maybe it was something that was there that made him believe he could not make that target and he made an alternative target, which was the Pentagon. He made a very steep 207-degree turn with the 757 at a low attitude, knowing there is such a thing as a high-speed stall with a high bank.

This guy knew what he was doing. He was an accomplished pilot, and he went ahead and hit, I believe, what was the second target in his very well executed terrorist act.

Second, as far as flying is concerned, one of my closest friends is—this goes way back from the time we were in the House of Representatives together—Norman Mineta, a Democrat from California. Both of us were on the Transportation Committee. He was chairman of the Aviation Subcommittee and then the Transportation Committee. We became very close friends.

In fact, when he was appointed by President Bush, I called him up. I said: Norm, who was the only Republican who openly supported you even over your Republican opponents during the years that you served in the House. He said: This must be JIM INHOFE.

We have had a chance to visit about this. I consider him a very close friend.

There are some obvious things that can and will happen.

One, I think we all know that we need to have secured doors for the cockpit. That goes without saying. It is very elementary and something that should probably have been done before.

Second, sky marshals: It is very important that we adopt a program so that we have sky marshals.

Third—and this has come about recently. Someone was very critical of me recently—yesterday, I believe—because I have a hold on one of our President's nominations. He nominated someone to be the Customs Commissioner.

I have to share a frustration with you. When I was in the House in 1988, when they had the Pan Am 103 disaster, JIM OBERSTAR, a Democrat, came with me as a Republican to Europe to test certain types of detection technologies out there that were better than what we had been thinking about.

We have to do something to have better detection technology used to protect American travelers and the American people.

We found several. We came back, and we were unable to get anything approved, accepted, or even tried by Customs. They were locked into old technology. They weren't going to move from that technology.

I didn't do anything until 1995 and Oklahoma City, which is the site of the worst domestic, devastating attack by a terrorist in the history of this country—until this past week. I decided, again, after that, let's see what we can do to try to get some new technology.

We discovered a technology called pulsed fast neutron analysis. It is called PFNA. This is a technology that not only shows through something, but for a sealed container, it has a three-dimensional view of what is inside. They can detect what substances are inside. They can detect the chemical composition from within.

This is a possibility. I am not saying there is a great likelihood that if we had this technology on Tuesday the tragedy might not have happened because we would have been able to detect things we could not otherwise detect.

We thought that this was worthwhile; let's go ahead and authorize it and ask the Director of Customs to have a side-by-side competition or technology competition. So we put that in some report language. Nothing happened. They didn't do it.

I spoke to the previous—I will not mention by name—Customs Commissioner in my office. I said: Will you commit to having this competition that we have directed?

He said: Absolutely. I will.

And he didn't do it. I couldn't figure out why.

It wasn't until this happened Tuesday that I thought we couldn't wait any longer. That is when I put a hold on this man because I wanted a commitment that this person who would be

the Commissioner of Customs would obey the law and have the competition. In fact, we actually put it in. It is in the appropriations bill over in the House. It has $3 million for the conduct of this competition down in El Paso, TX, and directs them to do it.

The language is very clear. I have talked to Senator DORGAN and others over here. They agree that this should be a part of it. I think Senator STEVENS would agree with that, as well as the President.

I will leave that as the commitment that we are going to try that. As technology advances, we have to advance with it.

Getting back to Oklahoma, Senator BIDEN said something a few minutes ago. He said that I am probably the only one here—prior to Tuesday—who really understands the pain that goes with a disaster like that. Me pointed towards me. This is because in 1995 we had that terrible, tragic blowing up of the Murrah Office Building. I have to say that even though a detection device would not have precluded that from happening, it reminded me of the need for detection devices.

I wouldn't expect that the next terrorist attack on America—there will be more—would come in the form of a 767 or 757. I don't think that is going to happen. But we can still have that technology in place.

I can remember at that time—I was reminded of this last night. Last night, I went to the Pentagon. There are 194—I believe at the last count—lives lost at the Pentagon, and 168 in Oklahoma in 1995. It is very analogous. I stood there. I had tears in my eyes remembering 1995. I happened to be there right after it happened and hearing the thundering march of the volunteer firemen going into the Murrah Federal Office Building before it was secure and coming out with bits of body parts; there were hands stuck in the wall; there was a lady, a doctor went in and heroically amputated her leg so she could be pulled from the rubbish. She is alive today.

I talked to Cindy Rice yesterday who lives in Oklahoma City. Her son, David, who we assume is dead today, called her. He was on the 104th floor of one of the two towers. I am not sure which one. She wasn't sure which one. He called his mother. She said to me: David has always been a very spiritual boy. Right then I detected from this story that he knew the Lord, and that he knew what was going to happen to him. And he called, really in a sense of joy, saying: ''Mother, don't worry about this. I'm going to be well taken care of.'' Here is a guy calling, knowing he is about to die in the implosion of that building.

So these stories are out there, and we have heard so many of them. I think we all have such a seriousness in our hearts for what happened, but I would like to say this: People ask the question, Should we declare war? There is all this talk about war. On whom do you declare war?

I think we need to stand back and look and see. Yes, we think we know that Osama bin Laden was involved in this. It is not clear cut.

I remember so well, as I am sure the President pro tempore remembers, back in 1986 when, in a discotheque in Germany, there was a terrorist attack that ended up injuring many American soldiers and killing another. At that time President Reagan was the President of the United States, and we determined that Muammar Qadhafi did it. In a matter of hours after that took place, he dispatched, in addition to other planes, the first real use of our first stealth plane, the F–111, to Libya. And they took them out. They bombed them. We have not heard from Qadhafi since then. That was 15 years ago. This is not that easy. We do not have the target out there. But we need to act just as decisively when that time comes. It would be a disservice to the American people and to our system and to America to do that before we know.

But lastly, and this is the most significant thing I want to visit with—I do not say this critically of the previous administration—I am saying that during the Clinton administration the priorities were different than they were during the Reagan administration and the Bush administration before him. He did not have the emphasis on defending America and building a strong defense.

Now, as evidence of that, I have a couple of charts I have made for this purpose. If you took the fiscal year 1993 budget, and you took all of the money that was appropriated in that budget for Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, then that would be right at this point shown on the chart. Eight years after that, if you took the normal CPI, or any inflation figure you want to use—this is the index we use—and added for inflation, then what he would have appropriated for Labor, HHS, and Education would be this red line shown on the chart. However, this is what he did as shown on the green line. So at the end of 8 years he ended up successfully asking for the appropriation of $150 billion above the inflation rate.

If you took Defense and you used that same model, and you started with fiscal year 1993, and took the amount that was appropriated at that time, if you added for inflation, this is where it would be today shown on the chart with the red line. However, the green line shows us the actual budget. So in that 8-year period, his request for appropriations, I say to Senator STEVENS, was $375 billion below the inflation rate.

Those were his priorities, and he was elected President. I do not have a problem with that. But I can tell you, we were saying all along we were getting into a very serious problem.

I began to end every speech in 1995 with this phrase. I said: We, in America, are in the most impaired and threatened position today than we have ever been in the history of America.

It was not until 1998, when the Director of Central Intelligence happened to be present, that I said this same thing in a meeting that was broadcast live on C-SPAN, when I was chairing the Readiness Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee. I said: Mr. Director, I have been saying we are in the most threatened position today that we have ever been in in the history of America.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. INHOFE. I thank the Chair.

And he said: You are absolutely right.

So this is the Director of Central Intelligence. Now it comes in three forms. First of all, our conventional capabilities are one-half of what they were in terms of force strength today. And the President pro tempore knows this in terms of the number of Army divisions, tactical air wings, ships dropping from 600 down to 300.

No. 2, we have had all these deployments that have taken these rare assets and put them in the position where they are no longer usable.

No. 3—this is what I am getting to right now—we were on schedule to have deployed a limited national missile defense system by fiscal year 1998. We would have done that except for the vetoes of President Clinton.

I carry with me his veto message of the 1993 Defense authorization bill when, I say to Senator STEVENS, he said: I will continue to veto any bill that has money in it for a national missile defense system because the threat isn't there.

What people do not understand is, when you take down our military, you are taking down our intelligence at the same time because the intelligence budget is tied to the Defense budget. So our quality of intelligence has deteriorated to the extent that in 1998, on August 24, when I had been asking for a response to a question—how many years will it be when North Korea has a multiple-stage rocket capability?—the answer came in a letter from General Shelton. It was dated August 24, 1998. It said it will be between 5 and 10 years. A week later, on August 30, 1998, they deployed from North Korea a multiple-stage rocket. I say that not to criticize General Shelton, but the quality of our intelligence is not good.

What is the ultimate weapon of a terrorist? The ultimate weapon of a terrorist is a missile with a nuclear warhead. I really appreciated the editorial

in this morning's Wall Street Journal. I will read one paragraph out of it in just a minute. But I want to say this: We have an opportunity now to take advantage of the fact that the No. 1 priority of America should be to defend ourselves against an incoming missile.

Now they might argue, they might say: Only China and Russia and North Korea have a missile that will reach the United States of America from halfway around the world. I think that may be true. On the other hand, we do know that Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya, Pakistan—all these countries—have weapons of mass destruction and have at least intermediate-range missiles. So that threat is there today.

So I only say that we need to get this done and get it done today.

I am going to read just the first paragraph and one of the last sentences of an editorial in this morning's Wall Street Journal:

> Can anyone doubt that if the terrorists behind Tuesday's attacks had had access to a ballistic missile, they would have used it? Why settle for toppling the World Trade Center if you can destroy all of New York in an instant, without having to go to the trouble of sneaking a crew over the border and arranging for pilot training in Florida?
>
> . . . The President's plan for missile defense ought to go forward with all speed.

I would say this, and ask it in a different way: Is there any doubt in anyone's mind in America that if an individual is willing to fly a 767 into the towers in New York City, he would not be willing to deploy a missile at the United States of America?

When I remember that screen, Mr. President—and you saw it, too—of New York City, the skyline, and those two buildings imploding, if that had been a nuclear warhead, there would be nothing but a cinder, and it would not be 10,000 or 20,000 deaths; it would be millions.

I think this is an opportunity for us to make America strong again.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The senior Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, first, I thank the President pro tempore for his kindness in his comments about me in this Chamber today.

As I sat in the chair, I was thinking about the fact that 37 years ago, approximately, at about 5:30 in the evening, I got on a plane to fly to Fairbanks, AK, along with my great friend, Lowell Thomas, Jr.

Eight minutes after we took off, the largest earthquake to hit the North American continent in recorded times occurred. Somewhere around midnight, Lowell Thomas and I had chartered a plane and rounded up some physicians and nurses, and we flew back into Anchorage, landing at Elmendorf Field near our hometown of Anchorage. And I had to walk from that airfield over to my home in South Addition.

Flying in, we saw the Anchorage International Airport, and it looked as if it had been bombed. I walked home through fissures that were still moving, some of them 20 and 30 feet deep.

That was the largest natural disaster we have had in the United States.

We have just witnessed the largest national disaster we have ever had.

All of us have had varied feelings this past week, but mine have been really concentrating on what we could do to help—those of us on the committee that the distinguished President pro tempore chairs, and I used to chair—along with our colleagues in the House.

I am delighted we have reacted in a way that shows we are prepared to finance the recovery from these disastrous attacks. As I figure it, what we have appropriated, or at least earmarked for appropriations today—some $40 billion—is about $160 for every man, woman, and child in the country.

It is just the beginning. It is just the beginning. I appreciate what my friend from Oklahoma just said because we have really not addressed the need for the changes in our national defense and national security apparatus. We will do that in time. I believe we may have heard for the last time our people ask us, as we are talking about spending money to restore our national defense capability, ''What is the threat?''

In past years, I have constantly been asked what the threat is. I have tried to articulate that we didn't have one single threat coming at us from a monolithic empire, the Soviet Union, but that we had asymmetrical threats that were hard to conceive. We witnessed one of those as our massive new aircraft were turned into bombs by those who are terrorists. And, obviously, as the distinguished President pro tempore said, we witnessed probably the most destructive singular command and control operation by a terrorist organization the world has ever seen.

I don't think it is over, Mr. President. That is why today I am proud I have been able to work with the President pro tempore and our colleagues in the House, Congressmen YOUNG and OBEY, on this supplemental appropriations bill so that it starts the process of recovery and the process of being prepared—or trying to be prepared—for future attacks against this country. But more than that, the resolution we have now adopted gives the President all the necessary and appropriate authority to use force against the persons or organizations that he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided in the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11.

Some people say that is a broad change in authorization to the Commander in Chief of this country. It is not. It is a very limited concept of giving him the authority to pursue those who have brought this terrible destruction to our country and to pursue those who have harbored them or assisted them and conspired with them in any way. I am delighted that the resolution says that ''he determines,'' that the Commander in Chief is in control, in charge, to find a way to react against these people who have brought this destruction to our shores.

Mr. President, I commend you and those whom I am honored to work with on Appropriations for having the courage to proceed. I have to say, we were talking about $20 billion. The President met with the Representatives of New York and New Jersey and Virginia and decided that wasn't enough. He sent word to us that he wanted $40 billion. That, in the past, might have made all of us stumble a little bit. But I am delighted to see that all of us unanimously have said, yes, if he says he needs that much money, he should know he has that much money. We are going to review his plans and the requests of individual agencies, but we have committed $40 billion.

Mr. President, I have to say that nations have defining moments. We had at least two in the 20th century—at the time when we entered World War I and Pearl Harbor. This is really the first true defining moment of this country in this millennium, and I am proud of the Congress.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The junior Senator from Alaska is recognized.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I join my colleague at this momentous time. I again recognize the President pro tempore and my senior Senator for the role they have played in bringing together the Congress and the appropriate authorization of funding to meet this crisis in our Nation.

Mr. President, on Tuesday, I think we all learned the reality that the decade of peace we have known as the post-Cold-War era probably has officially ended. Things will not be the same. During the Cold War, the map of the world could perhaps be divided into two; you were either a friend or a foe.

In the 10 years after the Cold War, the map became much more difficult to read. As we look back to Tuesday, the smoke rising from the devastation, the map is again becoming clear. We are learning, with horrifying swiftness, who our enemies in this new era will be.

Now we are faced with a task of, once again, dividing the world into two and asking the question: Are you friend or foe?

As we look at the decision that was made a short time ago by this body to authorize the use of force against those responsible for the recent attacks against the United States, we have to consider the consequences. We can only guess what they might be. Some say the only way to get to bin Laden—if indeed he is the responsible individual—is with ground troops. When people are speaking of having the stomach to do

what is needed to be done, they are thinking about having the stomach to face the reality that innocent people will be killed in that process, that Americans will die. It could be bigger than just a simple operation in Afghanistan to get to bin Laden. To get any troops to Afghanistan, you have to go through Pakistan or down from the north. Would they let us? We don't know. Would we have to initiate a ground war from Pakistan first? We don't know. Will other Islamic nations just stand by? We don't know.

I think you can see where I am going. We are flirting with a world war between Islam and the West and the unknown consequences. We can only guess what bin Laden's program is. Is this exactly what he wants? Is that why he did this, if indeed he did? Well, we can read his speeches and statements. It seems to be all right there. It seems that he really believes Islam will beat the West. He figures if he can polarize the world into Islam and the West, he has a billion soldiers.

If the West takes military action against an Islamic nation, would in fact bin Laden welcome that? What could be better from bin Laden's point of view? This would be a war that could last for years and millions would die—not just theirs but ours. Who has the stomach for that? We know bin Laden does. But is this really what we want? Discretion is often the better part of valor, even if our stomachs hunger for more.

American leadership has not been easy. This past century saw this great country become the world's only superpower through the grit and sheer determination of the American people—generations of American people who were called into service to lead the world back from the brink of chaos, to save civilization itself, in wars across many continents, against many terrible foes. Each time, we triumphed because of our spirit and resourcefulness but also because our cause is just and true.

We have vanquished darkness before. Now we are called upon once again to fight the enemies of civilization and the enemies of peace, the shadowy armies of evil whose cause is destruction, terror and despair.

We will not fail, nor will they succeed.

Today's resolution approving the use of force is the call to arms against our foe in this new, uncertain era. Our enemies have unleashed upon themselves the dogs of war.

Mr. President, in peace, American leadership has not always been appreciated by our fellow nations. We have been dismissed as naive, frivolous, and wasteful. We have been ridiculed for our championship of human rights, tolerance, and fairness. We are criticized for leading in peace, and we will face much greater challenges leading in a war. As we hunt down the murderers, the terrorists, as we go to the heart of darkness to rip out the roots of terror, and the systems that breed terror, we face an elusive and deadly enemy.

Our friends, our allies, and those not as committed to this fight as are we will challenge our leadership. We heed them at our peril. Leadership can be a lonely business.

My own State of Alaska, far from the battlegrounds of this fight, far from New York City, far from Washington, DC, is going to play an important role. Elmendorf, Eielson, Ft. Wainwright, Ft. Richardson and surrounding communities will no doubt play a key role in winning this war. Located just 8 hours from New York, the Mideast, and the Asian subcontinent, Alaska has been a strategic keystone in our nation's defense for the last 50 years. Alaska will now be an offensive keystone in the battles to come. I can assure you, Mr. President, Alaskans and our adopted sons and daughters in uniform will be up to the task.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, earlier today the Senate voted unanimously to authorize the President to use all necessary and appropriate force to respond to the attacks launched by terrorists on Tuesday. Those responsible for these heinous attacks must never be allowed to do so again. For that reason we have also taken note of the President's authority to deter and prevent acts of terrorism against the United States, consistent with provisions of the War Powers Act. There may be times when the President must act swiftly to preempt an imminent act of violence. In such cases, he may not be able to consult closely with Congress beforehand. However, as a general rule, in the exercise of the authority that we have just approved, it is my expectation that the President and his advisers will consult with the Congress before taking action is contemplated by the War Powers Act.

Equally important, the U.S. Senate also voted unanimously to appropriate, on an emergency basis, some $40 billion in additional resources to enable New York City and the Washington, DC, area to cope effectively with the aftermath of the devastation wrought by those attacks. In addition, we have provided resources to enable the United States to counter domestic and international terrorism, enhance transportation security, and to undertake additional programs to enhance our national security.

We have taken up and passed these two measures on an expedited basis because our national interests dictate that we do. The House will do so later today as well. The Congress has an obligation to reassure the American people that their government is working to do everything in its power to protect them from such heinous acts in the future, as well as to provide funding so that the cleanup and rebuilding efforts can proceed as quickly as possible.

I believe that we are all in agreement that those individuals who were responsible for the premeditated murder of so many of our citizens must be found and stopped from ever conducting such actions again. Anyone who has aided, abetted or continues to harbor these terrorists is a terrorist as well. So too are those who knowingly facilitate the financial transactions that keep their organizations in business. While we do not know with 100 percent certainty that Saudi-born militant Osama bin Laden is the mastermind of this latest tragedy, we know full well based on past experience that he is fully capable of doing so. The President has directed that all of our intelligence resources be brought to bear to develop credible evidence as to who was in fact responsible. I am confident that we will have much better information in that regard in the very near future. And, when that moment arrives I believe we will act appropriately, consistent with our principles and values.

Sadly Osama bin Laden is not the only individual who harbors irrational hatred against the United States. Many others around the globe do as well. I would call to the attention of my colleagues a very important article that appeared in today's Washington Post entitled ''Zinni Urges Economic and Diplomatic Moves.'' In that article, ret. General Anthony C. Zinni cautions against an approach that is single pronged in attempting to eradicate terrorist organizations. An approach of simply bombing them back to the stone age may have appeal to some, but will, according to General Zinni, only perpetuate the problem by inflaming Anti-American sentiment in the Muslim world. Zinni urges the Bush administration to accompany any military action taken against Afghanistan or other states that harbor terrorists, with economic and diplomatic measures as well. Other governments in the region, Pakistan, Iran, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia, must be prepared to assist the United States in this multifaceted strategy.

There is another element to the problem of countering international terrorism over the longer term, namely the Middle East conflict. That conflict has fueled the hatred, sense of injustice, and hopelessness that has provided and will continue to provide the foot soldiers of the Osama bin Laden's of this world. The Bush administration must make resolution of the Middle East conflict a higher priority than it has to date. Only with United States leadership will we galvanize our allies in Europe, and moderate Arab States to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Palestinians to stop the violence and come back to the bargaining table so that a formula can be found that

will permit Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace. Only with peace will we be able to prevent the emergence of another generation of terrorists imbued with a burning hatred of the United States.

REIMBURSEMENT FOR NEW JERSEY

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, I want to thank the President and the leadership of the Congress for their support and immediate response to the tragic events that have transpired over the past few days. While the attack on the World Trade Center physically occurred in New York City, the emotional physical, and financial tolls will be felt throughout the Metropolitan area but especially in northern New Jersey.

I have heard estimates that over 50 percent of the people employed at the World Trade Centers were New Jersey residents.

The Port Authority which is headquatered at the centers is a joint, bi-State New York/New Jersey agency that coordinates infrastructure needs for the airspace, mass transit, and commuter needs of our area. When the port rebuilds, it will rebuild as a joint entity.

Fire, medical and emergency personnel and equipment, as well trades workers and their heavy equipment, hospitals and triage centers as well as transportation equipment shuttling the wounded and rescuers all have emanated from New Jersey communities.

Let me share with my colleagues a few examples.

Six hundred wounded were transferred to New Jersey hospitals for treatment. Jersey City Medical treated 150 people; 21 were admitted overnight; St. Francis Hospital/St. Mary's in Jersey City treated 50 people and UMDNJ in Newark treated and released 17 victims.

The New Jersey State Police mobilized 40 boats to ferry victims across the Hudson River and State Troopers have been sent to sort through rubble. New York Waterway has put all 24 of its ferries into service, transferring free of charge an estimated 200,000 people.

The New Jersey National Guard established a field hospital at Liberty State Park that evaluated 2,600 people. At the Meadowlands, a makeshift hospital with hundreds of ambulances and 50 surgeons was created.

The Jersey City Fire Department sent 4 fire trucks and Union County has sent 24 fire trucks and over 100 firefighters. The city of Trenton has sent 10 ambulance/paramedic teams. Middlesex County send 42 ambulances, 20 fire trucks and 70 police officers. Burlington County in southern New Jersey sent 20 ambulances.

The Elizabeth Urban Rescue Team which specializes in confined spaces rescue has been there from day one on 24-hour rotating duty because the heroic New York City teams were wiped out in the first minutes. The cost of this effort has already reached $150,000. Regular fire personnel from Elizabeth have been dispatched to Staten Island to free Staten Island Fire personnel to go to the World Trade Center site to help.

The Sheriff's and Prosecutor's Office in Hudson County which is directly across from New York City has conservatively incurred $50,000 in expenses. In Jersey City there are 60 officers working full time and countless numbers of fire fighters and equipment manning a major supply effort to New York via the Jersey City waterfront. The North Hudson Regional Fire Co. has spent over $150,000 on overtime, personnel, and equipment.

Mr. BYRD. There are many more examples of the selflessness and sacrifice taking place, not just from New Jersey but across the country.

I appreciate that the physical attack did not occur on New Jersey soil and that is why New Jersey is not referenced in this emergency appropriation as a location where the terrorist attack occurred as New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania are listed.

However, it is important to acknowledge and fully appreciate the human and financial expenses being incurred by the neighboring areas and that these areas be able to apply directly to the Federal Government for reimbursement.

Mr. President, it is my understanding that the specific State listings in the supplemental specifically refer only to the physical locations where the attacks occurred and do not establish an exclusive list of areas eligible for financial assistance from this Federal aid package.

Mr. CORZINE. I want to first associate myself with the remarks of my colleague from New Jersey and I would further appreciate the opportunity to clarify one additional point with my colleague from West Virginia. I understand that New Jersey was not listed because an attack did not physically occur there; however as my colleague, Senator TORRICELLI has stated, our State and communities have incurred significant human and financial costs in responding to this disaster.

I would appreciate your acknowledgement that the State of New Jersey or its local communities who have incurred expenses in the relief effort, will be able to apply directly to the Federal Government for the assistance provided under this aid package.

Mr. BYRD. It is my understanding that New Jersey is eligible to apply for any authorized disaster relief program in the same manner and under the same conditions as New York, Connecticut, Virginia, and other affected States.

Mr. TORRICELLI. I appreciate Senator BYRD's statement and the opportunity to clarify this issue.

Mr. CORZINE. I similarly appreciate Senator BYRD's statement clarifying this concern, as well as all his work.

MOMENT OF SILENCE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will now, in memory of those whose lives have been lost and those who still live but who suffer from the loss of loved ones and friends, entertain a moment of silence.

(Moment of silence.)

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will stand in recess awaiting the call of the Chair.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:02 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 2:10 p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. JEFFORDS).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for morning business, with Senators allowed to speak for up to 5 minutes.

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

A UNITED RESPONSE

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, this morning the Senate passed a historic resolution. The resolution passed granting the President broad authority and power to prosecute a war against terrorism and those who house terrorists.

It is important we talk about that from the standpoint that this is a war as no other we have been in where the enemy is one who can attack and has attacked on our soil, who will use means and methods of terror, which is the tool of choice for the terrorists, and try to debilitate us by fear.

We should not succumb to fear. We should not allow fear to take over but, rather, have faith in our system and faith in God above that we will prosper and persevere.

Many terrorists have networks that are headquartered throughout central Asia, South Asia, and the Middle East. It is wise for us to go after these terrorist organizations. It is absolutely right for us to do so.

We need to build alliances with people throughout these regions, and they are available to us if we move wisely and successfully. The State Department has done a nice job thus far, and I congratulate Secretary Colin Powell and Rich Armitage, the No. 2 person in the Department, and others, for reaching out to many countries in that part

of the world and saying: Look, it is time to stand up and be counted. You are either with us or against us, and we want to know what it is, and there will be consequences that will flow from that decision.

It appears a number of these countries are standing up and saying: We are with you; this global scourge of terrorism hits us on a daily basis as it just hit you with such a devastating force on September 11.

I think it would be wise for us to look at this very seriously, that before we move forward, we build these alliances with a number of nations that are willing to stand up with us and be heard. That is very possible for us to do.

We need to look to nations such as Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, nations that are not in the common lexicon perhaps of geography of the American student or maybe even the American political student. These are countries formed out of the fall of the Soviet Union, and they sit in direct proximity to Afghanistan, which has been the headquarters for some period of time of Osama bin Laden.

If these nations want to work with the United States, we ought to work with them. It requires us to look at them with a new set of eyes and say: OK, we put a lot of demands and pressures on you at different points, and now we have one singular focus, and that is to deal with terrorism; we want to work with you on that. I think we will get their cooperation.

They also will say: We want the United States to work with us, building the economies and abilities of our people. So there is going to be an exchange and a push back and forth that, in many ways, will help strengthen our standing and our relationship with many of these nations.

We have recently been on a diplomatic effort with India. That is proper and good and should continue. There are sanctions that need to be lifted in this region. Pakistan is going to be a key country, as we have already seen, and discussions are taking place already. Pakistan will be a key country. We have gone to them and said: OK, stand up and be counted with us or be counted with the other side.

We believe Pakistan will strongly come along our way. We have had our share of differences, certainly after the cold war. Pakistan was there with us in bringing the Soviet Union down when the Soviet Union was engaged in Afghanistan. I think Pakistan will be with us again. We have to look at how we work with them. They are going to say: OK, there are a series of sanctions you have on us; we want to talk about that as well.

We should engage those discussions. Hopefully, that will be a way we can build these nations together. That would be a good and appropriate thing to do.

I want to point out some history regarding Afghanistan. Some suggest we go in and start bombing. There have been a number of nations, great nations over history, that have tried to go into Afghanistan, and there has been great difficulty going into Afghanistan, whether it was the British or whether it was the Soviet Union, which could merely drive into Afghanistan with huge amounts of weaponry and force and still was not able to put the proud people of Afghanistan under their pressure and army.

To think we can just drop bombs or drop a few troops into Afghanistan and that country will succumb to our pressure does not read correctly the history of that proud nation.

The Taliban has been a scourge on that country, as they have been on the world. We have to look very wisely and carefully at how we are going to deal with Osama bin Laden and other terrorist organizations that are headquartered in Afghanistan.

This is going to take some time, and I hope our people are cognizant of those lessons of history and are cognizant of what we are dealing with. This may take some time, planning, and thoughtfulness as we build the alliance with countries in that region, as we do the give-and-take to get them on our side and with them saying: OK, we need you to work with us as we build up our nations as well and as we plot long-term strategy to be able to get at these terrorist groups that are headquartered in a very difficult nation.

This is not the sort of thing we are going to do from 30,000 feet in the air, dropping bombs or launching cruise missiles and hoping we get it done. This is going to take some period of time to build the alliances we will need.

It is a different alliance than we have formed in the past. It is an alliance to put the tools in place, the human intelligence, the ability to get at these dens of iniquity, these evil groups that would perpetrate these crimes on this country and across the world.

Then we are going to have to go in and dig them out one at a time. This is not the Persian Gulf war or any other war in which we have been. If done properly and well focused, we can be very successful in this effort. It is going to require time, focus, prudence, and determination, and the mettle of this country will be tested. But we are going to be successful in the long run. We could be here for some period of time talking about this.

Mr. President, I wanted to rise to say that because the resolution we passed this morning was quite broad based. It was an expression of the people of the United States, and I think a good expression of the desires of the people of the United States.

I do not want people to think this will be done later this year and we are finished with it. This will take a long period of time. These terrorist organizations operate in a number of countries, and they have substantial assets in at least 10 different nations. We could well be going at that for some period of time.

NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER AND REMEMBRANCE

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, the National Day of Prayer and Remembrance was held at Washington National Cathedral. What a beautiful service to recognize and remember those who lost their lives and the families who mourn them and those who are still missing. We ended it by singing the Battle Hymn of the Republic, with which everybody is familiar.

Most people are familiar with the first verse, maybe the last verse, but not some of the rest of the text. Remember, this is the great hymn of the Republic during the time of strife between the States and where we had a war between ourselves, brother against brother, in this land. This was the fight song.

As we sang that song, it was as if we were sending our Nation off to war. I want to read the words to the middle verse, the third verse of this hymn that is not familiar to most people, but the words are so strong and striking.

> I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnish'd rows of steel; as ye deal with My contemners, so with you My grace shall deal; let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with His heel; since God is marching on.

''I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnish'd rows of steel.'' I hope that our enemies, the terrorists in the world, read that writ we have issued today written in burnished rows of steel. We are resolved. We are united. We will win. We will do whatever it takes to win, while our God is marching on.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

2001 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR RECOVERY FROM AND RESPONSE TO TERRORIST ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, H.R. 2888, just received from the House, is read a third time and passed, and the motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.

The bill (H.R. 2888) was read the third time and passed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to executive session and that the Commerce Committee be discharged from further consideration of the nominations of Ellen G. Engelman to be Administrator of the Research and Special Programs Administration at the Department of Transportation, and Kirk Van Tine the General Counsel of the Department of Transportation, and they be placed on the Executive Calendar.

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

NOMINATION OF BRUCE COLE, OF INDIANA, TO BE CHAIRPERSON OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

NOMINATION OF JOHN W. GILLIS, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF VICTIMS OF CRIME

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the HELP Committee be discharged from further consideration of the nomination of Bruce Cole to be the Chairperson of the National Endowment for the Humanities and that the Judiciary Committee be discharged from the consideration of the nomination of John W. Gillis to be Director of the Office of Victims of Crime; that the nominations be considered and confirmed, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action, and any statements therein be printed in the RECORD.

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

The nominations considered and confirmed are as follows:

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Bruce Cole, of Indiana, to be Chairperson of the National Endowment for the Humanities for a term of four years.

JUDICIARY

John W. Gillis, of California, to be Director of the Office of Victims of Crime.

NOMINATION OF JOHN GILLIS

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, yesterday the Judiciary Committee conducted confirmation hearings that included the President's nomination of John Gillis to direct the Office for Victims of Crime at the Department of Justice. These hearings had been scheduled long before the tragic events of Tuesday, September 11, 2001. This was the first hearing of the committee since the terrorism Tuesday morning that prompted the postponement of hearings on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Mr. Gillis had come from California before air traffic was suspended on Tuesday. Also included in the hearing were judicial nominees from New York-Connecticut and Mississippi who were able to drive to Washington in order to participate in the hearing. I thank Senator MCCONNELL for serving as the Ranking Republican.

Mr. Gillis described his background in law enforcement as a police officer with the Los Angeles Police Department and his work with the New York Port Authority. We also heard first hand of the tragic loss of his daughter and of his work on behalf of homicide victims and other victims of crime.

We discussed the outstanding staff of the Office for Victims of Crime, the important work in which they are engaged, and the incredible challenges that Mr. Gillis and that office will face.

I have worked closely with Mr. Gillis' predecessor in the Office for Victims of Crime for several years. With Aileen Adams, I worked on victims legislation to assist in our response to the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City in April of 1995. Indeed, I sponsored the Victims of Terrorism Act amendment when the Senate considered anti-terrorism legislation in June 1995 and I continued working to ensure that legislation remained part of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, which was finally enacted on April 24, 1996.

Thereafter, we worked on special appropriations to assist the victims of the Oklahoma bombing and special legislation to ensure their rights in connection with the trial. Last year, working with Katherine Turman, we were able to enact improvements to our 1995 legislation for victims of terrorism in order to double the cap on the Victims of Crime Act emergency reserve fund to $100 million and provide greater flexibility to the Office for Victims of Crime to use the emergency reserve in carrying out programs that assist victims of terrorism and mass violence.

In addition, over the years I have worked with Senator SPECTER and others on a series of legislative actions to provide financial and educational benefits to federal and state public safety officers killed or injured in the line of duty, including educational benefits for their dependents.

We will be reviewing all of these provisions in the days and weeks ahead in the wake of the devastation of Tuesday.

Although nominees to head the Office for Victims of Crime traditionally have not always participated in a confirmation hearing, I wanted to include Mr. Gillis at a Senate hearing to highlight the importance of the work of this Office, the critical importance of crime victims' rights, and the assistance and compensation provided by the Federal Government.

Along with other Senators strongly committed to assisting crime victims and protecting their rights, I reintroduced the Crime Victims Assistance Act of 2001 in April of this year. In preparing our bill, we consulted closely with a number of victims organizations and with the Office for Victims of Crime. That legislation, which enhances the rights and protections of victims of crime, establishes innovative new programs to help promote compliance with State victim rights laws and improves the manner in which the Crime Victims Fund is managed and preserved, is an important matter and a high priority for me. I was heartened when Mr. Gillis pledged to work with us on this initiative.

Toward the end of yesterday's hearing, I suggested that I would try to clear the nomination of John Gillis to be Director of the Office for Victims of Crime on an extraordinary and expedited basis. I noted that Attorney General Ashcroft had, on the eve of the nomination hearing, called me at home in support of this nomination. Yesterday I requested that the Majority Leader proceed to the nomination and that the Senate confirm John Gillis. I thank the Majority Leader for taking action and I want to thank all Democratic Members of the Senate and my colleague from Vermont for approving that request. In these difficult days, confirming Mr. Gillis to head the Office for Victims of Crime so that he may lend his hand to the efforts of those working so diligently in that Office and in State and local government and private efforts in New York, Virginia and around the country, is a small but significant step that the Senate can and should take.

I am gratified that overnight whatever problem or concern had threatened to delay Senate action on this nomination has been resolved. I thank all Senators for their willingness to move forward under these extraordinary circumstances to confirm John Gillis to be Director of the Office for Victims of Crime. In particular, I thank the senior Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. NICKLES) for his effort to clear this nomination for expedited Senate action today. His personal intervention helped make this possible. I have had the privilege of working over the years with Senator NICKLES on victims legislation. He has shown again today his commitment to the interests of victims of crime and terrorism.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following nominations be considered en bloc: Calendar Nos. 363 through 383; that the nominations be confirmed, the motions to reconsider be laid upon the table, the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action, and the Senate then return to legislative session.

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

The nominations considered and confirmed en bloc are as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Richard R. Nedelkoff, of Texas, to be Director of the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Brian Jones, of California, to be General Counsel, Department of Education.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Paul J. McNulty, of Virginia, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia for the term of four years.

Patrick Leo Meehan, of Pennsylvania, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania for the term of four years.

Stephen Beville Pence, of Kentucky, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Kentucky for the term of four years.

Michael J. Sullivan, of Massachusetts, to be United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts for the term of four years.

Joseph S. Van Bokkelen, of Indiana, to be United States Attorney for the Northern District of Indiana for the term of four years.

Gregory F. Van Tatenhove, of Kentucky, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Kentucky for the term of four years.

Colm F. Connolly, of Delaware, to be United States Attorney for the District of Delaware for the term of four years.

Michael G. Heavican, of Nebraska, to be United States Attorney for the District of Nebraska for the term of four years.

Thomas B. Heffelfinger, of Minnesota, to be United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota for the term of four years.

Roscoe Conklin Howard, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be United States Attorney for the District of Columbia for the term of four years.

Mary Beth Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania for the term of four years.

Peter W. Hall, of Vermont, to be United States Attorney for the District of Vermont for the term of four years.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

John D. Negroponte, of the District of Columbia, to be the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations.

John D. Negroponte, of the District of Columbia, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations during his tenure of service as Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations.

Laura E. Kennedy, of New York, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Turkmenistan.

Marcelle M. Wahba, of California, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Arab Emirates.

Ronald E. Neumann, of Virginia, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Bahrain.

Patrick Francis Kennedy, of Illinois, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations for the U.N. Management and Reform, with the rank of Ambassador.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The following named officer for appointment as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and appointment to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., sections 601 and 152:

To be general

Gen. Richard B. Myers, 0000.

NOMINATION OF JOHN NEGROPONTE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, yesterday the Foreign Relations Committee held a hearing to consider the nomination of John Negroponte to be the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. I was unable to attend yesterday's hearing because I was with my wife Jackie attending the birth of our daughter Grace.

I believe that it was very important yesterday that the Committee hearing focused in part on a careful review of new information that has come to light related to Ambassador Negroponte's tenure in Honduras during 1981–85 to see whether Congress had been kept fully informed about all aspects of U.S. policy with respect to Honduras during his watch.

I recognize, that this is not a normal week for the Senate or for the American people. President Bush has indicated that he wants the United States to be represented by an Ambassador at the United Nations as quickly as possible, particularly in light of this week's tragic events. I don't disagree with that view.

However, the Foreign Relations Committee did have a responsibility to review the questions raised in connection with this nomination. They discharged that responsibility yesterday. The Committee has proceeded expeditiously, professionally and fairly with Ambassador Negroponte's nomination. It requested and receive documents from the State Department and CIA. Those documents were reviewed, consisting of several thousand pages, the committee proceeded with the hearing yesterday and today the Senate is ready to act. There have been no undue delays.

Let's review the time line of this nomination to date. The President announced his intent to nominate Ambassador Negroponte for the U.N. post on March 6. The nomination was not submitted to the Senate, however, until May 14, nearly four months into the Administration, by contrast, Madeleine Albright was nominated for the U.N. post on January 20, 1993 and confirmed six days later.

On May 3, over a week before the nomination was submitted, the Committee Democrats wrote the President to request that the Administration provide documents to the Committee so it could review issues related to Negroponte's tenure in Honduras. On May 8, Committee staff submitted a list of requested documents to representatives of the White House and the State Department. The last document responsive to the original request of May 8 was not provided, however, until late July. The Committee staff reviewed several thousand pages of documents responsive to the request and determined that a number of documents which were still classified contained important information on questions raised about Ambassador Negroponte's tenure in Honduras.

The chairman of the committee then requested that the State Department and CIA undertake a review of documents within the committee's possession that remained classified with a goal of making public as much information as possible in order to shed additional light on what role if any the United States played in the human rights abuses that were perpetrated against the Honduran people in the first half of the 1980s, and specifically what knowledge or involvement the United States Ambassador, at the time Mr. Negroponte, had in those abuses. The committee also offered to begin hearings prior to the August recess on U.N. issues, with another hearing to follow in September on issues related to Negroponte's service in Honduras. The administration chose to wait until September to begin the hearing process. So we are talking about a period of approximately fourteen weeks of working days of the Senate from the time the nomination was submitted until today. This compares quite favorably when compared to the Holbrooke nomination which took from February 1999 to August 1999.

Some conservative columnists have suggested that I and others are trying to re-fight the Central America conflict of the 1980's. Nothing could be further from the truth. Rather, I would argue that there is an effort underway in some quarters to rewrite the history of U.S. involvement in that conflict and sweep under the rug how politically painful and damaging that policy was. In the early 1980's, the Congress and the American people were told that the United States had no involvement in using Honduras in as a staging ground for a convert Contra program to overthrow Nicaragua's Sandinista government. Later, when the so called second Boland amendment cutting off assistance to the Contra was passed we were told that the United States was not violating that provision of law. That of course proved to be untruth as the Iran Contra Investigation demonstrated. Similarly we were told that the Honduran military was not as a matter of policy violating human rights of its citizens or that the Salvadoran High Command had no known or culpability for the torture and murder

of the American church women or the Jesuit priests. Of course we now know that none of that was in fact true. It is indisputable that this fabric of untruths and half truths caused deep fissures in the Congressional-Executive branch relationship and in the trust of the American people in their government. Those fissures will only be fully healed if there is honesty and full candor between the Executive and the Congress.

Our policy was also controversial throughout Central America. Tens of thousands of Central Americans lost their lives during the 1980's, many at the hands of their own governments. Tens of thousands more had their lives permanently marred by losses of loved ones. Fortunately, in 1987 Central American leaders took their fate into their own hands and crafted the Central America Peace Agreement. President George H. Bush, upon coming to office in 1989 embraced the peace agreement and reached out to the Congress in order to de-politicize Central America. Elections followed in Nicaragua, as did a negotiated settlement to the civil conflict in El Salvador. Honduras ceased to be a staging area for the U.S. backed contras. El Salvador and Honduras have undertaken to come to grips with the past by attempting to investigate and assign responsibility for the atrocities that occurred in their respective countries as an important step in the process of peace and reconciliation.

Since Ambassador Negroponte was last confirmed by the Senate as Ambassador to the Philippines in 1993, a great deal of new information has come to light about the nature and extent of human rights abuses during his tenure in Honduras. This information also raised questions about the appropriateness of the U.S. Embassy's response and about whether Ambassador Negroponte had been forthright with the Committee in 1989 when I asked him questions about these matters.

How has this new information come to light? It is the result of a number of investigations into this subject from 1992–1998: First in 1992, Leo Valladares, the Honduran National Commissioner for the Protection of Human Rights undertook to catalog the disappearances and other human rights abuses that occurred in Honduras in the eighties. That investigation is still ongoing. Prompted by the Valladares investigation the Baltimore Sun undertook its own year long investigation which resulted in 1995 in a four part series detailing human rights abuses by a special Honduran military intelligence unit, the so called Battalion 316, and U.S. embassy links to that unit, and knowledge thereof. In 1996, this led CIA Director John Deutch to establish a Special Working Group within the agency to assess whether the allegations raised by the series were valid. Finally, the CIA Director tasked the CIA's Inspector General to resolve specific questions raised by the Working Group as it related to the death of an American citizen, Father James Carney, and about the CIA's relationship with members of the Honduran military who may have committed human rights abuses before or doing that relationship.

The picture that emerges in analyzing this new information is a troubling one. Some of the key facts that the Committee put on public record during yesterday's hearing thanks to the cooperation of the State Department and CIA are the following: One, during 1980–84, the Honduran military committed most of the hundreds of human rights abuses reported in Honduras. These abuses were often politically motivated and officially sanctioned; two, Honduran military units were trained by the U.S.—members of these units have been linked to death squad activities such as killings, disappearances, and other human rights abuses; three, the CIA's reporting of human rights abuses was inconsistent. Reporting inadequacies precluded CIA headquarters from understanding the scope of human rights abuses; four, the responsibility for monitoring and taking action against domestic subversion in Honduras was first the responsibility of a special unit of the Public Security Forces, FUSEP; five, at the recommendation of a joint U.S./Honduran military seminar, this responsibility was transferred in early 1984 to a new unit (which came to be known as Battalion 316) under the supervision of the Military Intelligence Division of the Armed Forces General Staff; and six, the FUSEP special unit and Battalion 316 counter terrorist tactics included torture, rape and assassination against persons thought to be involved in support of the Salvadoran guerrillas or part of the Honduran leftist movement; seven, as many as 250 instances of human rights abuses in Honduras are officially documented, including disappearances, torture, extra judicial killings; and eight, at least one death squad was known to have operated during 1980–84. This death squad was called ELACH, The Honduran Anti-Communist Liberation Army. There is information linking this death squad to chief of the National Intelligence Directorate of the Honduran Public Security Forces.

When Ambassador Negroponte came before the committee in 1989 in the context of his nomination to the position of U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, I asked him a number of questions related to his tenure in Honduras, two questions dealt with human rights. Given what we know about the extent and nature of Honduran human rights abuses, to say that Mr. Negroponte was less than forthcoming in his responses to my questions is being generous. I would ask that the my exchange with Ambassador Negroponte during that hearing in printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPT FROM HEARING RECORD

Senator DODD. That Battalion 316, I said ''alleged,'' but, in fact, was that a death squad? Was that the name of a death squad operating either within the Honduran military or with their approval?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I do not recall knowing it as the 316th Battalion. In fact, some of what I am saying now may be based on trying to reconstruct events after having discussed this issue with individuals long after the fact, for example, when Mr. LeMoyne wrote his story. But I recall it to have been an intelligence unit.

Again, I have never seen any convincing substantiation that they were involved in death squad type activities.

Mr. DODD. I know there will be those who say, that it isn't terribly important that the Honduran military committed human rights abuses more than fifteen years ago in some cases. Moreover, in relative terms those abuses in Honduras paled in comparison to what to else where in Central America. My response to that is that the Senate has a duty and responsibility to be a partner in the fashioning of U.S. foreign policy, and the only way it can be a full partner is if we in this body are kept fully informed. When it came to our ability to be full partners with respect to U.S. toward Honduras or elsewhere in Central America, I would tell you that we were unable to do that because we were flying blind.

It gives me great pause as I ponder how to vote on this nomination to think that someone as intelligent and capable as Ambassador Negroponte would treat this committee and this body so cavalierly in his responses to my questions. I wonder who he thinks he works for?

I was also troubled by Ambassador Negroponte's unwillingness to admit, that as a consequence of other U.S. policy priorities, the U.S. embassy, by acts of omissions ending up shading the truth about the extent and nature of ongoing human rights abuses in the 1980s. Moreover, in light of all the new information that I have just mentioned, I do not know how Ambassador Negroponte can continue to believe that it was simply ''deficiencies in the Honduran legal system coupled with insufficient professionalism of law enforcement authorities that ''led at times to abuses of authority by Honduran police officials.'' And, quoting his written answer to a committee question on this subject that, ''I did not believe then, nor do I believe now, that these abuses were part of a deliberate government policy.''

The InterAmerican Court of Human Rights had no such reluctance in assigning blame to the Honduran government during its adjudication of a case brought against the Government of Honduras by the InterAmerican Commission on Human Rights in 1987. In deciding the case of Honduran citizen Velasquez Rodriquez the Court found that ''a practice of disappearances carried out or tolerated by Honduran officials existed between 1981–84.'' And, as I mentioned earlier, based upon an extensive review of U.S. intelligence information by the CIA Working Group in 1996, the CIA is prepared to stipulate that ''during the 1980–84 period, the Honduran military committed most of the hundreds of human rights abuses reported in Honduras. These abuses were often politically motivated and officially sanctioned.''

Moreover, Mr. Negroponte should have been forewarned to look for signs of government sponsored human rights abuses in light of concerns that his predecessor Ambassador Jack Binns, a career foreign service officer, had raised with the State Department concerning the mind set of the architect of Honduras' domestic countersubversion program with respect to a willingness to extrajudicial means in the context of such programs. Ambassador Binns was speaking about General Gustavo Alvarez who became Commander in Chief of the Honduran Armed Forces in 1982, and who had been Commander of Honduran Public Security Forces, FUSEP, from 1980–82.

Based upon the Committee's review of State Department and CIA documents, it would seem that Ambassador Negroponte knew far more about government perpetuated human rights abuses than he chose to share with the committee in 1989 or in Embassy contributions at the time to annual State Department Human Rights reports. For example, a Negroponte cable summarizing meetings between Congressman Solarz and Honduran government officials in January 1985 makes note of a Honduran official's concerns about future human rights abuses due to ''fears that there might still be some ''secret operating cells'' left from the Alvarez era,'' here referring to General Alvarez who had headed the Honduran armed forces until he was removed in 1984 by his fellow officers.

I don't quite know the difference between a ''death squad'' and ''secret operating cells'', but since Ambassador Negroponte is officially on record as saying that no death squads existed in Honduras during his tenure, there must be some difference.

There are also discrepancies with respect to when he became aware of certain cases where Honduran authorities were secretly detaining and torturing Hondurans suspected of subversion. And how he chose to report those cases to Washington. The case of dual national Ines Consuelo Murillo comes most readily to mind. Her detention and torture was described in detail on April 15, 1995 in the Baltimore Sun.

These are but a few examples. There were others which taken together, paint a very mixed picture of whether the U.S. embassy was doing much to discourage Honduran government practices or how comprehensively it was collecting and reporting on such abuses. Having said that, there were no ''smoking guns'' in the documents that have been provided to the Committee.

I know that this week is not just any week. I also know that the President is anxious to have an ambassador at the United Nations is a high priority, particularly in light of recent events. I will not stand in the way of the Senate moving forward with this nomination. I believe that yesterday's decision by the Committee on Foreign Relations to put on the public record all the additional declassified information that it has compiled in reviewing this nomination will contribute to the healing and reconciliation that is still ongoing in Honduras.

Finally I would say a word of caution to other career foreign service officers, particularly junior officers, that they not consider this nominee's lack of candor before the committee as a model to be emulated. A United States Ambassador is a representative of the United States Government and ultimately works for the American people. That means that our ambassadors have an obligation to be truthful and forthcoming in relations with Congress as we are the people's representatives. If they are under instruction to withhold information as a matter of policy they should say so. Then, we can take it up with their superiors if we choose to do so. In my estimation, Mr. Negroponte did neither in his dealings with the Congress. I am deeply saddened to come to that judgement. Having said that Ambassador Negroponte has had a distinguished career and on balance has discharged his responsibilities ably and honorably. For that reason, I intend to give him the benefit of the doubt in light of how extremely polarized relations between the Congress and the Executive were over U.S. policy in Central America when he was serving as Ambassador in Honduras. I will therefore support his nomination to the position of the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume legislative session.

NATIONAL HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WEEK

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Judiciary Committee be discharged from consideration of S. Res. 159, and the Senate then proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 159) designating the week beginning September 16, 2001, as ''National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week.''

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the resolution and preamble be agreed to en bloc and that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, with no intervening action.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 159) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. RES. 159

Whereas there are 105 historically black colleges and universities in the United States;

Whereas black colleges and universities provide the quality education so essential to full participation in a complex, highly technological society;

Whereas black colleges and universities have a rich heritage and have played a prominent role in American history;

Whereas black colleges and universities have allowed many underprivileged students to attain their full potential through higher education; and

Whereas the achievements and goals of historically black colleges and universities are deserving of national recognition: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved,

SECTION 1. DESIGNATION OF NATIONAL HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WEEK.

The Senate—

(1) designates the week beginning September 16, 2001, as ''National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week''; and

(2) requests that the President of the United States issue a proclamation calling on the people of the United States and interested groups to observe the week with appropriate ceremonies, activities, and programs to demonstrate support for historically black colleges and universities in the United States.

ORDER THE RECORD REMAIN OPEN UNTIL 3:30 P.M.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD remain open today until 3:30 for statements and introduction of bills.

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

MEASURE INDEFINITELY POSTPONED—S. 1426

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that once H.R. 2888, the

emergency supplemental appropriations bill, is enacted into law, action on S. 1426 be vitiated and the bill then be indefinitely postponed.

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

Mr. REID. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator DASCHLE, I would like to extend my appreciation to everyone who allowed us to complete these nominations.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Senator WARNER, pursuant to section 3(b) of S. Res. 400 of the 94th Congress, we ask unanimous consent that S. 1428, the Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2002, be sequentially referred to the Committee on Armed Services for a period not to exceed 30 days.

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

TRIBUTE TO TERRY LYNCH

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I rise today in remembrance of a long-time former employee of mine, Terry Michael Lynch. Terry was killed Tuesday morning at the Pentagon in the tragic and senseless events of a day that will never be forgotten in America. Terry worked for me for over 15 years, both in the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, and I would like to take this opportunity to reflect on the life of a dedicated family man and a true patriot.

Terry was born in 1952 in Youngstown, Ohio, Terry grew up as the son of a steel-factory administrator. he graduated from high school in Youngstown, and received both his bachelor's and master's degrees in history from Youngstown State. It was there that Terry met his wife of 24 years, Jackie.

Terry worked on Capitol Hill as an aide to former Alabama Republican Congressman Albert Lee Smith. Some of you might remember the Congressman. He began working for me in 1983, when I was a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. When I entered the race for the United States Senate in 1986, Terry was one of the first volunteers to take personal time away from his family here in Virginia and travel throughout Alabama doing any task that was needed. Terry came over to the U.S. Senate with me as my Legislative Assistant assigned to the Armed Services Committee and continued in that position from 1987 through 1994. In 1995, Terry became a professional staff member of the Senate Intelligence Committee and for two years brought his expertise to the Intelligence Committee. He subsequently worked as a member of the professional staff of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee chaired by Senator SPECTER. Terry was most recently employed by the consulting firm of Booz Allen and Hamilton.

To say and give you all of this background does not touch the essence of Terry Lynch. He was one of the most loyal, caring, unpretentious, and compassionate human beings I have ever had the privilege of knowing. Terry was a foundation of strength and stability for everyone that knew and loved him. He was the kindest soul and the most dedicated and loving father to his two daughters, Tiffany and Ashley. Terry's passion for helping others, especially the men and women in uniform with which he so closely worked, was always evident over the course of his career. This week, former staff members have called from all over the world to express their deep grief. And, although they had not seen Terry in many years, he made such a strong impact on all of us that to this day, he still lives on in each of our hearts in some way. Terry Lynch's spirit and his memory will forever be with us—the people who worked with him and knew him in the House of Representatives, who worked with him and knew him in the Senate, and who worked with him and knew him in the Pentagon where he died.

We are all, I believe, better people for having known Terry Michael Lynch.

Terry was an intelligent man with a heart of gold. He was also a great American. His life should not have ended in this unfortunate and premature manner, because he had so much ahead of him. But I promise you I will do everything in my power to ensure that Terry's life, and the lives of all Americans affected by this terrible tragedy, did not end in vain.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2001

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about hate crimes legislation I introduced with Senator KENNEDY in March of this year. The Local Law Enforcement Act of 2001 would add new categories to current hate crimes legislation sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred December 19, 1997 in Stockton, CA. A high school student was allegedly beaten by a group of youths who believed he was gay. Two youths, ages 16 and 17, were charged with civil rights violations.

I believe that government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2001 is now a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation, we can change hearts and minds as well.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I want to thank the managers of this bill for their hard work in putting forth this legislation which provides federal funding for numerous vital programs.

This bill provides funding for fighting crime, enhancing drug enforcement, and responding to threats of terrorism. It further addresses the shortcomings of the immigration process, funds the operation of the judicial process, facilitates commerce throughout the United States, and supports the needs of the State Department and various other agencies.

Regrettably, this bill spends at a level 4.4 percent higher than the level enacted in fiscal year 2001 which is greater than the 4 percent increase in discretionary spending than the President wanted to adhere to.

In real dollars, this is $720 million in additional spending above the amount requested by the President, and a $1.7 billion increase in spending from last year. So far this year, with just five appropriations bills already passed, spending levels have already exceeded the President's budget request by more than $6.6 billion.

A good amount of this increase is in the form of parochial spending for unrequested projects. In this bill, I have identified approximately 600 earmarks totaling $2 billion, which is greater than the 470 earmarks, totaling $1.5 billion, in the bill passed last year.

There are hundreds of millions of dollars in pork-barrel spending and legislative riders that are riddled throughout this bill. The multitude of unrequested earmarks buried in this measure will undoubtedly further burden the American taxpayers. While the amounts associated with each individual earmark may not seem extravagant, taken together, they represent a serious diversion of taxpayers' hard-earned dollars at the expense of numerous programs that have undergone the appropriate merit-based selection process.

For example, under funding for the Department of Justice, some examples of earmarks include: $3 million to the University of Connecticut to fund the Prison Health Research Project; $3 million for a grant to the Clearwater, Idaho EDA for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Bi-State Public Safety Project; $1 million for a grant to the Alaska Native Justice Center Restorative Justice programs; $1.6 million for the Montana Highway Patrol for computer upgrades; and $725,000 for the City of Jackson, Mississippi, for their public safety automated technologies system.

Under funding for the Department of Commerce, some of the earmarks include: $500,000 for the Central California Ozone Study; $500,000 for the International Pacific Research Center at the University of Hawaii; $1.25 million for the Alaska Near Shore Fisheries; $350,000 for the South Carolina Taxonomic Center; $1.75 million for the Alaska Fisheries Development Foundation; $500,000 for weather radio transmitters in Wyoming; $4 million for the Institute for Politics at Harvard University; and $6 million for the Thayer

School of Engineering at Dartmouth University for the nanocrystalline materials and biomass research initiative.

There are many more projects on the list that I have compiled, which will be available on my Senate Web site.

Mr. President, I must once again draw attention to the more questionable ways in which Americans' tax dollars serve the otherwise noble cause of U.S. diplomacy around the world as part of the State Department appropriations portion of this bill. As usual, several organizations and universities have received earmarked funds for international exchanges. Five particularly parochial earmarks deserve mention: the Joiner Fellowships in War, the Padnos International Center, the UNI-Cedar Falls Russo-American Exchange, the UNLV Global Business Exchange, and the UNR International Business Exchange each receive a $100,000 earmark, to the surprise of, among others, officials of the State Department, who not only did not request funding for these programs, but in several cases were unaware they even existed.

Among other beneficiaries this year of unrequested spending that seems to serve primarily the interests of its patrons, Pacific salmon stand out: this bill appropriates $45,419,000, or nearly twice the $25 million requested by the Department of State, to implement the 1999 Pacific Salmon Treaty. Included in this figure is $20 million above the Administration's request to capitalize the Northern and Southern Boundary Funds and $419,000 above the Administration's request dedicated to the State of Washington for its salmon preservation efforts. The Committee report also takes it upon itself to absolve the State of Alaska of further harvest reductions under the 1999 Pacific Salmon Treaty.

Traveling dance and music troupes and Internet entrepreneurs are also being shown the money as a result of the Committee report's generous provision of $750,000 to their cause, on the grounds that, in the Committee's words, ''Performances by touring U.S. dance and music troupes have afforded our diplomats unusual access to oft-times elusive senior policy-makers in Africa. At the same time, the lure of technological innovation, especially the explosion of the Internet, afford American educators and entrepreneurs a rare opportunity to develop lasting links with African elites.'' Our relations with African nations are important, and many countries torn by crippling poverty, famine, disease, civil unrest, and open warfare could use our help. I like a good dance performance as much as anyone, but I'm not positive this funding is the best way to help our friends or advance American interests in Africa.

For many years now I have opposed the Advanced Technology Program at the Department of Commerce on grounds that it is ''corporate pork.'' For many years, any of the Nation's leading companies have reaped the benefits of this grant program for research ideas that they could and should have pursued under their corporate budgets. Proponents of the program have cited that the program funds high-risk projects.

Several years ago, on the Senate Commerce Committee, we reviewed many of the funded projects under the program and found that many of the projects were not high-risk at all, but rather evolutionary or incremental development of existing technologies.

The President has stated that the future of the program would be subject to a Commerce Department's review. The fiscal year 2002 budget request has essentially eliminated funding for ATP. The Appropriations Committee has provided funding of $204 million for fiscal year 2002, $191 million above the President's request. Furthermore, to ensure that this funding is awarded in a timely manner, the Appropriations Committee, in report language, has prohibited obligations of any funds under the Department's Departmental Management account, which funds salaries and other expenses, until a plan on how timely awards are to be made. That is equivalent to saying make ATP awards or we will shut down the Department.

In closing, I urge my colleagues to curb our habit of directing hard-earned taxpayer dollars to locality-specific special interests and our inclusion of legislative riders which thwart the very process that is needed to ensure our laws address the concerns and interests of all Americans, not just a few who seek special protection or advantage.

AMENDMENT NO. 1538 TO H.R. 2500

Mr. SMITH of New Hamphsire. Mr. President, I rise to raise an issue regarding the meaning and effect of amendment No. 1538 to H.R. 2500. I am proud to have joined in sponsoring this amendment with Senators HARKIN, WARNER, INHOFE, COCHRAN, ALLARD, CAMPBELL, and JOHNSON.

Mr. HARKIN. It is the understanding of the Senator from New Hampshire that the proper meaning of that amendment would bar the State and Justice Departments from filing any statement of interest or in any manner intervening to oppose any civil action brought by a former prisoner of war against a corporation of the type referenced in the amendment?

Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire. Yes. This is the intent of the amendment which passed this body by voice vote after a motion to table failed.

Mr. HARKIN. This is my understanding as well.

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, I rise today in support of a provision that has been included in the Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Appropriations Subcommittee manager's amendment to H.R. 2500 that is absolutely crucial to recovering threatened and endangered species, while also protecting people and the economies of areas where these species are present.

I would like to thank the esteemed Chairman and Ranking Member of the Subcommittee and the Ranking Member of the Appropriations Committee for recognizing the critical nature of this issue and including it in the manager's amendment.

The Endangered Species Act, ESA, requires Federal agencies to avoid actions that are likely to ''jeopardize'' the continued existence of threatened or endangered species or destroy or adversely modify designated critical habitat. Agencies must ''consult'' with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service or the National Marine Fisheries Service, who issue a biological opinion at the conclusion of consultation to assist the Federal agency to meet its substantive no-jeopardy obligation. The obligation to avoid jeopardy rests upon on the Federal ''action agency,'' not on the Services. These actions may include the construction of a highway or bridge, a stream restoration project to benefit listed fish species, a forest health activity such as thinning or prescribed fire to reduce the risk of catastrophic wildfire, or the operation of hydroelectric projects.

In the West, we have seen countless projects held up for inordinate amounts of time. They have caused economic hardship and job loss, while also draining the resources of the Federal Government. What is so significant about these resources being consumed by the consultation process is that in nearly all of these cases, projects did not jeopardize threatened or endangered species. In nearly every case, neither the species nor their habitats were at risk. In every case, this was a matter of doing paperwork that is required by the regulatory process. And, in no case, did this process do anything to increase a species chances of survival or improve habitat for that species on-the-ground.

In 1986, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Marine Fisheries Service issued joint regulations that divided consultations into ''informal'' and ''formal.'' Informal consultations occur for any action that ''may affect'' a listed species. If the consulting Service finds that adverse affect on the species is likely, then formal consultation begins and the service will issue a formal biological opinion.

Since 1986, the consultation process has mushroomed into a lengthy and expensive process. Eight hundred and twenty two new species have been listed since then, including 21 new salmon listings in the past five years. Between 1987 and 1995 Federal agencies were required to complete more than 186,000

consultations with the Services on proposed programs and projects. The increasing number of critical habitat designations will only add to this burden. Despite efforts to manage the workload under existing rules, the Services have been unable to quell growing criticism that they cannot do the job adequately.

Yet only three tenths of one percent of these projects, let me say that again, only three tenths of one percent or fewer than 600, were found to be likely to jeopardize a protected species or adversely modify critical habitat. A full 99.7 percent of all consultations involved projects that already complied fully with the ESA. Only one out of every 300 consultations involved a project with a potential to violate the ESA.

Each year Federal agencies are compelled to expend millions of Federal dollars for elaborate consultations on projects that pose no significant threat to species. Each of these consultations requires extensive studies and reports by the Federal action agency and one or both of the Services, and extends for months or years before ending with the inevitable no-jeopardy finding that was obvious from the start. The Services have increased their staffs every year for the past decade in order to complete more and more of these unneeded consultations that have no value for protected species.

These project delays further drain the Federal Treasury by increasing the ultimate costs of the stalled projects. The delays also cause millions of dollars more in lost economic opportunity for private citizens dependent on a stalled project. These consultations sap resources from those relatively few situations where a species actually needs protection from a proposed Federal agency project or program.

This out-of-control consultation process is contrary to Congress' intent in enacting the Endangered Species Act. The Supreme Court has observed that consultation is among the ESA's procedural safeguards intended ''to avoid needless economic dislocation produced by agency officials zealously but unintelligently pursuing their environmental objectives.'' (Bennett v. Spear, 520 U.S. 154, 176–77 (1997).)

The joint consultation rules must be modified to mitigate the problem, reduce the workload and continue the same level of protection for the listed species. The regulations have caused large numbers of unneeded and burdensome consultations. None of these is required by the ESA and none of them is necessary in today's heightened sensitivity of endangered species responsibility to protect listed species.

It is impossible to make the argument that streamlining the consultation regulations will negatively affect species. In fact, a more efficient and effective process will help imperiled species by reducing unnecessary paperwork, and thus, reducing the resources needed to do the paperwork, and by redirecting this precious resources to making real, on-the-ground improvements for imperiled species.

My provision, which has been included in the bill, would direct the Services to review this situation and revise their joint regulations accordingly. The review would consider the significant increase in number, cost, and duration of consultations since promulgation of the regulations in 1986 and would result in modifications to the regulations that will streamline the consultation process to ensure that: one, all forms of consultation are completed within the deadlines provided in section 7 of the ESA; two, the requirements for initiating consultation and for any information generated and documentation prepared by both the action agency and the consulting agency during consultation are fully consistent with section 7; and three, the consultation process is conducted in an efficient and useful manner to meet the purpose of section 7.

Section 7(b) of the ESA imposes a 90-day deadline, subject to certain extensions to which each agency must agree. If there is a permit applicant involved, consultation may not exceed 150 days without the applicant's consent. The 1986 regulations make no effort to follow these deadlines during the informal consultation stage, thus allowing this process to drag on and on.

A primary cause of the explosion in unneeded consultations is the extremely low threshold in the regulations for an action agency to initiate a consultation. The regulations require an action agency to initiate consultation for any proposed action that ''may affect'' either a listed species or critical habitat. In announcing the regulations, the Fish and Wildlife Service explained that they may affect threshold means that ''any possible effect, whether beneficial, benign, adverse, or of an undetermined character, triggers the formal consultation requirement.''

The regulations do not permit an action agency to decide that it does not need to consult on a ''may affect'' action, no matter how harmless the activity may be. A ''may affect'' action can be exempted from formal consultation only if a Service concurs in writing that the action is ''not likely to adversely affect'' a listed species or critical habitat. That finding itself requires a multi-step inter-agency administrative process called informal consultation, which often takes longer than the formal consultation it is intended to avoid.

The ESA does not contain the ''may affect'' consultation threshold. As a matter of fact, the Endangered Species Act does not contain any consultation threshold at all. The ''may affect'' threshold in the regulations is so far removed from the substantive no-jeopardy requirement in the ESA that large volumes of unnecessary consultations were virtually guaranteed to occur—and have.

Other sections of the regulations also compel large numbers of unnecessary consultations: consultation is required on any action authorized, funded, or carried out ''in part'' by a federal agency, even if the Federal involvement is minor or secondary to private or state action; consultation is required for agency actions that are intended to benefit species; consultation is required for agency regulations with no direct on-the-ground impact; and consultation is required for agency actions that ''indirectly'' cause modification to the land, water, or air.

The regulations also impose burdensome documentation requirements, far beyond the ESA, that guarantee that even the most minor consultation will be long and slow. The action agency is required to initiate every formal consultation with a detailed written report on the manner in which the action may affect any listed species or critical habitat and an analysis of any cumulative effects, and must also provide the best scientific and commercial information available or which can be obtained during the consultation for an adequate review of the effects that an action may have upon listed species or critical habitat. Moreover, while the ESA only requires ''biological assessments'' to be prepared for ''major construction activities,'' the joint regulations make this detailed analysis a virtual requirement for every agency action.

The joint regulations then mandate that a biological opinion include a detailed discussion of the effects of the action on listed species or critical habitat that addresses all of the indirect, interrelated, interconnected and cumulative effects as defined in the regulations. In contrast, the ESA only requires that a biological opinion set forth a summary of the information on which the opinion is based, detailing how the agency action affects the species or its critical habitat.

The Services have the authority under existing law to amend their regulations to improve the operation of the process. The agencies can initiate a rulemaking process to amend their regulations, with notice and opportunity for the public to comment, following the same procedures as were employed for the original 1986 regulations. No amendment of the ESA is required. The amendment I am offering merely directs the Services to use a portion of their fiscal year 2002 funds to review the consultation regulations and propose changes that will bring this process into line with the realities of the 21st Century and will enable all federal agencies to fulfill their obligations under the ESA.

The Endangered Species Act is besieged with problems that must be solved in order to adequately protected listed species and recover them. At the same time, many Western communities feel that they have been assaulted by the ESA in the last two decades. Win-win solutions often evade us as policymakers when it comes to issues that are as contentious as the Endangered Species, but this is truly a win-win for species AND people. Again, my sincere thanks to the chairman and Ranking Member of the Commerce Appropriations Subcommittee for their assistance in finding solutions to this troubling issue.

Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, last year this Committee and Congress passed legislation to privatize INMARSAT [International Maritime Satellite Organization]. As part of the privatization, INMARSAT is required to hold an initial public offering [IPO]. INMARSAT's IPO deadline is set for December 31 of this year. Since the IPO market continues to be in bad shape, INMARSAT and its investment advisors would like time to see if the market improves.

INMARSAT was established in 1979 to improve maritime communications especially for distress and safety signals. Over the past two decades, INMARSAT has branched out to serve both maritime markets and increasingly any markets requiring mobility—shipping, oil and gas exploration and the FAA.

Since the IPO market has nosedived, INMARSAT has been waiting for conditions to improve. All of the extensions available to INMARSAT have now been used and the FCC has no more discretion to extend the deadline.

The dilemma is that if INMARSAT does not hold the IPO it will be in violation of U.S. law, and if it does hold the IPO, they could be found in breach of its fiduciary responsibility to its shareholders, possibly subjecting itself to shareholder lawsuits.

My amendment would simply give the FCC the ability to extend the deadline an additional 18 months to see if the IPO market improves. A large number of U.S. companies have pulled their IPOs off the market given market conditions. We are trying to privatize INMARSAT and we should allow them to act like a company.

IN SUPPORT OF THE BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS' NEW MIDDLE EAST RADIO NETWORK

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I rise today to express my support for a proposal by the Broadcasting Board of Governors to enhance and expand service to the Middle East. According to the Chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, the mission of U.S. international broadcasting is to promote the open communication of information and ideas in support of democracy, and the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information, worldwide. In pursuit of this goal, the Broadcasting Board of Governors has proposed a new station, the Middle East Radio Network.

Would Senator BOXER care to enlighten us on the current U.S. Government sponsored Arabic language broadcasting in the Middle East?

Mrs. BOXER. Yes, I would and I thank the Senator for this opportunity to describe the important results of the board's most recent Language Service Review. This review found that our current broadcasting efforts in the Middle East only reach approximately 2 percent of the population. The boards's 2001 Language Service Review highlighted the importance of revitalizing America's Arabic programs in order to offset local Arabic radio broadcasts that often serve to incite violence in the region. An alternative must be offered to the hate radio that so often incites the population to violence.

In February, Broadcasting Board of Governors' representatives traveled throughout the Middle East to gather facts, to talk to government and media officials, and to begin to build a concept for success. The research emphasized the need for a greater U.S. media presence and increased local content to U.S. broadcasts. The researchers found that in spite of widespread opposition to the U.S. policies, there is a strong attraction to the American values of freedom and individualism. In addition, the Arab public would like information about U.S. businesses, technology and advances in medicine. I believe my colleague from Nebraska would like to discuss the Broadcasting Board of Governors' plans to address the shortcomings in our broadcasting services to the Middle East.

Mr. HAGEL. I thank the Senator for the opportunity to speak about the new broadcast service proposed by the Broadcasting Board of Governors for fiscal year 2002. The goal is to provide broadcasts that will appeal to a broad Arabic-speaking audience by providing news and information about events in the region. The working name for this station is the Middle East Radio Network. It would be a 24 hour per day, 7 days per week Arabic-language station to be delivered via a combination of local MW and FM, and shortwave to areas where local delivery is not possible. Programming will include news, music, talk, and interactive programs with listener participation. The Broadcasting Board of Governors plans to feature reliable news and discussion of issues relevant to the audience in a format to appeal to young adults and to news-seekers of all ages. The programs will embody two important themes: individual choice and respect for others. In a region where more than half of the population is under 25, a successful station must appeal to young people who are the best hope to end the cycle of violence that has ravaged the region.

I know my colleague from Washington would like to discuss the delivery of this new service in the Middle East, and I invite her to comment.

Mrs. MURRAY. The expansion and enhancement of our radio programming in the Middle East are critical to the success of our policies in the region. The proposed service would reach audiences in the West Bank and Gaza, the Gulf, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Sudan in the most popular media of AM, FM and satellite program delivery. This is an area where we cannot afford to deliver our message through a third party broadcaster, and we must deliver accurate information about events occurring in the region. We must be an accessible voice in the region with a program and format that will attract a broader audience. This expanded service will also provide the region with increased exposure to news and information and Western journalistic standards of a free press. This provision of information will help counter the existing regional broadcasts which are often censored or under state control.

I am confident this increased information will help us further our policy goals of establishing peace and stability in the region. In light of the terrible events of this week, I appreciate the opportunity to register my support for this program and our international broadcasting efforts. I would also add that I concur with the comments of my colleagues.

Mrs. BOXER. I also concur with the remarks of my colleagues.

Mr. HAGEL. I also concur with my colleagues and would like to ask Senator INOUYE to provide his final comments.

Mr. INOUYE. I concur in the comments of my colleagues about the importance of the enhanced programming in the Middle East proposed by the Broadcasting Board of Governors. It is my hope that the proposed service will help disseminate news and information throughout the region. I am pleased that the Broadcasting Board of Governors has committed to providing this much-needed service and look forward to working with my colleagues to support the Middle East Radio Network.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

STEPFAMILY DAY

• Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize National Stepfamily Day, a day that reminds us that families don't need to be bound by biology to be grounded in love and respect.

The Stepfamily Association of America and 38 States recognize September

16 as National Stepfamily Day. On this day, stepfamilies nationwide are encouraged to hold picnics and other activities to bring our stepfamilies together so they can share their experiences.

Stepfamily Day came about through the efforts of Michigan's Christy Borgeld, a board member of the Stepfamily Association of America. I applaud her efforts and those of the membership of the Stepfamily Association of America.

When we celebrate Stepfamily Day, we really celebrate the ties that make all our families one of our most precious national treasures, dedicated parents working to ensure their children grow up in safe and loving homes.

It is my pleasure to pay tribute to the Stepfamily Association of America for its commitment and hard work on behalf of American families, and to wish families in Michigan and nationwide a happy and successful Stepfamily Day.●

TRIBUTE TO PETE SUAZO

● Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to Eluid Pete Suazo, a distinguished Utah State Senator whose untimely death in August has had a tremendous impact—not only on his family and close friends, but also on the entire state of Utah.

At the time of his death, Senator Suazo represented Salt Lake City's multi-cultural west side, and he also served as the Assistant minority whip. Pete was heralded for his unfailing determination and advocacy for his constituents. Indeed, his integrity and absolute dedication won Senator Suazo respect from his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

As the only Hispanic member of the Utah Legislature, Pete felt a strong sense of responsibility to honor and help Utah's growing Hispanic and minority populations. He was a top leader of the Hispanic community, who was also able to cross Utah's ethnic and political lines to effect policies benefitting the entire community. I remember how Pete's wife, Alicia, fondly recalled the day her husband decided to run for office. He passionately stated, ''The Chicano boy is going to be a senator, not in New Mexico, but in Utah where the work is going to be doubly hard and the victory glorious.'' This optimism showed in Pete's face, for he was always smiling.

Pete fought for the underdog and the less privileged. For those who sought his advice and assistance, he always had a helping hand and a listening ear. He worked tirelessly to improve the lives of the youth in his neighborhood. He organized graffiti removal teams, baseball and soccer leagues, summer work programs, and provided so many other opportunities to strengthen the characters of countless young men and women.

Over the past few years, Pete helped reinvigorate amateur boxing in Utah and participated as a referee to ensure safety in the sport. The Senator undertook these and many other volunteer efforts to help the less fortunate, always giving hope to those who needed it so much.

Senator Suazo's work ethic was extraordinary and was developed at a very young age. He took great pride in whatever he was doing—from selling popcorn at a charity carnival in his youth to serving as a leading state senator. Throughout his life, he used his tremendous energy and his capacity for hard work to champion the causes in which he so fervently believed.

While serving in the Utah legislature, Senator Suazo was not afraid of the tough battles. In recent years, his work to adopt a more pro-active and stronger hate crimes law defined Pete Suazo's leadership and determination. He never gave up, and through his efforts this issue rose to the forefront of the legislature's attention.

Mr. President, Utah has lost a true hero. Senator Pete Suazo was a man with great integrity, strong personal conviction, and a humble heart. His life was an example of dedicated public service and utmost love for his community and fellow man. I hope my colleagues will join me in sending our heartfelt thoughts and prayers to the Suazo family—his wife, Alicia, and their children Travis, Abel, Emilio and Julio, his parents Pat and Lily, his siblings Kathy, Becky, Georgia, Anna, Ellie and Andy—and also to the many, many friends and neighbors of Pete who will deeply miss him. My hope is that future generations of Utahns will have the desire to follow in this good man's footsteps, and continue his legacy of work for the people of Utah. In so many instances Pete did not only dream the impossible dream, he strove for and attained it.●

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Ms. Evans, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

REPORT ON THE DECLARATION OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY BY REASON OF CERTAIN TERRORIST ATTACKS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 40

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 201 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1621), I hereby report that I have exercised my authority to declare a national emergency by reason of the terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center, New York, New York, and the Pentagon, and the continuing and immediate threat of further attacks on the United States. A copy of my proclamation is attached.

Further, I have authorized, pursuant to section 12302 of title 10, United States Code, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of Transportation with respect to the Coast Guard when it is not operating as a service within the Department of the Navy, to order to active duty units and individual members not assigned to units of the Ready Reserve to perform such missions the Secretary of Defense may determine necessary. The deployment of United States forces to conduct operational missions in connection with the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks necessitates this action. A copy of my Executive Order implementing this action is attached.

GEORGE W. BUSH.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 14, 2001*.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 2:21 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 2888. An act making emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001 for additional disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, and for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bills were read the second time, and placed on the calendar:

H.R. 2833. An act to promote freedom and democracy in Viet Nam.

H.R. 2291. An act to extend the authorization of the Drug-Free Communities Support Program for an additional 5 years, to authorize a National Community Antidrug Coalition Institute, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC–3912. A communication from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Law, Office of Procurement and Assistance Policy, Department of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''FAR Class Deviation Addressing Service Contract Act Requirements for Subcontracts for Certain Commercial Services'' (AL–2000–10R) received on September 4, 2001; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC–3913. A communication from the General Counsel, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Suspension of Community Eligibility'' (Doc. No. FEMA–7767) received on August 21, 2001; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC–3914. A communication from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to Strategic and Competitive Sourcing Programs and Workforce Review Cost Savings for Fiscal Year 2000; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC–3915. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, a report entitled ''PR Notice 2001–4: Elimination of Phenol Resistance Testing for Antimicrobial Disinfectant and Sanitizer Pesticides''; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC–3916. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, a report entitled ''PR Notice 2001–5: Guidance for Pesticide Registrants on Pesticide Resistance Management Labeling''; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC–3917. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Bromoxynil; Pesticide Tolerances for Emergency Exemptions'' (FRL6798–2) received on September 4, 2001; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC–3918. A communication from the Deputy Assistant Administrator, Office of Diversion Control, Drug Enforcement Administration, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Listed Chemicals; Establishment of Non-Regulated Transactions in Anhydrous Hydrogen Chloride'' (RIN1117–AA43) received on September 6, 2001; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC–3919. A communication from the Director of the Policy Directives and Instructions Branch, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''V Nonimmigrant Classification; Spouses and Children of Lawful Permanent Residents'' (RIN1115–AG08) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC–3920. A communication from the Deputy Assistant Administrator of the Office of Diversion Control, Drug Enforcement Administration, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Schedule of Controlled Substances: Placement of Dichloralphenazone Into Schedule IV'' (RIN1117–AA59) received on September 6, 2001; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC–3921. A communication from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Annual Statement of Assurance for Fiscal Year 2000; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC–3922. A communication from the Secretary, Administrative Committee of the Federal Register Director, National Archives and Records Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Prices and Availability of Federal Register Publications'' (RIN3095–ZA03) received on September 6, 2001; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC–3923. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Bureau of Labor Statistics Price Indexes for Department Stores—July 2001'' (Rev. Rul. 2001–44) received on August 21, 2001; to the Committee on Finance.

EC–3924. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Sample Plan Amendments Resulting from EGTRRA'' (Notice 2001–57) received on September 4, 2001; to the Committee on Finance.

EC–3925. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Division, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Implementation of Public Laws 106–476 and 106–554, Relating to Tobacco Importation Restrictions, Markings, Repackaging, and Destruction of Forfeited Tobacco Products'' (RIN1512–AC35) received on September 4, 2001; to the Committee on Finance.

EC–3926. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Division, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Stills and Miscellaneous Regulations; Recodification of Regulations'' (RIN1512–AC34) received on September 7, 2001; to the Committee on Finance.

EC–3927. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''2001 Marginal Production Rates'' (Notice 2001–53) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Finance.

EC–3928. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Fringe Benefits Aircraft Valuation Formula'' (Rev. Rul. 2001–42) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Finance.

EC–3929. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Separate Reporting of Nonstatutory Stock Option Income in Box 12 of the Form W–2, Using Code V, Optional for Year 2002'' (Ann. 2001–92) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Finance.

EC–3930. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Section 43 Inflation Adjustment'' (Notice 2001–54) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Finance.

EC–3931. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Maryland; Revisions to the Control of Iron and Steel Production Installations'' (FRL7040–8) received on September 4, 2001; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC–3932. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''District of Columbia: Final Authorization of State Hazardous Waste Management Program Revision'' (FRL7050–9) received on September 4, 2001; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC–3933. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Approval of Section 112(1) Authority for Hazardous Air Pollutants; State of Pennsylvania; Department of Environmental Protection'' (FRL7055–9) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC–3934. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''National Priorities List for Uncontrolled Hazardous Waste Sites'' (FRL7054–5) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC–3935. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Revisions to the Arizona State Implementation Plan, Arizona Department of Environmental Quality'' (FRL7051–4) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC–3936. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Supplemental Guidelines for the Award of Section 319 Nonpoint Source Grants to States and Territories in FY 2002 and Subsequent Years'' (FRL7054–7) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC–3937. A communication from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled ''Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; Indiana'' (FRL7052–6) received on September 10, 2001; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC–3938. A communication from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Performance Improvement Report for 2001; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC–3939. A communication from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the Community Food and Nutrition Program for Fiscal Years 1998 and 1999; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC–3940. A communication from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the administration of ERISA during calendar year 1999; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC–3941. A communication from the Inspector General, United States Railroad Retirement Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the budget request for Fiscal Year 2003; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC–3942. A communication from the Railroad Retirement Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the budget request report for Fiscal Year 2003; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. GRAHAM, from the Select Committee on Intelligence, without amendment:

S. 1428: An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government, the Community Management Account of the Director of Central Intelligence, and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 107–63).

By Mr. HOLLINGS, from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, without amendment:

S. 1214: A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to establish a program to ensure greater security for United States seaports, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 107–64).

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF COMMITTEE

The following executive report of committee was submitted:

By Mr. LEVIN for the Committee on Armed Services.

Department of Defense nomination of Gen. Richard B. Myers.

Nomination was reported with recommendation that it be confirmed subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself and Mr. LOTT):

S. 1426. A bill making emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001 for additional disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, and for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes; considered and passed.

By Mrs. HUTCHISON:

S. 1427. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize disability retirement to be granted posthumously for members of the Armed Forces who die in the line of duty while on active duty, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. GRAHAM:

S. 1428. An original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2002 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government, the Community Management Account of the Director of Central Intelligence, and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, and for other purposes; from the Select Committee on Intelligence; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. EDWARDS:

S. 1429. A bill to provide for the improvement of security at airports and seaports; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. JOHNSON:

S. 1430. A bill to authorize the issuance of Unity Bonds in response to the acts of terrorism perpetrated against the United States on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. McCONNELL (for himself and Mr. BURNS):

S. 1431. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to issue War Bonds in support of recovery and response efforts relating to the September 11, 2001 hijackings and attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Oregon:

S. 1432. A bill to authorize the issuance of United States Defense of Freedom Bonds to aid in funding of the war against terrorism, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself and Mr. LOTT):

S.J. Res. 23. A joint resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States; considered and passed.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 212

At the request of Mr. CAMPBELL, the name of the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. DASCHLE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 212, a bill to amend the Indian Health Care Improvement Act to revise and extend such Act.

S. 344

At the request of Mr. CAMPBELL, the name of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. DORGAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 344, a bill to amend the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century to make certain amendments with respect to Indian tribes.

S. 697

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BOND) was added as a cosponsor of S. 697, a bill to modernize the financing of the railroad retirement system and to provide enhanced benefits to employees and beneficiaries.

S. 756

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. DAYTON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 756, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to extend and modify the credit for electricity produced from biomass, and for other purposes.

S. 805

At the request of Mr. WELLSTONE, the name of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. DODD) was added as a cosponsor of S. 805, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for research with respect to various forms of muscular dystrophy, including Duchenne, Becker, limb girdle, congenital, facioscapulohumeral, myotonic, oculopharyngeal, distal, and emery-dreifuss muscular dystrophies.

S. 827

At the request of Mr. ROCKEFELLER, the name of the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HARKIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 827, a bill to amend the Social Security Act to guarantee comprehensive health care coverage for all children born after 2001.

S. 839

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the names of the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE) and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) were added as cosponsors of S. 839, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of payment for inpatient hospital services under the medicare program and to freeze the reduction in payments to hospitals for indirect costs of medical education.

S. 875

At the request of Mr. BREAUX, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CRAPO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 875, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow a credit against income tax for taxpayers owning certain commercial power takeoff vehicles.

S. 905

At the request of Mr. HARKIN, the names of the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) and the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. BINGAMAN) were added as cosponsors of S. 905, a bill to provide incentives for school construction, and for other purposes.

S. 920

At the request of Mr. BREAUX, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 920, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a credit against income tax to individuals who rehabilitate historic homes or who are the first purchasers of rehabilitated historic homes for use as a principal residence.

S. 1054

At the request of Mr. KOHL, the names of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROCKEFELLER) and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KERRY) were added as cosponsors of S. 1054, a bill to amend titles XVIII and XIX of the Social Security Act to prevent abuse of recipients of long-term care services under the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

S. 1083

At the request of Ms. MIKULSKI, the name of the Senator from Oregon (Mr. WYDEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1083, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to exclude clinical

social worker services from coverage under the medicare skilled nursing facility prospective payment system.

S. 1140

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. ENZI) and the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE) were added as cosponsors of S. 1140, a bill to amend chapter 1 of title 9, United States Code, to provide for greater fairness in the arbitration process relating to motor vehicle franchise contracts.

S. 1169

At the request of Mr. FEINGOLD, the name of the Senator from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1169, a bill to streamline the regulatory processes applicable to home health agencies under the medicare program under title XVIII of the Social Security Act and the medicaid program under title XIX of such Act, and for other purposes.

S. 1256

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the name of the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1256, a bill to provide for the reauthorization of the breast cancer research special postage stamp, and for other purposes.

S. 1409

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1409, a bill to impose sanctions against the PLO or the Palestinian Authority if the President determines that those entities have failed to substantially comply with commitments made to the State of Israel.

S. 1421

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the names of the Senator from Arkansas (Mrs. LINCOLN) and the Senator from Montana (Mr. BURNS) were added as cosponsors of S. 1421, a bill to direct the Federal Aviation Administration to reimplement the sky marshal program within 30 days.

S. RES. 139

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Utah (Mr. HATCH) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 139, a resolution designating September 24, 2001, as ''Family Day — A Day to Eat Dinner with Your Children.''

AMENDMENT NO. 1562

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS) was added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 1562 proposed to H.R. 2500, a bill making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself and Mr. LOTT.)

S. 1426. A bill making emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001 for additional disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, and for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes, considered and passed.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1426

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to provide emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001, namely:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

EMERGENCY RESPONSE FUND

(INCLUDING TRANSFERS OF FUNDS)

For emergency expenses to respond to the terrorist attacks on the United States that occurred on September 11, 2001, to provide assistance to the victims of the attacks, and to deal with other consequences of the attacks, $40,000,000,000, to remain available until expended, including for the costs of (1) providing Federal, State, and local preparedness for mitigating and responding to the attacks, (2) providing support to counter, investigate, or prosecute domestic or international terrorism, (3) providing increased transportation security, (4) repairing public facilities and transportation systems damaged by the attacks, and (5) supporting national security: *Provided,* That these funds may be transferred to any authorized Federal Government activity to meet the purposes of this Act: *Provided further,* That the Congress designates the entire amount as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985: *Provided further,* That $40,000,000,000 shall be available only to the extent that an official budget request, that includes designation of the $40,000,000,000 as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, is transmitted by the President to the Congress: *Provided further,* That the President shall consult with the chairmen and ranking minority members of the Committees on Appropriations prior to the transfer of these funds: *Provided further,* That of the $40,000,000,000 made available herein, $10,000,000,000 shall not be available for transfer to any Department or Agency until 15 days after the Director of the Office of Management and Budget has submitted to the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations a proposed allocation and plan for use of the funds for that Department or Agency; $20,000,000,000 may be obligated only when enacted in a subsequent emergency appropriations bill, in response to the terrorists acts on September 11, 2001: *Provided further:* That the President shall transmit an amended budget request proposing an allocation of funds: *Provided further:* That not less than one-half of the $40,000,000,000 shall be for disaster recovery activities and assistance related to the terrorists acts in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001, as authorized by law: *Provided further:* That the Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall provide quarterly reports to the Committees on Appropriations on the use of these funds, beginning not later than January 2, 2002: *Provided further:* That the President shall submit to the Congress as soon as practicable detailed requests to meet any further funding requirements for the purposes specified in this Act.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 1. Funds appropriated by this Act, or made available by the transfer of funds in this Act, for intelligence activities are deemed to be specifically authorized by the Congress for purposes of section 504 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 414).

SEC. 2. Funds appropriated by this Act, or made available by the transfer of funds in this Act, may be obligated and expended notwithstanding section 10 of Public Law 91–672, section 313 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, fiscal years 1994 and 1995, and section 15 of the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956.

This Act may be cited as the ''2001 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States.''

By Mrs. HUTCHISON:

S. 1427. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize disability retirement to be granted posthumously for members of the Armed Forces who die in the line of duty while on active duty, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1427

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. POSTHUMOUS DISABILITY RETIREMENT FOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES WHO DIE IN THE LINE OF DUTY WHILE ON ACTIVE DUTY.

(a) AUTHORITY.—Chapter 61 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

''§ 1222. Posthumous retirement: retroactive effective date; related elections

''(a) AUTHORITY.—Upon a determination by the Secretary concerned that it is advantageous for the survivors of a member of the armed forces who dies in the line of duty while on active duty, the Secretary concerned may—

''(1) posthumously retire the member under section 1201 of this title effective immediately before the member's death; and

''(2) make for the deceased member any election with respect to survivor benefits under laws referred to in subsection (c) that the deceased member would have been entitled to make upon being retired under that section, except that the Secretary may not make an election under section 1448(b)(1) or 1458 of this title.

''(b) CONSTRUCTION WITH SECTION 1201 REQUIREMENTS.—Nothing in this section modifies the requirements set forth in section

1201 of this title regarding determinations or eligibility.

''(c) ADMINISTRATION OF BENEFITS LAWS.—A retirement and election under subsection (a) shall be effective for the purposes of laws administered by the Secretary of Defense or any Secretary concerned and laws administered by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs.

''(d) NONREVIEWABILITY OF DETERMINATIONS.—A determination or election made by a Secretary concerned under subsection (a) is not subject to judicial review.''.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections at the beginning of such chapter is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

''1222. Posthumous retirement: retroactive effective date; related elections.''.

SEC. 2. SURVIVOR BENEFIT PLAN.

(a) SURVIVING SPOUSE ANNUITY.—Section 1448(d) of title 10, United States Code, is amended by striking paragraph (1) and inserting the following:

''(1) SURVIVING SPOUSE ANNUITY.—The Secretary concerned shall pay an annuity under this subchapter to the surviving spouse of a member who—

''(A) dies in the line of duty while on active duty after—

''(i) becoming eligible to receive retired pay;

''(ii) qualifying for retired pay except that the member has not applied for or been granted that pay; or

''(iii) completing 20 years of active service but before the member is eligible to retire as a commissioned officer because the member has not completed 10 years of active commissioned service; or

''(B) dies in the line of duty while on active duty and is posthumously retired under section 1201 of this title pursuant to section 1222 of this title.''.

(b) DEPENDENT CHILD ANNUITY.—Paragraph (2) of such section is amended by striking ''or if the member's surviving spouse subsequently dies'' and inserting ''or if the payment of an annuity to the member's surviving spouse under that paragraph subsequently terminates''.

(c) COMPUTATION OF SURVIVOR ANNUITY.—Section 1451(c) of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

''(5) SERVICE MEMBERS POSTHUMOUSLY RETIRED.—In the case of an annuity provided under section 1448(d)(1)(B) of this title, the retired pay to which the member would have been entitled when the member died shall be determined for purposes of paragraph (1) based upon the retired pay base computed for the member under section 1406(b) or 1407 of this title as if the member had been retired under section 1201 of this title on the date of the member's death.''.

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1451(c)(3) of such title is amended by striking ''section 1448(d)(1)(B) or 1448(d)(1)(C)'' and inserting ''clause (ii) or (iii) of section 1448(d)(1)(A)''.

SEC. 3. EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICABILITY.

This Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on September 10, 2001, and shall apply with respect to deaths of members of the Armed Forces occurring on or after that date.

By Mr. JOHNSON:

S. 1430. A bill to authorize the issuance of Unity Bonds in response to the acts of terrorism perpetrated against the United States on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I rise today to offer a bill to unite our citizens in this time of great crisis. As Americans, we feel many emotions, from anger to sadness, because of the tragedy of the terrorist attacks this past week.

The American people have responded with incredible acts of heroism, kindness and generosity. The outpouring of volunteers, blood donors and contributions of food and money demonstrates that America will unite to provide relief to the victims of these cowardly terrorist acts. This response is the true American spirit our country has always known.

So many of my constituents in South Dakota have called my office this week to ask what they can possibly do to help their fellow Americans who are suffering today. Many have given blood, others have donated to aid organizations, and most have offered prayers for the victims and their families. One woman asked whether she could buy the equivalent of the old war bonds that allowed our citizens to contribute to the war effort back in World War II.

Based on my constituent's idea, today I am introducing legislation that directs the United States Treasury to issue Unity Bonds. Americans who purchase these savings bonds will be contributing to disaster relief to the victims of Tuesday's attack and to our Nation's war against terrorism.

We will recover from this week's attacks. We will rebuild our Nation's infrastructure, and we will rebuild our Nation's spirit. But it will take a sustained, long-term effort to stamp out terrorism against the United States and all other liberty-loving nations.

Unity Bonds will allow Americans who want to show their support for this great country to participate in a meaningful way. I urge you to join me in helping to unite our citizens.

By Mr. MCCONNELL (for himself and Mr. BURNS):

S. 1143. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to issue War Bonds in support of recovery and response efforts relating to the September 11, 2001 hijackings and attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, no American was spared from the horrific and violent assaults on New York and the Pentagon which shocked us all the morning of September 11, 2001. Yet, even as heroic rescue workers sift through the rubble that remains, our nation is coming together in its resolve to respond to these despicable acts. This indefatigable spirit is a shining symbol of America's resilience and purpose.

The United States will undoubtedly meet the challenges which we now face. As President Bush has stated, ''Now that war has been declared on us, we will lead the world to victory.''

Winning the war against terrorism will require the full support of the American public who stand so anxious and so willing to contribute. Therefore, today I am introducing legislation to direct the Department of the Treasury to establish a special category of U.S. savings bonds designated War Bonds.

These War Bonds will give voice to countless Americans who are looking for opportunities to make a difference in this time of need. By investing in a U.S. War Bond, patriotic citizens will have an opportunity to make a direct contribution to the war against the scourge of terrorism and provide much-needed resources for the effort to rescue the injured, rebuild the broken, and retaliate against the enemy.

America's battle against the evil of terrorism will amount to much more than the immediate steps which are being undertaken in the aftermath of Tuesday's carnage. Unlike previous conflicts when Americans had the luxury of recognizing a precise moment of victory, this battle's success will be assured only if our shores never again fall victim to terrorist acts. Thus, by definition, this war will be ongoing. As such, it will be essential for our Government to generate consistent public support for its actions.

The national campaign to sell U.S. War Bonds will serve not only to generate revenue, but will provide an opportunity to educate all Americans on the complicated nature of the terrorist threat and the resulting comprehensive nature of our response. This national effort will build on one of American's proudest traditions. Dating from the Revolutionary War through World War II, our country has relied upon U.S. War Bonds to respond to the threats posed by our most dangerous enemies. The World War II effort generated more than $200 billion in revenue from patriotic Americans eager to respond to the call of duty. I have no doubt that today's Americans will respond in kind, thus providing unprecedented support for the long road ahead.

I call on all of my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself, and Mr. LOTT):

S.J. Res. 23. A joint resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States; considered and passed.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the joint resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S.J. RES. 23

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

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

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

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

Whereas, the President has authority under the Constitution to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and the 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) 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 future 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.

DEPARTMENTS OF COMMERCE, JUSTICE AND STATE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2002

On September 13, 2001, the Senate amended and passed H.R. 2500, as follows:

Resolved, That the bill from the House of Representatives (H.R. 2500) entitled ''An Act making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes.'', do pass with the following amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert: *That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes, namely:*

TITLE I—DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses necessary for the administration of the Department of Justice, $93,433,000, of which not to exceed $3,317,000 is for the Facilities Program 2000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That not to exceed 43 permanent positions and 44 full-time equivalent workyears and $8,136,000 shall be expended for the Department Leadership Program: Provided further, That not to exceed 41 permanent positions and 48 full-time equivalent workyears and $4,811,000 shall be expended for the Offices of Legislative Affairs and Public Affairs: Provided further, That the Attorney General is authorized to transfer, under such terms and conditions as the Attorney General shall specify, forfeited real or personal property of limited or marginal value, as such value is determined by guidelines established by the Attorney General, to a State or local government agency, or its designated contractor or transferee, for use to support drug abuse treatment, drug and crime prevention and education, housing, job skills, and other community-based public health and safety programs: Provided further, That any transfer under the preceding proviso shall not create or confer any private right of action in any person against the United States, and shall be treated as a reprogramming under section 605 of this Act.

JOINT AUTOMATED BOOKING SYSTEM

For expenses necessary for the nationwide deployment of a Joint Automated Booking System including automated capability to transmit fingerprint and image data, $22,500,000, to remain available until expended.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES OFFICE AUTOMATION

For necessary office-automation expenses of organizations funded under the headings ''Salaries and Expenses'', General Legal Activities, and ''Salaries and Expenses'', General Administration, and of the United States Attorneys, the United States Marshals Service, the Antitrust Division, the United States Trustee Program, the Executive Office for Immigration Review, and the Community Relations Service, $34,600,000, to remain available until expended.

NARROWBAND COMMUNICATIONS

For the costs of conversion to narrowband communications, including the cost for operation and maintenance of Land Mobile Radio legacy systems, $204,549,000, to remain available until expended.

PORT SECURITY

For expenses necessary for counter-terrorism, counter-narcotics, and other law enforcement activities at United States seaports, including Great Lakes ports, $39,950,000, to remain available until expended, to be available only for facilities, equipment, and supplies occupied or used by federal law enforcement agencies, including the United States Customs Service.

ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW AND APPEALS

For expenses necessary for the administration of pardon and clemency petitions and immigration related activities, $45,813,000.

DETENTION TRUSTEE

For necessary expenses of the Federal Detention Trustee who shall exercise all power and functions authorized by law relating to the detention of Federal prisoners in non-Federal institutions or otherwise in the custody of the United States Marshals Service; and the detention of aliens in the custody of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, $88,884,000, of which $87,166,000 shall be available only for prisoner movements handled by the Justice Prisoner and Alien Transportation System: Provided, That the Trustee shall be responsible for overseeing construction of detention facilities or for housing related to such detention; the management of funds appropriated to the Department for the exercise of any detention functions; and the direction of the United States Marshals Service and Immigration and Naturalization Service with respect to the exercise of detention policy setting and operations for the Department.

OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL

For necessary expenses of the Office of Inspector General in carrying out the provisions of the Inspector General Act of 1978, as amended, $46,006,000; including not to exceed $10,000 to meet unforeseen emergencies of a confidential character, to be expended under the direction of, and to be accounted for solely under the certificate of, the Attorney General; and for the acquisition, lease, maintenance, and operation of motor vehicles, without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year.

UNITED STATES PAROLE COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the United States Parole Commission as authorized by law, $8,836,000.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, GENERAL LEGAL ACTIVITIES

For expenses necessary for the legal activities of the Department of Justice, not otherwise provided for, including not to exceed $20,000 for expenses of collecting evidence, to be expended under the direction of, and to be accounted for solely under the certificate of, the Attorney General; and rent of private or Government-owned space in the District of Columbia, $527,543,000: Provided, That of the funds made available in this appropriation, $2,612,000 shall remain available until expended only for courtroom technology: Provided further, That of the total amount appropriated, not to exceed $1,000 shall be available to the United States National Central Bureau, INTERPOL, for representation expenses.

In addition, for reimbursement of expenses of the Department of Justice associated with processing cases under the National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act of 1986, as amended, not to exceed $4,028,000, to be appropriated from the Vaccine Injury Compensation Trust Fund.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, ANTITRUST DIVISION

For expenses necessary for the enforcement of antitrust and kindred laws, $130,791,000: Provided, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, not to exceed $130,791,000 of offsetting collections derived from fees collected for premerger notification filings under the Hart-Scott-Rodino Antitrust Improvements Act of 1976 (15 U.S.C. 18a), regardless of the year of collection, shall be retained and used for necessary expenses in this appropriation, and shall remain available until expended: Provided further, That the sum herein appropriated from the general fund shall be reduced as such offsetting collections are received during fiscal year 2002, so as to result in a final fiscal year 2002 appropriation from the general fund estimated at not more than $0.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS

For necessary expenses of the Offices of the United States Attorneys, including inter-governmental and cooperative agreements, $1,260,353,000; of which not to exceed $2,500,000 shall be available until September 30, 2003, for: (1) training personnel in debt collection; (2) locating debtors and their property; (3) paying the net costs of selling property; and (4) tracking debts owed to the United States Government: Provided, That $800,000 shall be available only for grants to develop and conduct programs to train State and local law enforcement and prosecutors in the investigation and prosecution of child pornography and child exploitation crimes: Provided further, That of the total amount appropriated, not to exceed $8,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses: Provided further, That of the

amount made available under this heading, $6,000,000 shall be available only to procure, operate, and maintain gunfire surveillance equipment to support gun prosecution initiatives in high crime areas: Provided further, That not to exceed $10,000,000 of those funds available for automated litigation support contracts shall remain available until expended: Provided further, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Attorney General shall transfer to the Department of Justice Working Capital Fund, unobligated, all unexpended funds appropriated by the first heading of chapter 2 of title II of division B of Public Law 106–246 and by section 202 of division A of appendix H.R. 5666 of Public Law 106–554: Provided further, That not to exceed $2,500,000 for the operation of the National Advocacy Center shall remain available until expended: Provided further, That the fourth proviso under the heading ''Salaries and Expenses, United States Attorneys'' in title I of H.R. 3421 of the 106th Congress, as enacted by section 1000(a)(1) of Public Law 106–113 shall apply to amounts made available under this heading for fiscal year 2002: Provided further, That, in addition to reimbursable full-time equivalent workyears available to the Offices of the United States Attorneys, not to exceed 9,539 positions and 9,607 full-time equivalent workyears shall be supported from the funds appropriated in this Act for the United States Attorneys.

UNITED STATES TRUSTEE SYSTEM FUND

For necessary expenses of the United States Trustee Program, as authorized by 28 U.S.C. 589a(a), $154,044,000, to remain available until expended and to be derived from the United States Trustee System Fund: Provided, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, deposits to the Fund shall be available in such amounts as may be necessary to pay refunds due depositors: Provided further, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, $154,044,000 of offsetting collections pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 589a(b) shall be retained and used for necessary expenses in this appropriation and remain available until expended: Provided further, That the sum herein appropriated from the Fund shall be reduced as such offsetting collections are received during fiscal year 2002, so as to result in a final fiscal year 2002 appropriation from the Fund estimated at $0.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION

For expenses necessary to carry out the activities of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, including services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109, $1,130,000.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, UNITED STATES MARSHALS SERVICE

For necessary expenses of the United States Marshals Service, including the acquisition, lease, maintenance, and operation of vehicles, and the purchase of passenger motor vehicles for police-type use, without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, $644,746,000; of which not to exceed $6,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses; and of which not to exceed $4,000,000 for development, implementation, maintenance and support, and training for an automated prisoner information system shall remain available until expended.

In addition, for the costs of courthouse security equipment, including furnishings, relocations, and telephone systems and cabling, $18,145,000, to remain available until expended.

CONSTRUCTION

For planning, constructing, renovating, equipping, and maintaining United States Marshals Service prisoner-holding space in United States courthouses and Federal buildings, including the renovation and expansion of prisoner movement areas, elevators, and sallyports, $25,812,000, to remain available until expended.

JUSTICE PRISONER AND ALIEN TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM FUND, UNITED STATES MARSHALS SERVICE

For necessary expenses to procure replacement aircraft, $53,050,000, to remain available until expended, shall be available only for the purchase of two long-range, wide body aircraft.

FEDERAL PRISONER DETENTION

For expenses, related to United States prisoners in the custody of the United States Marshals Service, but not including expenses otherwise provided for in appropriations available to the Attorney General, $687,682,000, to remain available until expended.

FEES AND EXPENSES OF WITNESSES

For expenses, mileage, compensation, and per diems of witnesses, for expenses of contracts for the procurement and supervision of expert witnesses, for private counsel expenses, and for per diems in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law, including advances, $156,145,000, to remain available until expended; of which not to exceed $6,000,000 may be made available for planning, construction, renovations, maintenance, remodeling, and repair of buildings, and the purchase of equipment incident thereto, for protected witness safesites; of which not to exceed $1,000,000 may be made available for the purchase and maintenance of armored vehicles for transportation of protected witnesses; and of which not to exceed $5,000,000 may be made available for the purchase, installation, and maintenance of secure telecommunications equipment and a secure automated information network to store and retrieve the identities and locations of protected witnesses.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

For necessary expenses of the Community Relations Service, $9,269,000 and, in addition, up to $1,000,000 of funds made available to the Department of Justice in this Act may be transferred by the Attorney General to this account.

ASSETS FORFEITURE FUND

For expenses authorized by 28 U.S.C. 524(c)(1)(A)(ii), (B), (F), and (G), as amended, $22,949,000, to be derived from the Department of Justice Assets Forfeiture Fund.

RADIATION EXPOSURE COMPENSATION

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

For necessary administrative expenses in accordance with the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act, $1,996,000.

PAYMENT TO RADIATION EXPOSURE COMPENSATION TRUST FUND

For payments to the Radiation Exposure Compensation Trust Fund of claims covered by the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act $10,776,000.

INTERAGENCY LAW ENFORCEMENT

INTERAGENCY CRIME AND DRUG ENFORCEMENT

For necessary expenses for the detection, investigation, and prosecution of individuals involved in organized crime drug trafficking not otherwise provided for, to include inter-governmental agreements with State and local law enforcement agencies engaged in the investigation and prosecution of individuals involved in organized crime drug trafficking, $336,966,000, of which $50,000,000 shall remain available until expended: Provided, That any amounts obligated from appropriations under this heading may be used under authorities available to the organizations reimbursed from this appropriation: Provided further, That any unobligated balances remaining available at the end of the fiscal year shall revert to the Attorney General for reallocation among participating organizations in succeeding fiscal years, subject to the reprogramming procedures described in section 605 of this Act.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for detection, investigation, and prosecution of crimes against the United States; including purchase for police-type use of not to exceed 1,354 passenger motor vehicles, of which 1,190 will be for replacement only, without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, and hire of passenger motor vehicles; acquisition, lease, maintenance, and operation of aircraft; and not to exceed $70,000 to meet unforeseen emergencies of a confidential character, to be expended under the direction of, and to be accounted for solely under the certificate of, the Attorney General, $3,425,041,000; of which not to exceed $50,000,000 for automated data processing and telecommunications and technical investigative equipment and not to exceed $1,000,000 for undercover operations shall remain available until September 30, 2003; of which not less than $485,278,000 shall be for counterterrorism investigations, foreign counterintelligence, and other activities related to our national security; of which not to exceed $10,000,000 is authorized to be made available for making advances for expenses arising out of contractual or reimbursable agreements with State and local law enforcement agencies while engaged in cooperative activities related to violent crime, terrorism, organized crime, and drug investigations: Provided, That not to exceed $45,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses: Provided further, That of the amount made available under this heading, $53,000 shall be available only to reimburse Acadian Ambulance & Air Med Services for costs incurred during the December 1999 prison riot in St. Martin Parish Correctional Center, St. Martin Parish, Louisiana.

CONSTRUCTION

For necessary expenses to construct or acquire buildings and sites by purchase, or as otherwise authorized by law (including equipment for such buildings); conversion and extension of federally-owned buildings; and preliminary planning and design of projects; $44,074,000, to remain available until expended.

DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Drug Enforcement Administration, including not to exceed $70,000 to meet unforeseen emergencies of a confidential character, to be expended under the direction of, and to be accounted for solely under the certificate of, the Attorney General; expenses for conducting drug education and training programs, including travel and related expenses for participants in such programs and the distribution of items of token value that promote the goals of such programs; purchase of not to exceed 1,477 passenger motor vehicles, of which 1,354 will be for replacement only, for police-type use without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year; and acquisition, lease, maintenance, and operation of aircraft, $1,489,779,000; of which $33,000,000 for permanent change of station shall remain available until September 30, 2003; of which not to exceed $1,800,000 for research shall remain available until expended, and of which not to exceed $4,000,000 for purchase of evidence and payments for information, not to exceed $10,000,000 for contracting for automated data processing and telecommunications equipment, and not to exceed $2,000,000 for laboratory equipment, $4,000,000 for technical equipment, and $2,000,000 for aircraft replacement retrofit and parts, shall remain available until September 30, 2003; of which not to exceed $50,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary for the administration and enforcement of the laws relating to immigration, naturalization, and alien registration, including not to exceed $50,000 to meet unforeseen emergencies of a confidential character, to be expended under the direction of, and to be accounted for solely under the certificate of, the Attorney General; purchase for police-type use (not less than 3,165 passenger motor vehicles, of which not less than 2,211 are for replacement only), without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, and hire of passenger motor vehicles; acquisition, lease, maintenance and operation of aircraft; research related to immigration enforcement; for protecting and maintaining the integrity of the borders of the United States including, without limitation, equipping, maintaining, and making improvements to the infrastructure; and for the care and housing of Federal detainees held in the joint Immigration and Naturalization Service and United States Marshals Service's Buffalo Detention Facility, $3,176,037,000; of which $5,500,000 shall be for the Violence Against Women Act Unit of the Eastern Adjudication Service Center to provide for the processing of immigration self-petitions and U visas under the Violence Against Women Act (Public Law 103–322, reauthorized in Public Law 106–326) and T visas under the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (Public Law 106–326), out of which $500,000 shall be for the Eastern Adjudication Service Center to provide for the production and distribution of training materials to State Department, Justice Department, and other Government officials concerning the immigration provisions of the Violence Against Women Act; of which not to exceed $400,000 for research shall remain available until expended; of which not to exceed $10,000,000 shall be available for costs associated with the training program for basic officer training; of which not to exceed $5,000,000 is for payments or advances arising out of contractual or reimbursable agreements with State and local law enforcement agencies while engaged in cooperative activities related to immigration; of which not to exceed $5,000,000 is to fund or reimburse other Federal agencies for the costs associated with the care, maintenance, and repatriation of smuggled illegal aliens: Provided, That none of the funds available to the Immigration and Naturalization Service shall be available to pay any employee overtime pay in an amount in excess of $1,153 per pay period during the calendar year beginning January 1, 2002: Provided further, That uniforms may be purchased without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year: Provided further, That not to exceed $45,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses: Provided further, That not to exceed 30 permanent positions and 30 full-time equivalent workyears and not to exceed $4,300,000 shall be expended for the Offices of Legislative Affairs and Public Affairs: Provided further, That, of the amount appropriated under this heading, $67,000,000 shall be transferred to the Immigration Services and Infrastructure Improvements Account under section 204 of the Immigration Services and Infrastructure Improvements Act of 2000 (8 U.S.C. 1573), to be used for the same purposes for which funds in such account may be used and to remain available until expended: Provided further, That the latter two aforementioned offices shall be augmented by personnel details, temporary transfers of personnel on either a reimbursable or non-reimbursable basis, or any other type of formal or informal transfer or reimbursement of personnel or funds on either a temporary or long-term basis and such augmentation may not exceed 10 full-time equivalent workyears.

CONSTRUCTION

For planning, purchase of construction vehicles, construction, renovation, equipping, and maintenance of buildings and facilities necessary for the administration and enforcement of the laws relating to immigration, naturalization, and alien registration, not otherwise provided for, $205,015,000, to remain available until expended, of which $3,000,000 shall be available only to comply with Occupational Safety and Health Administration programs.

FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses necessary for the administration, operation, and maintenance of Federal penal and correctional institutions, including purchase (not to exceed 685, of which 610 are for replacement only) and hire of law enforcement and passenger motor vehicles, and for the provision of technical assistance and advice on corrections related issues to foreign governments, $3,786,228,000, of which $11,554,000 shall be available only for the activation of the facility at Atwater, California, and of which $13,323,000 shall be available only for the activation of the facility at Honolulu, Hawaii: Provided, That the Attorney General may transfer to the Health Resources and Services Administration such amounts as may be necessary for direct expenditures by that Administration for medical relief for inmates of Federal penal and correctional institutions: Provided further, That the Director of the Federal Prison System (FPS), where necessary, may enter into contracts with a fiscal agent/fiscal intermediary claims processor to determine the amounts payable to persons who, on behalf of FPS, furnish health services to individuals committed to the custody of FPS: Provided further, That not to exceed $6,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses: Provided further, That not to exceed $50,000,000 shall remain available for necessary operations until September 30, 2003: Provided further, That, of the amounts provided for Contract Confinement, not to exceed $20,000,000 shall remain available until expended to make payments in advance for grants, contracts and reimbursable agreements, and other expenses authorized by section 501(c) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980, as amended, for the care and security in the United States of Cuban and Haitian entrants: Provided further, That the Director of the Federal Prison System may accept donated property and services relating to the operation of the prison card program from a not-for-profit entity which has operated such program in the past notwithstanding the fact that such not-for-profit entity furnishes services under contracts to the Federal Prison System relating to the operation of pre-release services, halfway houses or other custodial facilities.

BUILDINGS AND FACILITIES

For planning, acquisition of sites and construction of new facilities; purchase and acquisition of facilities and remodeling, and equipping of such facilities for penal and correctional use, including all necessary expenses incident thereto, by contract or force account; and constructing, remodeling, and equipping necessary buildings and facilities at existing penal and correctional institutions, including all necessary expenses incident thereto, by contract or force account, $899,797,000, to remain available until expended, of which not to exceed $14,000,000 shall be available to construct areas for inmate work programs: Provided, That labor of United States prisoners may be used for work performed under this appropriation: Provided further, That, of the amount made available under this heading, $9,962,000 shall be available for partial site and planning for the U.S.P. Northeast/Northern Mid-Atlantic facility to be located in Berlin, New Hampshire: Provided further, That, of the amount made available under this heading, $66,524,000, to remain available until expended, shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the ''Immigration and Naturalization Service, Construction'' appropriations account, to be available only for the construction of detention facilities: Provided further, That not to exceed 10 percent of the funds appropriated to ''Buildings and Facilities'' in this or any other Act may be transferred to ''Salaries and Expenses'', Federal Prison System, upon notification by the Attorney General to the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate in compliance with provisions set forth in section 605 of this Act.

FEDERAL PRISON INDUSTRIES, INCORPORATED

The Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated, is hereby authorized to make such expenditures, within the limits of funds and borrowing authority available, and in accord with the law, and to make such contracts and commitments, without regard to fiscal year limitations as provided by section 9104 of title 31, United States Code, as may be necessary in carrying out the program set forth in the budget for the current fiscal year for such corporation, including purchase of (not to exceed five for replacement only) and hire of passenger motor vehicles.

LIMITATION ON ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES, FEDERAL PRISON INDUSTRIES, INCORPORATED

Not to exceed $3,429,000 of the funds of the corporation shall be available for its administrative expenses, and for services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109, to be computed on an accrual basis to be determined in accordance with the corporation's current prescribed accounting system, and such amounts shall be exclusive of depreciation, payment of claims, and expenditures which the said accounting system requires to be capitalized or charged to cost of commodities acquired or produced, including selling and shipping expenses, and expenses in connection with acquisition, construction, operation, maintenance, improvement, protection, or disposition of facilities and other property belonging to the corporation or in which it has an interest.

OFFICE OF JUSTICE PROGRAMS

JUSTICE ASSISTANCE

For grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other assistance authorized by title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended (''the 1968 Act''), and the Missing Children's Assistance Act, as amended, including salaries and expenses in connection therewith, and with the Victims of Crime Act of 1984, as amended, $200,738,000, to remain available until expended, as authorized by section 1001 of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended by Public Law 102–534 (106 Stat. 3524), of which not to exceed $2,000,000 shall be available for administering a program to award Federal matching grants to States and localities to improve election systems and election administration and for making such grants: Provided, That no funds for the purpose of administering such program or for making such grants shall be made available until the date of enactment of a statute authorizing the expenditure of funds for such a purpose.

In addition, for grants, cooperative agreements, and other assistance authorized by sections 819 and 821 of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 and for other counterterrorism programs, $373,800,000, to remain available until expended, of which $9,800,000 is for an aircraft for counterterrorism and other required activities for the City of New York.

STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE

For assistance authorized by the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (Public Law 103–322), as amended (''the 1994 Act''); the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended (''the 1968 Act''); and the Victims of Child Abuse Act of 1990, as amended (''the 1990 Act''), $2,094,990,000 (including amounts for administrative costs, which shall be transferred to and merged with the ''Justice Assistance'' account), to remain available until expended as follows:

(1) $400,000,000 for Local Law Enforcement Block Grants, pursuant to H.R. 728 as passed by the House of Representatives on February 14, 1995, except that for purposes of this Act, Guam shall be considered a ''State'', the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico shall be considered a ''unit of local government'' as well as a ''State'', for the purposes set forth in paragraphs (A), (B), (D), (F), and (I) of section 101(a)(2) of H.R. 728 and for establishing crime prevention programs involving cooperation between community residents and law enforcement personnel in order to control, detect, or investigate crime or the prosecution of criminals: Provided, That no funds provided under this heading may be used as matching funds for any other Federal grant program, of which:

(a) $80,000,000 shall be for Boys and Girls Clubs in public housing facilities and other areas in cooperation with State and local law enforcement: Provided, That from such funds $15,000,000 shall be used to carry out the Kids 2000 Act (Public Law 106–313; 114 Stat. 1260): Provided further, That funds may also be used to defray the costs of indemnification insurance for law enforcement officers, and

(b) $19,956,000 shall be available for grants, contracts, and other assistance to carry out section 102(c) of H.R. 728;

(2) $265,000,000 for the State Criminal Alien Assistance Program, as authorized by section 242(j) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended;

(3) $35,000,000 shall be available for the Cooperative Agreement Program;

(4) $35,191,000 shall be available for grants under section 20109(a)(2) of subtitle A of title II of the 1994 Act;

(5) $7,982,000 for the Tribal Courts Initiative;

(6) $583,125,000 for programs authorized by part E of title I of the 1968 Act, notwithstanding the provisions of section 511 of said Act, of which $84,625,000 shall be for discretionary grants under the Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance Programs, of which $10,000,000 is for the Mental Health Courts Grants Initiative, of which $1,500,000 shall be for the Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE) Project, Inc.;

(7) $11,975,000 for the Court Appointed Special Advocate Program, as authorized by section 218 of the 1990 Act;

(8) $2,296,000 for Child Abuse Training Programs for Judicial Personnel and Practitioners, as authorized by section 224 of the 1990 Act;

(9) $184,937,000 for Grants to Combat Violence Against Women, to States, units of local government, and Indian tribal governments, as authorized by section 1001(a)(18) of the 1968 Act, of which:

(a) $1,000,000 shall be for the Bureau of Justice Statistics for grants, contracts, and other assistance for domestic violence federal case processing study,

(b) $5,200,000 shall be for the National Institute of Justice for grants, contracts, and other assistance for research and evaluation of violence against women,

(c) $10,000,000 shall be for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention for the Safe Start Program, to be administered as authorized by part C of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act of 1974, as amended, and

(d) $200,000 for the Attorney General to conduct a study and prepare a report to be submitted to the Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice and State Appropriations of the Senate and House of Representatives Appropriations Committee on the response of local law enforcement agencies to emergency calls involving domestic violence;

(10) $64,925,000 for Grants to Encourage Arrest Policies to States, units of local government, and Indian tribal governments, as authorized by section 1001(a)(19) of the 1968 Act;

(11) $39,945,000 for Rural Domestic Violence and Child Abuse Enforcement Assistance Grants, as authorized by section 40295 of the 1994 Act;

(12) $4,989,000 for training programs to assist probation and parole officers who work with released sex offenders, as authorized by section 40152(c) of the 1994 Act, and for local demonstration projects;

(13) $998,000 for grants for televised testimony, as authorized by section 1001(a)(7) of the 1968 Act;

(14) $3,000,000 for grants to States and units of local government to improve the process for entering data regarding stalking and domestic violence into local, State, and national crime information databases, as authorized by section 40602 of the 1994 Act;

(15) $10,000,000 for grants to reduce Violent Crimes Against Women on Campus, as authorized by section 1108(a) of Public Law 106–386;

(16) $40,000,000 for Legal Assistance for Victims, as authorized by section 1201 of Public Law 106–386;

(17) $5,000,000 for enhancing protection for older and disabled women from domestic violence and sexual assault as authorized by section 40801 of the 1994 Act;

(18) $15,000,000 for the Safe Havens for Children Pilot Program as authorized by section 1301 of Public Law 106–386;

(19) $7,500,000 for Education and Training to end violence against and abuse of women with disabilities, as authorized by section 1402 of Public Law 106–386;

(20) $68,000,000 for grants for residential substance abuse treatment for State prisoners, as authorized by section 1001(a)(17) of the 1968 Act: Provided, That States that have in-prison drug treatment programs, in compliance with Federal requirements, may use their residential substance abuse grants funds for treatment, both during incarceration and after release;

(21) $4,989,000 for demonstration grants on alcohol and crime in Indian Country;

(22) $898,000 for the Missing Alzheimer's Disease Patient Alert Program, as authorized by section 240001(c) of the 1994 Act;

(23) $50,000,000 for Drug Courts, as authorized by title V of the 1994 Act;

(24) $1,497,000 for Law Enforcement Family Support Programs, as authorized by section 1001(a)(21) of the 1968 Act;

(25) $1,995,000 for public awareness programs addressing marketing scams aimed at senior citizens, as authorized by section 250005(3) of the 1994 Act;

(26) $249,450,000 for Juvenile Accountability Incentive Block Grants except that such funds shall be subject to the same terms and conditions as set forth in the provisions under this heading for this program in Public Law 105–119, but all references in such provisions to 1998 shall be deemed to refer instead to 2002, and Guam shall be considered a ''State'' for the purposes of title III of H.R. 3, as passed by the House of Representatives on May 8, 1997; and

(27) $1,298,000 for the Motor Vehicle Theft Prevention Programs, as authorized by section 220002(h) of the 1994 Act:

Provided, That funds made available in fiscal year 2002 under subpart 1 of part E of title I of the 1968 Act may be obligated for programs to assist States in the litigation processing of death penalty Federal habeas corpus petitions and for drug testing initiatives: Provided further, That, if a unit of local government uses any of the funds made available under this title to increase the number of law enforcement officers, the unit of local government will achieve a net gain in the number of law enforcement officers who perform nonadministrative public safety service.

WEED AND SEED PROGRAM FUND

For necessary expenses, including salaries and related expenses of the Executive Office for Weed and Seed, to implement ''Weed and Seed'' program activities, $58,925,000, to remain available until expended, for inter-governmental agreements, including grants, cooperative agreements, and contracts, with State and local law enforcement agencies, non-profit organizations, and agencies of local government, engaged in the investigation and prosecution of violent crimes and drug offenses in ''Weed and Seed'' designated communities, and for either reimbursements or transfers to appropriation accounts of the Department of Justice and other Federal agencies which shall be specified by the Attorney General to execute the ''Weed and Seed'' program strategy: Provided, That funds designated by Congress through language for other Department of Justice appropriation accounts for ''Weed and Seed'' program activities shall be managed and executed by the Attorney General through the Executive Office for Weed and Seed: Provided further, That the Attorney General may direct the use of other Department of Justice funds and personnel in support of ''Weed and Seed'' program activities only after the Attorney General notifies the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate in accordance with section 605 of this Act.

COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING SERVICES

For activities authorized by the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, Public Law 103–322 (''the 1994 Act'') (including administrative costs), $1,049,659,000, to remain available until expended; of which $175,962,000 shall be available to the Office of Justice Programs to carry out section 102 of the Crime Identification Technology Act of 1998 (42 U.S.C. 14601), of which $35,000,000 is for grants to upgrade criminal records, as authorized under the Crime Identification Technology Act of 1998 (42 U.S.C. 14601), of which $35,000,000 is for DNA testing as authorized by the DNA Analysis Backlog Elimination Act of 2000 (Public Law 106–546), of which $35,000,000 is for the State and local DNA laboratories as authorized by section 1001(a)(22) of the 1968 Act, and improvements to the State and local forensic general science capabilities to reduce State and local DNA convicted offender sample backlog and for awards to State, local, and private laboratories, including $1,500,000 for a computer forensic lab in Ohio, of which $600,000 shall be available to the Mecklenburg County, North Carolina Sheriff's Office for a Sex Offender Registration Unit, of which $25,000,000 shall be available for Paul Coverdell Forensic Sciences Improvement Grants under part BB of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3797j et seq.), and of which $17,000,000 is for the National Institute of Justice for grants, contracts, and other agreements to develop school safety technologies and training; of which $514,209,000 is for Public Safety and Community Policing Grants pursuant to title I of the 1994 Act, of which $190,291,000 shall be available for the COPS hiring program, of which $180,000,000 shall be available for school resource officers, of which $35,000,000 shall be used to improve tribal law enforcement including equipment and training, of which $25,444,000 shall be used for the Matching Grant Program for Law Enforcement

Armor Vests pursuant to section 2501 of part Y of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (''the 1968 Act''), as amended, of which $30,000,000 shall be used for Police Corps education, training, and service as set forth in sections 200101–200113 of the 1994 Act, and of which $20,662,000 shall be used to provide training and technical assistance; of which $155,467,000 shall be used for a law enforcement technology program, of which $1,900,000 shall be available only for the New Jersey State Police Law Enforcement Training Center, of which $1,500,000 shall be available only for in-car cameras for Arkansas State Police cruisers, of which $1,000,000 is to the National Sheriff's Association to conduct a multi-State information sharing demonstration project, of which $7,202,000, to remain available until September 30, 2003, shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, ''Salaries and Expenses'' appropriations account to be available only to maintain or establish not more than 4 regional computer forensic labs in affiliation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation Laboratory Division, of which $1,005,000, to remain available until September 30, 2003, shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, ''Salaries and Expenses'' appropriations account to be available only to expand the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program to include sexual assault, of which $3,800,000 will be for a grant to the Jersey City Police Department's Crime Identification System to upgrade communications systems, of which $350,000 shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the ''Salaries and Expenses'', General Legal Activities appropriations account to be available only for equipment to connect Interpol to the National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System, of which $3,000,000 shall be for a grant to the Law Enforcement Innovation Center at the University of Tennessee, of which $2,000,000 shall be available only for law enforcement technology upgrades for Berlin, New Hampshire, and of which $4,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2003, shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, ''Salaries and Expenses'' appropriations account to be available only to maintain or establish not more than 4 regional mitochondrial DNA forensic labs in affiliation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation Laboratory Division; of which $49,493,000 shall be used for policing initiatives to combat methamphetamine production and trafficking and to enhance policing initiatives in drug ''hot spots'', of which $1,300,000 shall be for a grant to the California Department of Justice for a methamphetamine initiative, of which $1,100,000 shall be for a methamphetamine initiative in the State of Missouri; of which $99,780,000 for a prosecution assistance program to reimburse State, county, parish, or municipal governments only for Federal costs associated with the prosecution of criminal cases declined by local U.S. Attorneys' offices, of which $49,780,000 shall be for a national program to reduce gun violence, and of which $50,000,000 shall be for the Southwest Border Prosecutor Initiative; of which $16,963,000 shall be for a police integrity program; of which $22,851,000 is for the Safe Schools Initiative; and of which $14,934,000 shall be for an offender re-entry program: Provided, That of the amount provided for Public Safety and Community Policing Grants, not to exceed $32,812,000 shall be expended for program management and administration: Provided further, That of the prior year balances available in this program, $46,000,000 shall be available for the direct hiring of law enforcement officers through the Universal Hiring Program: Provided further, That Section 1703(b) and (c) of the 1968 Act shall not apply to non-hiring grants made pursuant to part Q of title I thereof (42 U.S.C. 3796 d.d. et seq.).

JUVENILE JUSTICE PROGRAMS

For grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other assistance authorized by the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as amended, (''the Act''), including salaries and expenses in connection therewith to be transferred to and merged with the appropriations for Justice Assistance, $324,926,000, to remain available until expended, as authorized by section 299 of part I of title II and section 506 of title V of the Act, as amended by Public Law 102–586, of which: (1) notwithstanding any other provision of law, $6,847,000 shall be available for expenses authorized by part A of title II of the Act, $88,804,000 shall be available for expenses authorized by part B of title II of the Act, and $60,591,000 shall be available for expenses authorized by part C of title II of the Act, of which $300,000 shall be available only for the ''From Darkness to Light'' program in Charleston, South Carolina, of which $5,000,000 is to fund the Strengthening Abuse and Neglect Courts Act, of which not to exceed $5,000,000 shall be available for grants for local juvenile justice programs for mental health screening and treatment for juvenile offenders during incarceration that are consistent with guidelines issued by the Attorney General, of which $500,000 is for the Boy Scouts ''Learning for Life'' program, of which $500,000 for the Elwyn Project in Pennsylvania to reduce placement in institutions of mentally ill youth, $400,000 for the Center for Corrections Education at Indiana University of Pennsylvania to develop and establish a program to train educators within corrections institutions throughout the United States, and $100,000 to replicate a witness relocation program in Pennsylvania, of which $250,000 shall be for a grant to the Rapid Response Program in Washington and Hancock Counties, Maine: Provided, That $26,442,000 of the amounts provided for part B of title II of the Act, as amended, is for the purpose of providing additional formula grants under part B to States that provide assurances to the Administrator that the State has in effect (or will have in effect no later than 1 year after date of application) policies and programs, that ensure that juveniles are subject to accountability-based sanctions for every act for which they are adjudicated delinquent; (2) $11,974,000 shall be available for expenses authorized by sections 281 and 282 of part D of title II of the Act for prevention and treatment programs relating to juvenile gangs; (3) $9,978,000 shall be available for expenses authorized by section 285 of part E of title II of the Act; (4) $15,965,000 shall be available for expenses authorized by part G of title II of the Act for juvenile mentoring programs; and (5) $130,767,000 shall be available for expenses authorized by title V of the Act for incentive grants for local delinquency prevention programs; of which $12,472,000 shall be for delinquency prevention, control, and system improvement programs for tribal youth; of which $25,000,000 shall be available for grants of $360,000 to each State and $6,640,000 shall be available for discretionary grants to States, for programs and activities to enforce State laws prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages to minors or the purchase or consumption of alcoholic beverages by minors, prevention and reduction of consumption of alcoholic beverages by minors, and for technical assistance and training; and of which $15,000,000 shall be available for the Safe Schools Initiative: Provided further, That of amounts made available under the Juvenile Justice Programs of the Office of Justice Programs to carry out part B (relating to Federal Assistance for State and Local Programs), subpart II of part C (relating to Special Emphasis Prevention and Treatment Programs), part D (relating to Gang-Free Schools and Communities and Community-Based Gang Intervention), part E (relating to State Challenge Activities), and part G (relating to Mentoring) of title II of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, and to carry out the At-Risk Children's Program under title V of that Act, not more than 10 percent of each such amount may be used for research, evaluation, and statistics activities designed to benefit the programs or activities authorized under the appropriate part or title, and not more than 2 percent of each such amount may be used for training and technical assistance activities designed to benefit the programs or activities authorized under that part or title.

In addition, for grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other assistance authorized by the Victims of Child Abuse Act of 1990, as amended, $8,481,000, to remain available until expended, as authorized by section 214B of the Act.

PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICERS BENEFITS

To remain available until expended, for payments authorized by part L of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3796), as amended, such sums as are necessary, as authorized by section 6093 of Public Law 100–690 (102 Stat. 4339–4340); and $2,395,000, to remain available until expended for payments as authorized by section 1201(b) of said Act.

GENERAL PROVISIONS—DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SEC. 101. In addition to amounts otherwise made available in this title for official reception and representation expenses, a total of not to exceed $45,000 from funds appropriated to the Department of Justice in this title shall be available to the Attorney General for official reception and representation expenses in accordance with distributions, procedures, and regulations established by the Attorney General.

SEC. 102. Section 124 of the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1999, as contained in the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999, is repealed.

SEC. 103. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, not to exceed $10,000,000 of the funds made available in this Act may be used to establish and publicize a program under which publicly advertised, extraordinary rewards may be paid, which shall not be subject to spending limitations contained in sections 3059 and 3072 of title 18, United States Code: Provided, That any reward of $100,000 or more, up to a maximum of $2,000,000, may not be made without the personal approval of the President or the Attorney General and such approval may not be delegated.

SEC. 104. Not to exceed 5 percent of any appropriation made available for the current fiscal year for the Department of Justice in this Act may be transferred between such appropriations, but no such appropriation, except as otherwise specifically provided, shall be increased by more than 10 percent by any such transfers: Provided, That any transfer pursuant to this section shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds under section 605 of this Act and shall not be available for obligation except in compliance with the procedures set forth in that section.

SEC. 105. Section 286(q)(1)(A) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1953, as amended, is further amended by striking ''6'' and inserting ''96''.

SEC. 106. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, $1,000,000 shall be available for technical assistance from the funds appropriated for part G of title II of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as amended.

SEC. 107. In instances where the Attorney General determines that law enforcement-, security-, or mission-related considerations mitigate

against obtaining maintenance or repair services from private sector entities for equipment under warranty, the Attorney General is authorized to seek reimbursement from such entities for warranty work performed at Department of Justice facilities and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to credit any payment made for such work to any appropriation charged therefore.

SEC. 108. Section 286(e)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1356(e)(1)) is amended to read as follows:

''(1)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), the Attorney General is authorized to charge and collect a fee in the amount of $1.50 for each individual with respect to whom immigration inspection services or preinspection services are provided in connection with the arrival in the United States of the individual as a passenger on a commercial vessel, if the passenger's journey originated in any of the following:

''(i) Mexico.

''(ii) Canada.

''(iii) A State, territory, or possession of the United States.

''(iv) Any adjacent island (within the meaning of section 101(b)(5)).

''(B) The authority of subparagraph (A) does not apply to immigration inspection services or preinspection services provided at a designated port of entry in connection with the arrival of a passenger by means of a Great Lakes international ferry, or by means of any vessel that transits the Great Lakes or its connecting waterways, if the ferry or other vessel operates on a regular schedule.''.

SEC. 109. Section 245(i) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1255(i)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by amending the first sentence to read as follows: ''Notwithstanding the provisions of subsections (a) and (c) of this section, an alien physically present in the United States who—

''(A) entered the United States without inspection; or

''(B) is within one of the classes enumerated in subsection (c) of this section, may apply to the Attorney General for the adjustment of his or her status to that of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.''; and

(2) by amending paragraph (3)(B) to read as follows:

''(B) One-half of any remaining portion of such fees remitted under such paragraphs shall be deposited by the Attorney General into the Immigration Examination Fee Account established under section 286(m), and one-half of any remaining portion of such fees shall be deposited by the Attorney General into the Breached Bond/Detention Fund established under section 286(r).''.

SEC. 110. Section 1402(d)(3) of the Victims of Crime Act of 1984 (42 U.S.C. 10601(d)(3)), is amended by striking the period at the end and inserting '', and for a Victim Notification System.''.

SEC. 111. Section 6 of the Hmong Veterans' Naturalization Act of 2000 (Public Law 106–207; 8 U.S.C. 1423 note) (as amended by Public Law 106–415) is amended by striking ''18 months'' each place such term appears and inserting ''36 months''.

This title may be cited as the ''Department of Justice Appropriations Act, 2002''.

TITLE II—DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND RELATED AGENCIES

TRADE AND INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

RELATED AGENCIES

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Office of the United States Trade Representative, including the hire of passenger motor vehicles and employment of experts and consultants as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109, $30,097,000, of which $1,000,000 shall remain available until expended: Provided, That not to exceed $98,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the International Trade Commission, including hire of passenger motor vehicles, and services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109, and not to exceed $2,500 for official reception and representation expenses, $51,440,000, to remain available until expended.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ADMINISTRATION

OPERATIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

For necessary expenses for international trade activities of the Department of Commerce provided for by law, and engaging in trade promotional activities abroad, including expenses of grants and cooperative agreements for the purpose of promoting exports of United States firms, without regard to 44 U.S.C. 3702 and 3703; full medical coverage for dependent members of immediate families of employees stationed overseas and employees temporarily posted overseas; travel and transportation of employees of the United States and Foreign Commercial Service between two points abroad, without regard to 49 U.S.C. 1517; employment of Americans and aliens by contract for services; rental of space abroad for periods not exceeding 10 years, and expenses of alteration, repair, or improvement; purchase or construction of temporary demountable exhibition structures for use abroad; payment of tort claims, in the manner authorized in the first paragraph of 28 U.S.C. 2672 when such claims arise in foreign countries; not to exceed $327,000 for official representation expenses abroad; purchase of passenger motor vehicles for official use abroad, not to exceed $30,000 per vehicle; obtaining insurance on official motor vehicles; and rental of tie lines, $347,090,000, to remain available until expended, of which $3,000,000 is to be derived from fees to be retained and used by the International Trade Administration, notwithstanding 31 U.S.C. 3302: Provided, That $67,320,000 shall be for Trade Development, $27,441,000 shall be for Market Access and Compliance, $42,859,000 shall be for the Import Administration, $193,824,000 shall be for the United States and Foreign Commercial Service, and $13,146,000 shall be for Executive Direction and Administration: Provided further, That the provisions of the first sentence of section 105(f) and all of section 108(c) of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2455(f) and 2458(c)) shall apply in carrying out these activities without regard to section 5412 of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 (15 U.S.C. 4912); and that for the purpose of this Act, contributions under the provisions of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act shall include payment for assessments for services provided as part of these activities.

EXPORT ADMINISTRATION

OPERATIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

For necessary expenses for export administration and national security activities of the Department of Commerce, including costs associated with the performance of export administration field activities both domestically and abroad; full medical coverage for dependent members of immediate families of employees stationed overseas; employment of Americans and aliens by contract for services abroad; payment of tort claims, in the manner authorized in the first paragraph of 28 U.S.C. 2672 when such claims arise in foreign countries; not to exceed $15,000 for official representation expenses abroad; awards of compensation to informers under the Export Administration Act of 1979, and as authorized by 22 U.S.C. 401(b); purchase of passenger motor vehicles for official use and motor vehicles for law enforcement use with special requirement vehicles eligible for purchase without regard to any price limitation otherwise established by law, $68,893,000, to remain available until expended, of which $7,250,000 shall be for inspections and other activities related to national security: Provided, That the provisions of the first sentence of section 105(f) and all of section 108(c) of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2455(f) and 2458(c)) shall apply in carrying out these activities: Provided further, That payments and contributions collected and accepted for materials or services provided as part of such activities may be retained for use in covering the cost of such activities, and for providing information to the public with respect to the export administration and national security activities of the Department of Commerce and other export control programs of the United States and other governments.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

For grants for economic development assistance as provided by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, as amended, and for trade adjustment assistance, $341,000,000, to remain available until expended.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of administering the economic development assistance programs as provided for by law, $30,557,000: Provided, That these funds may be used to monitor projects approved pursuant to title I of the Public Works Employment Act of 1976, as amended, title II of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended, and the Community Emergency Drought Relief Act of 1977.

MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

For necessary expenses of the Department of Commerce in fostering, promoting, and developing minority business enterprise, including expenses of grants, contracts, and other agreements with public or private organizations, $28,381,000.

ECONOMIC AND INFORMATION INFRASTRUCTURE

ECONOMIC AND STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses, as authorized by law, of economic and statistical analysis programs of the Department of Commerce, $62,515,000, to remain available until September 30, 2003.

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses necessary for collecting, compiling, analyzing, preparing, and publishing statistics, provided for by law, $168,561,000.

PERIODIC CENSUSES AND PROGRAMS

For necessary expenses to collect and publish statistics for periodic censuses and programs provided for by law, $348,529,000, to remain available until expended.

NATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses, as provided for by law, of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA), $14,054,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That, notwithstanding 31 U.S.C. 1535(d), the Secretary of Commerce shall charge Federal agencies for costs incurred in spectrum management, analysis, and operations, and related services and such fees shall be retained and used as offsetting collections for costs of such spectrum services, to remain available until expended: Provided further, That the Secretary of

Commerce is authorized to retain and use as offsetting collections all funds transferred, or previously transferred, from other Government agencies for all costs incurred in telecommunications research, engineering, and related activities by the Institute for Telecommunication Sciences of NTIA, in furtherance of its assigned functions under this paragraph, and such funds received from other Government agencies shall remain available until expended.

PUBLIC TELECOMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES, PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION

For grants authorized by section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, $43,466,000, to remain available until expended as authorized by section 391 of the Act, as amended: Provided, That not to exceed $2,358,000 shall be available for program administration as authorized by section 391 of the Act: Provided further, That notwithstanding the provisions of section 391 of the Act, the prior year unobligated balances may be made available for grants for projects for which applications have been submitted and approved during any fiscal year.

INFORMATION INFRASTRUCTURE GRANTS

For grants authorized by section 392 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, $15,503,000, to remain available until expended as authorized by section 391 of the Act, as amended: Provided, That not to exceed $3,097,000 shall be available for program administration and other support activities as authorized by section 391: Provided further, That, of the funds appropriated herein, not to exceed 5 percent may be available for telecommunications research activities for projects related directly to the development of a national information infrastructure: Provided further, That, notwithstanding the requirements of sections 392(a) and 392(c) of the Act, these funds may be used for the planning and construction of telecommunications networks for the provision of educational, cultural, health care, public information, public safety, or other social services: Provided further, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, no entity that receives telecommunications services at preferential rates under section 254(h) of the Act (47 U.S.C. 254(h)) or receives assistance under the regional information sharing systems grant program of the Department of Justice under part M of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3796h) may use funds under a grant under this heading to cover any costs of the entity that would otherwise be covered by such preferential rates or such assistance, as the case may be.

PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the United States Patent and Trademark Office provided for by law, including defense of suits instituted against the Under Secretary of Commerce for Intellectual Property and Director of the United States Patent and Trademark Office, $856,701,000, to remain available until expended, which amount shall be derived from offsetting collections assessed and collected pursuant to 15 U.S.C. 1113 and 35 U.S.C. 41 and 376, and shall be retained and used for necessary expenses in this appropriation: Provided, That the sum herein appropriated from the general fund shall be reduced as such offsetting collections are received during fiscal year 2002, so as to result in fiscal year 2002 appropriation from the general fund estimated at $0: Provided further, That during fiscal year 2002, should the total amount of offsetting fee collections be less than $856,701,000, the total amounts available to the United States Patent and Trademark Office shall be reduced accordingly: Provided further, That an additional amount not to exceed $282,300,000 from fees collected in prior fiscal years shall be available for obligation in fiscal year 2002, to remain available until expended: Provided further, That from amounts provided herein, not to exceed $5,000 shall be made available in fiscal year 2002 for official reception and representation expenses.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

TECHNOLOGY ADMINISTRATION

UNDER SECRETARY FOR TECHNOLOGY/OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY POLICY

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses for the Under Secretary for Technology/Office of Technology Policy, $8,238,000.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF STANDARDS AND TECHNOLOGY

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL RESEARCH AND SERVICES

For necessary expenses of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, $343,296,000, to remain available until expended, of which not to exceed $282,000 may be transferred to the ''Working Capital Fund''.

INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY SERVICES

For necessary expenses of the Manufacturing Extension Partnership of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, $105,137,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to enter into agreements with one or more nonprofit organizations for the purpose of carrying out collective research and development initiatives pertaining to 15 U.S.C. 278k paragraph (a), and is authorized to seek and accept contributions from public and private sources to support these efforts as necessary.

In addition, for necessary expenses of the Advanced Technology Program of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, $204,200,000, to remain available until expended, of which not to exceed $60,700,000 shall be available for the award of new grants.

CONSTRUCTION OF RESEARCH FACILITIES

For construction of new research facilities, including architectural and engineering design, and for renovation of existing facilities, not otherwise provided for the National Institute of Standards and Technology, as authorized by 15 U.S.C. 278c–278e, $43,893,000, to remain available until expended.

NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION

OPERATIONS, RESEARCH, AND FACILITIES

(INCLUDING TRANSFERS OF FUNDS)

For necessary expenses of activities authorized by law for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, including maintenance, operation, and hire of aircraft; grants, contracts, or other payments to nonprofit organizations for the purposes of conducting activities pursuant to cooperative agreements; and relocation of facilities as authorized by 33 U.S.C. 883i, $2,273,305,000, to remain available until expended, of which $2,000,000 shall be for West Coast Groundfish Cooperative Research and $3,000,000 shall be for Oregon Groundfish Disaster Assistance, of which $300,000 shall be available only for a variable and Eurasian milfoil education and prevention program in New Hampshire and $300,000 shall be available only for the Connecticut River Partnership: Provided, That fees and donations received by the National Ocean Service for the management of the national marine sanctuaries may be retained and used for the salaries and expenses associated with those activities, notwithstanding 31 U.S.C. 3302: Provided further, That in addition, $68,000,000 shall be derived by transfer from the fund entitled ''Promote and Develop Fishery Products and Research Pertaining to American Fisheries'': Provided further, That in addition, not to exceed $3,000,000 shall be derived by transfer from the fund entitled ''Coastal Zone Management'': Provided further, That of the amounts made available to the National Marine Fisheries Service, not less than $29,000,000 shall be for Alaskan Steller sea lion research: Provided further, That such sums as are necessary shall be available to the National Marine Fisheries Service, in collaboration with the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, to conduct a review of the agencies' joint regulations governing consultations on Federal agency actions under subsection (a)(2) of section 7 of the Endangered Species Act of 1973 (16 U.S.C. 1536), so as to streamline the consultation process to ensure that consultations are completed within the deadlines provided in that section and have streamlined documentation requirements consistent with that section, and to make any necessary modifications to those regulations not later than April 1, 2003: Provided further, That grants to States pursuant to sections 306 and 306A of the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, as amended, shall not exceed $2,000,000: Provided further, That of the amount provided under this heading, for conservation activities defined in section 250(c)(4)(E) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, $33,650,000 to remain available until expended, for the purposes of discretionary spending limits: Provided further, That not to exceed $23,890,000 shall be expended for Executive Direction and Administration, which consists of the Offices of the Undersecretary, the Executive Secretariat, Policy and Strategic Planning, International Affairs, Legislative Affairs, Public Affairs, Sustainable Development, the Chief Scientist, and the General Counsel: Provided further, That the aforementioned offices, excluding the Office of the General Counsel, shall not be augmented by personnel details, temporary transfers of personnel on either a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis or any other type of formal or informal transfer or reimbursement of personnel or funds on either a temporary or long-term basis above the level of 42 personnel: Provided further, That of the amount provided to the National Marine Fisheries Service, a total of $6,000,000 shall be provided to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Office of General Counsel: Provided further, That the National Marine Fisheries Service shall be obligated for payment of all fisheries-related reimbursable work performed by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Office of General Counsel: Provided further, That the Secretary may proceed as he deems necessary to have the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration occupy and operate its research facilities which are located at Lafayette, Louisiana: Provided further, That $1,500,000 shall be available only for the planning and design of research facilities which shall be located in Lafayette, Louisiana: Provided further, That the R/V FAIRWEATHER shall be homeported in Ketchikan, Alaska: Provided further, That no general administrative charge shall be applied against an assigned activity included in this Act and, further, that any direct administrative expenses applied against an assigned activity shall be limited to 5 percent of the funds provided for that assigned activity: Provided further, That any use of deobligated balances of funds in excess of $22,000,000 shall be subject to the procedures set forth in section 605 of this Act.

In addition, for necessary retired pay expenses under the Retired Serviceman's Family Protection and Survivor Benefits Plan, and for payments for medical care of retired personnel and their dependents under the Dependents Medical Care Act (10 U.S.C. ch. 55), such sums as may be necessary.

In addition, there is hereby established the Business Management Fund of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, which shall be available without fiscal year limitation for expense and equipment necessary for the maintenance and operations of such services and projects as the Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration determines may be performed more advantageously when centralized: Provided, That such central services shall, to the fullest extent practicable, be used to make unnecessary the maintenance of separate like services in the divisions and offices of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration: Provided further, That a separate schedule of expenditures and reimbursements, and a statement of the current assets and liabilities of the Business Management Fund as of the close of the completed fiscal year, shall be prepared each year and submitted to Congress: Provided further, That notwithstanding 31 U.S.C. 3302, the Business Management Fund may be credited with advances and reimbursements from applicable appropriations of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and from funds of other agencies or entities for services furnished pursuant to law: Provided further, That any inventories, equipment, systems, real property and other assets over $25,000, pertaining to the services to be provided by such funds, either on hand or on order, less the related liabilities or unpaid obligations, and any appropriations made hereafter for the purpose of providing capital, shall be used to capitalize the Business Management Fund: Provided further, That the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Business Management Fund shall be authorized to create an initial cash corpus of $5,000,000 from deobligations and continued funding as may be or become available from deobligations: Provided further, That the Business Management Fund shall provide for centralized services at rates which return in full all expenses of operation and services, including depreciation or full overhead costs of fund plant and equipment, plus an amount equal to projected inflation, amortization of automated data processing software and hardware systems, and an amount not to exceed four percent necessary to maintain an operating level in the fund as determined by the Administrator: Provided further, That full implementation of the Business Management Fund will be phased in over a period not less than three years nor more than five fiscal years.

There is hereby established the following organizational structure for the Business Management Fund of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration: Provided, That the overall responsibility for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Business Management Fund lies with the Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration: Provided further, That general management of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Business Management Fund may be delegated by the Administrator to the Chief Financial Officer/Chief Administrative Officer of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

PROCUREMENT, ACQUISITION AND CONSTRUCTION (INCLUDING TRANSFERS OF FUNDS)

For procurement, acquisition and construction of capital assets, including alteration and modification costs, of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, $940,610,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That unexpended balances of amounts previously made available in the ''Operations, Research, and Facilities'' account for activities funded under this heading may be transferred to and merged with this account, to remain available until expended for the purposes for which the funds were originally appropriated: Provided further, That of the amount provided under this heading for expenses necessary to carry out conservation activities defined in section 250(c)(4)(E) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, including funds for the Coastal and Estuarine Land Conservation Program, $83,410,000 to remain available until expended: Provided further, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, of the above amounts, $60,000,000 shall be used to initiate the ''Coastal and Estuarine Land Conservation Program'', for which there shall be no matching requirement, of which $2,500,000 is for coastal land acquisition at Rocky Point in Warwick, Rhode Island: Provided further, That none of the funds provided in this Act or any other Act under the heading ''National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Procurement, Acquisition and Construction'' shall be used to fund the General Services Administration's standard construction and tenant build-out costs of a facility at the Suitland Federal Center.

PACIFIC COASTAL SALMON RECOVERY

For necessary expenses to carry out the conservation activites defined in section 250(c)(4)(E) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, including funds for the Endangered Species Act-Pacific Salmon Recovery, the Columbia River Hatcheries, the Columbia River Facilities, Pacific Salmon Treaty Implementation, $137,940,000, to remain available until expended.

COASTAL ZONE MANAGEMENT FUND

Of amounts collected pursuant to section 308 of the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972 (16 U.S.C. 1456a), not to exceed $3,000,000 shall be transferred to the Operations, Research, and Facilities account to offset the costs of implementing such Act.

FISHERMEN'S CONTINGENCY FUND

For carrying out the provisions of title IV of Public Law 95–372, not to exceed $952,000, to be derived from receipts collected pursuant to that Act, to remain available until expended.

FOREIGN FISHING OBSERVER FUND

For expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of the Atlantic Tunas Convention Act of 1975, as amended (Public Law 96–339), the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976, as amended (Public Law 100–627), and the American Fisheries Promotion Act (Public Law 96–561), to be derived from the fees imposed under the foreign fishery observer program authorized by these Acts, not to exceed $191,000, to remain available until expended.

FISHERIES FINANCE PROGRAM ACCOUNT

For the cost of direct loans, $287,000, as authorized by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended: Provided, That such costs, including the cost of modifying such loans, shall be as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974: Provided further, That none of the funds made available under this heading may be used for direct loans for any new fishing vessel that will increase the harvesting capacity in any United States fishery.

DEPARTMENTAL MANAGEMENT

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses necessary for the departmental management of the Department of Commerce provided for by law, including not to exceed $8,000 for official entertainment, $42,062,000.

OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL

For necessary expenses of the Office of Inspector General in carrying out the provisions of the Inspector General Act of 1978, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. 1–11, as amended by Public Law 100–504), $21,176,000.

GENERAL PROVISIONS—DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

SEC. 201. During the current fiscal year, applicable appropriations and funds made available to the Department of Commerce by this Act shall be available for the activities specified in the Act of October 26, 1949 (15 U.S.C. 1514), to the extent and in the manner prescribed by the Act, and, notwithstanding 31 U.S.C. 3324, may be used for advanced payments not otherwise authorized only upon the certification of officials designated by the Secretary of Commerce that such payments are in the public interest.

SEC. 202. During the current fiscal year, appropriations made available to the Department of Commerce by this Act for salaries and expenses shall be available for hire of passenger motor vehicles as authorized by 31 U.S.C. 1343 and 1344; services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109; and uniforms or allowances therefore, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5901–5902).

SEC. 203. None of the funds made available by this Act may be used to support the hurricane reconnaissance aircraft and activities that are under the control of the United States Air Force or the United States Air Force Reserve.

SEC. 204. Not to exceed 5 percent of any appropriation made available for the current fiscal year for the Department of Commerce in this Act may be transferred between such appropriations, but no such appropriation shall be increased by more than 10 percent by any such transfers: Provided, That any transfer pursuant to this section shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds under section 605 of this Act and shall not be available for obligation or expenditure except in compliance with the procedures set forth in that section.

SEC. 205. Any costs incurred by a department or agency funded under this title resulting from personnel actions taken in response to funding reductions included in this title or from actions taken for the care and protection of loan collateral or grant property shall be absorbed within the total budgetary resources available to such department or agency: Provided, That the authority to transfer funds between appropriations accounts as may be necessary to carry out this section is provided in addition to authorities included elsewhere in this Act: Provided further, That use of funds to carry out this section shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds under section 605 of this Act and shall not be available for obligation or expenditure except in compliance with the procedures set forth in that section.

SEC. 206. The Secretary of Commerce may award contracts for hydrographic, geodetic, and photogrammetric surveying and mapping services in accordance with title IX of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (40 U.S.C. 541 et seq.).

SEC. 207. The Secretary of Commerce may use the Commerce franchise fund for expenses and equipment necessary for the maintenance and operation of such administrative services as the Secretary determines may be performed more advantageously as central services, pursuant to section 403 of Public Law 103–356: Provided, That any inventories, equipment, and other assets pertaining to the services to be provided by such fund, either on hand or on order, less the related liabilities or unpaid obligations, and any appropriations made for the purpose of providing capital shall be used to capitalize such fund: Provided further, That such fund shall be paid in advance from funds available to the Department and other Federal agencies for which such centralized services are performed, at rates which will return in full all expenses of operation, including accrued leave, depreciation of fund plant and equipment, amortization of automated data processing (ADP) software and systems (either acquired or donated), and an amount necessary to maintain a reasonable operating reserve, as determined by the Secretary: Provided further, That such fund shall provide services on a competitive basis: Provided further, That an amount not to exceed 4 percent of

the total annual income to such fund may be retained in the fund for fiscal year 2002 and each fiscal year thereafter, to remain available until expended, to be used for the acquisition of capital equipment, and for the improvement and implementation of department financial management, ADP, and other support systems: Provided further, That such amounts retained in the fund for fiscal year 2002 and each fiscal year thereafter shall be available for obligation and expenditure only in accordance with section 605 of this Act: Provided further, That no later than 30 days after the end of each fiscal year, amounts in excess of this reserve limitation shall be deposited as miscellaneous receipts in the Treasury: Provided further, That such franchise fund pilot program shall terminate pursuant to section 403(f) of Public Law 103–356.

SEC. 208. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, of the amounts made available elsewhere in this title to the ''National Institute of Standards and Technology, Construction of Research Facilities'', $5,000,000 is appropriated to fund a cooperative agreement with the Medical University of South Carolina, $6,000,000 is appropriated to the Thayer School of Engineering for the nanocrystalline materials and biomass research initiative, $3,000,000 is appropriated to the Institute for Information Infrastructure Protection at the Institute for Security Technology Studies, and $4,000,000 is appropriated for the Institute for Politics.

SEC. 209. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the total amount of funds that may be transferred into the ''Working Capital Fund'' in fiscal year 2002, or in any fiscal year thereafter, may not exceed $117,000,000.

(b) All transfers of funds, functions, or personnel to or from the Working Capital Fund in fiscal year 2002 and any fiscal year thereafter shall be subject to section 605, without regard to the amount of the reprogramming or the purpose of the funds so reprogrammed.

(c) Of the amounts available under this section for salaries of the staff of the Department of Commerce, the amount obligated for that purpose before December 15, 2001, may not exceed $29,250,000.

(d)(1) Not later than December 15, 2001, the Secretary of Commerce shall submit to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House of Representatives a report setting forth the proposed disbursements from the Working Capital Fund during fiscal year 2002.

(2) Of the proposed disbursements in the report under paragraph (1)—

(A) not more than $7,000,000 of the proposed disbursements may be for the Commerce Administrative Management System or support for the Commerce Administrative Management System Support Center; and

(B) none of the proposed disbursements for that System may be from or attributable to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

(3) Disbursements from the Working Capital Fund in fiscal year 2002 may not be made until 15 days after the date on which the report is submitted under paragraph (1).

(4) Any modification of a proposed disbursement from the Working Capital Fund previously specified in the report under paragraph (1) shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds to which section 605 applies, without regard to the amount of the modification or the purpose of the disbursement, as so modified.

(5)(A) If a disbursement from the Working Capital Fund in fiscal year 2002 will require any bureau or organization in the Department of Commerce to incur costs not previously specified in the report under paragraph (1), the disbursement may not be made until 15 days after the date on which such bureau or organization submits to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House of Representatives a Memorandum of Agreement providing for such bureau or organization to incur such costs.

(B) Each Memorandum of Agreement under this paragraph shall specify the provision of statute providing authority for the disbursement concerned.

(e) Amounts in the ''Advances and Reimbursements'' account may not be used to assess or collect costs or charges against or from any bureau or organization of the Department of Commerce unless the costs or charges are incurred for a project has been approved as a request for reprogramming under section 605.

(f) The Office of Management and Budget shall issue a quarterly Apportionment and Reapportionment Schedule, and a Standard Form 133, for the Working Capital Fund and the ''Advances and Reimbursements'' account based upon the report required by subsection (d)(1).

SEC. 210. (a) Notwithstanding section 102 of the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972, as amended, or section 9 of the Endangered Species Act of 1973, the Anchorage Sister Cities Commission of Anchorage, Alaska, may export, on a one-time basis, to the Town of Whitby, in the care of the Scarborough Borough Council, Whitby, North Yorkshire, United Kingdom, two bowhead whale jawbones taken as part of a legal subsistence hunt by Native Alaskans and identified in U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species, permit 01US037393/9.

(b) The Anchorage Sister Cities Commission shall notify the National Marine Fisheries Service Office of Enforcement 15 days prior to shipment to ensure compliance with all applicable export requirements.

This title may be cited as the ''Department of Commerce and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2002''.

TITLE III—THE JUDICIARY

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses necessary for the operation of the Supreme Court, as required by law, excluding care of the building and grounds, including purchase or hire, driving, maintenance, and operation of an automobile for the Chief Justice, not to exceed $10,000 for the purpose of transporting Associate Justices, and hire of passenger motor vehicles as authorized by 31 U.S.C. 1343 and 1344; not to exceed $10,000 for official reception and representation expenses; and for miscellaneous expenses, to be expended as the Chief Justice may approve, $39,988,000.

CARE OF THE BUILDING AND GROUNDS

For such expenditures as may be necessary to enable the Architect of the Capitol to carry out the duties imposed upon the Architect by the Act approved May 7, 1934 (40 U.S.C. 13a–13b), $7,530,000, of which $4,460,000 shall remain available until expended.

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FEDERAL CIRCUIT

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For salaries of the chief judge, judges, and other officers and employees, and for necessary expenses of the court, as authorized by law, $19,372,000.

UNITED STATES COURT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For salaries of the chief judge and eight judges, salaries of the officers and employees of the court, services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109, and necessary expenses of the court, as authorized by law, $13,054,000.

COURTS OF APPEALS, DISTRICT COURTS, AND OTHER JUDICIAL SERVICES

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For the salaries of circuit and district judges (including judges of the territorial courts of the United States), justices and judges retired from office or from regular active service, judges of the United States Court of Federal Claims, bankruptcy judges, magistrate judges, and all other officers and employees of the Federal Judiciary not otherwise specifically provided for, and necessary expenses of the courts, as authorized by law, $3,559,012,000 (including the purchase of firearms and ammunition); of which not to exceed $27,817,000 shall remain available until expended for space alteration projects and for furniture and furnishings related to new space alteration and construction projects: Provided, That, of the amount made available under this heading, $33,000, shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the ''Salaries and Expenses, United States Marshals Service'' appropriations account in title I of the Act, to be available only for court operations in Lander, Wyoming.

In addition, for expenses of the United States Court of Federal Claims associated with processing cases under the National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act of 1986, not to exceed $2,692,000, to be appropriated from the Vaccine Injury Compensation Trust Fund.

DEFENDER SERVICES

For the operation of Federal Public Defender and Community Defender organizations; the compensation and reimbursement of expenses of attorneys appointed to represent persons under the Criminal Justice Act of 1964, as amended; the compensation and reimbursement of expenses of persons furnishing investigative, expert and other services under the Criminal Justice Act of 1964 (18 U.S.C. 3006A(e)); the compensation (in accordance with Criminal Justice Act maximums) and reimbursement of expenses of attorneys appointed to assist the court in criminal cases where the defendant has waived representation by counsel; the compensation and reimbursement of travel expenses of guardians ad litem acting on behalf of financially eligible minor or incompetent offenders in connection with transfers from the United States to foreign countries with which the United States has a treaty for the execution of penal sentences; and the compensation of attorneys appointed to represent jurors in civil actions for the protection of their employment, as authorized by 28 U.S.C. 1875(d), $463,756,000, of which $257,710,000 is for federal defender organizations, to remain available until expended.

FEES OF JURORS AND COMMISSIONERS

For fees and expenses of jurors as authorized by 28 U.S.C. 1871 and 1876; compensation of jury commissioners as authorized by 28 U.S.C. 1863; and compensation of commissioners appointed in condemnation cases pursuant to rule 71A(h) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure (28 U.S.C. Appendix Rule 71A(h)), $50,131,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That the compensation of land commissioners shall not exceed the daily equivalent of the highest rate payable under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

COURT SECURITY

For necessary expenses, not otherwise provided for, incident to the procurement, installation, and maintenance of security equipment and protective services for the United States Courts in courtrooms and adjacent areas, including building ingress-egress control, inspection of mail and packages, directed security patrols, and other similar activities as authorized by section 1010 of the Judicial Improvement and Access to Justice Act (Public Law 100–702), $209,762,000, of which not to exceed $10,000,000 shall remain available until expended for security systems and contract costs for court security officers, to be expended directly or transferred to the United States Marshals Service, which shall

be responsible for administering the Judicial Facility Security Program consistent with standards or guidelines agreed to by the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts and the Attorney General: Provided, That, of the amount made available under this heading, $3,580,000, to remain available until expended, shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the ''Narrowband Communications'' appropriations account in title I of this Act, to be administered by the Department of Justice Wireless Management Office and to be available only for the conversion to narrowband communications and for the operations and maintenance of legacy radio systems.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES COURTS

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts as authorized by law, including travel as authorized by 31 U.S.C. 1345, hire of a passenger motor vehicle as authorized by 31 U.S.C. 1343(b), advertising and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, $58,212,000, of which $3,000,000 shall only be available, by grant, for caption training, and of which not to exceed $8,500 is authorized for official reception and representation expenses.

FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Federal Judicial Center, as authorized by Public Law 90–219, $19,742,000; of which $1,800,000 shall remain available through September 30, 2003, to provide education and training to Federal court personnel; and of which not to exceed $1,000 is authorized for official reception and representation expenses.

JUDICIAL RETIREMENT FUNDS

PAYMENT TO JUDICIARY TRUST FUNDS

For payment to the Judicial Officers' Retirement Fund, as authorized by 28 U.S.C. 377(o), $26,700,000; to the Judicial Survivors' Annuities Fund, as authorized by 28 U.S.C. 376(c), $8,400,000; and to the United States Court of Federal Claims Judges' Retirement Fund, as authorized by 28 U.S.C. 178(l), $1,900,000.

UNITED STATES SENTENCING COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For the salaries and expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of chapter 58 of title 28, United States Code, $11,327,000, of which not to exceed $1,000 is authorized for official reception and representation expenses.

GENERAL PROVISIONS—THE JUDICIARY

SEC. 301. Appropriations and authorizations made in this title which are available for salaries and expenses shall be available for services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109.

SEC. 302. Not to exceed 5 percent of any appropriation made available for the current fiscal year for the Judiciary in this Act may be transferred between such appropriations, but no such appropriation, except ''Courts of Appeals, District Courts, and Other Judicial Services, Defender Services'' and ''Courts of Appeals, District Courts, and Other Judicial Services, Fees of Jurors and Commissioners'', shall be increased by more than 10 percent by any such transfers: Provided, That any transfer pursuant to this section shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds under section 605 of this Act and shall not be available for obligation or expenditure except in compliance with the procedures set forth in that section.

SEC. 303. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the salaries and expenses appropriation for district courts, courts of appeals, and other judicial services shall be available for official reception and representation expenses of the Judicial Conference of the United States: Provided, That such available funds shall not exceed $11,000 and shall be administered by the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts in the capacity as Secretary of the Judicial Conference.

SEC. 304. Section 140 of Public Law 97–92 (28 U.S.C. 461 note; 95 Stat. 1200) shall apply to fiscal year 2002 and each fiscal year thereafter.

SEC. 305. Of the unexpended balances transferred to the Commission on Structural Alternatives in Federal Appellate Courts, $400,000 shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the ''Federal Judicial Center, Salaries and Expenses'' appropriations account to be available only for distance learning.

SEC. 306. Pursuant to section 140 of Public Law 97–92, Justices and judges of the United States are authorized during fiscal year 2002, to receive a salary adjustment in accordance with 28 U.S.C. 461: Provided, That $8,625,000 is appropriated for salary adjustments pursuant to this section and such funds shall be transferred to and merged with appropriations in title III of this Act.

This title may be cited as this ''Judiciary Appropriations Act, 2002''.

TITLE IV—DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND RELATED AGENCY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR PROGRAMS

For necessary expenses of the Department of State and the Foreign Service not otherwise provided for, including employment, without regard to civil service and classification laws, of persons on a temporary basis (not to exceed $700,000 of this appropriation), as authorized; representation to certain international organizations in which the United States participates pursuant to treaties, ratified pursuant to the advice and consent of the Senate, or specific Acts of Congress; arms control, nonproliferation and disarmament activities as authorized; acquisition by exchange or purchase of passenger motor vehicles as authorized by law; and for expenses of general administration, $3,061,805,000: Provided, That, of the amount made available under this heading, not to exceed $4,000,000 may be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the ''Emergencies in the Diplomatic and Consular Service'' appropriations account, to be available only for emergency evacuations and terrorism rewards: Provided further, That of the amount made available under this heading, $7,800,000 shall be available only to provide language, security, leadership and management, and professional training: Provided further, That of the amount made available under this heading, $6,000,000 to remain available until expended, shall be transferred to, and merged with, funds in the ''Narrowband Communications'' appropriations account in title I of this Act, to be administered by the Department of Justice Wireless Management Office and to be available only for the conversion to narrowband communications and for the operations and maintenance of legacy radio systems: Provided further, That of the amount made available under this heading, $694,190,000 shall be available only for information resource management: Provided further, That of the amount made available under this heading, $9,000,000 shall be available only for the East-West Center: Provided further, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, not to exceed $335,000,000 of offsetting collections derived from fees collected under the authority of section 104(a)(1) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 (Public Law 103–236) during fiscal year 2002 shall be retained and used for authorized expenses in this appropriation and shall remain available until expended: Provided further, That any fees received in excess of $335,000,000 in fiscal year 2002 shall not be available for obligation and shall be returned to the General Fund: Provided further, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, a citizen of the United States approved by the Department of State to serve as Deputy Director General of the World Intellectual Property Organization shall, while serving in such position, be deemed an employee in a foreign area within the meaning of 5 U.S.C. Section 5923, and qualify for a living quarters allowance as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 5923(2): Provided further, That a citizen of the United States approved by the Department of State to serve as Deputy Director General of the World Intellectual Property Organization shall, while serving in such position, be deemed as an employee approved for transfer to an international organization within the meaning of 5 U.S.C. Section 352, and eligible to continue participating in the retirement, health benefit, group life insurance, and other benefit programs as provided in that section: Provided further, That advances for services authorized by 22 U.S.C. 3620(c) may be credited to this account, to remain available until expended for such services: Provided further, That no funds may be obligated or expended for processing licenses for the export of satellites of United States origin (including commercial satellites and satellite components) to the People's Republic of China, unless, at least 15 days in advance, the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate are notified of such proposed action: Provided further, That of the amounts made available under this heading, $5,000,000 shall be available only for the reimbursement costs incurred by the State of Hawaii for security expenses relating to the May 2001 Asian Development Bank Meeting: Provided further, That of the amount made available under this heading, $45,419,000 shall only be available to implement the 1999 Pacific Salmon Treaty Agreement, of which $20,000,000 shall be deposited in the Northern Boundary and Transboundary Rivers Restoration and Enhancement Fund, of which $20,000,000 shall be deposited in the Southern Boundary Restoration and Enhancement Fund, and of which $5,419,000 shall be for a direct payment to the State of Washington for obligations under the 1999 Pacific Salmon Treaty Agreement.

In addition, not to exceed $1,252,000 shall be derived from fees collected from other executive agencies for lease or use of facilities located at the International Center in accordance with section 4 of the International Center Act, as amended; in addition, as authorized by section 5 of such Act, $490,000, to be derived from the reserve authorized by that section, to be used for the purposes set out in that section; in addition, as authorized by section 810 of the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act, not to exceed $6,000,000, to remain available until expended, may be credited to this appropriation from fees or other payments received from English teaching, library, motion pictures, and publication programs, and from fees from educational advising and counseling, and exchange visitor programs; and, in addition, not to exceed $15,000, which shall be derived from reimbursements, surcharges, and fees for use of Blair House facilities.

In addition, for the costs of worldwide security upgrades, $409,363,000, to remain available until expended.

CAPITAL INVESTMENT FUND

For necessary expenses of the Capital Investment Fund, $210,000,000, to remain available until expended, as authorized: Provided, That section 135(e) of Public Law 103–236 shall not apply to funds available under this heading.

OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL

For necessary expenses of the Office of Inspector General, $28,427,000, notwithstanding

section 209(a)(1) of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, as amended (Public Law 96–465), as it relates to post inspections.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

For expenses of educational and cultural exchange programs, as authorized, $242,000,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That not to exceed $800,000, to remain available until expended, may be credited to this appropriation from fees or other payments received from or in connection with English teaching and educational advising and counseling programs as authorized.

REPRESENTATION ALLOWANCES

For representation allowances as authorized, $9,000,000.

PROTECTION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS AND OFFICIALS

For expenses, not otherwise provided, to enable the Secretary of State to provide for extraordinary protective services, as authorized, $10,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2003.

EMBASSY SECURITY, CONSTRUCTION, AND MAINTENANCE

For necessary expenses for carrying out the Foreign Service Buildings Act of 1926, as amended (22 U.S.C. 292–300), preserving, maintaining, repairing, and planning for, buildings that are owned or directly leased by the Department of State, renovating, in addition to funds otherwise available, the Main State Building, and carrying out the Diplomatic Security Construction Program as authorized, $405,391,000, to remain available until expended as authorized, of which not to exceed $25,000 may be used for domestic and overseas representation as authorized: Provided, That none of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be available for acquisition of furniture and furnishings and generators for other departments and agencies.

In addition, for the costs of worldwide security upgrades, acquisition, and construction, $661,560,000, to remain available until expended.

EMERGENCIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE

For expenses necessary to enable the Secretary of State to meet unforeseen emergencies arising in the Diplomatic and Consular Service, $5,465,000, to remain available until expended as authorized, of which not to exceed $1,000,000 may be transferred to and merged with the Repatriation Loans Program Account, subject to the same terms and conditions.

REPATRIATION LOANS PROGRAM ACCOUNT

For the cost of direct loans, $612,000, as authorized: Provided, That such costs, including the cost of modifying such loans, shall be as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974. In addition, for administrative expenses necessary to carry out the direct loan program, $607,000, which may be transferred to and merged with the Diplomatic and Consular Programs account under Administration of Foreign Affairs.

PAYMENT TO THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE IN TAIWAN

For necessary expenses to carry out the Taiwan Relations Act, Public Law 96–8, $17,044,000.

PAYMENT TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE RETIREMENT AND DISABILITY FUND

For payment to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund, as authorized by law, $135,629,000.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary to meet annual obligations of membership in international multilateral organizations, pursuant to treaties ratified pursuant to the advice and consent of the Senate, conventions or specific Acts of Congress, $1,091,348,000: Provided, That any payment of arrearages under this title shall be directed toward special activities that are mutually agreed upon by the United States and the respective international organization: Provided further, That none of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be available for a United States contribution to an international organization for the United States share of interest costs made known to the United States Government by such organization for loans incurred on or after October 1, 1984, through external borrowings: Provided further, That funds appropriated under this paragraph may be obligated and expended to pay the full United States assessment to the civil budget of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES

For necessary expenses to pay assessed and other expenses of international peacekeeping activities directed to the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security, $773,182,000, of which 15 percent shall remain available until September 30, 2003: Provided, That none of the funds made available under this Act shall be obligated or expended for any new or expanded United Nations peacekeeping mission unless, at least 15 days in advance of voting for the new or expanded mission in the United Nations Security Council (or in an emergency, as far in advance as is practicable): (1) the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate and other appropriate committees of the Congress are notified of the estimated cost and length of the mission, the vital national interest that will be served, and the planned exit strategy; and (2) a reprogramming of funds pursuant to section 605 of this Act is submitted, and the procedures therein followed, setting forth the source of funds that will be used to pay for the cost of the new or expanded mission.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS

For necessary expenses, not otherwise provided for, to meet obligations of the United States arising under treaties, or specific Acts of Congress, as follows:

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY AND WATER COMMISSION, UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

For necessary expenses for the United States Section of the International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, and to comply with laws applicable to the United States Section, including not to exceed $6,000 for representation; as follows:

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For salaries and expenses, not otherwise provided for, $7,452,000.

CONSTRUCTION

For detailed plan preparation and construction of authorized projects, $24,154,000, to remain available until expended, as authorized.

AMERICAN SECTIONS, INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS

For necessary expenses, not otherwise provided for the International Joint Commission and the International Boundary Commission, United States and Canada, as authorized by treaties between the United States and Canada or Great Britain, and for the Border Environment Cooperation Commission as authorized by Public Law 103–182, $6,879,000, of which not to exceed $9,000 shall be available for representation expenses incurred by the International Joint Commission.

INTERNATIONAL FISHERIES COMMISSIONS

For necessary expenses for international fisheries commissions, not otherwise provided for, as authorized by law, $20,780,000: Provided, That the United States' share of such expenses may be advanced to the respective commissions, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 3324.

OTHER

PAYMENT TO THE ASIA FOUNDATION

For a grant to the Asia Foundation, as authorized by section 501 of Public Law 101–246, $8,000,000, to remain available until expended, as authorized.

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM TRUST FUND

For necessary expenses of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Incorporated, as authorized by sections 4 and 5 of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship Act of 1990 (20 U.S.C. 5204–5205), all interest and earnings accruing to the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship Program Trust Fund on or before September 30, 2002, to remain available until expended: Provided, That none of the funds appropriated herein shall be used to pay any salary or other compensation, or to enter into any contract providing for the payment thereof, in excess of the rate authorized by 5 U.S.C. 5376; or for purposes which are not in accordance with OMB Circulars A–110 (Uniform Administrative Requirements) and A–122 (Cost Principles for Non-profit Organizations), including the restrictions on compensation for personal services.

ISRAELI ARAB SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

For necessary expenses of the Israeli Arab Scholarship Program as authorized by section 214 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 (22 U.S.C. 2452), all interest and earnings accruing to the Israeli Arab Scholarship Fund on or before September 30, 2002, to remain available until expended.

EAST-WEST CENTER

To enable the Secretary of State to provide for carrying out the provisions of the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West Act of 1960, by grant to the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West in the State of Hawaii, $14,000,000: Provided, That none of the funds appropriated herein shall be used to pay any salary, or enter into any contract providing for the payment thereof, in excess of the rate authorized by 5 U.S.C. 5376.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

For grants made by the Department of State to the National Endowment for Democracy as authorized by the National Endowment for Democracy Act, $31,000,000, to remain available until expended.

RELATED AGENCY

BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS

INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING OPERATIONS

For expenses necessary to enable the Broadcasting Board of Governors, as authorized, to carry out international communication activities, $414,752,000, of which not to exceed $16,000 may be used for official receptions within the United States as authorized, not to exceed $35,000 may be used for representation abroad as authorized, and not to exceed $39,000 may be used for official reception and representation expenses of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; and in addition, notwithstanding any other provision of law, not to exceed $2,000,000 in receipts from advertising and revenue from business ventures, not to exceed $500,000 in receipts from cooperating international organizations, and not to exceed $1,000,000 in receipts from privatization efforts of the Voice of America and the International Broadcasting Bureau, to remain available until expended for carrying out authorized purposes.

BROADCASTING TO CUBA

For necessary expenses to enable the Broadcasting Board of Governors to carry out broadcasting to Cuba, including the purchase, rent, construction, and improvement of facilities for radio and television transmission and reception, and purchase and installation of necessary

equipment for radio and television transmission and reception, $24,872,000, to remain available until expended.

BROADCASTING CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS

For the purchase, rent, construction, and improvement of facilities for radio transmission and reception, and purchase and installation of necessary equipment for radio and television transmission and reception as authorized, $16,900,000, to remain available until expended, as authorized.

GENERAL PROVISIONS—DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND RELATED AGENCY

SEC. 401. Funds appropriated under this title shall be available, except as otherwise provided, for allowances and differentials as authorized by subchapter 59 of title 5, United States Code; for services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109; and hire of passenger transportation pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 1343(b).

SEC. 402. Not to exceed 5 percent of any appropriation made available for the current fiscal year for the Department of State in this Act may be transferred between such appropriations, but no such appropriation, except as otherwise specifically provided, shall be increased by more than 10 percent by any such transfers: Provided, That not to exceed 5 percent of any appropriation made available for the current fiscal year for the Broadcasting Board of Governors in this Act may be transferred between such appropriations, but no such appropriation, except as otherwise specifically provided, shall be increased by more than 10 percent by any such transfers: Provided further, That any transfer pursuant to this section shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds under section 605 of this Act and shall not be available for obligation or expenditure except in compliance with the procedures set forth in that section.

SEC. 403. None of the funds made available in this Act may be used by the Department of State or the Broadcasting Board of Governors to provide equipment, technical support, consulting services, or any other form of assistance to the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation.

SEC. 404. There is hereby enacted into law S. 1084 of the 107th Congress (as introduced on June 21, 2001).

SEC. 405. Hereafter, none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available for the United Nations may be used by the United Nations for the promulgation or enforcement of any treaty, resolution, or regulation authorizing the United Nations, or any of its specialized agencies or affiliated organizations, to tax any aspect of the Internet or international currency transactions.

SEC. 406. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act or any other Act for fiscal year 2002 or any fiscal year thereafter may be obligated or expended for the operation of a United States consulate or diplomatic facility in Jerusalem unless such consulate or diplomatic facility is under the supervision of the United States Ambassador to Israel.

SEC. 407. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act or any other Act for fiscal year 2002 or any fiscal year thereafter may be obligated or expended for the publication of any official Government document which lists countries and their capital cities unless the publication identifies Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

SEC. 408. For the purposes of registration of birth, certification of nationality, or issuance of a passport of a United States citizen born in the city of Jerusalem, the Secretary of State shall, upon request of the citizen, record the place of birth as Israel.

This title may be cited as the ''Department of State and Related Agency Appropriations Act, 2002''.

TITLE V—RELATED AGENCIES

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

MARITIME SECURITY PROGRAM

For necessary expenses to maintain and preserve a U.S.-flag merchant fleet to serve the national security needs of the United States, $98,700,000, to remain available until expended.

OPERATIONS AND TRAINING

For necessary expenses of operations and training activities authorized by law, $89,054,000, of which $13,000,000 shall remain available until expended for capital improvements at the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy.

MARITIME GUARANTEED LOAN (TITLE XI) PROGRAM ACCOUNT

For the cost of guaranteed loans, as authorized by the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, $100,000,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That such costs, including the cost of modifying such loans, shall be as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended.

In addition, for administrative expenses to carry out the guaranteed loan program, not to exceed $3,978,000, which shall be transferred to and merged with the appropriation for Operations and Training.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS—MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the Maritime Administration is authorized to furnish utilities and services and make necessary repairs in connection with any lease, contract, or occupancy involving Government property under control of the Maritime Administration, and payments received therefore shall be credited to the appropriation charged with the cost thereof: Provided, That rental payments under any such lease, contract, or occupancy for items other than such utilities, services, or repairs shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

No obligations shall be incurred during the current fiscal year from the construction fund established by the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, or otherwise, in excess of the appropriations and limitations contained in this Act or in any prior appropriation Act.

COMMISSION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICA'S HERITAGE ABROAD

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses for the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, $489,000, as authorized by section 1303 of Public Law 99–83.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Commission on Civil Rights, including hire of passenger motor vehicles, $9,096,000: Provided, That not to exceed $50,000 may be used to employ consultants: Provided further, That none of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be used to employ in excess of four full-time individuals under Schedule C of the Excepted Service exclusive of one special assistant for each Commissioner: Provided further, That none of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be used to reimburse Commissioners for more than 75 billable days, with the exception of the chairperson, who is permitted 125 billable days.

COMMISSION ON OCEAN POLICY

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For the necessary expenses of the Commission on Ocean Policy, pursuant to Public Law 106–256, $2,500,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That the Commission shall present to the Congress within 18 months of appointment its recommendations for a national ocean policy.

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as authorized by Public Law 94–304, $1,432,000, to remain available until expended as authorized by section 3 of Public Law 99–7.

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Congressional-Executive Commission on the People's Republic of China, as authorized, $500,000, to remain available until expended.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as authorized by title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(d) and 621–634), the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, and the Civil Rights Act of 1991, including services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109; hire of passenger motor vehicles as authorized by 31 U.S.C. 1343(b); non-monetary awards to private citizens; and not to exceed $33,000,000 for payments to State and local enforcement agencies for services to the Commission pursuant to title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, sections 6 and 14 of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, and the Civil Rights Act of 1991, $310,406,000: Provided, That the Commission is authorized to make available for official reception and representation expenses not to exceed $2,500 from available funds.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Federal Communications Commission, as authorized by law, including uniforms and allowances therefor, as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 5901–5902; not to exceed $600,000 for land and structure; not to exceed $500,000 for improvement and care of grounds and repair to buildings; not to exceed $4,000 for official reception and representation expenses; purchase (not to exceed 16) and hire of motor vehicles; special counsel fees; and services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109, $252,545,000, of which not to exceed $300,000 shall remain available until September 30, 2003, for research and policy studies: Provided, That $218,757,000 of offsetting collections shall be assessed and collected pursuant to section 9 of title I of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, and shall be retained and used for necessary expenses in this appropriation, and shall remain available until expended: Provided further, That the sum herein appropriated shall be reduced as such offsetting collections are received during fiscal year 2002 so as to result in a final fiscal year 2002 appropriation estimated at $29,788,000: Provided further, That any offsetting collections received in excess of $218,757,000 in fiscal year 2002 shall remain available until expended, but shall not be available for obligation until October 1, 2002.

FEDERAL MARITIME COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Federal Maritime Commission as authorized by section 201(d) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. App. 1111), including services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109; hire of passenger motor vehicles as authorized by 31 U.S.C. 1343(b); and uniforms or allowances therefor, as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 5901–5902, $17,450,000: Provided, That not to exceed $2,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Federal Trade Commission, including uniforms or allowances therefor, as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 5901–5902; services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109; hire of passenger motor vehicles; not to exceed $2,000 for official reception and representation expenses, $156,270,000: Provided, That not to exceed $300,000 shall be available for use to contract with a person or persons for collection services in accordance with the terms of 31 U.S.C. 3718, as amended: Provided further, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, not to exceed $156,270,000 of offsetting collections derived from fees collected for premerger notification filings under the Hart-Scott-Rodino Antitrust Improvements Act of 1976 (15 U.S.C. 18a), regardless of the year of collection, shall be retained and used for necessary expenses in this appropriation, and shall remain available until expended: Provided further, That the sum herein appropriated from the general fund shall be reduced as such offsetting collections are received during fiscal year 2002, so as to result in a final fiscal year 2002 appropriation from the general fund estimated at not more than $0, to remain available until expended: Provided further, That none of the funds made available to the Federal Trade Commission shall be available for obligation for expenses authorized by section 151 of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improvement Act of 1991 (Public Law 102–242; 105 Stat. 2282–2285).

LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

PAYMENT TO THE LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

For payment to the Legal Services Corporation to carry out the purposes of the Legal Services Corporation Act of 1974, as amended, $329,300,000, of which $310,000,000 is for basic field programs and required independent audits; $2,500,000 is for the Office of Inspector General, of which such amounts as may be necessary may be used to conduct additional audits of recipients; $12,400,000 is for management and administration and $4,400,000 is for client self-help and information technology: Provided, That none of such funds for management and administration shall be obligated or expended for any program that is in addition to, or expanded from, the programs funded under this heading for fiscal year 2001, unless the Legal Services Corporation prepares a spending plan for such funds, and notifies the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate concerning the contents of the spending plan.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISION—LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

None of the funds appropriated in this Act to the Legal Services Corporation shall be expended for any purpose prohibited or limited by, or contrary to any of the provisions of, sections 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, and 506 of Public Law 105–119, and all funds appropriated in this Act to the Legal Services Corporation shall be subject to the same terms and conditions set forth in such sections, except that all references in sections 502 and 503 to 1997 and 1998 shall be deemed to refer instead to 2001 and 2002, respectively.

MARINE MAMMAL COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Marine Mammal Commission as authorized by title II of Public Law 92–522, as amended, $1,957,000.

NATIONAL VETERANS BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

For necessary expenses of the National Veterans Business Development Corporation as authorized under section 33(a) of the Small Business Act, as amended, $4,000,000.

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses for the Securities and Exchange Commission, including services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109, the rental of space (to include multiple year leases) in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, and not to exceed $3,000 for official reception and representation expenses, $109,500,000 from fees collected in fiscal year 2002 to remain available until expended, and from fees collected in fiscal year 2000, $404,547,000 to remain available until expended; of which not to exceed $10,000 may be used toward funding a permanent secretariat for the International Organization of Securities Commissions; and of which not to exceed $100,000 shall be available for expenses for consultations and meetings hosted by the Commission with foreign governmental and other regulatory officials, members of their delegations, appropriate representatives and staff to exchange views concerning developments relating to securities matters, development and implementation of cooperation agreements concerning securities matters and provision of technical assistance for the development of foreign securities markets, such expenses to include necessary logistic and administrative expenses and the expenses of Commission staff and foreign invitees in attendance at such consultations and meetings including: (1) such incidental expenses as meals taken in the course of such attendance; (2) any travel and transportation to or from such meetings; and (3) any other related lodging or subsistence: Provided, That fees and charges authorized by sections 6(b)(4) of the Securities Act of 1933 (15 U.S.C. 77f(b)(4)) and 31(d) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78ee(d)) shall be credited to this account as offsetting collections: Provided further, That fees collected as authorized by section 31 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78ee) for sales transacted on, and with respect to securities registered solely on, an exchange that is initially granted registration as a national securities exchange after February 24, 2000 shall be credited to this account as offsetting collections: Provided further, That for purposes of collections under section 31, a security shall not be deemed registered on a national securities exchange solely because that national securities exchange continues or extends unlisted trading privileges to that security.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses, not otherwise provided for, of the Small Business Administration as authorized by Public Law 105–135, including hire of passenger motor vehicles as authorized by 31 U.S.C. 1343 and 1344, and not to exceed $3,500 for official reception and representation expenses, $333,233,000: Provided, That the Administrator is authorized to charge fees to cover the cost of publications developed by the Small Business Administration, and certain loan servicing activities: Provided further, That, notwithstanding 31 U.S.C. 3302, revenues received from all such activities shall be credited to this account, to be available for carrying out these purposes without further appropriations: Provided further, That $88,000,000 shall be available to fund grants for performance in fiscal year 2002 or fiscal year 2003 as authorized by section 21 of the Small Business Act, as amended: Provided further, That $13,700,000 shall be available in fiscal year 2002 to fund grants authorized by section 29 of the Small Business Act.

OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL

For necessary expenses of the Office of Inspector General in carrying out the provisions of the Inspector General Act of 1978, as amended (5 U.S.C. App.), $11,000,000.

BUSINESS LOANS PROGRAM ACCOUNT

For the cost of direct loans, $1,860,000, to be available until expended; and for the cost of guaranteed loans, $93,500,000, as authorized by 15 U.S.C. 631 note, of which $45,000,000 shall remain available until September 30, 2003: Provided, That such costs, including the cost of modifying such loans, shall be as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended: Provided further, That during fiscal year 2002, commitments to guarantee loans under section 503 of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958, as amended, shall not exceed $4,500,000,000, as provided under section 20(h)(1)(B)(ii) of the Small Business Act: Provided further, That during fiscal year 2002, commitments for general business loans authorized under section 7(a) of the Small Business Act, as amended, shall not exceed $10,000,000,000 without prior notification of the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and Senate in accordance with section 605 of this Act: Provided further, That during fiscal year 2002, commitments to guarantee loans for debentures and participating securities under section 303(b) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958, as amended, shall not exceed the levels established by section 20(h)(1)(C) of the Small Business Act.

In addition, for administrative expenses to carry out the direct and guaranteed loan programs, $129,000,000, which may be transferred to and merged with the appropriations for Salaries and Expenses.

DISASTER LOANS PROGRAM ACCOUNT

For the cost of direct loans authorized by section 7(b) of the Small Business Act, as amended, $79,510,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That such costs, including the cost of modifying such loans, shall be as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended.

In addition, for administrative expenses to carry out the direct loan program, $125,354,000, which may be transferred to and merged with appropriations for Salaries and Expenses, of which $500,000 is for the Office of Inspector General of the Small Business Administration for audits and reviews of disaster loans and the disaster loan program and shall be transferred to and merged with appropriations for the Office of Inspector General; of which $115,000,000 is for direct administrative expenses of loan making and servicing to carry out the direct loan program; and of which $9,854,000 is for indirect administrative expenses: Provided, That any amount in excess of $9,854,000 to be transferred to and merged with appropriations for Salaries and Expenses for indirect administrative expenses shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds under section 605 of this Act and shall not be available for obligation or expenditure except in compliance with the procedures set forth in that section.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISION—SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Not to exceed 5 percent of any appropriation made available for the current fiscal year for the Small Business Administration in this Act may be transferred between such appropriations, but no such appropriation shall be increased by more than 10 percent by any such transfers: Provided, That any transfer pursuant to this paragraph shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds under section 605 of this Act and shall not be available for obligation or expenditure except in compliance with the procedures set forth in that section.

STATE JUSTICE INSTITUTE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the State Justice Institute, as authorized by the State Justice Institute Authorization Act of 1992 (Public Law 102–

572; 106 Stat. 4515–4516), $6,225,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That not to exceed $2,500 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses.

UNITED STATES-CANADA ALASKA RAIL COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the ''United States-Canada Alaska Rail Commission'', as authorized by Title III of Public Law 106–520, $4,000,000, to remain available until expended.

TITLE VI—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 601. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall be used for publicity or propaganda purposes not authorized by the Congress.

SEC. 602. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall remain available for obligation beyond the current fiscal year unless expressly so provided herein.

SEC. 603. The expenditure of any appropriation under this Act for any consulting service through procurement contract, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 3109, shall be limited to those contracts where such expenditures are a matter of public record and available for public inspection, except where otherwise provided under existing law, or under existing Executive order issued pursuant to existing law.

SEC. 604. (a) The caption for section 504 of title 28, United States Code, is amended by replacing ''Attorney'' with ''Attorneys''.

(b) Section 504 of title 28, United States Code, is amended by inserting after ''General'' the following, ''and a Deputy Attorney General for Combating Domestic Terrorism''.

(c) There is established within the Department of Justice the position of Deputy Attorney General for Combating Domestic Terrorism, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(d) Subject to the authority of the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General for Combating Domestic Terrorism shall serve as the principal advisor to the Attorney General on, and, with the Deputy Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, serve as one of two key government officials responsible for domestic counterterrorism and antiterrorism policy.

(e) The Deputy Attorney General for Combating Terrorism together with the Deputy Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency shall coordinate all functions of the Federal Government related to domestic counterterrorism and antiterrorism activities, including—

(1) the development of a National Strategy for Combating Domestic Terrorism that shall establish national policies, objectives, and priorities for preventing, preparing for, and responding to domestic terrorism within the United States;

(2) the coordination of the implementation of the National Strategy for Combating Domestic Terrorism by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government and by State and local entities with responsibilities for combating domestic terrorism; and

(3) the recommendation of changes in the organization and management of Federal departments and agencies and State and local entities engaged in combating domestic terrorism to the Congress, the President, the Vice President, the Attorney General, and the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

(f) Subject to the authority of the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General for Combating Domestic Terrorism shall be responsible for State and local preparedness for weapons of mass destruction, security classifications and clearances within the Department of Justice, and contingency operations within the Department of Justice.

(g) For necessary expenses of the Office of the Deputy Attorney General for Combating Domestic Terrorism, $23,000,000, to remain available until expended.

(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, all authorities, liabilities, funding, personnel, equipment, and real property associated with the Office of State and Local Domestic Preparedness Support, the National Domestic Preparedness Office, the Executive Office of National Security, and such components which relate to domestic counterterrorism and antiterrorism activities in the Office of Intelligence Policy and Review as are appropriate shall be transferred to the Deputy Attorney General for Combating Domestic Terrorism not later than 90 days after enactment of this Act.

SEC. 605. (a) None of the funds provided under this Act, or provided under previous appropriations Acts to the agencies funded by this Act that remain available for obligation or expenditure in fiscal year 2002, or provided from any accounts in the Treasury of the United States derived by the collection of fees available to the agencies funded by this Act, shall be available for obligation or expenditure through a reprogramming of funds which: (1) creates new programs; (2) eliminates a program, project, or activity; (3) increases funds or personnel by any means for any project or activity for which funds have been denied or restricted; (4) relocates an office or employees; (5) reorganizes offices, programs, or activities; or (6) contracts out or privatizes any functions, or activities presently performed by Federal employees; unless the Appropriations Committees of both Houses of Congress are notified 15 days in advance of such reprogramming of funds.

(b) None of the funds provided under this Act, or provided under previous appropriations Acts to the agencies funded by this Act that remain available for obligation or expenditure in fiscal year 2002, or provided from any accounts in the Treasury of the United States derived by the collection of fees available to the agencies funded by this Act, shall be available for obligation or expenditure for activities, programs, or projects through a reprogramming of funds in excess of $500,000 or 10 percent, whichever is less, that: (1) augments existing programs, projects, or activities; (2) reduces by 10 percent funding for any existing program, project, or activity, or numbers of personnel by 10 percent as approved by Congress; or (3) results from any general savings from a reduction in personnel which would result in a change in existing programs, activities, or projects as approved by Congress; unless the Appropriations Committees of both Houses of Congress are notified 15 days in advance of such reprogramming of funds.

SEC. 606. Section 286(d) of Public Law 82–414, as amended, is further amended—

(1) in subsection (d), by striking ''$6'' and inserting ''$6.50''; and

(2) in subsection (h), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

''(3) Not less than nine percent of the total amounts deposited under this subsection in a fiscal year shall be available only to automate or otherwise improve the speed, accuracy, or security of the inspection process.''.

SEC. 607. None of the funds made available in this Act may be used for the construction, repair (other than emergency repair), overhaul, conversion, or modernization of vessels for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in shipyards located outside of the United States.

SEC. 608. Section 140 of Public Law 97–92 (28 U.S.C. 461 note; 95 Stat. 1200) is amended by adding at the end the following: ''This section shall apply to fiscal year 1981 and each fiscal year thereafter.''.

SEC. 609. None of the funds made available in this Act may be used to implement, administer, or enforce any guidelines of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission covering harassment based on religion, when such guidelines do not differ in any respect from the proposed guidelines published by the Commission on October 1, 1993 (58 Fed. Reg. 51266).

SEC. 610. None of the funds made available by this Act may be used for any United Nations undertaking when: (1) the United Nations undertaking is a peacekeeping mission; (2) such undertaking will involve United States Armed Forces under the command or operational control of a foreign national; and (3) the President's military advisors have not submitted to the President a recommendation that such involvement is in the national security interests of the United States and the President has not submitted to the Congress such a recommendation.

SEC. 611. (a) None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act shall be expended for any purpose for which appropriations are prohibited by section 609 of the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1999.

(b) The requirements in subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 609 of that Act shall continue to apply during fiscal year 2002.

SEC. 612. Hereafter, none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available to the Bureau of Prisons shall be used to provide the following amenities or personal comforts in the Federal prison system—

(1) in-cell television viewing except for prisoners who are segregated from the general prison population for their own safety;

(2) the viewing of R, X, and NC–17 rated movies, through whatever medium presented;

(3) any instruction (live or through broadcasts) or training equipment for boxing, wrestling, judo, karate, or other martial art, or any bodybuilding or weightlifting equipment of any sort;

(4) possession of in-cell coffee pots, hot plates or heating elements; or

(5) the use or possession of any electric or electronic musical instrument.

SEC. 613. Any costs incurred by a department or agency funded under this Act resulting from personnel actions taken in response to funding reductions included in this Act shall be absorbed within the total budgetary resources available to such department or agency: Provided, That the authority to transfer funds between appropriations accounts as may be necessary to carry out this section is provided in addition to authorities included elsewhere in this Act: Provided further, That use of funds to carry out this section shall be treated as a reprogramming of funds under section 605 of this Act and shall not be available for obligation or expenditure except in compliance with the procedures set forth in that section.

SEC. 614. Hereafter, none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available to the Federal Bureau of Prisons may be used to distribute or make available any commercially published information or material to a prisoner when such information or material is sexually explicit or features nudity.

SEC. 615. (a) None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act shall be expended for any purpose for which appropriations are prohibited by section 616 of the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1999, as amended.

(b) The requirements in subsections (b) and (c) of section 616 of that Act shall continue to apply during fiscal year 2002.

SEC. 616. None of the funds appropriated pursuant to this Act or any other provision of law may be used for: (1) the implementation of any

tax or fee in connection with the implementation of 18 U.S.C. 922(t); and (2) any system to implement 18 U.S.C. 922(t) that does not require and result in the destruction of any identifying information submitted by or on behalf of any person who has been determined not to be prohibited from owning a firearm.

SEC. 617. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, amounts deposited or available in the Fund established under 42 U.S.C. 10601 in any fiscal year in excess of $576,462,000 shall not be available for obligation until the following fiscal year.

SEC. 618. Hereafter, none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available to the Department of State and the Department of Justice shall be available for the purpose of granting either immigrant or nonimmigrant visas, or both, consistent with the Secretary's determination under section 243(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, to citizens, subjects, nationals, or residents of countries that the Attorney General has determined deny or unreasonably delay accepting the return of citizens, subjects, nationals, or residents under that section.

SEC. 619. None of the funds made available to the Department of Justice in this Act may be used for the purpose of transporting an individual who is a prisoner pursuant to conviction for crime under State or Federal law and is classified as a maximum or high security prisoner, other than to a prison or other facility certified by the Federal Bureau of Prisons as appropriately secure for housing such a prisoner.

SEC. 620. Section 504(a)(16) of the Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1996 (110 Stat. 1321–55; Public Law 104–134) is amended by striking beginning with '', except that'' through ''representation''.

SEC. 621. The requirements of section 312(a)(3) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act shall not apply to funds made available by section 2201 of Public Law 106–246.

SEC. 622. (a) Section 203(i) of the Act entitled ''An Act to approve a governing international agreement between the United States and the Republic of Poland, and for other purposes'', approved November 13, 1998, is amended by striking ''2001'' and inserting ''2006''.

(b) Section 203 of such Act, as amended by subsection (a), is further amended by adding at the end the following:

''(j) Not later than December 31, 2001, and every 2 years thereafter, the Pacific State Marine Fisheries Commission shall submit to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Resources of the House of Representatives a report on the health and management of the Dungeness Crab fishery located off the coasts of the States of Washington, Oregon, and California.''.

SEC. 623. None of the funds made available in this Act may be used by the Department of Justice or the Department of State to file a motion in any court opposing a civil action against any Japanese person or corporation for compensation or reparations in which the plaintiff alleges that, as an American prisoner of war during World War II, he or she was used as slave or forced labor.

SEC. 624. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act shall be available for cooperation with, or assistance or other support to, the International Criminal Court or the Preparatory Commission. This subsection shall not be construed to apply to any other entity outside the Rome treaty.

SEC. 625. PROHIBITION ON SALE OF DISASTER LOANS. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no amount made available under this Act may be used to sell any disaster loan authorized by section 7(b) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 636(b)) to any private company or other entity.

SEC. 626. SENSE OF THE SENATE REGARDING THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA'S IMPROPER BAILOUT OF HYNIX SEMICONDUCTOR. (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) the Government of the Republic of Korea over many years has supplied aid to the Korean semiconductor industry enabling that industry to be the Republic of Korea's leading exporter;

(2) this assistance has occurred through a coordinated series of government programs and policies, consisting of preferential access to credit, low-interest loans, government grants, preferential tax programs, government inducement of private sector loans, tariff reductions, and other measures;

(3) in December 1997, the United States, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), other foreign government entities, and a group of international financial institutions assembled an unprecedented $58,000,000,000 financial package to prevent the Korean economy from declaring bankruptcy;

(4) as part of that rescue package, the Republic of Korea agreed to put an end to corporate cronyism, and to overhaul the banking and financial sectors;

(5) Korea also pledged to permit and require banks to run on market principles, to allow and enable bankruptcies and workouts to occur rather than bailouts, and to end subsidies;

(6) the Republic of Korea agreed to all of these provisions in the Stand-by Arrangement with the IMF dated December 3, 1997;

(7) section 602 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1999, as enacted by section 101(d) of division A of the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act (Public Law 105–277; 112 Stat. 2681–220) specified that the United States would not authorize further IMF payments to Korea unless the Secretary of the Treasury certified that the provisions of the IMF Standby Arrangement were adhered to;

(8) the Secretary of the Treasury certified to Congress on December 11, 1998, April 5, 1999, and July 2, 1999, that the Stand-by Arrangement was being adhered to, and assured Congress that consultations had been held with the Government of the Republic of Korea in connection with the certifications;

(9) the Republic of Korea has acceded to the World Trade Organization, and to the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (as defined in section 101(d)(12) of the Uruguay Round Agreements Act);

(10) the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures specifically prohibits export subsidies, and makes actionable other subsidies bestowed upon a specific enterprise that causes adverse effects;

(11) Hynix Semiconductor is a major exporter of semiconductor products from the Republic of Korea to the United States; and

(12) the Republic of Korea has now engaged in a massive $5,000,000,000 bailout of Hynix Semiconductor which contravenes the commitments the Government of the Republic of Korea made to the IMF, the World Trade Organization and in other agreements, and the understandings and certifications made to Congress under the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999.

(b) SENSE OF THE SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, and the United States Trade Representative should forthwith request consultations with the Republic of Korea under Article 4 and Article 7 of the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures of the World Trade Organization, and take immediately such other actions as are necessary to assure that the improper bailout by the Republic of Korea is stopped, and its effects fully offset or reversed;

(2) the relationship between the United States and the Republic of Korea has been and will continue to be harmed significantly by the bailout of a major exporter of products from Korea to the United States;

(3) the Republic of Korea should end immediately the bailout of Hynix Semiconductor;

(4) the Republic of Korea should comply immediately with its commitments to the IMF, with its trade agreements, and with the assurances it made to the Secretary of the Treasury; and

(5) the United States Trade Representative and the Secretary of Commerce should monitor and report to Congress on steps that have been taken to end this bailout and reverse its effects.

SEC. 627. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no amount made available under this Act may be used to sell any disaster loan authorized by section 7(b) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 636(b)) to any private company or other entity.

SEC. 628. No funds appropriated by this Act may be used by Federal prisons to purchase cable television services, to rent or purchase videocassettes, videocassette recorders, or other audiovisual or electronic equipment used primarily for recreational purposes. The preceding sentence does not preclude the renting, maintenance, or purchase of audiovisual or electronic equipment for inmate training, religious, or educational programs.

SEC. 629. Section 2002 of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (Public Law 106–386; 114 Stat. 1542) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2)(A)—

(A) by striking ''or'' at the end of clause (i);

(B) in clause (ii)—

(i) by striking ''February 17, 1999,'' and inserting ''May 17, 1996, May 7, 1997, February 17, 1999, December 15, 1999,'';

(ii) by inserting ''October 22, 1999,'' after ''February 17, 1999,''; and

(iii) by striking the semicolon at the end and inserting ''; or''; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new clause:

''(iii) a member of the plaintiff class in Case Number 1:00CV03110(ESG) in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia;''; and

(2) in subsection (b)(2)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) and (B) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively;

(B) by inserting ''(A)'' before ''For purposes'' and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

''(B) For any judgment rendered in Case Number 1:00CV03110(ESG) in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, in addition to the amounts available under subsection (a), the Secretary of the Treasury shall make such further payment as necessary to satisfy the judgment by—

''(i) liquidating those assets without third party interest of those countries designated as state sponsors of terrorism, under section 40(d) of the Arms Control Act or section 6(i) of the Export Administration Act of 1979, held or blocked by the United States; and

''(ii) in the event the judgment remains not fully satisfied after such liquidation, using any other available means collect from Iran, with one-third of any amount collected by these other means to be remitted to the Treasury of the United States.''.

SEC. 630. Clause (ii) of section 621(5)(A) of the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 (47 U.S.C. 763(5)(A)) is amended by striking ''on or about

October 1, 2000,'' and all that follows through the end and inserting ''not later than December 31, 2001, except that the Commission may extend this deadline to not later than June 30, 2003.

SEC. 631. (a) The Senate finds that—

(1) all Americans are united in condemning, in the strongest possible terms, the terrorists who planned and carried out the September 11, 2001 attacks against the United States as well as their sponsors, and in pursuing all of those responsible until they are brought to justice and punished;

(2) the Arab American and American Muslim communities, are a vital part of our nation;

(3) the prayer of Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, the Archbishop of Washington in a Mass on September 12, 2001 for our Nation and the victims in the immediate aftermath of the terrorist hijackings and attacks in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania reminds all Americans that ''we must seek the guilty and not strike out against the innocent or we become like them who are without moral guidance or direction'';

(4) the heads of state of several Arab and predominantly Moslem countries have condemned the terrorist attacks in the United States and the senseless loss of innocent lives; and

(5) vengeful threats and incidents directed at law-abiding, patriotic Americans of Arab descent and Islamic faith have already occurred such as shots fired at an Islamic Center and police having to turn back 300 people who tried to march on a mosque.

(b) The Senate—

(1) declares that in the quest to identify, bring to justice, and punish the perpetrators and sponsors of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, that the civil rights and civil liberties of all Americans, including Arab-Americans and American Muslims, should be protected; and

(2) condemns any acts of violence or discrimination against any Americans, including Arab-Americans and American Muslims.

TITLE VII—RESCISSIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND RELATED AGENCY

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES

(RESCISSION)

Of the unobligated balances available under this heading, $126,620,000 are rescinded.

TITLE VIII—TERRORISM

SEC. 801. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the ''Combating Terrorism Act of 2001''.

Subtitle A—Antiterrorism Policy and Practices

SEC. 811. ASSESSMENT OF NATIONAL GUARD CAPABILITIES TO PREEMPTIVELY DISRUPT DOMESTIC TERRORIST ATTACKS INVOLVING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

(a) REPORT.—Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General shall submit to Congress a report containing an assessment of the capabilities of the National Guard to preemptively disrupt a terrorist attack within the United States involving weapons of mass destruction, and to respond to such an attack.

(b) ELEMENTS.—The report required under subsection (a) shall include—

(1) an assessment of the legal restrictions on the use of the National Guard to contain and capture weapons of mass destruction materials that are discovered by law enforcement agencies within the United States;

(2) an assessment of the physical readiness of the National Guard to carry out a mission to contain and capture such materials;

(3) a description of the modifications in the structure of the National Guard, and in law enforcement intelligence dissemination capabilities, that are necessary to effect a credible, preemptive strike capability for the National Guard against a terrorist attack within the United States involving a weapon of mass destruction; and

(4) an identification of the Federal agency best suited to carry out a preemptive strike against organizations possessing weapons of mass destruction materials in the United States.

SEC. 812. LONG-TERM RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TO ADDRESS CATASTROPHIC TERRORIST ATTACKS.

(a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) there has not been sufficient emphasis on long-term research and development with respect to technologies useful in fighting terrorism; and

(2) the United States should make better use of its considerable accomplishments in science and technology to prevent or address terrorist attacks in the future, particularly attacks involving chemical, biological, or nuclear agents.

(b) ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM.—(1) Not later than six months after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall establish a comprehensive program of long-term research and development with respect science and technology necessary to prevent, preempt, detect, interdict, and respond to catastrophic terrorist attacks.

(2) In establishing the program, the President shall—

(A) establish a comprehensive set of requirements for the program; and

(B) either—

(i) establish in an appropriate Federal agency an element with responsibility for the program; or

(ii) assign to a current element of a Federal agency responsibility for the program.

(c) REPORT ON PROPOSED PROGRAM.—Not later than 60 days before the commencement of the program required by subsection (b), the President shall submit to Congress a report on the proposed program. The report shall set forth the element of the Federal Government proposed to be established or assigned responsibility under subsection (b)(2)(B), including the proposed organization and responsibilities of the element for purposes of the program.

(d) CATASTROPHIC TERRORIST ATTACK DEFINED.—In this section, the term ''catastrophic terrorist attack'' means a terrorist attack against the United States perpetrated by a state, substate, or nonstate actor that involves mass casualties or the use of a weapon of mass destruction.

SEC. 813. REVIEW OF AUTHORITY OF FEDERAL AGENCIES TO ADDRESS CATASTROPHIC TERRORIST ATTACKS.

(a) REVIEW REQUIRED.—The Attorney General shall conduct a review of the legal authority of the agencies of the Federal Government, including the Department of Defense, to respond to, and to prevent, preempt, detect, and interdict, catastrophic terrorist attacks.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than six months after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall submit to Congress a report on the review conducted under subsection (a). The report shall include any recommendations that the Attorney General considers appropriate, including recommendations as to whether additional legal authority for any particular Federal agency is advisable in order to enhance the capability of the Federal Government to respond to, and to prevent, preempt, detect, and interdict, catastrophic terrorist attacks.

(c) CATASTROPHIC TERRORIST ATTACK DEFINED.—In this section, the term ''catastrophic terrorist attack'' means a terrorist attack against the United States perpetrated by a state, substate, or nonstate actor that involves mass casualties or the use of a weapon of mass destruction.

SEC. 814. GUIDELINES ON RECRUITMENT OF TERRORIST INFORMANTS.

The Director of Central Intelligence shall rescind the provisions of the 1995 Central Intelligence Agency guidelines on recruitment of terrorist informants that relate to the recruitment of persons who have access to intelligence related terrorist plans, intentions and capabilities.

SEC. 815. DISCLOSURE BY LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES OF CERTAIN INTELLIGENCE OBTAINED BY INTERCEPTION OF COMMUNICATIONS.

(a) REPORT ON AUTHORITIES RELATING TO SHARING OF CRIMINAL WIRETAP INFORMATION.—Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to Congress a report on the legal authorities that govern the sharing of criminal wiretap information under applicable Federal laws, including section 104 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 403–4).

(b) ELEMENTS.—The report under subsection (a) shall include—

(1) a description of the type of information that can be shared by the Department of Justice, or other law enforcement agencies, with other elements of the intelligence community; and

(2) any recommendations that the President considers appropriate, including a proposal for legislation to implement such recommendations, to improve the capability of the Department of Justice, or other law enforcement agencies, to share foreign intelligence information or counterintelligence information with other elements of the intelligence community on matters such as counterterrorism.

(c) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE, COUNTERINTELLIGENCE.—The terms ''foreign intelligence'' and ''counterintelligence'' have the meanings given those terms in section 3 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 401a).

(2) ELEMENT OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—The term ''element of the intelligence community'' means any element of the intelligence community specified or designated under section 3(4) of the National Security Act of 1947.

SEC. 816. JOINT TASK FORCE ON TERRORIST FUNDRAISING.

It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) many terrorist groups secretly solicit and exploit the resources of international nongovernmental organizations, companies, and wealthy individuals; and

(2) the Federal Government is not fully utilizing all the tools available to it to prevent, deter, or disrupt the fundraising activities of international terrorist organizations, and it should do so.

SEC. 817. IMPROVEMENT OF CONTROLS ON PATHOGENS AND EQUIPMENT FOR PRODUCTION OF BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

(a) REPORT ON IMPROVEMENT OF CONTROLS.—(1) Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall submit to Congress a report on the means of improving United States controls of biological pathogens and the equipment necessary to develop, produce, or deliver biological weapons.

(2) The Attorney General shall prepare the report under paragraph (1) in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Director of Central Intelligence, the Commissioner of Customs, and other appropriate Federal officials.

(3) The report under paragraph (1) shall include—

(A) a list of the equipment identified under that paragraph as critical to the development, production, or delivery of biological weapons;

(B) recommendations, if any, for legislation to make illegal the possession of the equipment identified under subparagraph (A), for other than a legitimate purpose, including attempts and conspiracies to do the same;

(C) recommendations, if any, for legislation to control the domestic sale and transfer of the equipment identified under subparagraph (A); and

(D) recommendations, if any, for legislation to require the tagging or other means of marking of the equipment identified under subparagraph (A).

(b) IMPROVED SECURITY OF FACILITIES.—(1) Commencing not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall undertake appropriate actions to enhance the standards for the physical protection and security of the biological pathogens described in subsection (a) at the research laboratories and other government and private facilities in the United States that create, possess, handle, store, or transport such pathogens in order to protect against the theft or other wrongful diversion of such pathogens.

(2) Not later than six months after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to Congress a report on the actions undertaken under paragraph (1).

SEC. 818. REIMBURSEMENT OF PERSONNEL PERFORMING COUNTERTERRORISM DUTIES FOR PROFESSIONAL LIABILITY INSURANCE.

(a) REQUIREMENT FOR FULL REIMBURSEMENT.—(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law and subject to paragraph (2), the head of an agency employing a qualified employee shall reimburse the qualified employee for the costs incurred by the employee for professional liability insurance.

(2) Reimbursement of a qualified employee under paragraph (1) shall be contingent on the submission by the qualified employee to the head of the agency concerned of such information or documentation as the head of the agency concerned shall require.

(3) Amounts for reimbursements under paragraph (1) shall be derived from amounts available to the agency concerned for salaries and expenses.

(b) QUALIFIED EMPLOYEE.—In this section, the term ''qualified employee'' means an employee of an agency whose position is that of—

(1) a law enforcement officer performing official counterterrorism duties; or

(2) an official of an element of the intelligence community performing official counterterrorism duties outside the United States.

(c) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) AGENCY.—The term ''agency'' means any Executive agency, as that term is defined in section 105 of title 5, United States Code, and includes any agency of the legislative branch of Government.

(2) ELEMENT OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—The term ''element of the intelligence community'' means any element of the intelligence community specified or designated under section 3(4) of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 401a(4)).

(3) LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER; PROFESSIONAL LIABILITY INSURANCE.—The terms ''law enforcement officer'' and ''professional liability insurance'' have the meanings given those terms in section 636(c) of the Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Act, 1997 (5 U.S.C. prec. 5941 note).

Subtitle B—Criminal Matters

SEC. 831. LAUNDERING OF PROCEEDS OF TERRORISM.

Section 1956(c)(7)(D) of title 18, United States Code, is amending by inserting ''or 2339B'' after ''2339A''.

SEC. 832. MODIFICATION OF AUTHORITIES RELATING TO USE OF PEN REGISTERS AND TRAP AND TRACE DEVICES.

(a) GENERAL LIMITATION ON USE BY GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES.—Section 3121(c) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by inserting ''or trap and trace device'' after ''pen register'';

(2) by inserting '', routing, addressing,'' after ''dialing''; and

(3) by striking ''call processing'' and inserting ''the processing and transmitting of wire and electronic communications''.

(b) ISSUANCE OF ORDERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) of section 3123 of that title is amended to read as follows:

''(a) IN GENERAL.—(1) Upon an application made under section 3122(a)(1) of this title, the court shall enter an ex parte order authorizing the installation and use of a pen register or trap and trace device if the court finds that the attorney for the Government has certified to the court that the information likely to be obtained by such installation and use is relevant to an ongoing criminal investigation. The order shall, upon service of the order, apply to any entity providing wire or electronic communication service in the United States whose assistance is required to effectuate the order.

''(2) Upon an application made under section 3122(a)(2) of this title, the court shall enter an ex parte order authorizing the installation and use of a pen register or trap and trace device within the jurisdiction of the court if the court finds that the State investigative or law enforcement officer has certified to the court that the information likely to be obtained by such installation and use is relevant to an ongoing criminal investigation.''.

(2) CONTENTS OF ORDER.—Subsection (b)(1) of that section is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) by inserting ''or other facility'' after ''telephone line''; and

(ii) by inserting before the semicolon at the end ''or applied''; and

(B) by striking subparagraph (C) and inserting the following new subparagraph (C):

''(C) a description of the communications to which the order applies, including the number or other identifier and, if known, the location of the telephone line or other facility to which the pen register or trap and trace device is to be attached or applied, and, in the case of an order authorizing installation and use of a trap and trace device under subsection (a)(2), the geographic limits of the order; and''.

(3) NONDISCLOSURE REQUIREMENTS.—Subsection (d)(2) of that section is amended—

(A) by inserting ''or other facility'' after ''the line''; and

(B) by striking '', or who has been ordered by the court'' and inserting ''or applied, or who is obligated by the order''.

(c) EMERGENCY INSTALLATION.—

(1) AUTHORITY FOR UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.—Section 3125(a) of that title is amended in the matter preceding paragraph (1) by striking ''or any Deputy Assistant Attorney General,'' and inserting ''any Deputy Assistant Attorney General, or any United States Attorney,''.

(2) EXPANSION OF EMERGENCY CIRCUMSTANCES.—Section 3125(a)(1) of that title is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking ''or'' at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking the comma at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(C) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraphs:

''(C) immediate threat to the national security interests of the United States;

''(D) immediate threat to public health or safety; or

''(E) an attack on the integrity or availability of a protected computer which attack would be an offense punishable under section 1030(c)(2)(C) of this title,''.

(d) DEFINITIONS.—

(1) COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION.—Paragraph (2) of section 3127 of that title is amended by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following new subparagraph (A):

''(A) any district court of the United States (including a magistrate judge of such a court) or any United States Court of Appeals having jurisdiction over the offense being investigated; or''.

(2) PEN REGISTER.—Paragraph (3) of that section is amended—

(A) by striking ''electronic or other impulses'' and all that follows through ''is attached'' and inserting ''dialing, routing, addressing, or signalling information transmitted by an instrument or facility from which a wire or electronic communication is transmitted''; and

(B) by inserting ''or process'' after ''device'' each place it appears.

(3) TRAP AND TRACE DEVICE.—Paragraph (4) of that section is amended—

(A) by inserting ''or process'' after ''a device''; and

(B) by striking ''of an instrument'' and all that follows through the end and inserting ''or other dialing, routing, addressing, and signalling information relevant to identifying the source of a wire or electronic communication;''.

SEC. 833. AUTHORITY TO INTERCEPT WIRE, ORAL, AND ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS RELATING TO TERRORISM OFFENSES.

Section 2516(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraph (p), as so redesignated by section 434(2) of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (Public Law 104–132; 110 Stat. 1274), as paragraph (r); and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (p) as so redesignated by section 201(3) of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (division C of Public Law 104–208; 110 Stat. 3009–565), the following new paragraph:

''(q) any criminal violation of sections 2332, 2332a, 2332b, 2332d, 2339A, or 2339B of this title (relating to terrorism); or''.

SEC. 834. AUTHORITY TO INTERCEPT WIRE, ORAL, AND ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS RELATING TO COMPUTER FRAUD AND ABUSE.

Section 2516(1)(c) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking ''and section 1341 (relating to mail fraud),'' and inserting ''section 1341 (relating to mail fraud), a felony violation of section 1030 (relating to computer fraud and abuse),''.

This Act may be cited as the ''Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2002.''

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, for the interest of all Senators, we are attempting to propound a unanimous consent request having to do with the schedule for next week. We have not been able to get complete agreement on either side at this point, but it

should not be too much longer. It would be my desire, once we get that unanimous consent, to go out for the day.

Just as soon as that occurs, we will then be prepared to take final action for the day.

Until that time, I have a couple of remarks in regard to the important legislation that passed this morning.

USE OF FORCE TO DEFEND AMERICA AGAINST TERRORIST ATTACKS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, we are now learning that the terrorists who attacked our Nation this week may have been planning their hideous crimes for years.

In their evil and painstaking calculations, the terrorists clearly tried to anticipate every possible obstacle they might encounter.

But there is one obstacle they overlooked; that is, the courage of the American people, and our fierce determination to defend the people and values we cherish.

It was that courage and determination that appears to have given the passengers aboard the plane that crashed near Pittsburgh the strength to resist their murderers and prevent an even greater tragedy.

It is that same courage and determination that is at the heart of this resolution we pass today.

Tuesday, from the window of my office in the Capitol, I watched thick black smoke rise from the Pentagon and fill the sky over Arlington Cemetery.

The graves in that hallowed ground remind us that Americans have faced great evil before and defeated it.

By passing this resolution, we are saying we are prepared to confront evil again and to defeat it again.

We are saying that the Congress of the United States—Democrats and Republicans stand with the President as our Commander in Chief.

We are authorizing the President to use force against the terrorists who attacked America on September 11, and any nation, organization, or person that aids or harbors them.

As a result of our actions today, we know that our men and women in uniform may be forced to confront a new kind of enemy—an enemy whose actions are constrained neither by conscience, nor the rules of war.

We also know that whatever they are called to do, they will do it well and with honor. And we know this: They will prevail.

This is the gravest responsibility we can undertake as elected leaders.

That is why our Constitution calls on the President and the Congress to act together on decisions to employ our armed forces to defend our Nation.

By passing this resolution, we reaffirm our belief in our Constitution as the foundation and strength of our democracy.

By providing specific statutory authorization and by requiring continuing consultation between the President and the Congress, we also underscore the importance of the War Powers Resolution. Only by standing together, can we stand strong and defeat this threat.

As I have said before, what happened on Tuesday was not simply an attack against America. It was a crime against democracy, and decency. It was a crime against civilization itself.

Americans have been deeply touched this week by the support we have received from friends throughout the world. From the gates of Buckingham Palace, to the halls of the United Nations and NATO, to the streets of Moscow and beyond, the grief displayed by our friends has helped to make our own grief more bearable.

We thank the family of nations for standing with us in these early days of this battle against terrorism. Even more, we thank them for their commitment to stand with us in the days ahead.

I am confident we will continue to stand together, and defeat this most insidious of threats, wherever and whenever it arises.

We will be fierce in the defense of our ideals. We will make whatever material or physical sacrifice that is required of us to punish those who attacked our nation, and to prevent future attacks.

But we will not sacrifice the ideals that built this nation and have sustained us for more than two centuries.

Just as we are united against the terrorists and their co-conspirators who carried out the attacks on our nation, we must also be united against acts of hate against innocent Arab-Americans and Muslims.

The madmen who carried out these crimes despise our values of liberty and justice for all.

By maintaining our commitment to those ideals now, we send a powerful message to those who committed this evil that they have not won, and they will not win this war. They have broken our hearts, but not our will.

The terrorists hoped to bring us to our knees. Let us defy them by standing together on our feet as one nation, indivisible.

Yes, we saw evil this week. But we have also seen great strength. We have seen it in the heroic men and women working day and night in the wreckage of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

We have seen it in the countless Americans in cities across the country who waited hours to donate blood.

And we have seen it in the men and women who may have prevented even greater destruction through their bravery aboard that doomed flight.

That is the strength of America—the one obstacle the terrorists did not anticipate, and the one that will be their undoing.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

AMERICA UNITED

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, at midday today I attended the prayer service at the National Cathedral which President Bush called. It was attended by President Bush and four former Presidents, and many Americans, of course. And I think millions of Americans watched on television. It was a remarkable, moving, and emotional prayer service.

As I sat in the prayer service, I thought about something that happened yesterday as I toured the damage to the Pentagon with my colleagues, Senator DASCHLE, Senator REID, and others. Yesterday, we were touring the Pentagon where, of course, many Americans died as a result of an airplane, loaded with jet fuel and commercial passengers, which was flown by a terrorist into the Pentagon and caused a fire and collapse and so much damage.

Yesterday, as we were being briefed at the Pentagon about the damage that was caused and the loss of life, my colleague, Senator REID, will remember that there was a crane near the building. The crane had a long steel cable attached to it. On the end of the steel cable was one of these little baskets. There was a man standing in the basket in uniform. The crane hauled this basket up to the fourth floor of this gaping wound in the middle of the Pentagon building. This man, who is a soldier, reached around from this basket deep into the hole of the Pentagon building, and from outside of this hole he pulled out a red and gold flag. He put it into this basket, again, dangling from a crane. They brought him back to the ground. It turned out he had pulled out of this gaping hole in this burned-out structure at the Pentagon a U.S. Marine flag that had for some reason not burned. It appeared to be the only thing that could not have possibly burned in that entire area.

This young Marine, who grabbed this U.S. Marine Corps flag—this beautiful gold and red flag—marched over to where we were, and he stopped and said he was taking this flag to the U.S. Marine Corps Commandant.

He said he saw the flag as he looked through the wreckage up on the fourth

floor in an office, and miraculously this flag had not burned. He wanted to get to it, so he got somebody to take him up in a crane in a basket, and he retrieved this flag.

As he held this flag proudly, on his way to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, he said to us: They couldn't destroy this flag, and they can't destroy this country. And I thought, wow, what a thing to say. This morning I woke up and looked at the Washington Post, and there is a full color picture of this young Marine holding that U.S. Marine flag as he came away from that building. It was just before he came over to greet us on his way to the Marine Corps Commandant.

It was but one act—a symbolic act, in many ways—of a young soldier who used that flag that he saw, that had survived the fire and survived the carnage—the one flag that was left standing—to make a point that those who committed these heinous acts, those madmen who perpetrated these acts of evil that murdered so many innocent men, women, and children in this country, could not destroy that flag and cannot destroy this country.

As I said the other day, all of us are heartbroken in America today. We express that in many ways. Prayer services across the country, recommended by our President, have reflected a common understanding—the ability to grieve together and the ability to come together. It was important to do that. It is important to do that.

But there is something else that is important for us to understand. The terrorists did something they could never have possibly imagined: They created in this country a togetherness that has not been here for some long while. People want to show the flag these days.

My 12-year-old daughter yesterday said: Dad, let's put out the flag. People all over this country are putting an American flag out in full view. And people around this country are doing things that we know represent the inherent goodness of people.

Within hours of the terrible tragedy at the World Trade Center—within hours of those evil acts—we had scores of people lining up to give blood in this country. I saw the interview of one person who was in a 5-hour line, and she was asked: Why are you in line 5 hours waiting to give blood? And she said: Because it's the only thing I can do, and I want to do something today.

The terrorists could not have possibly imagined what their acts would do to bring Americans together. This country has a common purpose. Yes, it has a great deal of grief and, yes, our heart is broken, but our spirit is not broken.

The common purpose in this country is to grieve together, to pray together, and then understand that we want to—and we must—find those who planned and committed these acts, and those who harbored them, and punish them and at the same time take the kind of precautions we know we must take to prevent this from happening again.

It is a free country. We are proud of that freedom and liberty. And it is also understood by everyone that we have the risk of acts of terrorism committed in free countries precisely because of that freedom. Perhaps we can never make certain that we will not ever see a terrorist act again. Perhaps we can never do that. We can certainly exert all the energy and all the genius available to all of us in this country to take the steps we think can try to prevent these acts again.

But notwithstanding the challenges and the tragedies, and notwithstanding the common grief that was born of these evil acts, this country will remain a free country. We will remain a country of which all of us are enormously proud.

There is a spirit about America: A spirit to prevail, a spirit to build, a spirit to come together. It is reflected by a lot of things, a couple of which I just mentioned. And that spirit is, in my judgment, not dimming; that spirit is growing. In the coming weeks and days, I think manifested today on the floor of the Senate, that spirit will nurture all of America.

Today, on the floor of the Senate, we passed a piece of legislation, without a dissenting vote, that said we want to help people in need. We provided the resources to say to the people who were victims of this: You are not alone. Your families are not alone. Your loved ones are not alone. Your cities are not alone. And then we passed, without a dissenting vote, an authorization to the President, who asked for an authorization from Congress, to be able to take appropriate action against those who committed these evil acts.

Without a dissenting vote, the Congress said to the President: Yes, we are with you. That is quite a remarkable thing to have done. And it reflects a spirit not just here in the Senate; it reflects a spirit, in my judgment, borne in the breast of every American today, proud to be an American, and determined to make sure we are able to retain and nurture this way of life, to defeat terrorism wherever it exists, and to nurture freedom and liberty.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I hesitate to interject any more words prior to our going out today because I think the tone has been set by my friend from North Dakota, but I just say that there are so many examples of people coming together. The example of the blood drives is certainly one of the most appropriate.

People are now all over America in reservation lines. They are there to sign up to give blood 2 weeks from now, 3 weeks from now because the lines are so long.

I think my friend from North Dakota would agree that the prayer service held today at the National Cathedral was touched. I think everyone there participated with the prayers. Billy Graham gave some remarks. He has been an adviser to many Presidents over the years, and even though his body is frail, his mind certainly is not.

I hope all Americans will realize that the President of the United States needs everyone's prayers now. There are 535 Members of Congress. I was able to sit with Senator DORGAN today at the prayer service at the National Cathedral. We were together. And that is what we legislatures are; we are together; we are always with each other. But the President of the United States is alone. He does not have people to lean on. He has to make decisions by himself.

So I hope that everyone will be involved in praying for this President, recognizing the tremendous burdens he has and the decisions he has to make, decisions that are so vitally important to the virtual freedom of this country, matters dealing with life and death.

So I do hope people will join together and have continual prayers for this country and the President of the United States.

THANKING THE PRESIDING OFFICER

Mr. REID. Mr. President, on behalf of all Senators, I express my appreciation to the Presiding Officer. It is a real sacrifice to be here on a Friday afternoon, where there isn't a lot going on on the floor, but there were things that had to be done. Of course, the Senator from Vermont is known for his patience. And here is another example of it.

So on behalf of all Senators, thank you very much for your time and for the many hours this afternoon.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 2590

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday at 10 a.m. the Appropriations Committee be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 2590, the Treasury-Postal appropriations bill, and that the Senate then proceed to its consideration.

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

Mr. REID. Mr. President, it is my hope that the Senate will be in a position to consider the Defense authorization bill next week. The majority leader will be consulting with the Republican leader as to its scheduling.

ORDERS FOR MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, AND WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2001

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10 a.m. Monday, September 17, for a pro forma session only; further, that when the Senate adjourns on Monday, it stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. Wednesday, September 19. I further ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday, immediately following the prayer and the pledge, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed to have expired, and the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. REID. Monday, the Senate will convene at 10 a.m. for a pro forma session and adjourn until Wednesday at 10 a.m. On Wednesday, the Senate may consider any available appropriations bills or the Department of Defense authorization bill. No rollcall votes will occur prior to 10 a.m., Thursday, September 20.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order following the remarks of Senator HARKIN.

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. REID). Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOMINATION OF JOHN NEGROPONTE TO REPRESENT THE U.S. AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I rise this afternoon at this late hour on Friday at the close of a terrible week—a week which has seared itself into our very being for the rest of our lives—to object to the approval of John Negroponte to serve as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

I understand an agreement was reached that this nomination be passed on a voice vote today. It has been made, and certainly I will honor and respect the agreement. However, I believe this nomination deserves a full debate on the Senate floor and a full look into the record of this individual who is about to represent all of us in the United Nations.

I understand and I agree that America needs a U.N. ambassador. We do need someone there, especially given the terrorist attacks on our Nation this week, in terms of an international dialog and international response to this terrorist attack. But I believe it is also important that all Senators be given an opportunity to vote on this controversial nomination and to debate it.

Why is Mr. Negroponte's nomination so controversial? Why did the Baltimore Sun, in April of this year, devote a five-part series just on this one nominee? Well, I think there are two considerations that stand out in my mind, and I will explain why I oppose his nomination.

First of all, Mr. Negroponte showed a callous disregard for human rights abuses throughout his tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Honduras between 1981 and 1985, during which time I traveled to Honduras and, in fact, went out to one of the contra camps with the Ambassador at that time. Quite frankly, in my conversations at that time in Honduras, and with the later revelations of what was going on with Battalion 316, which was supervised and basically trained by our CIA and our military personnel—when a lot of these issues came to light, it became clear to me that during my trip there I was misled and, quite frankly, not given the correct information that I sought.

Secondly, I believe Mr. Negroponte knowingly misinformed the U.S. State Department about gross human rights violations in Honduras and throughout Central America during the height of the so-called contra war in Central America in the 1980s.

That action, in turn, resulted in the Congress being misled as to the scope and nature of gross human rights violations that were being committed by the contras and by the Honduran military and, in particular, Battalion 316 in the Honduran military.

In a letter to The Economist in 1982, then-Ambassador Negroponte wrote:

> It is simply untrue that death squads have made appearances in Honduras.

Yet from 1981 to 1984 over 150 people disappeared, including one American priest, Father James Carney, whose body has never been recovered.

All indications are it was Battalion 316 that took custody of and had control over Father Carney. There had been reports that they interrogated him, that he was severely tortured and killed—he was an American citizen, an American priest—during the time of Mr. Negroponte's ambassadorship.

I am not saying in any way he was responsible. I do not want anyone to get that wrong. All I am saying is as Ambassador at that time, there is a lot of evidence to show he just turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to the human rights abuses at that time in Honduras.

The 1997 CIA Inspector General's report and other official records, as well as extensive research published in numerous books and articles, have implicated Mr. Negroponte personally in condoning and covering up egregious human rights violations during his service in Honduras in the 1980s. Read the five-part series that was in the Baltimore Sun in 1995 and later amplified this year. That lays out the case quite clearly.

Is he really the best nominee President Bush could find to represent our Nation at the United Nations? I think not. I guess what bothers me more than anything else is, as we move ahead seeking to get other nations to support us in our efforts to uphold human rights around the world, he does not bring clean hands to this critically important and senior diplomatic post.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following articles be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks: An April 16, 2001, Los Angeles Times editorial headlined ''Hard Questions for U.N. Nominee''; a Sunday, April 8, 2001, editorial written by Frank Del Olmo, associate editor of the Los Angeles Times; a Thursday, April 19, 2001, editorial written by Father Joseph Mulligan, a Jesuit priest from Detroit who has been working in Central America since 1986; an April 2, 2001, editorial from In These Times of the Institute for Public Affairs, and a list of 150 people who disappeared in Honduras from October 29, 1981, to May 30, 1985.

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

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I understand agreements were made. I wish we had a fuller debate on this nominee. I want the record to show if, in fact, there was a record vote on this nominee, this Senator from Iowa would have voted no.

I thank the President, and I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Los Angeles Times, Apr. 16, 2001]

HARD QUESTIONS FOR U.N. NOMINEE

Under normal circumstances, President Bush's nomination of a veteran U.S. diplomat like John D. Negroponte to be ambassador to the United Nations would be a routine matter. Negroponte is well regarded in the State Department and close to Secretary of State Colin L. Powell. Senate approval would be all but certain.

But while Negroponte's 37-year career in the foreign service has admittedly been an impressive upward arc of increasingly important ambassadorships, it was not routine. It would be a mistake for the Senate, and particularly for the Committee on Foreign Relations, to treat Negroponte with kid gloves.

To be sure, Negroponte's diplomatic career has been marked by noteworthy accomplishments. He handled sensitive embassy posts quite effectively, most notably Mexico City

in the years leading up to the North American Free Trade Agreement and Manila following the collapse of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos' regime. But Negroponte's career also includes some troubling activities that took place in Honduras during his tenure as ambassador there, between 1981 and 1985.

Those were the years when President Ronald Reagan ordered the CIA to launch covert activities against the Sandinista government in neighboring Nicaragua. The key element of Reagan's anti-Nicaragua strategy was a guerrilla war waged by a puppet army based in Honduras and known as the Contras. It was composed largely of former soldiers of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, whom the Sandinistas had ousted. With such unseemly allies, the Contra war was immediately controversial, and Congress imposed limits on how the CIA could wage it.

Among other things, Congress insisted that before a small nation like Honduras received massive increases in military aid (from $4 million a year to $77 million during Negroponte's tenure alone) that the U.S. Embassy there had to verify that the notoriously corrupt Honduran army would use the money properly. The Honduran security forces were not, for instance, to use the money to pursue political dissidents or otherwise violate the human rights of their fellow citizens. Congress even required annual human rights reports on Honduras to ensure that its mandate was being carried out.

The human rights reports that Negroponte signed off on during his tenure in Honduras need to be carefully reviewed by the Senate. For while he routinely reported few violations by the Honduran government, it has since become public record, through declassified government documents and reputable reports in the U.S. and Honduran press, that the Honduran military was indeed engaged in some very brutal activities in support of the Contras and U.S. policy.

Honduran officials have documented the disappearance of as many as 184 Honduran citizens, not just political dissidents but innocent civilians who may have been mistaken for dissidents, during that period. Most of these kidnappings and murders were carried out by a secret, CIA-trained Honduran army unit known as Battalion 316. The Senate should probe deeply regarding how much of this activity Negroponte was aware of and whether he hid what he knew from Congress.

The Contra war was an ugly and inconclusive affair—but brush-fire wars usually are. And no one is suggesting that Negroponte bears all, or even most, of the blame for whatever excesses may have taken place in Honduras. But he had a legal obligation to truthfully inform Congress of what was happening in Honduras in support of U.S. policy. If Negroponte did not live up to that obligation, it calls into question his suitability for an important post at the United Nations.

The Senate must not approve Negroponte's nomination without asking him some very tough questions and putting his tenure in Honduras under renewed and thorough scrutiny.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Apr. 8, 2001]

IS NEGROPONTE CLEAN ENOUGH FOR THE U.N?

(By Frank Del Olmo)

We're eyeball to eyeball with the Chinese, talking tough to the Russians and not talking to North Korea at all. It's back to the Cold War.

Call me parochial, but what has me shivering after a brief but chilly visit to Washington is how the Bush administration is reviving the old U.S.-Soviet standoff in a part of the world where I spent my crazy youth as a correspondent: Central America. And if you loved how the Bushies tossed those alleged Russian spies out of the country, wait until you see what's for dessert. Warmed over Contras!

Or, to be more precise, a warmed-over Contra paymaster, John D. Negroponte, who has been nominated to be ambassador to the United Nations.

You remember the Contras—the CIA-funded guerrillas who waged a futile war to overthrow the revolutionary Sandinista government in Nicaragua, until the Nicaraguan people simply voted the Sandinistas out of power. Even those poor Central Americans, it turned out, know how democracy works. But more on the Contras later.

It is no longer news that most of the men (doesn't National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice know any women she can suggest for some of these jobs?) President Bush wants to put in key positions on his foreign policy team are Cold Warriors from the days of presidents Reagan and Bush the First. But some of the guys being hauled out of cold storage have worrisome histories that Congress needs to revisit before punching their tickets. We can start with Negroponte.

During his 37-year career with the State Department, Negroponte has held several sensitive embassy jobs in Asia (Vietnam, during the war, and the Philippines in the 1990s) and Latin America (Mexico, in the years leading up to the North American Free Trade Agreement, and Honduras, during the start of the Contra war against neighboring Nicaragua). It is Negroponte's tenure in Honduras, from 1981 to 1985, that the Senate needs to consider.

I traveled all over Central America in those days, knew Negroponte and members of his staff and have no illusions about anyone who was involved in those brush-fire wars. Some ugly things were done on both sides in the same of national security—from assassinations to wholesale massacres. It was quite literally a bloody mess, and Negroponte was in it up to his elbows.

Just how deep we don't know because Negroponte's involvement in convert U.S. activities in Honduras has never been fully investigated by Congress, even when the Mexican government protested Negroponte's 1989 appointment to run the U.S. Embassy there. Former Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari wanted NAFTA so badly that he probably would have accepted any U.S. ambassador. Knowing that, Congress stamped Negroponte's passport after some token questions about Honduras.

Since then, however, much more has become public, largely because of an excellent, but insufficiently recognized, series of articles published by the Baltimore Sun in 1995. Through interviews with former Honduran soldiers and some of the people they kidnapped and tortured, the articles laid out in gruesome detail the activities of a CIA-funded death squad run by the Honduran military during the Contra war.

Those articles also made a credible case that Negroponte knew about the Honduran death squad, officially known as Battalion 316, and other covert operations taking place under his nose, and he ignored them. Worse, he may have lied to Congress about what he knew.

The Sun documents the fact that embassy staffers knew about human rights violations and duly reported them to their superiors in the embassy (including Negroponte) and Washington. Yet their annual human-rights reports to Congress did not reflect what they knew was going on all around them. In just one of the less egregious cases (no one was killed), the 1982 year-end report to Congress asserted there had been ''no incident of official interference with the media'' that year. Yet in June 1982, Negroponte had personally intervened with the Hondurans to free a prominent journalist, Oscar Reyes, who had been arrested and tortured by Battalion 316 for a week. The ambassador did so at the behest of his embassy's press spokesman, who warned Negroponte: ''We cannot let this guy get hurt. . . . It would be a disaster for our policy.''

The Sun series should be reread by every member of the Senate before Negroponte comes before them for confirmation later this spring. Better yet, the Foreign Affairs Committee should move beyond what one gutsy newspaper did and thoroughly review any and all still-classified documents that might shed light on just what Negroponte knew about Battalion 316 and the wider Contra war, and when he knew it.

Negroponte is, after all, the guy Bush wants in New York to lecture the Chinese and Cubans about human rights. We ought to be sure they won't have reason to laugh in his face when he does.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Apr. 19, 2001]

WHAT DID NEGROPONTE HIDE AND WHEN DID HE HIDE IT?

(By Joseph E. Mulligan)

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA.—As the Senate considers the nomination of John D. Negroponte to be the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, it is important to look at charges that, as ambassador to Honduras, Negroponte suppressed information about the Honduran military's human rights violations. This is a serious matter. What is the evidence?

According to a 1997 CIA inspector general's report, U.S. officials in Honduras were aware of serious violations of human rights by the Honduran military during the 1980s but did not adequately report this to Congress. A heavily redacted version of the report notes particularly that the U.S. Embassy suppressed sensitive data during Negroponte's time there.

I am especially concerned about the disappearance of two U.S. citizens—Father James ''Guadalupe'' Carney and David Arturo Baez Cruz—during Negroponte's tenure. Carney had come to Honduras in 1983 as a chaplain to a revolutionary group, which include Baez Cruz, a Nicaraguan American who had served in the U.S. special forces. The group was captured by the Honduran army, and Carney ''disappeared'' along with nearly all of the 96 members of the group.

U.S. officials eventually gave Carney's chalice and stole, turned up by the Honduran army, to his relatives. But the army never explained the circumstances of the priest's death, suggesting only that he probably starved in the mountains. Five years later, in 1988, the New York Times reported that a former officer of the Honduran army sad he personally had interrogated Carney. Carney's body has not been found, and the people responsible for his death have not been identified. Whether any U.S. agents or officials were involved in his disappearance remains an open question.

In a section with repeated references to the capture and execution of Jose Maria Reyes Mata, the political leader of the group, the CIA inspector general's report cited a source whose name has been blacked out who ''believes that the embassy country team in

Honduras wanted reports on subjects such as this to be benign to avoid Congress looking over its shoulders.''

Reporting murders, executions and corruption, says the source, would ''reflect negatively on Honduras and not be beneficial in carrying out U.S. policy.'' The embassy seemed particularly sensitive to reports about the operation in which the two U.S. citizens disappeared, the report said, quoting another source as recalling ''a discussion . . . circa 1983 wherein the latter indicated that unspecified individuals at the embassy did not want information concerning human rights abuses . . . to be disseminated because it was viewed as an internal Honduran matter,'' This is corroborated by an Aug. 19, 1985, handwritten memo declassified by the State Department ''Fr. Carney case . . . is dead. Front office does not want the case active. . . . We aren't telling that to the family.''

The CIA report cites another person whose name has been deleted as explaining ''the basis for no further reporting on the prisoner executions—the event had been reported previously and there was concern on the part of Negroponte that over-emphasis would create an unwarranted human rights problem for Honduras.'' Among his conclusions, the CIA inspector general states: ''The ambassador was particularly sensitive regarding the issue and was concerned that earlier CIA reporting on the same topic might create a human rights problem for Honduras. Based on the ambassador's reported concerns, [blacked out] actively discouraged [blacked out] from following up the information reported by the [blacked out] source.''

It was up to members of Congress to determine whether Honduras had a human rights problem. But Negroponte denied the facts needed for their judgment.

[From the Institute for Public Affairs in These Times, Apr. 2, 2001]

IN FROM THE COLD WAR; BUSH'S PICK FOR U.N. AMBASSADOR HAS SOME SPOOKY STUFF ON HIS RESUME

(By Terry J. Allen)

Like spooks from an abandoned B-Movie graveyard, officials of the Reagan-Bush era are merging from the dirt and showing up inside the George W. Bush administration. The latest resurrection is John Negroponte, whom Bush recently nominated as ambassador to the United Nations.

As U.S. ambassador to Honduras from 1981 to 1985, Negroponte abetted and covered up human rights crimes. He was a zealous anti-Communist crusader in America's covert wars against the leftist Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the FMLN rebels in El Salvador. The high-level planning, money and arms for those wars flowed from Washington, but much of the on-the-ground logistics for the deployment of intelligence, arms and soldiers was run out of Honduras. U.S. military aid to Honduras jumped from $3.9 million in 1989 to $77.4 million by 1984. So crammed was the tiny country with U.S. bases and weapons that it was dubbed the USS Honduras, as if it were simply an offshore staging ground.

The captain of this ship, Negroponte was in charge of the U.S. Embassy when, according to a 1995 four-part series in the Baltimore Sun, hundreds of Hondurans were kidnapped, tortured and killed by Battalion 316, a secret army intelligence unit trained and supported by the Central Intelligence Agency. As Gary Cohn and Ginger Thompson wrote in the series, Battalion 316 used ''shock and suffocation devices in interrogations. Prisoners often were kept naked and, when no longer useful, killed and buried in unmarked graves.'' Members of Battalion 316 were trained in surveillance and interrogation at a secret location in the United States and by the CIA at bases in Honduras. Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, the chief of the Honduran armed forces who personally directed Battalion 316, also trained in the United States at the School of the Americas.

Negroponte tried to distance himself from the pattern of abuses, even after a flood of declassified documents exposed the extent of U.S. involvement with Battalion 316. In a segment of the 1998 CNN mini-series Cold War, Negroponte said that ''some of the retrospective effort to try and suggest that we were supportive of, or condoned the actions of, human rights violators is really revisionistic.''

By the time Negroponte was appointed ambassador by President Reagan in 1981, human rights activists in Honduras were vocally denouncing abuses. Former Honduran congressman Efrain Diaz Arrivillage pleaded with Negroponte and other U.S. officials to stop the abuses committed by the U.S.-controlled military. ''Their attitude was one of tolerance and silence,'' Diaz told the Sun. ''They needed Honduras to loan its territory more than they were concerned about innocent people being killed.''

Negroponte ignored such protests, and annually filed State Department reports from Honduras that gave the impression that the Honduran military respected human rights. But in an interview with In These Times, Negroponte's predecessor as ambassador, Carter appointee Jack Binns, tells a different story: ''Negroponte would have had to be deliberately blind not to know about human rights violations. . . . One of the things a departing ambassador does is prepare a briefing book, and one of those issues we included [in our briefing book] was how to deal with the escalation of human rights issues.''

Binns considered the U.S. support for Alvarez and Battalion 316 ''counterproductive'' to the declared objective of ''establishing a rule of law.'' This lack of enthusiasm, Binns says, led to ''my being cut out of the loop'' by the Reagan administration, which he served for several months before Negroponte took over. In the summer of 1981, Binns recalls, ''I was called unexpectedly to Washington by Tom Enders, the assistant secretary of state. He asked me to stop reporting human rights violations through official State Department channels and to use back channels because they were afraid of leaks.''

As Binns explains, back-channel messages ''don't officially exist. The message is translated over CIA channels, decrypted and hand-carried from Langley, one copy only. No record.''

Binns did not agree to use back channels and when he returned to Honduras, he received no further reports of human rights violations from the CIA. ''I was deliberately lied to,'' says Binns, who later found out that Reagan administration had been working behind his back.

Honduras was only one of many hot spots where Negroponte served. He spent four years as a political officer in the U.S. Embassy in Saigon during the height of the Vietnam War. As an aide to then National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger at the Paris Peace Talks, he fell out of favor with his boss, wrote Mark Matthews in a 1997 article in the Sun, ''by arguing that the chief U.S. negotiator was making too many concessions to the North Vietnamese.'' Negroponte also served in the Philippines, Panama and Mexico, where he was a strong booster for NAFTA.

Rumored to have been Colin Powell's pick for the job of U.N. ambassador, Negroponte has a reputation as a loyal bureaucrat and efficient fixer. He also has a Cold War mentality characteristic of many of the old Reagan-Bush people surrounding the new president.

The lessons Negroponte has learned from the past may shed light on what kind of U.N. ambassador he will be if his nomination is approved by the Senate. When he appeared in 1981 before a Senate committee for confirmation as envoy to Honduras, he said, ''I believe we must do our best not to allow the tragic outcome of Indochina to be repeated in Central America.''

The tragedy to which he referred, of course, was the defeat of the United States, not the devastation and death caused by U.S. intervention.

DISAPPEARANCES IN HONDURAS DURING AMB. NEGROPONTE'S TENURE, OCTOBER 29, 1981–MAY 30, 1985

1981

Eduardo Anibal Blanco Araya, November 14, 1981; Yolanda del Carmen Solis Corrales, December 11, 1981; Francisco Fairen Garbi, December 11, 1981; Alfredo Duarte, December 20, 1981; Jose Frech Guiterrez, December 20, 1981; Jose Francisco Rivera Miranda, December 22, 1981; Victor Hugo Alas Herrera, December 24, 1981.

1982

Maria Ediltrudis Montres Giron, January 24, 1982; Julio Cesar Zavala Mendez, January 24, 1982; Samuel Perez, January 24, 1982; Enrique Lopez Hernandez, January 24, 1982; Nelson Mackay Chavarria, February 21, 1982; Guadalupe Carillo Coleman, June 11, 1982; Eduardo Coleman Martinez, June 11, 1982; Reynaldo Coleman Martinez, June 11, 1982; Amado Espinoza Paz, June 12, 1982.

Adan Villanueva, June 12, 1982; Hans Albert Madisson Lopez, July 8, 1982; Jose Saul Godinez Cruz, July 22, 1982; Jose Eduardo Becerra Lanza, August 1, 1982; German Perez Aleman, August 18, 1982; Teresa de Jesus Sierra Alvarenga, August 31, 1982; Rafael Antonio Pacheco, September 1, 1982; Hector Hernandez, December 24, 1982; Jose Celestino Medina, December 24, 1982.

1983

Casimiro Castellanos, Exact day unknown, 1983; Pedro Jose Amador Meza, January 22, 1983; Maria Martha Ventura Garcia, February 17, 1983; Dolores Geraldina Garcia Zelaya, February 25, 1983; Melba Caceres Mondragon, March 15, 1983; Jose Martinez Vasquez, March 17, 1983; Filiberto Flores Zuniga, April 13, 1983; Victor Manual Torres Lopez, April 13, 1983; Luis Alonso Romero Ortiz, April 24, 1983; Daniel Velasquez Nunez, May 4, 1983.

Jose Eloy Torres Barahona, June 1, 1983; Victor Manuel Ramos, June 10, 1983; Jose Amilcar Mardiaga, July 1, 1983; Marco Antonio Marin Aguilar, August, 1983; Ramon Adonay Bustillo Jimenez, September 9 1983; Pablo Roberto Munguia, September 28, 1983; Mario Mejia Mateo, October 1, 1983; Jose Melanio Valle Alvarado, October 1, 1983; James Francisco Carney (Father Guadalupe), December, 1983; Juan Batista Canales H., December 15, 1983.

1984

Marcelino Moncada Bustamante, February 18, 1984; Gustavo Adolfo Morales Funes, March 18, 1984; Rolando Vindel Gonzalez, March 18, 1984; Francisco Garcia, July 9, 1984;

Francisco Osorto, July 9, 1984; Alberto Garcia, July 9, 1984; Elsa Marina Perdomo, August 12, 1984; Juan Alberto Villeda, September 25, 1984; Luis Ramon Blandon Zeas, September 28, 1984.

Elman Luis Cortes Seiza, September 28, 1984; Marcia Mercedes Chamorro Morales, October 5, 1984; Estanislao Vasquez M., October 22, 1984; Joaquin, October 22, 1984; Reynaldo Caceres Lopez, October 28, 1984; Estanislao Martinez Lopez, October 31, 1984; Maritza Cubillo Molina, November 4, 1984; Jose Isabel Salgado, November 20, 1984; Jose Eduardo Lopez, December 24, 1984.

1985

Rose Nelly Matamoros, January, 1985; Jesus Reyes Escobar, March 24, 1985.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 2001, AT 10 A.M.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in adjournment.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 4:33 p.m., adjourned until Monday, September 17, 2001, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 14, 2001:

FEDERAL HOUSING FINANCE BOARD

SHIRLEE BOWNE, OF FLORIDA, TO BE A DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL HOUSING FINANCE BOARD FOR A TERM EXPIRING FEBRUARY 27, 2004, VICE J. TIMOTHY O'NEILL, TERM EXPIRED.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

EMIL H. FRANKEL, OF CONNECTICUT, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION, VICE EUGENE A. CONTI, JR., RESIGNED.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

JAMES B. LOCKHART, III, OF CONNECTICUT, TO BE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL SECURITY FOR A TERM OF SIX YEARS, VICE WILLIAM A. HALTER.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CLIFFORD G. BOND, OF NEW JERSEY, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

MARGARET K. MCMILLION, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MARK W. EVERSON, OF TEXAS, TO BE CONTROLLER, OFFICE OF FEDERAL FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET, VICE JOSHUA GOTBAUM, RESIGNED.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

TAMMY DEE MCCUTCHEN, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, VICE T. MICHAEL KERR.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

BARRY D. CRANE, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR SUPPLY REDUCTION, OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY, VICE THOMAS J. UMBERG.

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C. SECTION 601:

To be general

GEN. JOHN W. HANDY, 0000

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. TEED M. MOSELEY, 0000

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT AS VICE CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, AND APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 601 AND 8034:

To be general

LT. GEN. ROBERT H. FOGLESONG, 0000

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. COLBY M. BROADWATER III, 0000

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be admiral

ADM. JAMES O. ELLIS JR., 0000

CONFIRMATIONS

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE SEPTEMBER 14, 2001:

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

BRIAN JONES, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE GENERAL COUNSEL, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JOHN D. NEGROPONTE, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK AND STATUS OF AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY, AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

JOHN D. NEGROPONTE, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS DURING HIS TENURE OF SERVICE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

LAURA E. KENNEDY, OF NEW YORK, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO TURKMENISTAN.

MARCELLE M. WAHBA, OF CALIFORNIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES.

RONALD E. NEUMANN, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE STATE OF BAHRAIN.

PATRICK FRANCIS KENNEDY, OF ILLINOIS, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF CAREER MINISTER, TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE U.N. MANAGEMENT AND REFORM, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT AS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF AND APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 601 AND 152:

To be general

RICHARD B. MYERS, 0000

THE ABOVE NOMINATION WAS APPROVED SUBJECT TO THE NOMINEES' COMMITMENT TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS TO APPEAR AND TESTIFY BEFORE ANY DULY CONSTITUTED COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JOHN W. GILLIS, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF VICTIMS OF CRIME.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

BRUCE COLE, OF INDIANA, TO BE CHAIRPERSON OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES FOR A TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RICHARD R. NEDELKOFF, OF TEXAS, TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF JUSTICE ASSISTANCE.

PAUL J. MCNULTY, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

PATRICK LEO MEEHAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

STEPHEN BEVILLE PENCE, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

MICHAEL J. SULLIVAN, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

JOSEPH S. VAN BOKKELEN, OF INDIANA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF INDIANA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

GREGORY F. VAN TATENHOVE, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

COLM F. CONNOLLY, OF DELAWARE, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

MICHAEL G. HEAVICAN, OF NEBRASKA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEBRASKA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

THOMAS B. HEFFELFINGER, OF MINNESOTA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF MINNESOTA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

ROSCOE CONKLIN HOWARD, JR., OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

MARY BETH BUCHANAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

PETER W. HALL, OF VERMONT, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF VERMONT FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Friday, September 14, 2001*

The House met at 9 a.m.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel P. Coughlin, offered the following prayer:

O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will declare Your praise. On this national day of prayer and remembrance, moved by the exhortation of President Bush and the tragic events of Tuesday, we gather first to pray and then be about the work of Congress.

Ever mindful of the many victims, we pray, O Lord, in solidarity with their families, all who have come to their assistance, and with friends around the world. Circumstances such as Tuesday's horror shake us to new awareness and the need to pray, but prayer itself originates in You, O Lord. By Your own spirit in us we are moved, act, and have our being. Weeping and groaning deep within us the spirit cries out Abba, Father. Your spirit animates us as we struggle to find words to express all the sentiments of the heart.

As each of us searches the depths of our own being in his or her own way, we know it is You alone who can change human hearts. You alone, through dialogue with You, can give us the right words and the right thing to do, if only we would listen and enter into the silence of Your presence. You alone can reshape perspective and bring to focus determined goals based on the truth that removes illusion. You alone can move hearts to repentance for evil perpetrated on others. You alone can take stony hearts and recreate them by Your Holy Spirit into fleshy hearts, hearts which are moved beyond self to respond to the pain of brothers and sisters in the human family.

You, Lord, can make us one, heal our wounds, forgive our sins, and bring us to a new level of peace and freedom, where all people of faith can find expression, moved by Your spirit. And with Your help, together, we can create a truly pluralistic world where we can live in peace and unity, promised by Your kingdom, Thy kingdom come.

Borne out of pain, moved by compassion, strengthened by the diversity of others, we know it is You, Lord God, who brings us to pray and declare Your praise, now and forever. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Texas (Mr. THORNBERRY) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. THORNBERRY led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair will entertain 1-minute requests at a later time today.

MAKING IN ORDER AT ANY TIME CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2888, 2001 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR RECOVERY FROM AND RESPONSE TO TERRORIST ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order at any time without intervention of any point of order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 2888) making emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001 for additional disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, and for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes; that the bill be considered as read for amendment; and that the previous question be considered as ordered on the bill to final passage without intervening motion except: One, one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations; and, two, one motion to recommit.

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

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 2888, and that I may include tabular and extraneous material.

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

There was no objection.

2001 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR RECOVERY FROM AND RESPONSE TO TERRORIST ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order just adopted, I call up the bill (H.R. 2888) making emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001 for additional disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, and for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of H.R. 2888 is as follows:

H.R. 2888

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to provide emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2001, namely:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

EMERGENCY RESPONSE FUND

(INCLUDING TRANSFERS OF FUNDS)

For emergency expenses to respond to the terrorist attacks on the United States that occurred on September 11, 2001, to provide assistance to the victims of the attacks, and to deal with other consequences of the attacks, $40,000,000,000, to remain available until expended, including for the costs of (1) providing Federal, State, and local preparedness for mitigating and responding to the attacks, (2) providing support to counter, investigate, or prosecute domestic or international terrorism, (3) providing increased transportation security, (4) repairing public facilities and transportation systems damaged by the attacks, and (5) supporting national security: *Provided,* That these funds may be transferred to any authorized Federal Government activity to meet the purposes of this Act: *Provided further,* That the Congress designates the entire amount as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985: *Provided further,* That $40,000,000,000 shall be available only to the extent that an official budget request, that includes designation of the $40,000,000,000 as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, is transmitted by the President to the Congress: *Provided further,* That the President shall consult with the chairmen and ranking minority members of the Committees on Appropriations prior to the transfer of these funds: *Provided further,* That of the $40,000,000,000 made available herein, $10,000,000,000 shall not be available for transfer to any Department or Agency until 15 days after the Director of the Office of Management and Budget has submitted to

the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations a proposed allocation and plan for use of the funds for that Department or Agency; $20,000,000,000 may be obligated only when enacted in a subsequent emergency appropriations bill, in response to the terrorist acts on September 11, 2001: *Provided further*, That the President shall transmit an amended budget request proposing an allocation of funds: *Provided further*, That not less than one-half of the $40,000,000,000 shall be for disaster recovery activities and assistance related to the terrorist acts in New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001, as authorized by law: *Provided further*, That the Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall provide quarterly reports to the Committees on Appropriations on the use of these funds, beginning not later than January 2, 2002: *Provided further*, That the President shall submit to the Congress as soon as practicable detailed requests to meet any further funding requirements for the purposes specified in this Act.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 1. Funds appropriated by this Act, or made available by the transfer of funds in this Act, for intelligence activities are deemed to be specifically authorized by the Congress for purposes of Section 504 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 414).

SEC. 2. Funds appropriated by this Act, or made available by the transfer of funds in this Act, may be obligated and expended notwithstanding section 10 of Public Law 91–672, section 313 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, fiscal years 1994 and 1995, and section 15 of the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956.

This Act may be cited as the ''2001 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States''.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG).

□ 0915

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, America is one Nation united under God today more than any time since December 7, 1941, when we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. Americans are normally very busy people, staying focused on those matters of concern to ourselves and to our families.

Today our country's focus is on our fellow Americans who lost their lives in the despicable terrorist attack on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, and also on their families who mourn them. We seek God's blessing of comfort for them.

Today, Mr. Speaker, America has officially set aside a time for national mourning. We will also focus on rebuilding what terrorists destroyed. Today we focus on not only seeking out those who brought this attack to our land, but to deal with those who might be planning other sneak attacks on America or the rest of the civilized world. Americans will not live in fear, and we will not allow attacks on our people or our places.

With the action of the United States Congress today, the world will know that our people and we as their representatives in Congress are more united behind our President as he leads this great Nation under God than most Americans alive today have ever witnessed. We absorbed the attacks in Beirut when we lost brave Marines. We absorbed the attack at Khobar Towers when we lost brave members of our Air Force deployed to that part of the world. We absorbed the embassy attacks in Africa with some retaliation. We had the attack on the USS *Cole* where members of our Navy were killed or seriously injured, and we will rebuild the *Cole* as a monument to advise the world that we will not accept these attacks on our people.

When the attacks came on Tuesday of this week, we had several options. We could have selected to wait, to see if this was another isolated act of terrorism, or we could choose to fight back, to do whatever is necessary to protect our Nation, to protect our families, and to preserve our freedoms and our way of life.

Let there be no doubt. Our choice, the choice of President George Bush, the choice of the United States Congress, and the choice of the great people of a great Nation is to fight back. The world will be impressed by our response as we mobilize for this fight.

As we present this bill today, Mr. Speaker, I thank the Speaker of the House for all of the assistance and wisdom and guidance the gentleman from Illinois gave us as we produced this bill. This was not an easy bill to decide how best to respond in a constitutional way.

I thank the leaders of the Senate who worked so diligently with us in order to write the bill that we will present here this morning, and I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), the ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations. We debated, argued our some differences, and worked together as Americans to come up with the right solution. Throughout, the gentleman from Wisconsin was a pillar of strength, a giant; and I want to say I appreciate the efforts the gentleman from Wisconsin made to make this happen.

I thank the members of our staff who stayed with us through the day and the night in order to present this bill and make it a good bill.

Mr. Speaker, I thank our friends and allies around the world who have come to our aid and assistance, if nothing more than with their words and demonstrations of support. That is a strong message for us and to the rest of the world, and especially to the terrorists in the world, that we are a united people against terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, the bill that we present today, H.R. 2888, is an emergency supplemental appropriations bill that basically provides $40 billion to be available as needed by the President, and as agreed to by the Congress, in order to mobilize this Nation to fight this fight, to eliminate the threat of terrorism from the United States and from the civilized world.

We are going to move this bill quickly today, and we are going to have this mobilization underway. I think that the world will be impressed, and I believe that fear should be in the hearts of the terrorists because our people will not live in fear. We will not allow that to happen.

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

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 14 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is a response to the worst attack on U.S. soil in the history of our republic. That attack requires a response which is focused, strong, mature, and lasting. That attack requires a response that is based on solid unity, and that unity must be based upon the recognition of and the overcoming of our differences, not in the ignoring or the papering over of our differences. That is the only way to provide true unity over the long haul.

Very frankly, twice in the last 2 days I was concerned that that unity would not come about. This morning I can tell every Member of this House without question that those divisions have been overcome during negotiations on this bill, and I think it is important that some Members who have some misgivings understand the history of this bill.

During negotiations on this bill, money has never been an object. Make no mistake about it, this committee, this body, will provide whatever resources are needed to respond to this challenge, not just today, not just tomorrow, but for as long as it takes; but it is crucial in our rush to a response that we preserve and protect the institutional arrangements that have been the very foundation of our liberty since the Constitution was first written.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has essentially only two powers that mean anything in the scheme of things. The first is the War Power; the second is the power of the purse. Very frankly, I am sad to say because of the nature of the times that we live in, the nature of technology and our own history over the last 30 years, the Congress' power to determine when we go to war has substantially eroded.

Today, except in the most extraordinary circumstances, it is, frankly, the President who decides whether we will pull the trigger. But that means that Congress has a double obligation under the oath that we all took, to maintain the power of the purse. And we do not do that for turf reasons; we

do it because that is the fundamental power that Congress has, to preserve liberty for every American.

Let me give some practical examples. These may seem mundane, but they go to the core of the relationship between branches of government.

The World Trade Center in New York, I have no idea how that is going to finally be rebuilt, but at some point I think it is safe to say there may be a question about whether the Federal Government plays a role in funding that. I do not know what the outcome of that will be, but I do know that Congress as an institution has a right to be involved in those decisions. This is not a decision that can just be made by one branch of government unilaterally.

The subway damage in New York. Decisions about the shape and nature of Federal involvement in repairing the subway must be made on a collaborative basis between the two branches of government.

Public safety at airports. That is our first line of defense against terrorism and that failed this week. We are going to have major decisions made about how safety at airports are upgraded. The Congress must be able to take advantage of the expertise that people in this body have, people like the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. ROGERS), the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR), and others who know a great deal about this.

That expertise can be brought to bear only by congressional participation in those decisions. These are just some fairly mundane examples, but they are important in the long-term scheme of things.

The first package that was presented to us was, frankly, a blank check; and to the credit of the people involved, that approach was rejected.

This bill provides unprecedented grants of authority to the President, but it does retain reasonable congressional ability to make its own judgments about how this money ought to be spent, and I want to describe what it does.

This bill is a down payment on the efforts of this country to undertake to find and punish those who committed this terrible act and those who supported them, and it is a downpayment on providing the resources necessary to rebuild this Nation. It provides an initial payment of $40 billion to help the victims repair the damage, upgrade our security, and begin the military preparations to find and destroy the perpetrators of these deplorable and despicable acts. $10 billion will be available immediately upon the signature of the President and will be spent in areas of government that he deems appropriate under consultation with the Congress.

A second $10 billion will become available after he has published his plans for its use. The Congress will have 15 days to review those plans, and I fully expect that there will be a respectful relationship between the two branches of government in ironing out any misgivings that Congress might have with respect to any of those plans.

Next, an additional $20 billion will be spent based upon the submission of a Presidential budget request and an action by the Congress in the regular appropriations bills that we will be sending to the President in the weeks ahead. Half of this money will be for responding to domestic cleanup, reconstruction, and humanitarian needs. The remainder will be for tightening security in military operations.

In addition, Congress will be considering defense appropriations bills within the next few weeks that will contain in excess of $340 billion as well as domestic appropriations which will contain numerous additional commitments to improving and enhancing security.

Mr. Speaker, we are in day three of a new world. As a past President indicated a long time ago, we are entering into a long twilight struggle against terrorism. This is going to be a very nasty enterprise. Our country for its entire history has been shielded by two oceans from this kind of threat. Today with modern technology, with modern transportation, it is not only the economy that is global, we also have a global capability of people to take out their hatred on those that they do not like.

□ 0930

There is no question America paid a price for world leadership. If it proves to be that the people who perpetrated this act are those we suspect, it will demonstrate that we have also paid a price for the world's failure to find a resolution to the Middle East problems. We have also paid a price for a long period of underfunding a number of critical public service items, including airport security.

This is going to be a long fight. We need to be able to stick together for the duration. That means we are going to have to be able to trust each other implicitly. We are going to have to be able to trust each other's word. And we are going to have to have a respectful relationship between the two branches of government. Because it is very easy, once the going gets tough on an issue like this, for people to bail out. The only thing that will keep us together is conscience and unity built on honest agreement.

I want to thank a few people. I want to thank Senator BYRD who in my view was fierce in defense of the institutional prerogatives that we must hold dear. These prerogatives are important, not because they make us powerful but because they are the only tools that enable us to protect the liberty of each and every American that we represent. I want to thank Senator STEVENS for overcoming his differences and working with all of us. I want to thank Chairman YOUNG. BILL YOUNG and I have a long relationship. We are friends, we are sometimes adversaries, but in all instances we are partners, and we will be partners for a long time to come as we deal with these issues. I want to thank the minority leader, Mr. GEPHARDT, because he intervened on three separate and crucial occasions in order to convey a seriousness of purpose on both ends of the avenue that was necessary to overcome our differences. I want to thank our Speaker. Yesterday on at least two occasions he demonstrated what leadership is all about. And I think it is safe to say that, more than almost anyone, he recognized the need for true unity yesterday and he recognized, as I said earlier, that that unity needed to be based upon the overcoming of our differences rather than the papering over of our differences.

I also do want to thank our staff on both sides of the aisle. Many people sitting here this morning have been working for days on this, but I especially want to single out Scott Lilly, the staff director on our side of the aisle, and Jim Dyer on the Republican side of the aisle. As usual, they have helped us to bridge differences and they have helped us protect the prerogatives and the needs of this institution. And the way they do it on a daily basis is a constant demonstration of the day-to-day actions that constitute true patriotism. I am profound in my admiration for them and all of those who work with them.

I want to say to the people of New York, there is not a district in this country that is more different from New York than mine. But every person in my district today stands as one with the people of New York. They have experienced a tragedy which is unparalleled. Our hearts go out to every single family who has lost anyone. I want to express our solidarity with those folks at the Pentagon, those folks who work there. They defend our country abroad and at home. Some of them paid the ultimate price and we will not forget. I want to thank those that were on the various airplanes that crashed who gave us fragmentary information about what happened and, at least on several occasions, obviously engaged in struggles which may have preserved the existence of the very building in which we work today. We owe them a lot. And we owe to each other efforts to build a new relationship and a new sense of comity in this town so that we can, in fact, meet the responsibilities that we were elected to perform.

I urge support for this bill.

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

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, when America is attacked, when any American is attacked, when any of our places is attacked, all of our country is attacked. America was attacked on last Tuesday. Attacks took place in New York City and on our Defense Department here in northern Virginia. The gentleman from Wisconsin just eloquently referred to that. The New York delegation has been very strong in supporting whatever efforts need to be done to help the recovery in New York. The Governor of the State, Governor Pataki, the mayor of the city, Mayor Giuliani, all of the officials, the police, the firefighters, the emergency medical technicians, the doctors, the nurses, the civilians who volunteered, everyone has just responded in such a tremendous way, an outpouring of support and unity. It is just amazing to watch this response.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH), one of the leaders of his Congressional delegation and also a leader on the Committee on Appropriations. He and other members of the delegation spoke to us eloquently yesterday at a meeting that we held with them.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, it has often been said that America is great because it is good. This bill exemplifies the goodness of our Nation. I would like to begin by thanking the President of the United States who has been a pillar of strength throughout this incredible period of time. When I watched him yesterday, I saw tears welling up in his eyes. I saw his chin quiver. All of us have felt that since this incident occurred. But at the same time it was a velvet surface on a solid steel interior, and I think that is the way everyone has approached this tragedy.

I am so proud of this Nation. I am so proud of my colleagues here in the Congress. The way people came together to resolve this, partisanship aside, bicameral differences aside, would make this country and should make this country proud. The generosity of the American people is reflected in its representation here in the Congress, and this bill is the epitome of that generosity, $40 billion. But the point is the first thing the President said to the mayor and to the Governor of New York was, ''Whatever it takes.'' When I spoke with Chairman YOUNG, he said, ''We're going to provide whatever it takes.'' Ranking Member OBEY, ''Whatever it takes.'' There was no issue of money anywhere along the line. I want to express my gratitude to them.

Yesterday, I had the occasion to visit the Pentagon and to see the courage and bravery and the professional demeanor of the men and women who are working there. It inspires great strength. It inspires great confidence. The people of FEMA, the men and women over whom my subcommittee has oversight, are leading the efforts in both locations. Director Albaugh is in New York City doing his job. And he is proud to do it. We will be providing funds through this bill to FEMA. FEMA has already allocated $165 million for the response in both locations. The estimates from FEMA at this point, and they are preliminary estimates, are that the costs for the cleanup and reconstruction of this site in New York City are in the neighborhood of $9 to $10 billion. Those are only estimates. There are other estimates that are much higher. But clearly this is a proper, appropriate response to the initial damage that was done.

The promise that this bill provides from getting our city and our Pentagon back on track to tracking down the perpetrators of this incredible mass murder, is that the necessary resources will be there, because everyone, right down the line, including our Speaker, has promised to provide whatever it takes.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), the distinguished ranking member on the Subcommittee on Defense of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the leadership in protecting the prerogatives of the Congress but protecting the prerogatives of the people of this great Nation with the largest supplemental that I have ever seen since I have been in Congress. I think it is a well thought out and carefully drawn bill.

But what I wanted to really talk about was in my district, the tragedy that unfolded there. When we sat in the Capitol, when Jerry Lewis and I sat in the Capitol and heard that a plane was headed towards the Capitol, we evacuated, we listened to the various stories of it hitting New York, hitting the Pentagon. Then I traveled back to the district. I listened to the people who saw the airplane crash. I listened to the people in the tower in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, who explained to me they had a notification from Cleveland center about 10 minutes before the plane went over. It went over Johnstown airport at about 6,000 feet. I recognized, with all my years of experience listening to reports on terrorism, that that crew, those passengers, were struggling, that whole time. The plane started to disintegrate, apparently, four or five miles from the site where it landed.

When a reporter has asked me, why do you not think it was headed for Johnstown, Pennsylvania, well, as proud as I am of our district, there is no question in my mind the Capitol of the United States is a symbol of freedom worldwide. There is no question in my mind this airplane was headed towards the Capitol and it would have been disastrous with the loss of life and the symbolism that it would have presented to the perpetrators of this tragedy.

I am convinced they struggled. They fought. They missed a school by about a mile. They missed an industrial park by a couple of miles. They missed the airport by a couple of miles. But when I say a couple of miles, I am talking about seconds. This plane was traveling at just under the speed of sound. And as it rolled over and the people that saw it crash into the ground said it was upside down when it hit. I have seen tragedy in Beirut the day after the bombing. I have been to Somalia and Bosnia and Vietnam. I have never seen anything as horrendous as this crash. It apparently came straight in, avoided all the land, all the houses, the structures and so forth, and their purpose was consummated.

As a matter of fact, a number of people, and I agree with this, recommended we should put a small monument out there at the location where this plane hit. We are going to do that. We are going to also put a plaque with all the names at the Johnstown airport, because I consider these folks as real heroes. If anything came out of that, it shows the strength of America. These folks decided in their own mind, and having been a combat veteran myself, I understand the tough decisions you have to make when your life is threatened. These folks made the decision that they were not going to let this plane hit a populated area.

I want to commend them. I want to console the families. As tragic and sorrowful as this is, the fact that they saved innumerable lives, if there is any bright spot at all in this terrible tragedy, it is the fact that these people gave their lives to protect the Capitol of the United States, which is the symbol of freedom throughout the world.

□ 0945

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. SWEENEY), another distinguished member of the New York delegation, who is also a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and was very instrumental in helping us to resolve this appropriations bill today.

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

Mr. Speaker, we have seen extraordinary efforts in bravery throughout America in the last several days; and as a New Yorker, yesterday I saw extraordinary efforts in recognition by a number of my colleagues here. As a New Yorker, I wanted to convey to those back home so it is understood, first, obviously, the President of the United States in recognizing the devastation and the deep hurt that was affecting all of us. I watched, Mr. Speaker, I watched my chairman, the gentleman from Florida (Chairman YOUNG), recognize, understand and

work ever so hard into the wee hours of this morning to begin to bring about the healing and bring about solutions for all of us in America, but in particular the pain we are feeling in New York. I want to say thank you to them.

I saw the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) and the other leadership work together in those same recognitions. There was a clear sign yesterday of how we all understood the devastation for the affected areas; but in reality, that devastation and its effect goes beyond individual jurisdiction, and the injury hits us all as Americans.

On Wednesday in this House we began with ceremony and symbolism as a body. Today I am proud to be part of a body and part of Congress that will act in the most meaningful and expeditious ways to begin to bring about the healing of the American people, of New Yorkers, and of this entire world.

I thank you all, and I urge my colleagues to support this important legislation.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER), who was deeply involved in negotiations yesterday with us.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, let me express my gratitude to everyone in this Chamber for their expressions of solidarity with the people of New York and the people of my district.

On Tuesday, September 11, 2001, like December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy, the United States was viciously and treacherously attacked. Thousands of our fellow citizens lie dead under the rubble. The World Trade Center, one of the most visible symbols of my home, New York City, is no more. Thousands of families even now frantically await word of the fates of their family members.

Our response must be swift and resolute. First, we must continue the rescue and recovery operation, we must do all we can to assist the families of the victims, and we must help New York to recover from the devastation visited upon her.

Second, we must prosecute the war that has been thrust upon us with resolve, with fortitude, with unity, until the evil terrorist groups that are waging war against our country are eradicated from the face of the Earth.

This bill provides a down payment on the funds necessary to wage this war and to assist its victims. We will have to do far, far more; but we must begin. I urge unanimous approval of this bill.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1½ minutes.

Mr. Speaker, another of the sites of devastation was the Defense Department in Northern Virginia, at the Pentagon. After the tradegy, I went to the Pentagon, I visited there twice, and I will tell you that it is a sad, sad experience to see the nerve center of our military establishment attacked and damaged severely with a tragic loss of life.

Mr. Speaker, America sometimes takes our military for granted, except in a time of trouble and tribulation, when the military is called upon to perform, or when they are put at risk.

Mr. Speaker, the men and women who serve in uniform could be at risk at any time, without notice. These Americans serving at the Pentagon on Tuesday suffered with no notice, a tremendous loss of life. Those of us who spend time in Northern Virginia have friends who have been affected by the loss of loved ones.

Mr. Speaker, the one Member of this Congress who spends most of his life dealing with national defense issues is the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense. I have the privilege of serving on that subcommittee and I chaired it for some time. The current chairman, the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) is a real patriot and is really dedicated to the well-being of the men and women who serve in our military.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS), the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate very much the gentleman yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I have come to tell friends in the last couple of days that Americans have not wanted to believe that our shores would ever be in danger, for we are a free people, a people who live in peace and who want freedom and peace for the world.

It is hard to believe that there are those who would use murder as their mechanism to make their point in the world. But, indeed, we have come together as a people across the country. We will adjourn not too long from now to go and pray together.

The world will see a different kind of America in the days ahead. My chairman in his statement said that we will not live in fear, and, indeed, we will not. A great President of our past, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, once said that the only thing we have to fear is, indeed, fear itself.

Yesterday on the floor of the House, the minority leader, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), expressed the feeling of all of us that we in the House of Representatives, who have some serious responsibility here, nonetheless recognize in a time like this that we must support our Commander in Chief.

There is no party. My colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), and I working on this Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense, know the importance of national strength.

But when our people come together, there is no Democrat, there is no Republican. We are the American people, and we will make sure that our freedom is preserved as we go forward and deliver hope for the world. Indeed, today is an important day for our people, standing shoulder by shoulder. We will communicate to all people who will hear that freedom for the world is our purpose.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. SKELTON. I certainly thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this supplemental appropriation bill. We are here because there has been an outrage to decency, to American decency, by the attacks of September 11. We today are reflecting by our debate and by our votes the outrage of all Americans.

I realize that the words of condolences and the words of anger and outrage have nearly all been said, but we are here to act today. We are here to act by considering this legislation and passing it, hopefully unanimously, so that we can support the staggering loss of life and the symbols of American prowess in the world that have been damaged or destroyed. We are saddened for that.

But never let there be a doubt that we as Americans will retaliate, and that those who perpetrated this or harbor those who perpetrated it will long remember that they should never touch America again.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, I do so to say that in addition to the security of the Nation that we talk about with respect to our uniformed services and our military personnel and those who are at risk at any given time and those who serve this Nation so well, who are all volunteers, by the way, Mr. Speaker, intelligence is an important part of our Nation's security.

We have a very distinguished leader as chairman of our Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, a friend of mine for a long time, a colleague. I had the privilege of serving on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence for 14 years. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) is a former intelligence officer himself and has done a great job leading the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Most of the time the work that the gentleman and the folks who deal with national defense do not get much exposure, because much of that work must be done in secret.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), the distinguished chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am much obliged to my good friend and colleague and very distinguished former

member of the committee, whose wisdom we still enjoy on the committee, my friend, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG).

We are equally blessed to have as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS), who has also served on committee with great distinction. I do not think this country realizes how lucky we are to have people like the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS), the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), who understand the sensitivity and the necessity of the business that we deal with.

We do have some necessary business I need to bring up, and I would like to engage in a colloquy, if I may. I think as Members of the House are aware, the National Security Act requires a specific authorization for each dollar spent by the United States Government on intelligence and intelligence-related activities. This is a safeguard for Americans. In cases such as this, when an emergency spending bill is passed by Congress that includes funds for intelligence, it is customary to include a provisional authorization in the bill for those intelligence dollars.

I would like to seek the assurance of my good friends from Florida and California that although there is a provisional authorization for intelligence funds, it is their intent and the intent of the legislation that the administration will provide the appropriate congressional committees with a detailed accounting for all intelligence spending in this bill.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I can assure the gentleman that when it comes to intelligence funding that may be in this bill, it is indeed the intent of this legislation that the administration will provide Congress with specific spending plans as funds are obligated as well as detailed records of expenditures actually made.

Mr. Speaker, further, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA) and I have just signed a letter to the director of the agency to make certain that there is a clear understanding of that very point that the gentleman makes.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I thank my colleague. I also definitely look forward to continuing to work closely with the gentleman and his committee to ensure that the money in this bill and all future intelligence funding is utilized to strengthen and improve our intelligence capabilities, near term and long term. Is that accurate?

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, that is correct.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the ranking member on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and commend the leadership and all those who participated in bringing this bill to the floor today.

I want to associate myself with the concern expressed by our distinguished chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence about having some idea of how this money will be spent before it is. Then I would like to, of course, express my deep condolences to the people of New York and of our military for the tragedy that has befallen our country this week.

Our great President said it was a day that will live in infamy, of another tragic day in our history, and the distinguished chairman mentioned, he also said the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.

It is on that point I would like to just say that fear is the goal of terrorists. They have succeeded when they can frighten a country or frighten a people into the panic that would ensue. They have never met the New Yorkers, who are a fearless lot. The indomitable spirit of New York, I know, will lead the country to the recovery that we must and will have.

But make no mistake, make no mistake, they place no value on human life, these terrorists, so the number of people dead is no victory to them. The structures coming down mean nothing to them. Instilling fear is their goal. We must join with New York in its effort to, like the Phoenix, rise from the ashes and give them the defeat, the terrorists the defeat, that they deserve.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. ROGERS), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation, who has a great responsibility; and one of his responsibilities is airline safety and security.

□ 1000

Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I rise in support of the bill. I want to commend the leadership of the Speaker; of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of this committee; the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), the ranking member; and the bipartisan leadership for bringing this bill up and bringing it forward.

Mr. Speaker, I have never reflected on the meaning of America's motto before this time, I have to admit. But it says it all, I think, and that motto, of course, is ''E Pluribus Unum,'' Out of Many, One.

America is united now as I have not seen in my adult lifetime. It is heartening to see this morning riding into work Americans with flags flying from the windows of their cars and the offices of buildings throughout this city and, I am sure, all across America. In the wake of the despicable attack of September 11, Americans are in mourning. They are angry, but they are resolved to take decisive and severe action against these perpetrators, or those who harbor them. This raw emotion that Americans feel and the anger felt by us all will not easily yield to time, nor should it.

Yesterday, the Congress expressed its sorrow and its resolve. Today, we begin to act. In this bill, we give the President the extraordinary authority and resources to provide relief to the victims suffering so severely, to prosecute efforts that will allow retaliation against our enemies to ensure the safety of our people and to instill public confidence in our public facilities and services. Of paramount concern, of course, is the safety and soundness of our aviation system. We must, and we will, work with the President, the Secretary of Transportation, and the FAA to take immediate medium-term and long-term measures that prevent civilians and commercial aircraft from falling prey to terrorists.

This will be a complex and expensive task. It will require the cooperation of the Congress, Federal transportation officials, the intelligence community, the airline industry, airports, pilots, controllers, all of us. It will require creative thinking and some dramatic changes. But the aviation system is a critical component of this economy. To ensure its viability, the Congress must be convinced and the public must be satisfied that it is a safe system.

We are pleased with the steps that have been taken so far by the Secretary of Transportation, but there are many more steps that should be taken. We have to secure the cockpit, we have to have an armed guard on these planes, and we have to greatly enhance the screening capabilities we have to keep out terrorists from the passenger lists and on the tarmac.

So, Mr. Speaker, this bill will go a long way toward that. We have a long ways yet to go, and we will be back here in that respect.

But I support this bill, and I commend our leadership for putting it together in a bipartisan fashion.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FATTAH), a member of the committee.

Mr. FATTAH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member and I thank the chairman of the full committee for their work on this matter.

I rise to speak in favor of the supplemental and to also indicate that it is my hope that as we go about seeking to

aid those who were victims of this tragedy, that we do not separate out in any way those who were victims in New York from those who were victims here in the Washington area. That is to say that I believe that all of those who were killed because of this incident really should be treated as if they died in service to this country, and that a comparable level of remuneration should be provided for even those who were not part of military service, and that a parity of benefits be accomplished through the dollars provided in this supplemental.

Those who went to work at the World Trade Center, just like those who went to work at the Pentagon on September 11, were targeted out and killed because they were citizens of this country and doing a vital service to this Nation, and I think they should be treated equally in that regard.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Northern Virginia (Mr. WOLF), who represents the area that includes the Defense Department and the Pentagon, a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this supplemental. I want to thank the leadership on both sides; I want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) for moving so fast on this issue. This issue has hit the area that I represent. I also want to say my heart goes out to those families in this area and in New York and in New Jersey, in just watching the pain and the suffering and the agony of those who are looking for their loved ones and to let them know how much we care.

Also, I want to thank the rescue workers in my area, in New York City, and the people who have come together. I think this is just the beginning. I believe we should do whatever it takes and make sure that they know that we have the resolve to carry this through to make sure that we root out terrorism.

Lastly, I want to commend the President. We had an opportunity yesterday, and he met with the delegation. He was strong, he was confident. He is committed. And we will resolve this issue, and we will bring victory over terrorism.

I rise in strong support of this supplemental.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS), a key member of the committee and the former ranking member of the Committee on Intelligence, a member of the Subcommittee on Defense, and virtually every other committee that has anything to do with military affairs.

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of the committee, and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), the ranking member, for the fantastic job they did of protecting the prerogatives of this institution. I want to commend them also for the prompt response to this tragic event in our country's history. Our hearts do go out to the people of New York and the people at the Pentagon who have lost loved ones. This is truly the greatest tragedy in the history of the country.

I rise today just to urge our colleagues, as we think about this problem and prepare for the future, to recognize that we are going to have to strengthen not only our intelligence capability, but our military capability as well. For a number of years, we have been underfunding the Defense Department in terms of procurement and new weapons systems. I mean it has been at a tragically low level. Somehow, if we want to retain our military capability, if we want to have the kind of national security that we need for the future, we are going to have to make significant investments beyond those that we are making here today. This will help in some respects, but there still is a lot more that needs to be done.

Again, congratulations to everyone who worked on this. This is a good bill that deserves our support.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PETERSON), another distinguished member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to support this legislation. I rise with all of my colleagues; and I want to commend my colleagues that have brought this all together, because we are here today supporting freedom, preserving freedom, not only here, but around the world. We are the artery that supplies freedom to all. This country is the beacon, is the artery; and they went for the jugular.

I also am here supporting the heroes, the heroes in New York that gave their lives to get people out, heroes not mentioned. There were 2,000 Federal employees in buildings 6 and 7, and they got them all out but one because they carried out their plan so well. The passengers on the flight that came down in Pennsylvania gave it their all, and we are here supporting them.

If there is something good out of this, because I said in speeches for years that we often in Washington get off of our number one priority. The number one priority of the Federal Government is to preserve freedom, is to protect this country, is to keep us safe and provide safety and freedom around the world. Oftentimes, we have been off on lots of debates and I think spent far too little time and effort on the number one role of this government: preserving and fighting for freedom and making sure that the young people in this country understand that it does not just happen, it does not just keep going on; that we have to fight for it, that we have to preserve it, that it has to forever be the number one priority of this government; that keeping this country strong, keeping this country safe and promoting and fighting for freedom around the world is our number one role as representatives of our people in this Congress. That is our number one mission.

Mr. Speaker, I commend all of those that are leading us, including the President, in the direction to do that.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute and 20 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), the ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Operations, who was deeply involved in negotiations about the New York element of this package.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I first want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of the committee, and the ranking member for their extraordinary work in making this package possible.

In my district today, children grieve for the fathers and mothers who did not come home from work on Tuesday. So many families are grieving, Mr. Speaker. By now we have all heard of the men and women trapped in the World Trade Center calling their spouses saying good-bye. Our hearts and prayers are with all who are still waiting for a loved one to come home. Our arms are around you and America is with you.

As we speak on this floor, hundreds of brave men and women risk their lives minute by minute shifting carefully through the rubble and the twisted steel, searching against hope that they will find survivors in the wreckage of what was once my city's greatest building. Their heroism has moved a Nation and has touched the world. They are ordinary people engaged in the most extraordinary of acts. Each one is a hero and deserves our deepest thanks and praise. And they are not alone. New Yorkers and Americans have responded by the thousands, waiting in line to give blood and making charitable donations. This is the best of America and of New York.

Now Congress must act. We New Yorkers pride ourselves on being tough, but we cannot bear this terrible burden alone. Our Mayor and our Governor have been magnificent, but they need our help.

More than 48 hours after Tuesday morning's horrific attacks, the aftershocks continue. Buildings still crumble, families search for loved ones, thousands remain buried beneath rubble in New York and Virginia. Even now, rescuers are scrambling to pull survivors from the twisted steel and concrete of the World Trade Center.

The bill before us today will provide $20 billion specifically for humanitarian needs.

Governor Pataki and Mayor Giuliani have made clear that they need funds now to take care of immediate needs: search and rescue, recovery of the victims, support for survivors and victims' families, and restoration of security and basic services to lower Manhattan. This legislation sends a clear signal that the Nation stands shoulder-to-shoulder with New York as we proceed with our rescue and recovery efforts.

Our first priority, and our singular focus, must be finding survivors, healing the injured, and comforting the bereaved. But when the urgent humanitarian needs have been met, we will be faced with the daunting task of starting anew. And we will find that what took seconds to destroy will take years to rebuild.

The package we pass today is merely a downpayment toward what will prove to be the largest recovery effort in our Nation's history—rough estimates total in the tens of billions of dollars. We will need to clear thousands of tons of debris from the streets. We will need to reconstruct large swaths of lower Manhattan. We will need to restore the infrastructure of the heart of the world's financial markets, and we will need to rebuild the economic backbone of the New York area. The ripple effects of this tragedy will be severe—they will be felt across the country, and around the world.

As we embark on this long and tortuous journey, I pledge today to my fellow New Yorkers and to all Americans that Congress will be with you every step of the way.

I urge unanimous passage of this bill.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), the great chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time. I want to congratulate the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) and his entire team, and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) and, of course, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), my friend and the great leader of the Committee on Intelligence, who also serves on the Committee on Rules.

I would like to take just a moment to say that as we express appreciation to all of our colleagues, I would like to express my appreciation to my colleagues on the Committee on Rules who, every night, have been ready and prepared to put together this very important legislation in support of it in a bipartisan way. I want to thank the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) and those members of the minority as well.

I am very privileged to represent California; and we have all appropriately stood here to focus on New York, Pennsylvania, and the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Mr. Speaker, every single one of those airplanes that took off from Boston, Newark, Dulles, were headed to my State of California.

□ 1015

I would like to simply express for a moment my heartfelt condolences to the families and the loved ones of those people all the way on the other side of the country who have been horribly impacted by this tragedy. The sense of resolve that we have to deal with this is overwhelming, and our great President put it perfectly when he said, ''Nothing will diminish the spirit of our country.''

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. WEINER), who has been on the scene in New York and who gave one of the most moving statements in caucus yesterday that I have heard in the years that I have been in this institution.

Mr. WEINER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for his remarks.

In my district in Rockaway, in St. Frances DeSales, over 30 families of firefighters are praying today that their loved ones will be returned home. In their prayers, they might not be saying the name of the gentleman from Florida (Chairman YOUNG), but on their behalf I want to offer my thanks for the great work that the chairman has done on behalf of all of those families.

And on behalf of the literally hundreds of men and women who are on the bucket brigade by hand removing what is estimated to be 500,000 tons of debris trying to find survivors, on behalf of those people and others, I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) for how disciplined he has been and we have all been in trying to solve this problem quickly.

On behalf of all of the families of those who have been lost, I express my great thanks to all the Members of this body. Their words are indeed comforting to them.

But let us not misunderstand. This was not a successful attack on our country. Our financial services industry is going to be rebuilt stronger than ever. The physical structures in New York City are going to rise up. Our families are going to rise up.

On behalf of our entire country, I say to the terrorists, they have not been successful, and today demonstrates that.

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

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK).

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

To my illustrious colleagues on the Committee on Appropriations, I come to this well today to thank them for having shown the highest valor that an Appropriations Committee could do. That is what it is all about to be a Member of Congress. They have risen to their highest glory today, because they have shown that through their wiles they have been able to bring to the hurt and harm to people in this country the resources of the United States government. That is what we should be about, to be able to act quickly and resolutely to what our problems are. I want to thank the Members for it.

I was around during World War II. I have been a member of the Committee on Appropriations. I know what military preparedness is all about. So do not worry about it, we are doing the right thing. Our young President is doing the right thing. We have to stand behind him. We have to unify, as Americans always do.

I am thankful to be here, having spanned all that time, to come back today to thank God for America.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to my colleague, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SHAW).

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding time to me. I want to compliment the gentleman from Florida (Chairman YOUNG) and the entire Committee on Appropriations and, of course, the ranking member, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), for bringing us together and bringing us together so quickly, which is very difficult, and for giving the President the discretion that he desperately needs in order to really be the true leader.

I think it is also wonderful to note all across this country how we all are gathering and surrounding the President and recognizing the good work that is going to be necessary in order to rebuild and to retaliate.

There is no way that anybody on the face of this Earth can get away with what has happened, the tragedy that we have had just across the Potomac in Virginia, and the awful tragedy that we had in New York, and, of course, that plane full of heroes that crashed in Pennsylvania.

Sometimes it takes a tragedy like this to bring out the best in us, but I think the best in us has come out across all across this country.

I support this legislation, and urge a unanimous vote from this House of Representatives.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR), the ranking member of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and one of the House's resident experts on aviation safety.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me and for those kind words. Let me return the compliment to the leader on our side whose persistence, hard work, and enormous energy have carried the day for us. I thank the chairman for his leadership, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG).

Amidst the plethora of concerns addressed in this legislative package, I want to signal out the first line of attack in this terrorist incident; that is

the Nation's airlines. The current conditions in the airlines sector could lead to a complete financial liquidation of the airline industry unless we address their immediate financial needs. Within 3 months, all of the carriers will completely run out of cash and be completely liquidated. They are losing cash on an average of $60 million a day per carrier.

The financial markets are closed and the airlines cannot get access to their respective lines of credit. Insurance has doubled. Many insurance companies are even considering cutting off insurance, and financial institutions have put all airlines on credit watch. Their cargo and mail is embargoed, their source of income is gone.

Remember, if Members expect ever to get home, they need an airline to get there.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), a key member of the Committee.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from Wisconsin, for yielding to me.

I salute the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of our committee, and the gentleman from Illinois (Speaker HASTERT), the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), Senate Majority Leader Daschle and Senate Republican Leader Lott, and my own ranking member, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY).

From the outside, democracies sometimes appear weak, to those who do not understand the strength of a free people in discourse and disagreement. Sometimes democracies appear unwilling to act decisively in response to a threat. But those who perceive weakness where there is incredible strength make an awful, terrible mistake.

Today, within literally hours of a disastrous act being perpetrated against the United States, its people, and indeed, the very concept of freedom and liberty here and around the world, see how quickly democracies will act.

We will pass this as a first step, as a first commitment to confront tyranny, terrorism, and despots.

Mr. Speaker, this emergency supplemental appropriations bill is a major step in the United States' initial response to the horrific terrorist attacks on Tuesday. I know that my colleagues will strongly support it.

Specifically, this bill is a rapid response to our Nation's urgent needs. It will make $40 billion available to Federal, State and local authorities to respond to these contemptible crimes.

It will allow us to increase transit security, repair public facilities and transit systems, fight international terrorism and strengthen our national security. And it will provide emergency relief to victims and their families.

However, make no mistake: This appropriations package is about more than money.

It is a clear demonstration of our Nation's resolve and unity in funding rescue operations and a military response to Tuesday's treacherous acts of war. Those acts will not go unanswered.

In the face of this challenge to our Nation and freedom-loving people throughout the world, the United States Congress speaks with one voice. Yes, we are Democrats and Republicans. But first we are Americans.

Congress has an important role to play, along with the President, in responding to this act of war.

For example, we have ensured that there will be approprirate oversight of the expenditure of these funds. As the elected representatives of the American people, we will work closely with the President on a daily basis in the coming weeks and months to ensure that the proper resources are provided and necessary actions taken.

Finally, let me say to my colleagues that I had the opportunity on Wednesday to tour the devastation at the Pentagon. Like all of us here, my prayers and heartfelt sympathies go out to all those who died or were injured in Tuesday's attacks, and their loved ones.

Many of my own constituents are among the victims at the Pentagon.

But even as I toured the carnage, I could not help but be buoyed by the courage and determination of the fire fighters and rescue workers and military personnel I met there.

Their spirit, and the spirit of democracy and freedom, can never be extinguished by the unmitigated evil that has been directed at innocent men, women, and children. Their spirit and their courage lights the way for us all, as we respond to these cowardly crimes.

I urge my colleagues to support this vitally important legislation.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. FOSSELLA), another distinguished member of the New York delegation.

Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman very much for yielding time to me, and I rise in support of this needed bill.

My wife called me this morning and said a neighbor came over and gave her a list of eight people who are missing from Staten Island. There are ten people at least within five blocks of my house who are missing from this explosion. That attack on Tuesday was an attack against the free people of this world. It was not just the folks in Staten Island, New York City, America, but all the free people in this great world.

However, I have been in that wreckage for the last couple of days. There is not a greater spirit, there is not more resolve, there is not a greater determination than to turn this horrific tragedy into the United States' finest hour. Indeed, that is happening.

So, if anything, for those martyrs who died on Tuesday, for those victims of this heinous act, let the United States stand strong once again and show that we would not be deterred by these terrorists.

I commend this Congress and its leadership, as well as the President of the United States, for taking a strong stand.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY), who has at this moment, as I understand it, a member of his own family missing in New York.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida (Chairman YOUNG) for all his work and the ranking member, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY). I want to thank the President for unifying this country. I want to thank the New York delegation for the bipartisan effort that has been taking place in making sure this bill came about.

It makes me proud of the support this Congress has provided, support that has crossed partisan lines to assist New York over the last few days. Right now, my city and our entire Nation are reeling. We are digging out, optimistically searching for survivors, and regrettably, also finding dead.

We have basic infrastructure problems that need to be addressed immediately, and this bill is the downpayment to fund these operations.

Furthermore, this legislation allows our Nation to take the first steps toward preparing our Nation to proactively battle terrorism against our citizens here and abroad.

This bill sends a signal to the people of New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and Americans everywhere that their government will not let them go it alone in times of crisis or emergency; that we are in fact one Nation, under God, indivisible.

I shed tears on this floor yesterday, and hope it is the last time I do. Those were tears not of fear but of pride in our Nation and in my city and of all Americans.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 40 seconds to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN), who represents the area devastated by the act on the Pentagon.

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, as of yesterday, over at the Pentagon there were 196 people still missing from the Army, the Navy, and a number of contractors.

In addition to the 64 airline passengers, there were 21 from the Army, 47 Army civilians, six contractors, 33 Navy military personnel, 10 Navy civilians, and 5 Navy contractors who lost their lives at the Pentagon.

But, Mr. Speaker, our people have responded in a way that makes us so proud to be Americans. The Arlington County Fire Department and Police Department were the first on the scene. They have coordinated. They have no idea how much to ask for reimbursement because it did not matter to them. They have not kept any record. Volunteers poured in so fast it would have been impossible. They did not care about checking in, they cared about doing their job. They did their job.

I am so immensely proud of Arlington County, of Alexandria, of Fairfax County, of this entire Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. The going got tough, the tough got going. They saved the people that could be saved. They have done a wonderful job.

□ 1030

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. SERRANO), a key member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield the gentleman from New York an additional 30 seconds.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). The gentleman from New York (Mr. SERRANO) is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. SERRANO. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) for something they said that is important to us New Yorkers, that the attack may have been physically on New York, but the fact is it was on the whole country, and New York feels so grateful for the fact that this Congress has seen to our needs and then what we are doing here today.

We New Yorkers pride ourselves in being a tough people, resilient people. We are hurting right now. We, in some ways, have been brought to our knees, but we will bounce back. The Big Apple will come back because we are a tough people and resilient people; but more than anything else, Mr. Speaker, we are a grateful people; and today my city is grateful for the fact that in spite of all the rubble and all the pain, this Congress has seen fit to single us out for that special help.

So let the message be heard everywhere that, yes, the target was the Twin Towers and the target was New York City in that particular instance, and the Pentagon and Pennsylvania; but it was an attack on the United States of America; and no one, no one will bring us totally down, not in New York, not in Washington, not in Pennsylvania, not throughout this country.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER).

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise on behalf of the people of upstate New York to say that we are deeply grateful for this action this morning in my district where people are waiting 8 hours in line to donate blood. We bleed too for our sister city.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the final 30 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, this is a shattering experience of unprecedented proportion; but I say to every American, we have endured worse. We have gone through two world wars, Vietnam, Korea, the burning of the Capitol itself in 1812, the Civil War. I think we need to remember the words of President Lyndon Johnson when he stood at that podium and addressed this Congress on civil rights after the death of Martin Luther King: we shall overcome.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of the time.

Mr. REGULA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. REGULA. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot about the great American experience. They were all heroes, but I want to mention the Centers for Disease Control. They are unsung heroes because they are protecting us from bioterrorism, chemical, biological weapons. We are to have a briefing in the Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services and Education at 1 o'clock on that subject.

My question is will the funding here be available to deal with bioterrorism as well as other forms of terrorist attacks?

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman that the answer is yes, the President has tremendous leeway in how to use these funds for the immediate response to whatever the attack was or will be. The Congress will play a very important constitutional role in whatever that effort might be; but yes, the President does have the ability to use those funds for that purpose.

Mr. Speaker, once again, I would like to express on behalf of the House, as we close this debate, sympathy for the families of those who lost their lives in the airplanes in New York City, in Pennsylvania, at the Department of Defense and to let them know that this Congress is going to be supportive in any way that we can.

Mr. Speaker, I do not have adequate words to express the pride that I feel today for the Members of this Congress. We have a lot of political differences which have been obvious in the past, which will be obvious in the future; but in this time of triumph those differences have been set aside to be addressed at another time.

Today, we unify our Nation. We unify our government and we say to the world, Americans will not live in fear. We will not allow attacks upon our people or our places. Despite the political differences that we may have from time to time, and there are many, as there should be, we will never be divided as a Nation, as a people, as a government, as a Congress on the issue of defending our people, defending our Nation. And if one American is attacked, if a group of Americans are attacked, if one of our places is attacked, then as far as I am concerned, our entire Nation has been attacked; and we are not going to stand for it.

We will do whatever it takes to support our President, who is strong in his determination to lead this effort, to support our President as we move towards victory over those who would perpetrate terrorism and bring fear and tyranny to the world; and we are just not going to allow that to happen.

I urge the passage of the bill.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 2888, an immediate congressional response to one of the most despicable acts of terrorism this country has seen. Tuesday's attacks were just the beginning of a new and lethal terror campaign against the United States. Thousands of mothers and fathers; husband and wives; sons and daughters of all faiths and diverse nationalities: murdered. No warning, no explanation, no cause. On September 11, Americans from every walk of life were taken from us by an act of terrorism. An act of murder. An act of war.

This tragic event dramatically changed the lives of many close to home. On Tuesday night my wife spent the evening watching television with neighbors in my hometown of Stonington, Connecticut. Their young grandson, Josh Piver, my daughter's friend and classmate, had a new and exciting job on the 105th floor of the World Trade Center. He was energetic and intelligent, living the American dream in the "Big Apple." He is missing, like many others from eastern Connecticut. I found that the most important thing I could do as a Member of Congress was to keep working. To get to work on Wednesday and demonstrate that the people's work will go on, and that no matter how badly we hurt, our democracy remains as strong as ever.

And it is here on the House floor where the work—vitally important work—continues. Today we are taking the first step toward providing the President the necessary tools to rebuild what has been destroyed, restore what has been taken and react to those who have inflicted such unspeakable damage on our great nation. Republicans and Democrats have stood side-by-side in an unprecedented manner to craft a bill that will provide $40 billion in emergency spending for the recovery from the recent terrorist attacks and for providing the long overdue resources for the investigation that will enhance our national security.

Specifically, the bill appropriates $10 billion immediately to the Emergency Response Fund for federal activities such as preparedness for mitigating and responding to the attacks; support to counter, investigate and prosecute domestic and international terrorism, increased transportation security; repairing public facilities and transportation systems damaged by the explosions; and supporting national security.

Additionally, the bill makes another $10 billion available 15 days after a Presidential disaster relief plan is submitted and an additional $20 billion will be made available through the normal appropriations process. These are the first installments of a long-term recovery plan for the disaster areas.

I want to thank the Speaker of the House, the Minority Leader, and all the members of the Appropriations Committee for coming together during these trying times and putting forth a bill that will immediately respond to this

week's terrible events. These are times that try our souls. But America is strong and flexible. We will survive this latest test of our freedom, our values and our democracy. I am proud to vote for this much-needed relief and proud to be a Member of this legislative body.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, there could be no spending bill more important than the one before us today. We need the full resources of our government behind the challenges that lie ahead. And this has to be a multi-front effort. We need to be relentlessly pursuing and punishing those who committed these crimes. As the Representative of New Jersey's 13th Congressional District—right across the river from Manhattan—I can tell you my constituents are going through enormous hardships.

About 50 percent of the people who worked in the Twin Towers live in New Jersey. Families who have just lost their sole breadwinner may now face losing their homes; people who survived, who worked anywhere in lower Manhattan, face uncertain employment futures and what for some will be staggering medical bills—all this in addition to the emotional and psychological trauma. Lives have been turned upside down.

It is critical that while we fight our enemies abroad, we make sure that all the needed funding and attention also goes to the families in crisis here at home.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I am humbled today by the outpouring of support from across our Nation for the people of my home, New York City. I want to thank Mayor Giuliani and Governor Pataki. Their strong leadership has made getting through this much, much easier. Here on the floor today, the Congress is doing its part. The leadership of the Congress, in a non-partisan way has come together to respond swiftly and powerfully. Also, I want to thank the President as well for his quick, strong support for this bill.

The bill, though simple, is very powerful. The bill provides $20 billion to begin the rebuilding of New York. It also provides $20 billion to ramp up our efforts at counter-terrorism. All of this is so obviously needed. I want again to recognize the incredible heroism of the emergency response personnel who have put themselves in harm's way without regard for their own safety. You are all amazing and I am truly astounded. I also want to say to the families of the victims of this tragedy, that I and every other American grieve with you. We cannot express in words what is in hearts. You are in our prayers and thoughts. These acts of terrorism against New York and the Pentagon will not deter us though. We will rebuild our city. We will rebuild the Pentagon. We will go on. We stand united. We are Americans.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, America is a diverse nation. Despite our diversity, America, in times of crisis, pulls together. Nowhere is that fact made manifest than in this chamber today. Republicans, Democrats and Independents all gather here today to begin the first steps in pulling our nation out from under the rubble that befell New York and the Pentagon on Tuesday, September 11.

I want to commend our leadership for working cooperatively and effectively with the Speaker of the House and the leaders on the other side of the Capitol. The supplemental appropriations bill, H.R. 2888, that we consider today is a down payment for responding to the attack we experienced on American soil three days ago.

The money contained in this bill will help restore downtown Manhattan to greater glory and reconstruct the largest office building in the world, the Pentagon. But the money will be used for more than just the rebuilding effort; it will be used to strengthen and make more secure the National Airspace System. Americans must feel safe in the nation's skies if the business of this country is going to proceed unimpeded. This bill will add more capability to the intelligence functions of our government, so we can be more vigilant of those who pose a threat to the safety and security of our nation. More fundamentally, this bill will assist us in our pursuit of those countries, organizations or individual enemies that would seek to destroy our country, our countrymen, our values, our democratic form of government and, in short, our very soul as a nation.

I congratulate the leadership of this House and leadership of the Appropriations Committee for acting swiftly in bringing this money bill for action today, and I thank them for permitting me to express my support for this bill.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I will be very brief this morning, because a lot of people have already spoken very eloquently about the barbaric attack of September 11th—about how it has changed America and the world, and about the war against terror it has started.

Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, untold thousands of innocent people were murdered in a cowardly, heinous assault on America and the civilized world. Since then, all of us in the Congress—regardless of ideology or party affiliation—have repeatedly pledged to work together in a bipartisan manner to respond.

Today, the United States Congress begins making good on that pledge. This $40 billion bill makes a down payment on the campaign to bring aid to our suffering countrymen, to punish the terrorists who have declared war on America, and to ensure no one ever dares attacks us like this again. It provides resources for disaster assistance and recovery, and for anti-terrorism initiatives. It will help the people of New York and officials at the Pentagon as they begin the long, important process of rebuilding. And it will provide the President with the resources he needs to begin waging this war on terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, the war against terror will not be won overnight. It will take a long-term, serious, and sustained campaign from the Congress, the American people, and the President. We understand that, and we are committed to it. We stand united, shoulder to shoulder, against the perpetrators of the horror of September 11th—and against anyone who might ever contemplate trying something like it again. Make no mistake, these terrorists—and all of their ilk—will understand very clearly that when America is attacked, we respond with one voice, and with the full force of the United States of America.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this supplemental appropriations bill. This assistance will save lives and lay the foundation for the long, arduous process of rebuilding New York City and the surrounding communities affected by Tuesday's cowardly terrorist attack.

Make no mistake about it: this legislation is a down payment for what we'll need to put lives back together and restore a shining city that is a beacon of freedom to people all over the world.

I'm told that after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Congress passed 10 separate appropriations bills, so our work won't be done tonight—not by a long shot. But in passing this legislation, we'll be sending an important message that the American people stand together and that their government will do everything it takes to help in this hour of need.

We are all part of an extraordinary American family—we must seize the opportunity and take care of each other in this time of crisis.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this legislation, which will provide our nation with the resources it needs to continue our recovery efforts, to rebuild our damaged structures, and to seek out and punish those who have committed these heinous acts of violence upon our nation.

Years ago, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, "We, and all others who believe in freedom as deeply as we do, would rather die on our feet than live on our knees." The enemies of freedom who attacked our nation and our people on Tuesday used a weapon that represents the newest in warfare—terror. They win when they bring us to our knees and we cower in fear. They derive their power from making us change our way of life and making us spend our days looking over our shoulder.

We will not let them win. We will not give them that satisfaction. Today's legislation ensures this will be true. The funding we appropriate today is but a down payment. We will not rest until we have assisted all Americans who bore the brunt of Tuesday's terror. We will not rest until we have rebuilt the City of New York, and rebuilt the nation's defense fortress at the Pentagon, and restored the pastoral beauty of Western Pennsylvania. And, in rebuilding these structures, we will strengthen the will of the American people.

Finally, Mr. Speaker—and let this be absolutely clear to those who seek to harm the United States, its people, and its allies—we will not rest until we have sought out, found, and vanquished those who perpetrate this evil. We will remain standing tall and proud in our eventual victory.

I am proud to stand with my colleagues and my President to support this important legislation, and I urge a resounding and unanimous vote.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support for this $40 billion Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, for assistance in the recovery from the horrific tragedy that occurred on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, another day of infamy.

We have all experienced the distressing scenes of Tuesday's disasters. We have shared in the shock and sadness felt by our entire Nation. It is now up to us in Congress to provide swift, positive support to our President in order to make certain that the events of Tuesday will never happen again.

The approval of this supplemental bill will provide $40 billion for five specific needs: The

Federal, State and local response; terrorism investigations and intelligence operations; transit security; public building and transportation repair; and national security. This funding will be made available through the end of fiscal year 2001 and into fiscal year 2002; until fully expended.

Approving this measure is the first and an important step toward ending the evil of terrorism, an evil which exists solely for the purpose of disseminating terror and ending freedom throughout the world.

I urge all of my colleagues to support this important emergency funding initiative.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 2888, a $40 billion emergency supplemental appropriations bill that will provide the administration with the critical tools to defend and protect our great Nation and support efforts to recover from this week's egregious terrorist attacks.

As the dust begins to settle in New York, Pennsylvania, and right here in our Nation's Capital, my thoughts and prayers are with the victims' families and those who are still waiting to hear from missing loved ones. On this day of national prayer and reflection, we come together as Americans in a great showing of unity that transcends the bounds of religious, race, or ethnic origin. The surface of America is not found in her structures; it is rooted in the spirit of her people.

This measure immediately provides the President with $10 billion to fund the costs of Federal, state, and local preparedness efforts to prevent and respond to terrorist attacks. Additionally, this legislation enhances our law enforcement resources to prosecute international and domestic terrorism and air travel security. At least half of the funding will be dedicated to helping those affected recover from this tragedy.

This emergency expenditure is an unequivocal display of this Congress' support for the President's efforts to fortify our Nation. Let this action show, the leaders of this land speak with one voice in our resolve to restore peace in America and bring justice to the innocent victims.

Today, the statue of Freedom stands watch atop the Capitol dome and in the shadow of the devastation in Manhattan, Lady Liberty continues to hold her torch high, reminding us that freedom does not come without cost. Time and time again, the strength and unity of Americans has been tested; the rubble of September 11 will sprout a new era of brotherhood in these United States.

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this supplemental spending measure and I urge all of my colleagues to support it as well.

When a poet said that these are the times that try men's souls, he could have been describing the scene before us today.

We have thousands of people lost, thousands more injured, and symbols of the strength and vitality of our democracy—the World Trade Center and the Pentagon—destroyed and damaged.

We have a sworn enemy that dares not to confront us in the open.

This enemy operates in the shadows, hates with an unnatural passion, and practices political fanaticism that glorifies violent death and condemns innocent life.

We must defeat this enemy once and for all.

The Constitution of the United States of America, the document that protects the freedoms of all Americans, gives us in the Congress certain responsibilities.

Article I Section 8 of the Constitution says that the Congress shall have power to provide for the common defense, and the power to declare war.

With this supplemental spending measure, the Congress is exercising its responsibility to provide for the common defense.

In a later resolution, we will address the issue of authorizing the President to use force.

The money we provide today—$40 billion—could very well be the down payment for our ultimate investment in this great endeavor.

And what a great endeavor it is.

To make America and the world a safer place by defeating once and for all these sworn enemies of common decency and the American way of life.

No payment that we make today can really make up for the loss of life that occurred on September 11, 2001.

Those poor innocent souls, those husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters, parents and children will not be coming back from the treachery of our enemy.

But we can start the process of rebuilding, of healing, and of preparing our nation for this greatest cause of this newest century.

We must eliminate the scourge of terrorism.

The American people have faced great challenges 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 and thriving democracy.

We faced dark days when our nation was torn asunder in a civil war. 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.

And now, after this greatest of American tragedies, 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 want to join us on this great crusade.

We will provide that leadership.

We have a job to do in this Congress, and this supplemental spending bill is an important part of that responsibility.

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

Vote for the supplemental spending bill and do your job as a representative of the American people.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2888, a supplemental appropriation designated to assist our nation's collective response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack against the people of America.

Mr. Speaker, this supplemental appropriation is quite different from any other supplemental appropriation that members of this body will ever consider. Recovery operations are well underway at the Pentagon and the World Trade Center sites and this process is expensive.

I am pleased that the House and the Senate have come together again, in a bipartisan fashion, to provide the necessary funds to pay for the equipment and man hours deployed by federal and state agencies in order to start the healing process. Additionally the legislation includes the instructions of consultation with and review by the U.S. Congress.

As we debate this supplemental appropriation, thousands of rescue workers have been deployed to remove debris, investigate crimes, and most importantly provide medical and other forms of assistance for the human suffering that will remain etched in our minds for days to come.

Mr. Speaker this supplemental provides $40 billion immediately to help our country reinforce the confidence in its great democracy which has weathered other storms. Although it may take some time, we, as a nation, will move beyond this point with the help of God.

No price is too great to pay, Mr. Speaker, when it comes to doing what is necessary to let the cowards of this world know that America will not be shaken spiritually or financially by individuals who have permitted hate to control their hearts and minds.

I want to point out, Mr. Speaker, that the children of this nation have been greatly impacted by those cowardly acts that took place in New York City and at the Pentagon. Many parents will never return home to their children and as a result, we in this body must make sure that we provide the necessary support to help our children adjust.

I hope that the President will use his discretion to spend the funds provided under H.R. 2888 in a manner that places a high priority on children and their special needs during these difficult times.

Also, the funds that we provide through this supplemental appropriations will be provided to the state and affected local governments in New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania to remove debris, to conduct emergency services related to the disaster, and to replace public facilities damaged by the explosions and fires. Also, these funds will be used to investigate, or prosecute domestic or international terrorism.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the bill is considered read for amendment and the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on passage of the bill.

Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 422, nays 0, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 341]

YEAS—422

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Akin
Allen
Andrews
Armey
Baca
Bachus
Baird
Baker
Baldacci
Baldwin
Barcia
Barr
Barrett
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Becerra
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blagojevich
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehlert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bonior
Bono
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Brown (SC)
Bryant
Burr
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Cannon
Cantor
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Carson (IN)
Carson (OK)
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Coble
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cooksey
Costello
Cox
Coyne
Cramer
Crane
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cubin
Culberson
Cummings
Cunningham
Davis (CA)
Davis (FL)
Davis, Jo Ann
Davis, Tom
Deal
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
Engel
English
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Fattah
Ferguson
Filner
Flake
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Frank
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Ganske
Gekas
Gephardt
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Graves
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Grucci
Gutierrez
Gutknecht
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Harman
Hart
Hastert
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill
Hilleary
Hilliard
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hooley
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Hyde
Inslee
Isakson
Israel
Issa
Istook
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Keller
Kelly
Kennedy (MN)
Kennedy (RI)
Kerns
Kildee
Kind (WI)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kleczka
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Langevin
Lantos
Largent
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Leach
Lee
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Manzullo
Markey
Mascara
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCrery
McDermott
McGovern
McHugh
McInnis
McIntyre
McKeon
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Mica
Millender-McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Mink
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Morella
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Osborne
Ose
Otter
Owens
Oxley
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor
Paul
Payne
Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Phelps
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Putnam
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Rivers
Rodriguez
Roemer
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Ross
Rothman
Roukema
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Sabo
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sawyer
Schaffer
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schrock
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simmons
Simpson
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Solis
Souder
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stump
Stupak
Sununu
Sweeney
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thomas
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thornberry
Thune
Thurman
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Toomey
Towns
Traficant
Turner
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Upton
Velázquez
Visclosky
Vitter
Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Waters
Watkins (OK)
Watson (CA)
Watt (NC)
Watts (OK)
Waxman
Weiner
Weldon (FL)
Weller
Wexler
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—9

Ballenger
Conyers
Davis (IL)
Farr
Kilpatrick
Linder
Lipinski
Saxton
Weldon (PA)

□ 1045

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. COOKSEY) (during the vote). The Chair has an announcement.

The Chair announces that the electronic system is temporarily inoperative. The vote will be held open until all Members are recorded. The Clerk will retrieve the names of all Members already recorded electronically from the board. The Chair will then combine these votes that have been recorded electronically with the tally cards being signed by the Members. Together this will constitute a valid vote. Members are encouraged to confirm their vote by filling out a ballot card.

The vote will proceed.

□ 1101

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair has a further announcement.

The current vote will remain open until Members return from the memorial service in order to confirm their votes.

□ 1412

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Monahan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed without amendment a bill and concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

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

H. Con. Res. 225. Concurrent Resolution expressing the sense of Congress that, as a symbol of solidarity following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, every United States citizen is encouraged to display the flag of the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 856. An act to reauthorize the Small Business Technology Transfer Program, and for other purposes.

S. 1424. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide permanent authority for the admission of ''S'' visa nonimmigrants.

S.J. Res. 19. Joint resolution providing for the reappointment of Anne d'Harnoncourt as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

S.J. Res. 20. Joint resolution providing for the appointment of Roger W. Sant as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

S.J. Res. 23. Joint resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE). The Chair will recognize Members for 1-minute speeches and 5-minute special orders by unanimous consent for approximately the next hour and without prejudice to the resumption of legislative business.

□ 1415

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

ACTING RESPONSIBLY AND WISELY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, as President Bush has said, Tuesday's attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon are nothing short of acts of war. No less than the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, they were a premeditated, secret, and carefully orchestrated assault on the American people and the great symbols of American power and influence in world affairs. These attacks will not go unanswered.

Since this dastardly attack, there has been a flurry of efforts in the House and Senate, proposed legislation, calls for hearings and oversight to find out what went wrong and what improvements can and should be made. While this is certainly understandable, any action by the Congress should not be taken in haste and should be coordinated, not piecemeal.

The timing of our action is most important for another reason. In a time of war, the executive branch, and in particular the President, must be allowed to focus solely on identifying, finding, and punishing those responsible. I therefore call on my colleagues, Members and committee chairmen in both the House and the Senate, to refrain from piecemeal legislation and oversight during this crisis and to support the President fully in addressing the challenges ahead.

As chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary and entrusted with oversight responsibility for all Federal law enforcement, I am compelled to remind my colleagues the criminal investigation now being conducted is paramount. From that investigation, we will learn much about the identity of the perpetrators, the means by which these attacks were carried out, and even the most effective way to respond. This is not the time, however, to assess blame, to second guess, or to appear to do so. It is time to back the President, period.

I have therefore written the President to ask him to identify what law enforcement and investigative resources, including additional funding and legal authority, are needed to prosecute this effort. I have pledged to review those requests on an expedited basis.

I am also concerned about the multiple and duplicative briefings requested of law enforcement, which may have the unintended consequences of impeding, impairing, or distracting law enforcement from its core mission. At the same time, I recognize that Congress needs to be kept informed on the progress of the investigation.

I suggest, therefore, that there be organized, coordinated, and non-duplicative briefings that will allow law enforcement to carry on its critical mandate without undue interference from Congress. I intend to work with the Speaker, the Attorney General, and the FBI Director to provide regular law enforcement briefings to Members on the investigation.

These briefings will provide Members with the information they need to carry out their constitutional responsibilities without jeopardizing the criminal investigation. The investigation may very well provide insight into how the attackers evaded our intelligence and security networks. There will certainly be ample time for Congress to address those issues later. I have been informed that we may be assured that the Federal Government's law enforcement and intelligence officials are already taking steps to prevent future attacks.

I intend to work with the gentleman from Illinois (Speaker HASTERT) to discourage House committees from holding premature hearings in the middle of a Federal criminal investigation of these attacks. Such hearings are likely to distract Federal resources from the immediate needs of a full investigation.

Right now, it should be Congress' priority to support President Bush's efforts to make an appropriate response. Regular briefings and restraints will permit Congress to be fully informed about the developments, provide information for consideration at the appropriate time, but, most importantly, will allow the President the latitude he needs to prosecute the campaign against those who carried out these outrageous attacks on our country and its citizens.

This Congress must rise to the occasion and act responsibly and wisely. History will judge us favorably from our prudence.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD a letter written by myself; Senator LEAHY, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee; and the ranking members, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) and Senator HATCH, to the President of the United States.

U.S. CONGRESS,
Washington, DC, September 13, 2001.

Hon. GEORGE W. BUSH,
President of the United States, The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We write regarding the investigation of the horrific terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001. This tragedy has resulted in a massive worldwide investigation that is without question the most important ever undertaken by the Federal Government. The Department of Justice has mobilized thousands of federal and state personnel and is coordinating myriad federal and state agencies, a task that will utilize tremendous resources. We commend the efforts of all the men and women of the Department of Justice and all Federal and state agencies investigating this horrific event.

We wish to make sure that the Department of Justice, the FBI, and all Federal law enforcement agencies involved in this investigation have all the resources and authority needed to investigate these incidents and would like to know whether additional resources or legal authorities are needed to complete this mission successfully. The House and Senate Judiciary Committees stand ready to review expeditiously any requests made by the Administration in this regard and to provide all appropriate resources.

Sincerely,

F. JAMES SENSENBRENNER, Jr.,
Chairman, House Committee on the Judiciary.

JOHN CONYERS, Jr.,
Ranking Minority Member, House Committee on the Judiciary.

PATRICK LEAHY,
Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

ORRIN HATCH,
Ranking Minority Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

AUTHORIZING USE OF MILITARY FORCE IN RESPONSE TO TERRORIST ATTACKS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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 many days, months, and years to come.

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

Our thoughts are with those who have lost loved ones and with those whose loved ones are still missing. Our thoughts are with those who have undertaken the difficult, dangerous, and heroic task of rescuing and treating the wounded and recovering the bodies of those who were killed.

As the gravity of the situation sinks in, our thoughts have also turned to those responsible for these atrocities. Our Nation must take action against those responsible, including those who provide safe havens and financial support for terrorists. U.S. actions to exact justice must be deliberate, decisive, and effective.

However, the United States must be careful not to indiscriminately attack civilian populations in other nations, which will only further the cause of the terrorists and perpetuate a cycle of violence.

Decisions on war and peace are the most profound decisions Members of Congress can ever be required to make. This is the second time in my career I

have been confronted by such a decision, something I hoped would never come.

In our desire to show support for the President, we must be careful not to cede our constitutional duties now or set a precedent for doing so in the future.

Article I section 8 of the Constitution grants Congress the authority ''to declare war.'' This right was recognized by the earliest leaders of our Nation. In 1793, President Washington, when considering how to protect inhabitants of the American frontier, instructed his administration that ''no offensive expedition of importance can be undertaken until after Congress have deliberated upon the subject, and authorized such a measure.''

In 1801, President Thomas Jefferson sent a small squadron of frigates to the Mediterranean to protect against possible attacks by the Barbary pirates. He told Congress that he was ''unauthorized by the Constitution, without the sanction of Congress, to go beyond the line of defense.'' It further noted that it was up to Congress to authorize ''measures of offense also.''

I believe maintaining this solemn congressional prerogative to send our young men and women into battle is critical to protecting the delicate balance of power between the legislative and executive branches. This balance of power was carefully crafted by our founders in Philadelphia more than 2 centuries ago and has allowed the United States to remain one of the most stable and enduring democracies in the world.

There was a time when such a power was threatened. Congress enacted the War Powers Resolution of 1973 in response to the military activities of successive Presidents while waging war in Korea and Vietnam. The War Powers Resolution reaffirmed the prerogative of the legislative branch under the Constitution to commit our Armed Forces to hostilities and declare war.

I had strong reservations about earlier drafts of the proposed resolution that authorized the use of force in an unprecedented, open-ended manner, far beyond that necessary to respond to the terrorist acts on our people, even far beyond that ceded to FDR in World War II. This is not a partisan issue for me. I would have opposed similar resolution language under a President of my own party.

This is an institutional concern for me. The earlier drafts ceded too much authority to the executive branch. In fact, one of the earlier drafts had provisions nearly identical to the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which had led to the unaccountable use of U.S. military forces in Vietnam.

But it is important to recognize that President Bush already has the authority to respond to the attacks.

The War Powers Resolution in section 2(c) recognizes the constitutional power of the President as Commander in Chief to introduce U.S. Armed Forces into hostile situations under certain circumstances.

Section 2(c) says the President can introduce U.S. Armed Forces into hostile situations pursuant to a declaration of war, specific statutory obligations or, in this case, a national emergency created by an attack upon the United States territories, possessions or its Armed Forces. Two of those conditions have been met.

The President has the authority he needs to respond to the current crisis without setting the precedent of ceding additional war power authority.

Given his existing authority to respond in the event of an attack upon the United States or Armed Forces, we must be careful in granting further or ceding further constitutional powers.

The use of force resolution before us today is not exactly as I would have written it. However, for the most part, it restates the authority I already believe was granted to the President under section 2(c)(3) of the War Powers Resolution.

The reference in the resolution to section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution I believe creates a little confusion, but it is my reading of the resolution that nothing in this act supersedes congressional authority under the War Powers Resolution and the President will still be bound by the reporting and consultation requirements. Congress will reserve the right to review those actions, as it should be under the Constitution.

Make no mistake, Congress will stand united behind our young men and women who may well be put soon in harm's way, and the President of the United States as Commander in Chief. We pray that he uses the awesome power of the United States with great deliberateness and with wisdom.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order, and take my Special Order at this point.

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

There was no objection.

STICKING TOGETHER IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. FOLEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, it has been a very painful week for all Americans. Turning on the TV set, opening the newspaper renews the pain in our hearts and our hearts ache for those who have suffered and are still suffering.

I want to associate my comments today with that of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER), the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, because I have heard over the last 24 hours concerns from Members that they are not being briefed enough and they are not being told enough and they are not being in the loop enough; and obviously we all need answers and we have to pursue answers. But it seems to me right now those very trained individuals need to be looking at who caused this and how we find our way out of this, rather than second guessing.

We have heard complaints about the eloquence of our President and his stature and whether they were imagining the need to move safely to places around this country, and those commentaries may at some time be warranted, but not now.

Our Nation needs to remain solidly together to fight evil forces. Watching the ceremony at the National Cathedral with Presidents past and present in attendance brought us to a point where we recognize that collectively we have such great promise. If we divide ourselves and characterize our leaders with less than flattering remarks, we give credence to those who seek to undermine our credibility in our Nation's strength. The world is watching us and obviously not just on the floor, but what they see on the TV broadcasts. Any indication of weakness gives them some strength.

When I watch the heroics of men and women in uniform, I watch the heroics of firefighters and paramedics, I watch average citizens step out of their common everyday life to extend their unbounded energy to the pursuit of rescuing victims, my heart and my soul soar like an eagle, knowing that this country's promise is yet ahead; and yet the dark days are still engulfing our memories.

The President did a phenomenal job today in the National Cathedral, calling for calm, deliberation and pursuing those who played a role in this activity. Jumping to conclusions by politicians based on a whim or a notion or an individual moment of frustration is not in the character of this deliberative body.

I wanted to be in Congress since the age of five. I met a man, Paul Rogers, who represented Palm Beach County and thought what a wonderful man he was, and how skillfully and capably he represented our District; and some people may have thought what a foolish notion for a 5-year-old to want to serve in Congress, but I grew up knowing the promise of our Nation was a gift I would hopefully inherit as a chance to serve and represent my community, much like Paul Rogers served us well.

So I pray with the Nation today; and I ask my colleagues to take a moment, a deep breath, and suggest we are safe

here in our Nation's Capital. We are alive and we are breathing. Every moment you speak ill of anyone else or anyone's actions or motives, take a minute to reflect on those wounded and those dead under the rubble of the World Trade towers. Think of what their lives are like and what their families are enduring. They cannot find their loved ones, and we are demanding more briefings.

□ 1430

They cannot find their cherished possessions, and we are interested in more acrimony. America rises to the challenge, and God bless us as we do. We have heard about indiscriminate actions of people going after and pursuing Muslims and those of faith who are here in our Nation and who have a right to be here and who are law-abiding citizens, but because of their ethnicity or religious origins, they are being held accountable for crimes that they had nothing to do with it; and we should ask God to bless us that we do not allow ourselves to succumb to the same kind of mean-spiritedness that brought us to the point on Tuesday at 8:50-something in the morning where evil acts perpetrated disastrous deeds against our population.

I know God will bless us abundantly, not only because we prayed in church today, but because our Nation revolves around collective goodwill and spirit. I pray today as we move forward that we think clearly and mindfully about how we rectify this egregious behavior of others without injuring innocent people in our quest for justice. I pray we come to the conclusions, today or tomorrow, that we are a Nation of free men and we recognize the deed ahead of us is, in fact, great and it is complicated. I thank my colleagues for loving our country as much as we all do.

THE ROLE OF CONGRESS IN ESTABLISHING WARTIME POLICY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleague in echoing what several have said, and that is that we must respect all Americans of all ethnicities and all religions. No religion preaches mass murder, and those of the Islamic faith are as loyal as any other group of Americans and as determined that we make ourselves safe from this kind of terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, we are going to be dealing with a resolution which, in some ways, still seems a bit broad, especially when one reads the Supreme Court opinions that indicate that it is Congress, rather than the President, that was really given the obligation to form American foreign policy under the Constitution. Obviously, since World War II, that is not as it has been. But we in Congress need to do more than just provide $40 billion and a blank check and leave town. I know that when we come back, we will want to do an awful lot more, perhaps providing some direction to how the President uses the powers that we will confer upon him today or tomorrow.

One thing, though, is that the resolution in one respect is not broad enough, because it gives the President the power to deal with the terrorist acts of September 11. I think the President should have equal power to deal with the horrendous bombings of our embassies in Daressalam and Nairobi and to deal with the murderous attack on our sailors on the USS *Cole*. One advantage of giving the President the power to deal with those incidents is we already know who is responsible: Osama bin Laden; whereas it may take weeks or months to establish who is culpable for this week's terrible crimes.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am not a senior member of this House; I am a man of limited responsibility and far more limited wisdom. But I do have a few ideas as to how we should respond to what has happened to us.

I sit on the Committee on Financial Services, and I know it has been suggested by the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means that we somehow help our stock market by providing a lower capital gains tax. That would the panic-selling facilitation act. It would mean that those who want to sell in panic, get out of the stock market and weaken America, in doing so would pay less tax. Instead, what we need, Mr. Speaker, is to encourage Americans to bet on America. We will prevail, we will be strong, and those who bet on America on Monday will be rewarded.

If it should be necessary to change our policy, and I do not think it is, in order to help the stock market, then we should allow more money to be invested in IRAs and 401(k)s on the assumption, or on the requirement that the additional funds be invested in the stock market. I do not think that will be necessary. The international stock markets have responded relatively well, and the smart money will be bet on America.

Mr. Speaker, also on the Committee on Financial Services, I am concerned that the bank secrecy laws of our allies may interfere with our investigation of Osama bin Laden and other groups. Bin Laden has at least $100 million, maybe $200 million in assets, and these are not held in gold bars in Qandahar, Afghanistan. Financial institutions do business with Osama bin Laden and we need to hear right now from the Ambassador from Switzerland and the Ambassador of every country that has bank secrecy laws, that those laws will be waived to assist America in its hour of need. No country dare withhold information that we need and claim to be America's friend. We cannot do business as usual with those who do business with terrorists and then will not share the financial records with us.

Mr. Speaker, we should also look at the Attorney General guidelines for investigating domestic organizations. I am told that the FBI, before they investigate an organization, must have evidence that that organization is actually plotting crimes. We should also, and this is a tough one, but we should at least consider a congressional mandate that the FBI also investigate those organizations that strongly advocate killing as many Americans as possible while disclaiming that they are actually involved in carrying out plots to do so; because if an organization is able to advocate killing as many Americans as possible and do so on American soil, they will be able to recruit individuals who will be able to plot to actually carry out those beliefs.

Mr. Speaker, we should look at the proposals that have been made to have a locked cabin, in which the pilot sits, with bulletproofing. I know that there are some details to be worked out in that, particularly as to pilot safety, but a law that does not allow hijackers into the pilot cabin.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

(Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, today we approved an emergency appropriations and will soon consider a bill regarding the use of force to respond to the deplorable terrorist acts committed against the people of our Nation, and against the principles that our country represents: freedom, liberty, democracy and respect for the law.

As our government works to develop a comprehensive and decisive response to this challenge, I am reminded of the Reagan doctrine of peace through strength and the principles of deterrence. It took one kind of military force to deter an attack when the United States possessed overwhelmingly and unparalleled military power. However, it takes another kind, now that our enemy is cowardly and elusive, refusing to show its face, hiding in the shadows of the misery and terror it has created.

This is a different world. Our defenses must be based on recognition and awareness of the methods, weapons, tactics and behavior of this new enemy. Our security depends on being prepared to meet these new threats head-on, threats that have turned the Continental United States into a new theater of conflict.

As former President Ronald Reagan once said, ''We have a rendezvous with

destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on Earth. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children say of us, we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.''

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to swap my place with the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. EHLERS) at this time.

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

There was no objection.

LEGISLATION TO UPDATE THE STATE DEPARTMENT REWARDS PROGRAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KIRK) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, a few hours ago I received a phone call from Captain Clay Fearnow, my former commanding officer in the Navy during the Kosovo conflict. Clay told me of a terrible loss we had suffered in the Navy family as part of the Pentagon disaster. Most of the Navy Command Center was hit, including the Chief of Naval Operations Intelligence plot offices. It is a point of intense personal loss for me and my family because of that information. My wife and I worked in that office. We know many people there. We want to offer our sympathy and support to the families of the victims in the Naval Intelligence Community that suffered this loss on Tuesday.

Mr. Speaker, we can do something about this, and I want to offer one suggestion in the form of legislation that we will be offering later on today.

In a previous life as a congressional staffer, I worked on legislation concerning the State Department Rewards Program offered for information leading to the arrest of individuals who lead terrorist attacks against Americans and American targets. This has been a very successful program, one until recently, where up to $1 million was offered for the apprehension of these international criminals. Mr. Kansi that led the attack against people outside the CIA was one of the criminals caught by this program.

We had to update this program 2 years ago because the awards offered had become outdated and, in legislation lead by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) of the Committee on International Relations, we raised that amount to $5 million. The program has grown and it has led to things like this.

After the Africa embassy bombings, the State Department was able to produce posters like this, and I want to publicize today that under current U.S. law and authorities available, there is a $5 million reward offered for the arrest of Osama bin Laden for a previous terrorist attack against U.S. embassies in Africa. These rewards are offered up to $5 million for attackers against American embassies, bases, and American individuals, and for the arrest of United Nations war criminals. I will say in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia, over two dozen war criminals have been apprehended, including now the most famous, the former Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic.

At the end of this day today, we will be offering legislation to increase the reward amount for terrorists that lead attacks against Americans to $25 million, and we will authorize up to $50 million in the rewards account. We need to offer additional funds because of the changing enemy we face. Probably for the first time in our history, we now know that many of the enemies we face are very wealthy individuals. It is also likely that they have the backing of governments, and higher awards are needed to spark the imagination of the public and press in other countries.

I want to commend the leaders of this effort that have already agreed to join us, such as the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), a real leader in catching war criminals and for the arrest of people who lead terrorist attacks against individuals. I also want to thank Chairman Smith who oversees the State Department accounts and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT) and many others who have agreed to sign on to this legislation. For other Members interested in signing on, we will be leaving the books open for original cosponsors until the close of business today.

I think this is one of the many aspects of the battle that we are yet to face, but with an increased awards account, I think we can show everyone the seriousness of our effort and help energize the investigation which is now ongoing.

NATIONAL DAY OF UNITY AND PRAYER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, today we join the President of the United States in a national day of unity and prayer. I was moved by his citing of the words of Franklin Delano Roosevelt expressing the fact that warm courage exhibits national unity.

□ 1445

I want to offer in particular today a moment of appreciation and thanks to our fellow colleagues from New York and the Washington and Virginia area, and, of course, in Pennsylvania.

Our eyes have been riveted on the good citizens of New York, the valor that they have shown, the spirit of comfort and unity that they have given to each other. Might I add that the Congress stands with them, behind them, and alongside of them.

Might I also say to the fallen men and women, the emergency workers, police and fire, coming from Houston, Texas, let me say to them on behalf of all of our citizens and the State of Texas, we mourn with them and we celebrate the lives of those who gave their lives.

But I come today to discuss very briefly another loss, another constituency of loss; that is, our children, the children of those fallen, either in the tragedy of their parent or a guardian being on those terrible planes, civilian airplanes being used as weapons, or those fallen in the World Trade Building.

We realize, along with our military personnel, that they are part of families and they are loved. I believe it is important as we debate today the resolution to go forward and to assist the President and consult with the President on how we will address these terrorist acts, let us not forget our children.

At the end of the day, I expect to offer and file a resolution that will help and encourage to expedite any benefits that are due and owing to children who have lost a guardian, a parent, or parents.

I am reminded of a story told by one of my staffers from New York. His sister attends a school just a few blocks away from the World Trade Buildings. I still believe that those buildings stand in spirit. She acknowledged to him that one of the youngsters that was her classmate saw two parents go off to work that morning, and has yet to see them as of today.

There will be many stories like that. Many of our children will need someone other than the parent or guardian to love them and to nourish them. Let us not have bureaucracy stand in the way of providing these children with their immediate needs, the monetary needs, as we embrace them to provide the nurturing needs, the medical assistance, the foster care assistance, the psychological needs. Let us wash away the entanglement of red tape, work with our State and local agencies, and push forward the needs of our children.

This concurrent resolution will have the Congress on record that we are prioritizing our children and expediting their needs. I would ask my colleagues to join me. This is already a bipartisan resolution, and I thank those who have agreed to work with me, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. KELLY), the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. LARSON), and the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS),

and many others I would hope will join us in ensuring that we move forward on behalf of our children.

I close by simply saying that we will soon engage this Congress in a very important debate on how we proceed, whether in war or conflict. We must do it in a rational and a firm way with the facts. We must lead this country in a way that exhibits our valor and our courage so that we adhere to better angels and higher angels, and that in fact, that we believe in our freedom in a way that encourages peace and deliberation.

Yes, we will give retribution, but we will be firm and factual and studied. We will do it together, the President in consultation with Congress.

TERRORIST BOMBING

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. EHLERS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. EHLERS. Mr. Speaker, many of us have been quiet about what has happened this week, but many of us also feel the need to speak. What I say is not in the mold of reviewing it or condemning anything that has happened, but I just want to express some personal feelings about it and also a few opinions.

I will not revel in self-misery, although it is tempting to do so, but at least I want to share my experience with my colleagues and the American people.

Tuesday morning, as I was listening to the morning news, I heard about the airplane hitting the first tower. It was described as a two-engine plane, and since I am a former pilot, I assumed it was some amateur who had gotten off course, or some kook who was trying to do some damage with a small twin-engine plane.

I immediately turned on the television just in time to see the second plane approach, and immediately I knew it was terrorism, because it was obviously a large commercial airliner, and no large commercial airliner would be off course or score a direct hit in clear weather such as that.

I immediately headed for the Capitol. In doing so, I drove past the Pentagon. They had just been hit. That confirmed that indeed it was a very serious case of terrorism. The smoke was beginning to billow out. I drove to the Capitol; and at that time, a decision was made to evacuate it. I turned and headed back.

It was as I was driving back across the Potomac River and I crested the hill on the bridge, I saw the Pentagon with smoke billowing out of it that it hit me with full force. My immediate response was, what are they doing to my country? What are they doing to our country? It was with horror, disbelief, and shock.

It took more than a day for that to turn to anger, although anger was present at the beginning. But this has happened to all the Members of Congress, it is not just me. I hope the American people realize how deeply we feel their anguish, how deeply we feel their pain, and how much some of us have cried; how we hug each other out of a sense of this disaster. It has really hit us hard.

Why did this happen? Everyone is asking that. Why? It is very hard to believe, because Americans are good people. They try to do good things in the world. People hate us. Why do they hate us? We cannot comprehend that, but they do hate us. That is why they do these terrible things to us.

How can this be? Why do they hate us? Partly because they are enemies of freedom. They cannot stand the fact that we are a free country, and there are dictators in this world and many terrorists who want to rule in an absolute way. They cannot stand to see the success that we enjoy.

There are other reasons, of course, other types of enmities that peoples of other nations may have to us, but it does not match the hate and anger that these terrorists have.

On the positive side, let me note how much I and all the Members of Congress have been heartened by the reaction of the American people, the greatest outpouring of loyalty and patriotism that I have seen since World War II. There have been people in the streets wanting to do something good, and contributions are pouring in to those who have suffered. There is generosity. People are saying, as the President said this morning during the service of prayer and remembrance, there are people driving from Dallas with skin grafts to help the wounded here, and similarly, from my State of Michigan, and I believe from my hometown of Grand Rapids, driving in because they cannot fly in, driving in with skin grafts so people can be treated and heal.

What comes next? We must have retribution. Just in the name of justice, we must have retribution. But let me caution the American people, this takes time. We have a faceless, nameless enemy. The first task is to identify who did this.

This has been compared in many ways to Pearl Harbor, but it is very different in one sense. The enemy was clearly identified, and we proceeded for several years to arm to resolve that dispute.

This will take an equal amount of time, I am convinced, because it is not just one person. It is not just one terrorist camp, it is a network, I am convinced, that is lodged in a number of nations. We cannot simply knock out one and think we have solved the problem. We are going to have to deal with the entire problem.

I hope and pray that God will be with us. I hope and pray that our allies will continue to help us, and that, indeed, we will be able to have justice, we will have retribution and the world will once again enjoy peace.

WHAT WE CAN DO AS AMERICANS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, every time that I have the privilege of addressing this House, I am reminded of indeed what a privilege it is to represent constituents from my own State of Ohio and to vote on laws affecting our Nation and the world.

This week in particular the magnitude of this privilege has come home to me again. I rise as a free citizen in the freest Nation on Earth, given the opportunity under our freedom of speech to speak my peace, but in a representative government.

As I think about what happened to America this week, I think about the forces of the world that are outside of governments and have no representative decision-making in the way that the civilized world understands. I am reminded of what happens to the world when that kind of force is allowed to work its evil in our country and other places.

As Members of Congress, we are given the privilege of traveling to many places. A few years ago, I remember going to one of the newly emerging nations of the world. During a session with the citizenry, I was asked, ''Congresswoman KAPTUR, what makes you feel like a nation?'' And I remember stepping back from the microphone for a moment and pondering that, and trying to answer the question that I was asked, why do your people feel like a nation?

This week, we have had many indicators of how deep our nationhood runs: the enormity of the valor that we have seen coast-to-coast, the thousands of acts of kindness and of decency that have accompanied this great tragedy that our entire Nation has suffered, and so many families have suffered so personally.

This morning as we sat at the prayer service and then stood for the posting of our colors, and I looked at all the battle-flag ribbons that walked into the church, and I thought about all the blood that had been shed, all the families, including ours, that had been affected by prior wars and prior engagements, I thought about the red in our flag, and I thought about the enormity of sacrifice that has maintained this Republic over our existence.

So many Americans have been writing me, my own constituents and others. We have been receiving letters from all over the world yesterday. I

wish to enter into the record a letter of condolence and support from the Nation of Ukraine through the Ambassador from Ukraine.

I hope the American people, through us, can understand the weight of public opinion and the weight of support that is on the side of justice as we move forward and try to eliminate and bring to justice those who would have caused such horror on our shores.

I had one senior citizen who wrote me: ''Congresswoman KAPTUR, I am elderly, I am disabled. I am too weak, I cannot give blood. What can I do?'' I wrote her back, ''You certainly can put a little flag in your front window.'' I am sure she does not have much money, but I suggested she might make a small donation to the scholarship fund that the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) have put in the form of a bill for all the families in New York and Pennsylvania, other places in our country, and Virginia, that have been affected, for their children.

I was thinking, during World War II, we had a massive savings bond campaign. I think every American can buy a savings bond. Every American can strengthen our country even more in meeting what lies ahead. So I would urge the President, in the additional funds the Congress has appropriated, to consider expanding some of the savings bond operations across this country; to work with our banks, our private institutions, the Internet, and allow the American people, at whatever level of support they might be able to give, to strengthen our Nation as we seek to meet the enemy.

Let me also say that I would encourage many of our young people as they are considering their futures to think about enlistment in our Armed Forces, in our Reserves, in our guard forces across this country. Each of us in our own hearts, I know the Members of Congress, we know we are soldiers of freedom, too. We ask the American people to lend the kind of support that we will need to carry out the activities of a free people under a representative government.

□ 1500

I ask people to consider joining our intelligence services.

And, finally, let me say to the American people and to our youth in particular, study in your classes the roots of rage and the roots of those who would seek to harm the harbingers of freedom not just here at home but abroad. Take the time to learn America, indeed, will surmount this latest crisis.

AMERICA'S RESPONSE TO TERRORIST ATTACK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. LARSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, the events of this past week clearly have brought this Nation together. And listening to my colleagues step forward and address the body today, I cannot help but reflect on the events of this past week, in so many ways surreal in terms of the stunning manner and catastrophic fashion in which they unfolded before us: the absolute horror, the unbelievable human sacrifice, the unbelievable human effort and heroism that took place. Even the elements themselves, happening during otherwise sunny and beautiful days, and then just proceeding to our Cathedral in a mist of rain to mourn and pray only entering out to the sunshine.

As a Nation, we mourn our innocent victims, our valiant heroes, our men and women who wear the uniform who have perished. It is a time of shared pain and prayer and a reaching out with acts of kindness that comfort and console. It is a time that the Nation, as we have seen all across this great country of ours, rolls up its sleeves and comes together. It volunteers. It gives blood. It provides its brawn to continue the efforts to dig out, to recover, to rebuild, and take heart in what binds us all in this country: our love of freedom, our love of this Nation, our deep and abiding love of one another.

This is also a time of grim resolve. Shortly, we will be voting on granting war powers and stand united behind President Bush and sound forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat. There can be no quarter given to the cowards who perpetrate acts of evil against innocent people. For these cowards, the wrath of a just and free people will be severe. Our resolve is to ferret out the perpetrators, wherever they may be, and provide them no place to hide; with the further resolve that any Nation that seeks to harbor them, as the President has indicated earlier this week, we will make no distinction.

And while there must be no mistake about our resolve, let there also be no mistake about the manner in which we measure the actions we will take and direct our efforts at terrorists and not at the innocent.

God bless America.

IN FULL SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT BUSH

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have, as a Member of this body, not been one who frequently seeks the microphone or comes to this well of the House on any and all topics. Instead, I have attempted many times to offer measured comments here based upon what I feel strongly about.

Last Wednesday evening, at about 11:10 p.m., I came to the well of this House, like so many Members of this institution, to state my outrage over what had happened on Tuesday morning beginning at about 8:45. I pledged on that occasion my support for President Bush during this national crisis; and at this grave moment in our history, I think I at that time spoke for all Americans when I said we stood together in support of our commander in chief just as we did on behalf of those brave firemen, policemen and policewomen, and the citizenry of New York and Washington, DC, and our military forces as well.

I call attention to that simply to point out that in the strongest possible terms I condemned the unimaginable and unprecedented terrorist attacks that had taken place in New York City and Washington, DC on that morning. In the wonderful epic that de Tocqueville wrote, simply entitled ''America,'' he asked what it was that had set the American people apart from the rest of the world. And he suggested, after having difficulty coming up with a term, it was simply a habit of the heart.

In what has represented the most serious act of aggression on American soil, a nameless and faceless enemy launched an assault on the very foundation of our society and, indeed, upon the manner in which we live. There is no body in America that is more representative than this institution of its people. It was my belief then and my belief now, as I had rallied to President Bush, Sr.'s support, President Clinton's support in perilous moments, now the consistent thing to do would be to support President Bush, the Republican and Democratic leadership in this institution, as we sought and continue to seek to reassure the American people about events of the last few days and, indeed, just as importantly, over events of the next few weeks, months, and, I frankly believe, years.

These are moments when we come to the conclusion that old quotation that America offers unity without uniformity; free to be of different backgrounds and religions and persuasions and hold strong and differing political views. But on occasions like this we stand firm in our resolve to support our President and the brave men and women of the United States Armed Forces as they prepare, with our support, a clear and decisive response against those who perpetrated these unspeakable acts.

Those are the comments that I offered on Wednesday night, and there is nothing that has happened during these 48 hours that would have caused me to change my mind. Indeed, my resolve, like the resolve of the American people, as we have witnessed this horror, has only been stiffened. And I

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:

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

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

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

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

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

JEFF TRANDAHL,
Clerk of the House.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There was no objection.

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

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

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

H.J. RES. 64

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

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

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

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

(b) WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REQUIREMENTS.—

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

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

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

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

GENERAL LEAVE

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

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

There was no objection.

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

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

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

The Constitution of the United States, the document that protects the

freedoms of all Americans, gives the Congress certain responsibilities. Article 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 additional lives. It may require greater sacrifices for our citizens. But great challenges have made us stronger in the past. On July 4, 1776, our Founding Fathers decided to challenge tyranny. After we won our freedom, we constructed the world's greatest constitution, and created a stable, thriving democracy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I rise in strong support of this resolution.

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

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

□ 1800

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We shall prevail.

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

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

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

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

The best tool the framers of the Constitution provided under these circumstances was the power of Congress to grant letters of mark and reprisal in order to narrow the retaliation to only the guilty parties. The complexity of the issue, the vagueness of the enemy, and the political pressure to respond immediately limits our choices. The proposed resolution is the only option we are offered, and doing nothing is unthinkable.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 1815

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

Mr. NORWOOD. 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 again terrorism this world has ever seen, to annihilate those sources of hatred and terror, to break any nation assisting them in their efforts, to cleanse the Earth of this entire breed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, until tonight the most important vote that I had cast as a Member of this body was

the vote that I cast in 1991 to support then President George Bush in our Gulf War. Now we are at another grave moment of decision for our Nation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alliance. Hostilities with the Taliban may involve American casualties, but failure to act will involve thousands and tens of thousands of American casualties.

□ 1830

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the 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 deliberate action. Anything less is an abrogation of our responsibility as congressional leaders and would be interpreted by those who have utter disdain for our country, for our institutions, and for our people as a failure of resolve and the ultimate sign of weakness.

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

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

God bless America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. There are many facets of it, but I would only like to focus on one. We know the hijackers had ties to Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda organization. We must do whatever it takes, including the use of military force, to track down bin Laden and destroy his organization. But this is not just about bin Laden. There are other radical groups that engage in terrorism, including Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad. To win the war against

terrorism, we must eliminate the entire infrastructure that sustains these organizations. This will involve getting tough with governments that aid and harbor terrorists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is time to put an end to this madness.

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

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

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

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

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

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

□ 1845

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

long and difficult, and it will require concerted resolve from all Americans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yes, this is retaliation.

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

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

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

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

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

And may God bless the United States of America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

May God be with us.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 1900

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I support this resolution, but this Congress and the American people must understand that we are embarking on a very dangerous mission whose duration is unknown and whose outcome is not foreordained. Our enemies in this war hide in the shadows and retreat to the far reaches of the Earth. Our enemies do not have the courage to face us in open combat so our military leaders will need to adapt a new approach to win this war. But I strongly support this resolution because America must stand up once and for all and state to the world: no one with the means and the will to threaten the American people will be tolerate—anywhere on the face of the Earth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We will not relinquish our freedoms of speech, assembly, and religion, nor sacrifice our precious right of privacy or way of life. ''The price of freedom is high, and Americans have always paid it,'' President Kennedy said. We pay it still.

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

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

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

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

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

I urge adoption of this resolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nations across the world have offered their condolences, their prayers, and pledges of logistical support should we choose to take military action. They know that the next attack may not be

New York or Washington, but Brussels or London. We have the responsibility and the power to bring these terrorists to justice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 1915

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, that is our highest duty. This can be our finest hour. This afternoon this House took a major step toward winning this war when it unanimously passed the $40 billion emergency supplemental. Now we take the next necessary step, authorizing the President to use all necessary force to prevent any further acts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Every American should anticipate and prepare for a prolonged and sustained campaign. They should understand that this war will be measured in years, not months. They should prepare themselves for additional assaults

at home. They should expect casualties as we take the battle to our enemies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 1930

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I urge support of this resolution. God bless America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What this means for the coming battle is that we must target terrorists and the state-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, may God bless America.

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

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I too rise in support of this resolution. But of all the important votes I have had to cast, this one scares me the most because we do not ultimately know the true magnitude of this challenge or its true cost.

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

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

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

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

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

□ 1945

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

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

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

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

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

America is based on a Constitution and our laws. Under Section 2(c)(3) of the War Powers Act, the President already has the ability to use the military to respond to an attack upon our country and our Armed Forces. Nothing in the resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Act. The President has authority to respond against those who perpetrated the acts on September 11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tape parades, precision bombs, and talk of future bloodless wars.

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

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

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

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

We have to realize that 2 days ago, the dreams and hopes of many young men and women and people of this country were destroyed by the acts of these terrorists.

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

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

God bless America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Their morale is very high.

The morale of the nation is very high.

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

Today the decision is not so difficult.

These terrorists brought their destruction to bear inside our borders.

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

We must not telegraph our punches.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are a nation of laws, not people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your power is in hate and wealth.

We will win.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. SHIMKUS. 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

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 humankind.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are filled with grief, yet buoyed by pride. Like all Americans, I want to right this wrong and to avenge these cold, calculated killings. While this might seem a forgone conclusion to the overwhelming majority of those home and abroad watching and awaiting our decision, this is the single most difficult obligation for a Member of this House to fulfill. In approving this measure, one is reaffirming one's support for our nation, our President, our military leadership, and expressing our collective outrage and defiance on behalf of the thousands of American families that have been torn apart. In this respect, this is an easy decision. But, as Members of Congress, we do not have the luxury of reacting solely on emotion.

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

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

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

America is the embodiment of freedom, the beacon of hope and in a very real sense, the guardians of justice—a justice shaped and honed by our values and morals. From this point forward, we will surely have our morality and values tested. We must strive to seek that delicate balance between accomplishing our objectives and ridding the world of these vessels of hate, while showing utmost care not to

allow it to lead to a decay of our appreciation of humanity. We must not allow our anger to burn so deep that we become like those we condemn. In our zeal to right the wrongs we must show care not to dim the lamp of freedom or diminish the sacrifice of those who have given their lives to promote, protect and preserve this great democracy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A formal authorization to pursue the criminals and their cohorts who committed these inhumane and incomprehensible acts is our collective statement about our national will. It is a will that reflects a national crusade that will inevitably prevail. I have no doubt about that. But we should be mindful that our national will should not be displayed with anger; it should be pursued in the name of justice. We

do not take this step in the name of vengeance. We take it in the full confidence that we are a special people, called upon to safeguard freedom and democracy here and abroad.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As we vote for this important resolution with the lives of so many at stake in this important endeavor against terrorism, we cannot let the executive branch become the exclusive branch. Our approval must represent not the end but the beginning of congressional involvement. Today, we pledge to redouble our efforts to 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. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the distinguished vice chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

''The days of the blameless are known to the Lord . . . In times of 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 sorrow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is the duty of all of us to honor the victims of this tragedy by using this international spirit to do everything possible to stop the scourge of 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 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yesterday I had the grim task of going to the Pentagon and looking at the rubble and seeing the grave, the unexpected grave, of almost 200 of our citizens buried beneath all the bricks and mortar and concrete. In this collection of dust, one of the workers who had been there for some time asked me, he said, ''Tell me, we have been 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 1½ 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 is red hot.

Our history is replete with chaos created by our government going off half-cocked. I was involved in the Vietnam War. I saw the casualties. I was on the floor here when we went to war against Saddam Hussein. And the feeling here today, as I listen to it, is that most people think that Osama bin Laden is involved in this. Now, if we kill him,

will the threat from the other operatives be over? Sadly, I am afraid not.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless America.

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

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

□ 2030

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless our great country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 2045

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

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

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

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

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

I support this resolution, not lightly but without hesitation. This resolution and the authority it contains allows

for the protection of our American way of life for generations to come.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.

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

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

□ 2100

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

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

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

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

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLERT), the chairman of the Committee on Science.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 2115

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

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

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

We want to thank the President for his leadership in this time of national tragedy and national testing of our will. We stand with him against the forces of darkness that have broken our hearts but emboldened our spirits.

We know this war will require our patience, our perseverance, our unwavering courage and commitment. Our only timetable is to stay the course until the job is finished. The future of liberty, freedom. And human dignity hang in the balance and our Nation will not be found wanting.

May God's wisdom and judgment guide our steps and may God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA).

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I examined the war-torn Pentagon site, the lingering scent of smoke, the ruins of a building, the courageous rescue workers, including the Montgomery County, Maryland Search and Rescue Team.

Tonight, as this debate was taking place, I was calling families of some of the Montgomery County, Maryland victims, victims of the Pentagon attack. The victims include Michelle Heidenberger, Todd Reuben, William Caswell, Darin Pontell, Lawrence Getzfred, Ernest Willcher, Gerald Fisher, Lisa Young, Ted Moy. The list goes on. This is not New York or Pennsylvania. This is just so far what we have heard from the Pentagon. There will be a lot more coming, unfortunately, throughout this Nation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, Mr. Speaker, along with my colleagues from New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, I visited lower Manhattan and saw firsthand the physical destruction and I better understand now the human devastation. The

deaths of our fellow Americans, the destruction of our sovereign land, and this act of war against all Americans cannot and will not go unanswered.

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

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

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

Mr. FATTAH. Mr. Speaker, there were some very bright young people from the district, here in Washington, who because of their excellent school work were off on a trip with their teachers who died on September 11. Along with thousands of others they were the casualties of this act that was perpetrated.

Today we take this step, and I rise in support of this resolution, and I rise specifically on behalf of these children, for it is our responsibility to provide for their protection, to provide for their promise and their potential.

Whatever the perceived real grievance is of those who took this action, attacking innocent children and thousands of other innocent Americans is unacceptable.

We must respond. We know not what the tactics or strategy or play of this engagement will be, but we must act.

Mr. Speaker, I stand and I support this resolution.

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of the resolution. God bless America.

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues have quoted President Roosevelt of another horrible day in our country's life, that this day will live in infamy. I want to also quote his wisdom when he said, ''We have nothing to fear but fear itself,'' because that is the goal of the terrorist, to instill fear in the American people. That would be their greatest victory. But the spirit of the American people and the unity that we will show them tonight should give them a clue that they will not have that success.

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

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

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, with this vote of resolve and unity, we become stewards of the American values expressed so eloquently 40 years ago by a new President, John F. Kennedy, ''Let every Nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.''

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

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

In this vote and in our prayers, we in Congress speak for the American family, in strong support of our Commander in Chief and say, yes, we too will ''pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship,'' and ''oppose any foe'' to protect our land of liberty.

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

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

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution before us to give our Commander in Chief and President the authority to use military action against these cowards who made such an unprecedented evil attack against the United States of America.

We must respond to terrorism and respond swiftly, not only to the terrorists, but as the President so accurately said, to anyone who would harbor terrorists anywhere in the world, whether they be countries or individuals.

As a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I have confidence in the men and women who serve this country in uniform. They are the smartest, the brightest, the most well equipped and well trained fighting force in the world. I have confidence in the Commander in Chief and the national security team to make sure that we are successful in this effort. But we must be patient and understand that we need a broad and sustained campaign in order to win the battle on terrorism.

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

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

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Mr. Speaker, today is a day I hoped I would never have to face, a day on which I would need to support the use of force. I am sure that all of my colleagues agree that when we took the oath of office to honor and defend our country, we hoped and prayed we, as Members of Congress, would not have to use force to defend this Nation.

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

However, our resolve must be based on the rule of law and reflect the lessons learned from history. The use of force is not something that we as Americans take lightly. America is a peace-loving Nation. Our involvement in World War II is the strongest example of America's peace-loving ways. We waged war on ruthless Naziism that threatened the very concept of humanity and the lives of entire races of people.

Today we face another global threat, terrorism, which once again threatens the foundation of all peace-loving nations. Today the world looks to America and this very body for the very clear and unmistakable message that we as a Nation will not tolerate people and organizations to operate in opposition to the very foundation that every

society is based upon: the sanctity of human life.

□ 2130

I pray for our President.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we shall overcome someday.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Each day our intelligence officials obtain more information of the facts surrounding the events of September 11, 2001. It is clear that this was a carefully crafted plan for tremendous destruction. The criminals wanted to create a constant state of fear in American citizens across our great country. But the American people will not be bullied. They will not be cowed. Mr. Speaker, our citizens are joined together in prayer, giving of their time, their love, their resources. There has never been a greater demonstration of unity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

May God bless America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, tonight we talk patriotism, and we should. And we talk sacrifice, and we should. And we talk courage. We talk all those things about humanity and we should. But I do think it is important for the American people to realize that this is going to be a very arduous, difficult, nasty, drawn-out struggle. One of the great characteristics and many times it is unsung, but it is there, is perseverance. Just keeping on going. It is so important that we as a public and citizens understand that, because this is not going to be something which brave words will conquer. It is only our perseverance.

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

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

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

This resolution has been carefully drafted to restrict our response to those we know to be responsible for

this atrocity. It is not a carte blanche for the use of force. This resolution requires compliance with the war powers resolution which directs the President to report to the Congress and to consult whenever possible. These requirements and this power must not be taken lightly.

I have thought long and hard about this vote. I do not want to regret it. I want to be able to tell my grandchildren that I voted this night to make the world safer. I pray that in supporting this resolution, we are making the right decision, and I pray that the President will make the right decisions.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. LANGEVIN).

Mr. LANGEVIN. Mr. Speaker, tonight I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the use of force to combat the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Mr. Speaker, the terrorist acts of cruelty and inhumanity committed 3 days ago have not weakened our Nation. Instead, the American people have forged stronger bonds and have demonstrated the compassion and concern that make our Nation great. United in our resolve, the United States is prepared to take action against those who have threatened us. America has the determination, strength and courage to combat the scourge of terrorism. We will identify the people, powers, and organizations that have contributed to terrorism, we will hold them accountable for their inhumanity, and we absolutely will not stop. We will succeed.

In the coming weeks, the men and women in our military and intelligence communities will be called upon to serve their Nation. I commend them for their dedication and their bravery. I also call upon the American people to maintain the solidarity demonstrated in recent days and to focus on the true enemy instead of targeting innocent people because of skin color or customs or beliefs. Americans of all faiths, races, and backgrounds join in condemnation of terrorism and together we shall prove victorious.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as she may consume to the distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon (Ms. HOOLEY).

Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, every fourth of July, we celebrate our national independence. It's a day when nearly all of us have the day off from work, a day when we can gather with our families for a cook out, and maybe attend the local parade or spend the day lounging by the pool. It's a day when we can see the latest Hollywood Blockbuster—this past year it was Pearl Harbor, a movie based on what, until this past Tuesday, was the most horrible attack ever on American soil.

Because vacation days are so hard to come by, many of us base our vacations around the 4th. This isn't necessarily for the sake of the holiday, but to simply save a vacation day. And while there's nothing wrong with any of the above practices, time and prosperity have mellowed the significance of our national birthday, as they have Memorial Day and Veterans Day.

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

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

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

As much as I disdain the notion that taking human life is a decision for politicians to make—events of this week have placed us in a position where, as previous members of this body have done before, we must ask our fellow citizens to once again fight those who detest all we stand for.

To all my colleagues assembled here tonight, understand this: there will be Americans who will not survive the fighting to come. There will be casualties, both physical and psychological. There will be parents who lose their only children. There will be spouses who lose their soulmates, and children who will be orphaned. There will be small towns who will lose the child who sang the best in the church choir, and big city neighborhoods who see young person always playing basketball come home without legs, or without arms.

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

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

Let us pledge tonight that veterans of this and every war are treated as first-class citizens, as well as the millions of Americans who served our nation without having to fire a shot in anger. No longer should they have to wait weeks for medical treatment. No longer should they be homeless on our streets or go without psychological treatment if needed. No longer should our retirees see their pensions hijacked to help balance our budget.

War is a serious business, and we shouldn't take what we're about to do lightly. Yes, the attacks of September 11, 2001 require us to eradicate an enemy that has proven to be more deadly than any we've ever faced. Support this resolution, and support our men and women in the armed forces. But remember their sacrifices not just today, but years from now after they have won this war, when Memorial Day or the 4th of July are once again excuses to take a break from work or to spend an afternoon off enjoying ourselves with friends and family.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GRUCCI).

Mr. GRUCCI. Mr. Speaker, I, along with a number of my colleagues from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, visited what is now known as ground zero in New York's lower Manhattan, the site where the two proud buildings of the World Trade Center once stood. I watched on the faces of those who were working and those who were volunteering. And while there was sadness in their eyes, there was a determination in their movement, in their step, and in their actions. There was a commitment on their part to hold together and to band together and to do what needs to be done in that Herculean effort in trying to move the tons of rubble and steel to look for the precious body that still may be gasping for air and waiting for arrival of those to come to help them. I stood with those who were working, and I understood their pain in their heart and the sadness in their face but the determination that they have to make sure that those who perpetrated this crime never do it again, not to us but not to anyone in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support this resolution tonight. But, more than that, I rise as a proud American with all of my colleagues here in this House and all Americans throughout this country. We will find those who have done this and bring them to justice.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, today I also join the President of the United States and Democrats and Republicans from this House in a place of war and a place of hope. In the wreckage of the World Trade Center, we saw the signs of war, twisted steel, shattered windows, smoking ruins. But, Mr. Speaker, amidst the devastation we saw the signs of America: small flags planted in the rescue workers' helmets, people weary from digging to save lives, yet still able to raise their hands high over their heads and chant ''USA, USA'' when our President arrived.

I met with Long Islanders, my constituents, one from East Islip, the other from Huntington Station, who had been on the scene tirelessly since this calamity in a heroic effort to save

lives and rebuild our city. I salute them and all of our unsung heroes who continue the efforts to provide comfort in a time of tragedy and save lives in a time of war.

□ 2145

Mr. Speaker, we did not choose this fight, it chose us; and now we have no choice but to strike back in the defense of our lives, to defend our way of life, and to remember throughout the ordeal to come what this fight is about, the lives that were lost and the freedoms and liberties that we preserve.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we face a far more daunting task. This time, our enemy is faceless. It hides in the shadows. Its mission is morally and spiritually bankrupt. It's united only in its hatred for our democratic ideals and peaceful way of life.

The path that lies ahead is a dangerous one. Defeating this enemy won't be easy, and it won't come quickly. Yet I am confident that authorizing force will save lives by preventing future acts of terrorism, and so I cast my vote without reservation.

Mr. Speaker, this is a defining moment for our nation. After consoling the families who have lost loved ones and after healing the wounded, our duty as a free people is to support, with all the resources available to us, the many men and women waging the war against terrorism.

I pray for the wisdom of our leaders, the courage of our Armed Forces, and that we will prevail over the evil that attacked us this week.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. BARRETT).

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, America stands united tonight.

We stand united with our President, and we support him.

We stand united as a people, so the world will know we cannot and will not permit these terrorists to rob us of our loved ones.

We stand united to defeat any attempts of terrorists to rob us of our

freedom. We shall never surrender that freedom.

We stand united in support of the men and women who serve us in the Armed Forces and who will help us achieve justice.

We shall respond, and we will never forget the victims of this horrific attack.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that America will respond, and we will respond in a unified, factual and deliberate and committed manner, we will act out of resolve and out of faith. So, I rise to support this resolution.

We are today giving the President the authority to go after the people involved in these terrorist acts. However there is a dual responsibility of the Congress and the President to work together in times of aggression against those who would do harm to the United States. It must be done with the administration, the President of the United States, in consultation with Congress.

I am prepared to support this resolution. I know there are others in this country who are fearful of entering into hostilities and war; but I do believe that, in consultation under the War Powers Act of 1973, we are headed in the right direction, for that act ensures that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President will apply to the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances and to the continued use of such forces and hostilities or in such situations.

We are unified—our country must respond. We are determined to stand against those who have acted violently against the United States in order to bring about such a loss of life that we would crumble from FEAR. Never will that happen, because the principles that strengthen us of God and country—like truth will march on.

Mr. Speaker, Members of this Congress are truly united in their faith in God and country. That's why we are unwaivered in our convictions and resolve to defend America and our interests against the acts of terror and cowardice perpetrated against us on September 11, 2001 at the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the crash in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. These egregious acts against humanity took the lives of thousands of innocent civilians that spanned God's spectrum of every race, ethnicity and religious denomination.

In 1973, The War Powers Resolution (Public Law 93–148) was passed over the veto of President Nixon, in order to provide procedures for Congress and the President to participate in decisions to send U.S. Armed Forces into hostilities.

Such force is constitutional under the Necessary and Proper Clause which specifically provided that "Congress shall have the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution, not only its own powers but also all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States. . . ."

The policy behind this power, entrusted to the President as Commander in Chief, to deploy U.S. armed forces to defend itself is "exercised only pursuant to: (1) A declaration of war; (2) specific statutory authorization; or (3) a national emergency created by attack upon the United States, its territories or possessions, or its armed forces." Pursuant to this authority, the President "in every possible instance" shall consult with Congress before deploying U.S. Armed Forces, and to continue consultations as long as the armed forces remain in hostile situations.

By authorizing military action under the War Powers Act the American people not only support the President, but they also provide guidance through their elected leaders that the actions this great nation takes are neither over broad nor inadequate. This congress can and must assure the proper response and level of retaliation.

Mr. Speaker, the acts of aggression perpetrated against us certainly qualify under the War Powers Act, and such consultations between the President and the Congress are also clearly upon us.

America has suffered perhaps the greatest attack and act of aggression in its history. Thousands of people were killed and injured in this horrific act, simply because they were Americans and for their common love of freedom and democracy. Therefore there is little doubt that collaboration between Congress and the Executive is justified in this instance, as a matter of statutory and constitutional law.

The need for calm in compiling and analyzing the facts and evidence in this tragedy is great. Also the need for restraint and cultural sensitivity towards those in our communities who live as Americans, but who happen to be American Muslims, Arab-Americans and Asian-Americans. As Americans, we must demonstrate in this, our darkest hour, what makes us truly great: our love and acceptance of inclusiveness and cultural diversity. We must not attack innocent Americans who are simply different.

But upon our discovery of the culprits of these heinous acts, our response must be deliberate and firm. The actions we take today set us upon a new course in history. Not unlike what the Founding Fathers faced against an unfathomable enemy and an inconceivable challenge. This Congress, like those brave patriots before us, pledges its sacred honor and stands at the precipice of this new world unafraid. We will overcome this terrible period in the history of our country and we will overcome.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for this resolution. Nearly every Member of Congress this week has said this: on Tuesday, September 11, our country was brutally attacked. It was an act of war. It demands response.

Under our Constitution, the President of the United States is commander in chief. When America is attacked, he assumes the obligations of the commander in chief. It does not matter whether the President is someone you voted for. Our country has only one President and only one commander in chief.

This resolution authorizes the use of force by America. As a matter of law, the War Powers Act may not even require this resolution. The President likely already has the legal authority needed.

But this afternoon most of us prayed together at the National Cathedral. At the end of the service, we stood together and we sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." As we sang, I could not help but recall that when "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" was written, our country was divided, and it was the last time on American soil when massive numbers of Americans died in war, until this Tuesday. At the end of the song, we sang, "As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free."

While this resolution may not be legally required, it is important to show that we are united; that when America is attacked, Americans stand together. Those who died on Tuesday will have died to make us free.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN).

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker. I rise in support of Senate Joint Resolution 23, a resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States and its citizens. September 11, 2001, will be a date that will live forever in the hearts and minds of freedom loving people. On that date our country was attacked by terrorists in a way thought impossible. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children were murdered. It has touched the lives of thousands of families and of all Americans. It was an attack on our people and our freedom. The resolution before us authorizes the President to take the appropriate action including if needed the use of our military against those nations, organizations or people who planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001. The resolution specifically directs that such action be targeted to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such entities.

Mr. Speaker, we have an obligation to protect the safety of our citizens, particularly those within our own country. This resolution helps us carry out that responsibility. Our military force must only be used when it is clearly justified. This resolution limits that use to respond to the September 11 attack on our Nation. It is not only justified, but there is no more legitimate use of military than to defend one's country from acts of foreign attack. The

resolution recognizes the role and responsibility of Congress in authorizing and committing our military to hostile action. The Constitution provides that the Congress has the power to "provide for the common defense" and the power to "declare war". The resolution strikes the right balance between the President and Congress and is in compliance with the War Powers Act, making it clear of the President's obligations to consult with and inform Congress. Now is the time for Congress to act. Let those who were responsible for these horrible deeds know that the Congress and the President and the American People are united and are resolved to bring the perpetrators to justice and to prevent such acts from ever happening again on our shores.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in support of this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against those responsible for the September 11, 2001, attack on America.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, to all of those who have lost their lives and loved ones or been injured, on behalf of the people of the Seventh District of Illinois, we extend to them our heartfelt condolences.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we commend all of those who have committed tremendous acts of bravery, who have given of themselves during this period, who have given even their lives so that others might live. We thank them for their acts of heroism, and we shall stand together.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), the distinguished Chair of the Democratic Caucus.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, today we debate the gravest and most important matter that ever comes before the Congress, the use of military force.

Mr. Speaker, the cowardly, barbaric attack of September 11 was an assault on America, on humanity and on the civilized world. It was the cold-blooded calculated murder of untold thousands of innocent Americans. It was nothing less than evil, plain and simple.

Mr. Speaker, September 11 changed much about America and the world, but I am proud to say that it has not perverted our democratic system. That is because the Congress and the President, as coequal branches of government, have worked together, consulting closely throughout the process. As a result, we have agreed to this resolution.

So we speak with one voice tonight, Mr. Speaker, and the House will overwhelmingly vote to authorize the President to use military force to respond to the terrorist acts of September 11.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is united in its commitment to bringing to justice those who perpetrated this assault on our people. But make no mistake, this campaign may be long and it may be difficult.

As we take this action tonight, let us pray for the men and women of our armed services as they undertake this assignment for our Nation.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN), a senior member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, along with President, I, too, have just returned from ground zero, the site of the greatest single human tragedy in our Nation's history. The towering pyramid of wreckage upon whose perimeter in New York City I have just walked hours ago is a monument, staggering in its dimensions and horrifying in its implications.

In that massive tomb, Mr. Speaker, lie the remains of a still-unknown number of my fellow New Yorkers and our fellow Americans. The terrorists who murdered these people conceive of themselves as the hand of God and have executed their wicked judgment against our people. And what were our countrymen's crimes? Their crime was to go to work in a free Nation. Their crime was to get on an airplane. Their crime was to visit one of the greatest cities in the world. And, in many cases, Mr. Speaker, their crime was to attempt to save the lives of other human beings.

Mr. Speaker, the kind of havoc, murder and carnage which the terrorists have inflicted upon our Nation can only be compared to war. And war, Mr. Speaker, is what we will give them back. We know which neighborhoods these people live in. We know who their landlords are. We will find out where they get their paychecks. We will hunt them down, not only the most obvious of their public leaders, but also the most hidden of their private supporters.

Tonight, Mr. Speaker, evil again is on the march, and we must respond. And respond we will. We will respond to the terror that lives in the shadows and that hides in the dark.

We know, Mr. Speaker, that we have not borne our final pain; but America is embarking on a great campaign, one which will not be easy, one which will take some time. Like the beginning of the Cold War, we may not be able to foresee the end of this conflict; but, Mr. Speaker, we can be certain of who the winner will be.

□ 2200

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE).

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, unimaginable evil has been perpetrated against our free country. We must authorize our President to take all necessary actions to prevent those responsible for these dastardly acts from again inflicting such cowardly malice against our people.

Today our Congress reflects the resolve and unity of the American people in supporting our President in restoring peace and security to our peace-loving country. The Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces has an awesome responsibility. Let us unite behind him as he carries out his duty to our people.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON).

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, tonight I will vote to support our efforts to stop terrorism.

This is going to be a difficult vote for me. Since early in 1970, when I stepped off an airplane in Vietnam and joined my infantry unit, it has been my dream and it has been my prayer that no American would ever again have to shed their blood nor give their life on foreign soil. As a Member of Congress, I never dreamed of voting to send our American men and women into combat, but then I never dreamed I would be calling the mother and the father of a young man from Eureka, California, in my district, who was on board one of those hijacked airplanes on September 11.

This past Tuesday, terrorists attacked America and they attacked the American people. They murdered thousands of Americans, and we must ensure that we do all in our power to end terrorism and to stop the terrorists from striking again. Our country is great because the people of our country are great, and we will, 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 thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, when I swore my oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, I never imagined that this country or I would be where we are today. We each swear our allegiance to one another and to our country, yet the magnitude of our oath is only understood when we face situations like we face today. During trying times such as these, the American spirit shines most brightly and we find within ourselves the ability to overcome challenges once thought unthinkable and unimaginable.

The cowardly terrorists perpetrating these unspeakable acts may think they have won, but they better think again, because they have united us. A united America will overcome this evil. A

united America will continue to be a beacon for freedom-loving people, and a united America will prevail in the end.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STRICKLAND).

Mr. STRICKLAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, a previous speaker expressed disappointment that this resolution is not an explicit declaration of war. Let me reassure the gentleman. The recipient of America's forthcoming sword of justice will not be able to recognize the difference.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE).

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, as I walked down here, I saw in the cloakroom NBC News reported that from cell phones they could tell that the people on the Pennsylvania flight fought the hijackers, and that that flight was likely targeted for the building where we stand. The vision of the World Trade Center and the vision of the Citadel, symbol of democracy for this globe, leads me to know in my heart and in my gut, this is the right thing for our Nation to do.

Our enemy does not understand our national family. He perceives our freedom of religion as weakness. He perceives our freedom of speech as lack of discipline. He is about to discover that he is wrong on all counts.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the 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 protect and defend our Nation against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Never have we been more united in our cause.

We also take this step understanding the character of U.S. foreign policy for the last century has also yielded levels of hate against our Nation, by omission or commission, that demand deep and immediate reevaluation. We pray for our people who have had thrust upon them such unjust suffering. May God bless America and our allies with wisdom. Our unyielding causes are freedom and justice.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM).

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, I too join the choir here of support for our President. This is an historic moment in our country, a sad moment. But I would just like to express a thought for the future.

We are kidding ourselves if we think this will be easy, and I do not believe anybody understands it to be easy. We are going to call up thousands of reservists soon, and we are going to put men and women in harm's way soon. This will not be a 100-hour ground campaign; this will not be an air war we watch on TV. This will affect every American family even deeper than it has now, but it is worth it.

This is the right thing to do. Let us end it now. Let us stand behind our President and go after the organizations from top to bottom who perpetrated such a heinous act. We can do it as a Nation if we stay together and keep the spirit of September 11 alive. Do not give in to terrorism.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he or she may consume to the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Mrs. CHRISTENSEN).

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I rise with a heavy, heavy heart, to join my colleagues to authorize our President, to use the necessary and appropriate force against those who will be identified as the perpetrators of the terrorists act of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, that killed so many of our loved ones, in a diabolical attempt to strike fear in the hearts of our Nation's leaders and all Americans.

Yes, we must vindicate those thousands of lives, like Sgt. Maudlin White of my district, so that their dying will not be in vain.

But, Mr. Speaker, I stand here humbled by the heavy responsibility that is ours—the specific authority to declare war that is bestowed by the Constitution, on us as Members of this body.

And though I stand here with my colleagues, in this awesome time of decision, I do so as one who is not afforded the opportunity to cast a vote. At many other times, I have felt the sting of not being fully able to participate in our democracy, but never more than tonight. For tonight we authorize our President to send my constituents, like all others to a war unlike any other before, and perhaps to die for this country, which we love.

But we must, because now we fight a war, where all of us—at home, at work, at school, at church, and anywhere—are at risk, as was so clearly and tragically shown this week. And so, while many of us harbor reservations about the breadth of the powers bestowed, we must stand by our President, and for our fellow Americans, and pray for God's wisdom, and guidance, as he carries out the heavy weight of his office.

Mr. Speaker, if there was ever a time when decisive and immediate decisive military action would be required as soon as certain information becomes known, it is in the wake of Tuesday's unprovoked and unwarranted attacks in which innocent lives were snuffed out, for no apparent purpose save that of general hatred of Americans, America and all that she stands for.

The Bible tells us many things: It teaches that we should "not render evil for evil," but it also tells us "if one lives by the sword, one will die by the sword." The perpetrator of Tuesday's attacks and other attacks surely planned, used and will yet use the sword of violence against us, unless we stop them.

We must act, and act swiftly and decisively, but we must also prepare ourselves better to prevent further attacks, and examine through honest introspection, if we have, in any way, given cause for such hate.

And as we prepare to exact justice on the perpetrators of this heinous crime, we must also be certain that we are indeed going after those who committed these crimes, and not be over-reaching in our response.

We must proceed with extreme and due caution, not so to wage war based on existing prejudices, motives, or questionable information, lest we inadvertently become one of the world's terrorists ourselves.

And so, prayerfully, I join my colleagues in support of this resolution to authorize our President, George W. Bush, to use the authority vested in him by the Constitution of the United States, to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States and our Allies.

May God bless and keep our President, and may God bless and keep America, and may our divine Parent bless and keep us all.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ROTHMAN).

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I just returned with some of my colleagues from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, from Ground Zero, at the World Trade Center in New York City. It was a terribly disturbing sight; almost incomprehensible, the magnitude of this horrific crime. But it was also an incredibly inspiring, uplifting moment, and it filled me with a tremendous sense of confidence in our future.

Confidence? The police, the firefighters, rescue workers, utility workers, Armed Forces, volunteers. Together, I know we, 270 million Americans, will win this war. United. No one can beat us.

It will not be quick or easy, but with the will to do what is necessary for however long it takes, the people of the United States of America will triumph, and I have no doubt about that.

We will prevail because the fire of freedom burns in us, and makes us unbeatable. God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SIMMONS).

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution.

As someone who has seen the face of war for almost 4 years in Vietnam, I do not relish the idea of returning to this state. But yesterday I traveled to the Pentagon and today I flew with my colleagues to New York to visit Ground Zero, my military colleagues and my

constituents who have been killed and are missing in what can only be called an act of war.

So we have no choice but to respond to these acts with ''all necessary and appropriate force.'' In the names of the dead and of the missing, we can do no less. God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), the ranking Democrat on the Committee on Foreign Operations.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution.

America stands at a threshold. Behind us lies our sense of security, now shattered by intentional and brutal acts of war. Before us lies our solemn obligation. Our steps over this threshold must be deliberate, they must be firm, and they must be brave.

Today, Congress invokes our authority, derived from our Constitution and the War Powers Resolution, to authorize the use of force against enemies of the United States. Our object is not to extract vengeance; mere retribution will not make Americans safe, nor will it purge terrorism from this world.

The battles ahead will be against an enemy who knows no boundaries and has no shame, an enemy with no flag and no official military, who lurks in the shadows of the world, cloaked in malevolent ideology and attacks us indiscriminately. These will be battles unlike any we have ever known and we must stand united with our President, our allies, and each other as we navigate the coming storm. The coming days and weeks will give us a clear picture of who stands on the side of justice and freedom and who does not.

Those who stand against us, actively, by organizing, financing, or executing terrorism, or passively, by sheltering terrorists and their allies, or implicitly, by teaching hatred to children or justifying violence against innocents, will know the full fury of a just and gentle America aroused. We will not rest until the world is free at last from the grave threat that struck so hard at our Nation's heart.

Since the end of the Cold War, this Nation has taken much for granted: our freedom, our liberty, our safety. These days are over, I say to my colleagues. Today, at this moment, a new generation is being called upon to defend our way of life and protect our citizens. A new war is upon our shores. Its first innocent casualties have already fallen. Let us meet this test with all the unity and will we can muster, and may God bless America.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. DAVIS).

Mrs. DAVIS of California. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of Congress, I hardly expected to have to take this extraordinary step, but I do it with the grave seriousness with which it is intended.

Last May I stood on this floor and I welcomed my first new grandchild, and I said at that time that for many of us the issues that we deal with today, we need to think about how they affect our children and our grandchildren. I would submit to my colleagues today that that is what I am thinking about, because what we are doing today is securing for them our American way of life.

Our American way of life reflects that fragile balance between our individual freedom and the security of our Nation, because that is the cornerstone of our democracy and to which our children are born. And to our foes: You have underestimated our will to assure that that justice and that freedom flourishes throughout our land.

□ 2215

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER).

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, not one Member of this body ran for election to go to war. We seek peace. But in the last century, America has spent the lives of our young men and women in major conflicts on five occasions on other shores to restore peace, and now war comes to us.

We did not invite this, but we will not shirk from it. A band of thugs has visited upon this Nation and upon innocent American citizens death and destruction, the likes of which the world has never seen. It falls upon us to ensure that not only can it not succeed on our soil, but that it should not be tolerated in any corner of the globe.

This resolution gives to our President the tools to begin a long and arduous campaign to end this terrorism. It will not end with the punishment of one man or group or even one nation sympathetic to their cause. It will end with a victory so brutal and decisive that no one or group, no matter how much they hate freedom, will dare to risk repeating the terror they have put the world through for the last 30 years. No nation state, no matter how much they hate America as the world's most conspicuous example of freedom, will find it in their nation's interest to attempt to surreptitiously support them.

This will not be quick or easy, but this is a united Congress, this is a dedicated President, the American people are fully committed to our goal, and we will succeed.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. CLEMENT).

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, we were all shocked, horrified, disgusted, and sorrowed at the tragic events that transpired September 11, 2001, resulting in a large loss of life. My thoughts and prayers are with the families. There is no doubt, all of our own lives hold more value to us than before, and we have been forever changed as individuals and as a nation by experiencing such a devastating loss.

In the days ahead, we must take a multifaceted approach in order to destroy terrorism and terrorists around the world.

Make no mistake, the Congress fully supports our President and will hold those responsible who did those atrocious actions. We will do whatever is necessary to promote and protect our way of life and to protect our families. America remains a strong democracy, and the resilience of our people will prevail.

Just a few weeks ago, I was in New York City; and I was toured around by the Port Authority of New York. We were over there with the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MICA) with the Subcommittee on Aviation, and they showed us New York.

Some of those people who took me around are not with us anymore. I assure Members, we will remember them, we will remember their memories, and we will do everything we can to bring about justice for all.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our valued colleague, the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ).

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this resolution on behalf of my constituents and all New York. Those who wear the uniforms of firefighters, paramedics, nurses, and doctors are our soldiers. We will not let their courage, big heart, and hard work to rebuild our city amid the rubble be forgotten.

We are facing a different kind of war requiring a different kind of response. We will need more vigilance at home and more cooperation abroad. Flexibility and creativity are required to prevent further assaults. We must be smarter and faster than our foe.

We support this action because our cause is just. There is no conceivable justification for shedding the blood of innocents. We do not seek vengeance, for Americans are not a vengeful people. Americans cherish justice, and that is what we seek here.

This resolution would allow us to pursue, prosecute, and punish these criminals. We do this because civilized nations prove again and again that terrorists have no legitimacy among them.

With the sustained and inalterable will demonstrated here tonight, and the cooperation of peace-loving people around the world, we will prevail. I strongly support this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, (Mr. HOLT).

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, today, even as we bind the wounds as thousands of brave Americans still work to free those who are trapped, to care for those who are injured, to recover those who are lost, Congress, on behalf of our good and brave people, must act.

Mr. Speaker, this is the time for our Nation to lead the world in the fight against terror, to strike a blow for future generations for all people against those who would try to achieve their goals through violence, terror, and bloodshed. While these cowardly acts have shaken buildings, they cannot shake the strong foundations of our nation's, our peoples' spirit, our great democracy.

Today we show that we are Americans united, united for our foes to see and for our friends to see. Today we show the world that the manner in which we respond illustrates what makes America great and shows America to be good.

I join with all of my colleagues in Congress in expressing our Nation's sorrow and outrage against this evil event; even more, our firm resolve to root out terrorism. It will require a long, hard effort, and a full measure of wisdom and courage. Those cowards failed. Our freedom is not our vulnerability, it is our greatest strength.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. STUPAK).

Mr. STUPAK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. I suspect most Members will support it. As we have heard from voices throughout the land, people are looking for swift, revengeful action from our Armed Forces.

In my own district, my own constituents are mourning the death of Army Major Kip Taylor, who died in Tuesday's attack on the Pentagon. I am sure we all want swift retribution, but I am reminded of the old saying that revenge is a dish best served cold.

This resolution authorizes the President to strike, and to strike hard. But let us make sure we identify our targets carefully. Today as we gathered at the National Cathedral on this day of prayer and remembrance, we sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

We sang those words that we hope will send a chill through our enemies: ''He hath loosed the faithful lightning of his terrible swift sword.''

Mr. Speaker, the sword we loosen tonight is indeed terrible. May its aim be swift and true in bringing us justice and peace.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as he might consume to our distinguished Democratic whip, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for managing the time today on this most important resolution and for his contributions, as well as the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

Mr. Speaker, together we mourn our Nation's terrible, terrible losses and our hearts ache; and we know that the days ahead will not be very easy. But in these past difficult days, America has once again shown the world and perhaps even ourselves, Mr. Speaker, just who we are, a land of courage and generosity and extraordinary quiet heroes; a people of many colors, faiths, backgrounds; a people who stand united, not just in defense of our Nation but of our most cherished ideals, freedom, tolerance, diversity, and democracy.

When the world watched our national prayer service earlier today they heard the healing words of many faiths. A Muslim imam, a Jewish rabbi, and Christian clergy.

These Americans, like the rest of the world, all worship God in their own way. But the common faith they share, what we have witnessed in the torrent of goodness this week as neighbors help neighbors and strangers help strangers, is that hate can never conquer our national spirit.

We must prepare ourselves for the uncertain months and perhaps years ahead. Every one of us will be asked to give more, to do more, to help pull the plow of freedom forward.

With this resolution, we commit ourselves to that endeavor, to bring those who attacked us on September 11 to justice and to build a safer world. We draw strength from our unity of purpose in the unwavering support of friends and allies around the world.

Today, we join together not as Democrats nor Republicans, but Mr. Speaker, as proud Americans prepared to defend freedom as our forebears did before us.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Before yielding back the balance of our time, may I just say that I arrived on these shores in August of 1947, and in all those years I have never been more proud to be an American than this week. The unity, the goodness, the commitment, the decency of our people has been so obvious and clear and so powerful and moving. This country will stand united as we destroy international terrorism, however long it takes.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of our time.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of our time to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY).

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for yielding me this time, and I thank both him and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for your leadership on the floor during this debate.

I would like to thank, Mr. Speaker, all my colleagues, all these Members of this House of Representatives. Today I have had a rare opportunity. I had an opportunity to listen to most of the speeches, and it was a good debate about a serious subject. Mr. Speaker, this is a serious moment for each and every one of us, and you can see it weighing in our hearts.

Every now and then, Mr. Speaker, we are called upon to understand and reach deep into our hearts and minds to understand who we are as a Nation. I have seen it before my eyes in all the scenes we have seen described here tonight and the horror of the attack and the splendor of our heroic response. Even in the most brief circumstances, with our hearts broken, we reached out to help others across this land.

I think, Mr. Speaker, there is one phrase from our sacred documents that tells us who we are, why are we here, why did we come to this land from all other this world, with all our different creeds, denominations, Nations of origin, nationalities.

We came here in search of one thing. We came here to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. That is what we wanted. We have had to struggle too many times, Mr. Speaker, in the history of this great world as we have tried to play out that wonderful drama as a marvelous experiment in the history of the world. We have had to struggle against our own imperfections and there has been hurt; and we tried to overcome that hurt.

On so many other occasions we have been called upon to struggle for the freedom that we love so much against the enemies of freedom. Even in the beginning of this great Nation, with the minutemen, we took to our muskets to win our freedom. And another time we fought with one another, and just about lost the greatness of this Nation and we brought it back together.

But for the most part, Mr. Speaker, we have had to spend our young men and women in the defense of freedom for other people, and I always admired us so much for that.

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What Nation ever in the history of the world has so much loved freedom that they spent their own peace to defend the freedom of people other than themselves? That is to be known, that is to be respected, that is to be cherished, if only by ourselves.

And now we are challenged again. Why do they challenge us? What do they seek to achieve? Are they wanting to change our commitment to freedom across the globe? Do they think we are a bother to them as they try to suppress other people and deny them their rights? A great Nation does not change the course of its policies towards other

nations and other people because of the cruel, inhumane acts of terrorism by barbaric people who do not understand respect. We will not change who we are and what we stand for in this world and who we have been and what we have stood for in this world because of this.

I am told that in some instances, with some of these people, they hate our religion. We only ask that we all gather together and give respect for one another in our religious beliefs. We try to do that for others, and I believe as a Nation we do it well. Not perfect, but well. And we work so hard at doing that for others we require that it be the same for us.

Tonight, we have gathered here to discuss something, and I have heard so many of my colleagues in this body say it, it is something we do not want to do, to join again in authorization with our President, the commander in chief of the United States of America, to commit our young men and women in uniform to the field of danger in the defense of freedom. A simple thing, done over and over and over again.

We have been reminded by others, some of us, of the costs we might expect these young men and women to pay, the costs that have been paid by the heroes we have talked about in this debate. This will not come cheap. There will be mamas and daddies with broken hearts with the loss of the most precious gift the good Lord has ever given them: their children.

But when mothers and fathers in this great land lend their children to the cause of freedom, they do just that. We do not commit our children for frivolous reasons to fields of danger. This is not about revenge. It is not in our heart. We are a good Nation. We are a kind Nation. We will forgive our enemies in victory; and we struggle to forgive ourselves for our imperfections, but we do not commit our children to acts of vengeance.

We do not cheapen the heroism of our great American heroes with the quest of territory or the thought of dominance of other people. We will spend our heroes only for freedom, decency and respect; for the right to live an ordinary mundane everyday life, to go to work and be left alone, to do our bit and share with others, to hold our children and put them to bed at night with a very simple little kiss on the cheek and a very soft little assurance: sleep safely, my darling, for you are in America and you are free and you are safe and our heroes have made it so for you.

Mr. Speaker, let us vote for this resolution. Let us take this harsh task. Let us ask our young men and women once more in America to go out and be the sensational heroes at risk that they never wanted to be and, bless our hearts, that we never wanted them to have to be. Let us get this done. Let us remove this blight on the world. And, Mr. Speaker, let us have the blessings of liberty for ourselves, but oh so much more importantly, for our posterity.

Mr. NADLER. 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.

I wish we had a choice, but the charred rubble and the thousands of dead Americans lying just blocks from my office in Manhattan, and the hundreds more a stone's throw from this very building demonstrate that we have no choice. We must pass this resolution. We must wage the war that has been thrust upon it. We must do it resolutely, and we must be victorious and rid the world of this scourge of terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from my congressional district and walked with the President through the ruins of the World Trade Center. Somewhere in those charred and twisted ruins lie the bodies of relatives, friends, children, colleagues, neighbors, firefighters, police officers, working people, and innocent tourists.

I have spent much of my career speaking out against the use of military force when I believed it was unwarranted. In fact, in many ways my political awakening began with my active opposition to the war in Vietnam. But, Mr. Speaker, those of my colleagues who are rightly skeptical of the use of military force, and who recognize how every careful we must be when we consider sending our young men and women into harm's way, must look carefully at this threat and understand the stakes if we fail to act.

Many have said that the events of September 11, 2001, changed the world forever.

But if our lives were changed forever, the world was not. The people who carried out this murderous attack on our Nation, the organizations which recruited, trained, and supplied them, the governments which gave them shelter and support, the fanatical leaders who have whipped up hatred so great that young people were willing to fly planes filled with innocent civilians into crowded office buildings—all of these despicable murders and demagogues have been at work for years. The only thing that has changed is that we have now joined the family of nations which has far too long paid a terrible price because we have failed to act.

We now know without any doubt what the price of inaction, of appeasement, of willful blindness, will be. When we allow nations which offer shelter and pay tribute to these murders to pretend that they are our friends, we get the betrayal we ourselves have invited. Anyone who witnessed the mobs in the Palestinian territories celebrating our tragedy in the streets understands the attitude of our enemy in this war; they shake your hand and then cheer your pain.

So the world has not changed, but I believe the American people have. Our Nation is now ready to recognize that we have been in a war for many years, and our people now recognize that if we do not defend ourselves in that war from those for whom our lives, our children, and our way of life are a daily affront, we will not survive as a nation.

The Constitution gives Congress the awesome power to declare war and authorize the use of military force in the defense of the Nation. The United Nations Charter gives member nations the right to "collective self-defense." Tonight we do just that. I wish we had a choice, but the charred rubble and the thousands of dead just blocks from my office in Manhattan, and the hundreds more a stones throw this very building, demonstrate that we do not.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I, too, have just come back from New York with the President, and I must say that I still have the mud all over me. Being a New Yorker, born and bred, I was not prepared for what I saw at ground zero.

Ten years ago, Mr. Speaker, I stood in the well and was one of the Democrats who crossed party lines to support the first President Bush in the Persian Gulf War to do what he needed to do as our commander in chief, and I now do the same 10 years later with President Bush.

This is a very difficult time for all Americans. We need to band together to fight this scourge of terrorism, and I think we know it now more than ever before. I have never been more proud to be an American. I have never been more proud to be a New Yorker, to see the firemen, the policemen, the iron workers, and everyone else working together to try to find more survivors, to try to do whatever they can to help each other.

This is going to be a long prolonged fight. As our President said, it is a war, a war on terrorism, but a war that we will win. I am very, very proud; proud of this body and proud to be an American. God bless America.

Mr. FERGUSON. 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 have worked in the toughest of circumstances for 3 days, it was incredible to see their faces light up with words of encouragement from our President.

There was so much noise and machinery. There was a firefighter in the back who yelled, ''Mr. President, we can't hear you.'' And the President responded with, ''But I can hear you, and all of America can hear you. And for those who took down these buildings, they are going to hear from us.''

Tonight's resolution represents our opportunity to make sure that they do hear from us. Tonight, we have an opportunity to stop this evil. We do not seek revenge; we seek justice. We know that this is not going to be a short-term project. We need to bear down and have perseverance for the long haul. We will root out those who were responsible for that massacre, and America will stare down the face of evil and hatred.

To those who have endured so much suffering, we will not let you down.

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I am voting for this resolution with a heavy heart, but without hesitation.

Like the hearts of all Americans, my heart is heavy with grief for all those killed and injured in this week's despicable attacks. It is weighted with sympathy for all their families and friends, and with concern for what may lie ahead for our country and for other people around the world.

But, however heavy our hearts, we in the Congress and throughout America know we must not lose heart.

We know we must not hesitate to fulfill our responsibilities to our fellow citizens and to our country.

We know that if we do, we will be giving way to terror and giving victory to those who seek to terrorize America.

And all Americans—Christians, Jews, Muslims, and all others, too—know that we cannot let these criminal deeds go unanswered.

This resolution is a key part of the answer. It says the President can use force in a ''necessary and appropriate'' response directed at those who ''planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001,'' as well as those who harbored the perpetrators, so they will not commit new offenses. It is broad, but it is not unlimited. It covers the culpable but it is not aimed at anyone else.

In other words, in voting for this resolution, I am voting not for vengeance but for justice.

I think it is the duty of all civilized people to insist on meting out justice to those who are guilty, including those who have aided and abetted the perpetrators—and we must not hesitate to carry out that duty.

But we have another duty as well—a duty to ourselves and to the things we hold most dear.

To paraphrase Churchill, this week may prove to be only the end of the beginning of events that will challenge us all. Those events likely will test our resolve in persisting through a long and unsettling struggle. And they definitely will test our dedication to our own principles—the very principles that have made America what it is and so have made us hated by those who hate those principles.

We must not waiver in defending those principles. We must not weaken in our determination to maintain our Constitution and democracy. And we must not surrender or reduce the basic freedoms and the rights of all Americans—because, if we do any of those things we will have lost the struggle, whatever the results of the use of force authorized by this resolution.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, American governance today is confronted with an unprecedented challenge. A concerted terrorist attack has been perpetrated against our institutions, people, and way of life. As legislators we are obligated to look to our constitutional heritage to craft an appropriate response. What is clear is the imperative to act. What is less clear is the methodology to pursue.

Terrorism is neither easily understood nor combatted. The assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon represent perhaps more a conspiracy of hatred than a traditionally understood act of war. Yet the rationale for an international police action led response by U.S. Armed Forces must be rooted in traditional just war doctrine.

There is in the Western tradition a hallowed just war doctrine developed by ecclesiastics and jurists, followed by statesmen, instinctively accepted by the peoples of many countries. Briefly, it holds that for war to be considered just, it must be animated by a just cause and informed by righteous intention, that it be undertaken by a lawful political authority and only as a last resort, and that rectifying actions be proportionate to the wrongs committed.

With this resolution Congress is obligated to lay forth an intent to hold accountable to the bar of justice perpetrators of a crime against civilized values. We do this, however, with no intent of territorial aggression nor desire to precipitate breaches between the Moslem and Judeo-Christian worlds. Indeed, we act out of a desire to emphasize what unites rather than divides the three great monotheistic religions.

All moral communities are structured by religious values. Thus our revolution against British authority was premised upon ''self-evident'' individual rights and legitimized by an ''appeal to heaven,'' a higher law of conscience which precedes the more mundane civil laws of society. In establishing our constitutional form of government the Founders brought into being not a secular system, but a desectarianized one premised on the dual conviction that no political leader or institution speaks for God, and at the same time, that under God, truth and right are not matters ultimately decided by majority vote.

The decision not to establish a state church, however, was never intended to precipitate a divorce of religious values from politics. Citizens were expected to derive their values from religion, but to practice their faith by example rather than coercion; to be moral without moralizing. Likewise, governance was intended to be rooted in law and due process and the resolution we are now debating is intended to underscore the role of our legislature in advancing a foreign policy decision.

Here, it demands stressing that for a community founded as ''one nation, under God,'' a critical basis for making judgments of the nature thrust today before Congress is the Ten Commandments, the essence of the ethical teachings of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. As the scholar Huston Smith puts it: ''It is through the Ten Commandments that Hebraic morality has made its greatest impact upon the world. Taken over by Christianity and Islam, the Ten Commandments constitute the moral foundation of half the world's population.''

As Smith and others have pointed out, the ethical precepts contained in the Ten Commandments—whether as worded in Exodus 20: 1–17 or Deuteronomy 5: 6–21 of the Hebrew Bible, as summarized by Jesus of Nazareth in ''two great commandments,'' Matthew 22: 37–39 in the New Testament, or as in the injunctions and prohibitions in Surah 17: 22–39 of the Koran—represent the minimum standards of conduct if life in community is to be an enduring possibility.

The Ten Commandments are not the exclusive possession of a single religious tradition nor the expression of a particular moral code. Rather the importance of the Ten Commandments lies not in their uniqueness but in their universality. They are not only the final word in any area, they are the first word. This is why, over three thousand years after their formulation, they remain the moral cornerstone of half the world.

The Ten Commandants are relevant to discussion of this resolution because just as the Judeo-Christian tradition emphasizes the civilized belief that ''Thou shalt not kill,'' the Koran states: ''do not kill any one whom Allah has forbidden . . .''

The distinction that matters is not nuanced differences between the Old and New Testaments and the Koran, but between committed individuals of faith and fanatics. The former are concerned principally with improving their own lives; the latter with imposing their beliefs on others. Yet it is impressive how closely St. Paul's admonition about modesty of judgement—that we all see through a glass darkly—parallels Mohamed's directive ''follow not that of which you have not the knowledge . . . do not go about in the land exultingly, for you cannot cut through the earth nor reach the mountains in height.''

These parallels are important in this discussion because as we contemplate the use of

force, we the representatives of the American people have an obligation to emphasize the commonality of our values. We respect Islam and Islamic nations. The only brief we hold is against parties that manipulate hatred and employ tactics of terror.

Here, to return to just war doctrine, a central tenet is proportionately. Care must be taken in any military action to limit to the maximum extent possible collateral damage and seek instead individual accountability. We must in the American tradition pay a decent respect to the opinions of mankind. Otherwise, we will not only create more terrorists than we root out and cause a world currently sympathetic to our dilemma to turn against us, however righteous our cause. Fanaticism, in other words, should be matched by a commitment to right or wrong, not counter-fanaticism. The fundamental goal of the policy we sanction this evening must be prevention, not revenge.

Finally, a note about historical parallels. The Gulf of Tonkin resolution is not proper precedent. Tonkin, after all, involved an unconfirmed rifle attack from a wooden boat against a U.S. naval vessel in a combat zone off the shores of Vietnam. No one was killed or injured; no damage was inflicted. In this case, an unprovoked, cowardly attack was launched against American citizens and military personnel on American territory. The Congress, in conformity with the War Powers Resolution which resulted from the lack of constitutional clarity that engulfed our involvement in Vietnam, has no choice except to authorize executive discretion. What this debate must frame, however, is both the discretion that is appropriately delegated to the President or underscored under the Constitution and the limits or nature of judgement that must be applied to the circumstance. In this regard, this Member smply wishes to place in the RECORD a concern for the need for international cooperation and proportionality of response. Fundamentally, at this stage, the crimes that have been committed are of a few against two symbolic bastions of civilization. The goal should be individual accountability of parties that plan and participate in terrorism or harbor terrorist activity. Prayerfully, a war on terrorism need not precipitate a war between cultures or states.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. It authorizes the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those who attacked our country on September 11, or those who aided or harbored them. The death and destruction that rained down from the skies on Tuesday has horrified and outraged the entire nation. We can never replace the innocent lives that were lost, but we honor their grievous loss when we act to prevent such a heinous crime from happening again.

The enemy that did this must be identified and punished. Their network of support must be uprooted. In the difficult effort ahead, we must be resolute, determined and united in purpose. The resolution before the House tonight reinforces and supports the powers granted to the President in the Constitution as Commander in Chief and those granted him under the War Powers Act. More than that, it underscores the determination of Congress to stand with the President, the men and women of our nation's armed forces, and all Americans in the great task before us.

As a freedom loving people, we did not seek this fight. But as nation that loves freedom, we shall not shun it. Let us stand together and pass this resolution.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart, one that is filled with sorrow for the families and loved ones who were killed and injured in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Only the most foolish or the most callous would not understand the grief that has gripped the American people and millions across the world.

This unspeakable attack on the United States has forced me to rely on my moral compass, my conscience, and my God for direction.

September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am 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 other non-combatants will be caught in the crossfire.

Nor can we let our justified anger over these outrageous acts by vicious murderers inflame prejudice against all Arab Americans, Muslims, Southeast Asians, or any other people because of their race, religion, or ethnicity.

Finally, we must be careful not to embark on an open-ended war with neither an exit strategy nor a focused target. We cannot repeat past mistakes.

In 1964, Congress gave President Lyndon Johnson the power to "take all necessary measures" to repel attacks and prevent further aggression. In so doing, this House abandoned its own constitutional responsibilities and launched our country into years of undeclared war in Vietnam.

At that time, Senator Wayne Morse, one of two lonely votes against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, declared, "I believe that history will record that we have made a grave mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States . . . . I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake."

Senator Morse was correct, and I fear we make the same mistake today. And I fear the consequences.

I have agonized over this vote. But I came to grips with it in the very painful yet beautiful memorial service today at the National Cathedral. As a member of the clergy so eloquently said, "As we act, let us not become the evil that we deplore."

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight in strong support of this resolution. What we are doing tonight is authorizing the use of our Armed Forces for war. It is a war we did not want, and it is a war we did not start. But the primary responsibility of any government must be the protection of its citizens, and so Tuesday's attacks on the citizens of the United States have left us with no choice. The perpetrators of these heinous crimes must be found, and then they must suffer the consequences of their deeds.

I take this vote tonight knowing there will be challenges ahead. There will be danger. And there will be sacrifice. But this is a war we must win. For us as Americans, and for the free world.

Terrorists use fear as a weapon. But we will not surrender to fear. Because they are not just facing the best-trained and best-equipped military the world has ever known; they are facing the fierce determination and the quiet anger of the American people. The attacks on Tuesday were designed to bring chaos to the United States, but it has done just the opposite. We stand together as one nation. We understand there will be challenges ahead. And we know what must be done. And that is why we are here tonight and authorizing the President to use all necessary force to destroy these terrorist organizations. September 11th is a day we will always remember, and I believe it is a day the enemies of freedom will live to regret.

Mr. WU. Mr. Speaker, as brave Americans continue working to rescue and treat those trapped under the remains of the World Trade Center and the damaged Pentagon, my heart and prayers continue to be with those who have lost loved ones and those with loved ones still to be found.

Since Tuesday, I have seen Americans in our finest hour. We have experienced the deepest of loss, sadness, despair, and anger. But Americans have joined together to help each other, and I am proud.

We Americans demand that individuals, organizations, or countries responsible for this monstrous act be brought to justice. Our actions must be deliberate, decisive, and effective.

We will not deliberately attack innocent civilians and become like our attackers.

Article I, section 8 of the our Constitution grants to Congress the authority "To declare War."

This is one of the most profound of powers. The Founders recognized that the power to send our sons and daughters to war is the most important decision a nation can make. They invested this power in Congress, the institution closest to the people.

I believe this solemn congressional responsibility is critical to protecting the delicate balance of power between the legislative and executive branches. This balance of power was carefully crafted and has allowed the United States to remain one of the most stable and enduring democracies in the world.

I would have strong reservations about a resolution authorizing the use of force in an open ended manner reaching far beyond responding to this specific terrorist attack on America. This is not that resolution.

This resolution restates the authority I believe Congress already granted to the President under Section 2(c)(3) of the War Powers Resolution. My reading is that nothing in this resolution supercedes congressional authority under the Constitution or War Powers Resolution and the President would continue to be bound by the reporting and consultation requirements. Under this resolution, Congress reserves the right to review the President's plans and actions.

The purpose of our restatement, of this use of force resolution, is to demonstrate that America stands united. I pray that President Bush will use the awesome powers of the United States with wisdom.

Mr. HILLEARY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of our Commander-in-Chief, our Armed Forces, and the important action this body takes today. This resolution means America will go into our war on terrorism with a solid front.

We're not retaliating because we're angry, although we are. We're not doing this out of revenge, although it is. This is not simply about justice, although we are entitled to justice. Rather, we are retaliating to save our freedom and way of life. These who were violently attacked on September 22th would be attacked again, maybe with nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons next time, if we were to allow the perpetrators to go unpunished, or even lightly punished. But we won't. America is a peaceful nation, but when our freedom and security are challenged as they are now, we will do whatever it takes to protect our way of life.

I do not take this decision lightly. This war is going to be an extensive and costly one. This vote will result in the likely loss of life for a good number of American servicemen, and the certain upheaval of many American families. Our enemies don't think America has the stomach for an ugly sustained fight like this one. Our enemies are wrong.

Ten years ago, I was on the receiving end of a resolution like this one, just another young Air Force officer, waiting for the word. I know it was an agonizing decision for many members of this body, but it was the right one for America and for the world. I believe this one is, too. We need to remember this when the going gets tough. Right is right, and must be defended.

It says in the seventh Psalm that, ''He who digs a hole and scoops it out falls into the pit he has made. The trouble he causes recoils on himself; his violence comes down on his own head.'' In the near future, the violence of America's enemies will come down on their own heads. We will find these barbarians, we will hunt down those who harbor them, and we will make an example of them. We did not start this. But we will finish it.

God bless the victims and their families, God bless our brave soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines. And God bless America.

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Joint War Powers Resolution, but not without reservation. Clearly, the terrorist attacks on September 11th caused unprecedented death, destruction and despair in our nation. The attacks struck a blow not only to our citizens and buildings, but also against our values, our freedoms, our way of life. They touched all of us; and we must seek justice, honor our fellow citizens, and prevent further terrorist acts.

Today, we join with the President to undertake such acts as are necessary to prevent any future acts of terrorism against our citizens. Today, and for many days ahead, we hurt, we mourn, and we honor the memory of those whose lives were taken by the terrorist attacks, and those whose lives were lost in courageous rescue efforts. Many of our citizens are angry, indeed, enraged and want to strike back, and we must strike back.

We do not understand and may never understand why anyone would commit such unspeakable, horrific deeds. The terrorists sought to instill in us fear and insecurity. To this, we must not submit; we must strike back. We must take the necessary actions to safeguard our lives and American interests, but we must not relinquish our cherished freedoms and values.

In America, we cherish our values, our humanity, our love of justice. Therefore, as we pursue the terrorists, and those who aided or harbored them, we must not become terrorists. We must not become filled with the evil force which we abhor in the terrorists. We must strike back, but must do so consistently with the values that we hold dear. The President should act only on the basis of convincing evidence of the identity of the terrorists, and employ that force which is necessary to deter and prevent future acts of terrorism against our citizens. The authorization we give the President today is not unlimited. Congress will monitor progress of our military actions and work with the President to ensure that our actions under this resolution are necessary and appropriate, consistent with our values, in conjunction with our friends and allies, and in accordance with international laws.

We are a strong and resilient nation. We will recover and rebuild our broken lives, our buildings and our way of life. Let us pray that God's grace and wisdom will guide us through the difficult days ahead.

Mr. MASCARA. Mr. Speaker, we gather here this evening to declare America's intention to exercise her right of self-defense and her obligation to protect her citizens. I stand shoulder to shoulder with my colleagues to announce, through this joint resolution, that acts of terrorism will not be tolerated. At present, these cowards may be nameless, well-trained, well-financed, and filled with hate towards America, but we will soon know who they are and they will rue the day they chose to attack American freedom.

I take no solace or comfort in voting for this resolution, but I do it proudly. Let there be no doubt: while we did not seek this fight, we are more than ready to finish it. America burns with a seething, unyielding, smoldering anger that will not be extinguished until it has punished this ruthless foe.

Never again should Americans wake up to see their precious landmarks hit by airplanes. Never again should Americans wake up to see the symbols of their military strength and superiority attacked by cowards. Never again should Americans have to wonder if the symbols of their cherished democracy are safe. In short, never again.

I support this resolution with a firm resolve. We will win this campaign against terrorism. May God bless the United States of America.

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to express my strongest support possible for H.J. Res 64, a resolution authorizing the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks against our country. I want to thank the leadership of both parties for acting as quickly as they did to bring this legislation forth.

Mr. Speaker, only a few hours ago, I stood at Ground Zero, in lower Manhattan, with President Bush and many of my colleagues and viewed first hand the devastating destruction that occurred in New York City on Tuesday morning, September 11, 2001. We saw the mountains of rubble that once was the World Trade Center. We saw the neighboring buildings that surround this area that are also damaged. We talked to city and state officials and learned about the tremendous economic impact this event will have. But most importantly, what we did not see was the thousands of people, mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, friends all, who were indiscriminately killed by cowards. This attack on our innocent citizens, this attack on our nation's financial center and on the heart of our national defense, the Pentagon, and the hundreds of people who died there, must not go unpunished. I know I stand united with my colleagues tonight, shoulder to shoulder, in supporting the President of the United States to give him the authority and tools necessary to seek justice to this most horrific act of violence.

This nation has never wanted war. We are a peaceful nation. And, I do not take these actions that we are authorizing tonight lightly, but I believe the American people understand that there are those times when the actions by others must be answered. This is one of those times. We must respond, in kind and with a united voice, to the actions of these ruthless forces. I know the American people are willing to endure even a protracted campaign, if necessary, in order to secure the future of our country.

I urge my colleagues to vote unanimously in support of this resolution. God bless the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. speaker, on September 11th, America came face to face with undisguised evil. We did not blink. What the enemies of America perceive as weakness, we celebrate as strength—freedom, tolerance, democratic governance. No enemy can ever take these things from us, because they are ingrained in our institutions, our way of life, and our very character as a people.

In times of trial, these principles give America the strength and resolve to meet any challenge, no matter how great. We will rise to this challenge as we have done countless times before. As we mourn our dead, we prepare for war. Americans are people of goodwill. We do not seek war, and waging war is something we do neither with relish nor with joy. But wage war we must, with all the ferocity and all

the commitment of a Nation roused to righteous anger. Whether it takes weeks, months, or years, we will prevail.

To those who have spilled the blood of American innocents, and those who have harbored them, our message is a simple one: You can run, but you can't hide. America will track you down, and for what you have done, you will pay. You will pay. God bless this House, and God bless America.

Mr. ROSS. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, September 11, 2001, is a day that none of us in this Chamber—none of us in this country—will forget. It is a day when our nation experienced an attack unlike we have ever seen. Thousands of lives in our nation were lost and many, many more were forever changed because of the despicable and deliberate acts of terrorists. As we observe this National Day of Prayer and Remembrance for this terrible tragedy, our hearts are with all the victims and their families, and our thoughts and prayers are with those working so hard to remove the rubble and hopefully find additional survivors.

We can no longer think of these terrorist attacks as something that we see on television that happen only in far away lands. The threat to our national security is evident, and our response to the attacks at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon is critical. It must be strong, it must be carefully calculated, and it must be swift.

The time has come for the United States to make a full force effort to eliminate the terrorist networks across the globe, and I urge my colleagues to support this resolution authorizing the President to use such necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for the terrorist attacks on September 11 and anyone or any country who assisted them.

This is no easy task, but our troops are ready, and our government stands united, Democrats and Republicans alike, in our resolve to end terrorism in the United States.

Yes, Tuesday was dark day for America. But, Mr. Speaker, it was not near as dark as the days that lie ahead for the evil perpetrators who masterminded these attacks. The American spirit is alive and well, and our commitment to seek out and take action against those who would commit such heinous and cowardly acts is unwavering. We will not allow these terrorists to alter the kind of world that our children and grandchildren grow up in.

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in strong support of this resolution. All American's have been reminded that freedom comes at a price. The citizens of the United States have fought to sustain one's right to remain free, engaging in major conflicts from our birth during the Revolutionary War, to the War of 1812, the Mexican War, Civil War, Spanish-American War, World War I and II, Korea, Vietnam, and finally the gulf war.

Each conflict cost precious lives, but those men and women gave their lives so that future generations would continue to live under the blanket of freedom. We all feel the tremendous loss of life—loved ones, friends, colleagues—and our prayers are steadfast with the victims, their families, and those brave souls who are risking their lives at this very moment in search and rescue operations.

My colleagues, we are about to vote on a course of action that again pits hope against terror—and—freedom against oppression. Our enemies will never know freedom, because they are imprisoned by hate—and for that—they have already lost.

As we stand united behind our President and with our fellow Americans, I offer the following reflection: After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Admiral Yamamoto lamented that his country's action had "awakened a sleeping giant." My colleagues, that giant has awakened again.

For the Lord is my light and my salvation—whom shall I fear? The Lord is the stronghold of my life—of whom shall I be afraid? When evil men advance against me to devour my flesh, when my enemies and my foes attack me, they will stumble and fall.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the House and Senate in support of H.J. Res. 64, to authorize the use of our Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent terrorist attacks against the United States. Passing this resolution and sanctioning the use of our courageous armed forces is not something we do lightly, hastily, or in pursuit of vengeance. Putting the men and women of our military in harm's way is a grave decision that should only be resorted to when no other course of action is appropriate.

This resolution is a deliberate, well-considered, and I believe proper response to the deplorable acts of terror committed against our country, our people, and indeed, the entire civilized world.

Passing this resolution demonstrates to our country and to all the nations of the world our united resolve to punish those responsible for these heinous acts, and more importantly, ensures that perpetrators of terror are not allowed to continue their campaign of violence against innocent persons both here and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, by passing this resolution we send this critical message to our military: We stand behind you as you prepare to defend our country and the ideals of freedom and democracy, for our citizens and the world community.

Mr. OXLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have heard this plea from my constituents in the fourth congressional district in these numbing days following the unconscionable terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon: Find those who did this. Make them answer for their evil. Defend the ideals that our predecessors fought for, to make this a safer and more peaceful world for the generations to come.

I was in this House a decade ago when we debated a resolution to support our President, George Bush, when he went to war against Saddam Hussein. I hoped never to have to speak to a military challenge of that magnitude again. But on September 11, America was attacked at home by an enemy that hides in shadows and kills without conscience.

By authorizing the use of all necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for terrorist attacks, this Congress shows that it and the American people stands behind our President, George W. Bush, and civilized society. While it is not a technical declaration of war, for all practical purposes the United States is at war with those who want to harm our people, disrupt our economy, shatter our security, and destroy our democratic values. All nations in the world who profess the values of civilization should be with America on this defining mission.

We will win before the causes of liberty and justice are more powerful than the forces of evil and hatred. Americans have answered this call before. This time, the enemy is not so much a single country as a destructive concept called terrorism. But we will prevail because this new challenge has once again shown that we are the United States. We know what we are fighting for: the triumph of liberty, freedom, and peace over fanaticism and violence. Our response is just, and our cause will prevail.

Ms. McCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, tonight, I vote to support the use of America's military force against the terrorist organizations that plotted to attack our peaceful Nation. This will likely be the most important vote I take as a Member of Congress. With this vote, I put my trust in our President, the men and women of our Armed Forces, and my fellow Americans. We will overcome this tremendous challenge with honor, dignity, and justice.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight with a heavy heart.

The floor we stand on here is the centerpiece of American democracy. It has been the site of weighty debates, presidential addresses, and critical votes. I have witnessed and participated in many of these since I was first elected to represent the people of North Carolina's 3rd District in 1994. As a servant of the people, these events are all humbling.

However the vote we are poised to take today is one of my most significant votes in my congressional career—and the most important type of vote that Congress ever takes. Today we vote to authorize the Commander-in-Chief to send our brave men and women in uniform into harm's way.

This is not a vote to be taken lightly. We do so with righteous cause—to respond to the despicable acts of war committed against the American people and the very freedoms and ideals for which our Nation stands. And we do so with the solemn understanding that some of the men and women that we send to fight this new war may not return. They may be from districts around the country—they may be from my own.

But the action we take tonight is absolutely necessary.

Our Nation was violated, our people slaughtered, our democracy threatened. Justice must be delivered—the victims of this tragedy deserve it and the American people demand it.

This resolution will demonstrate to the world—and most importantly those who committed these horrendous crimes—that the United States will respond. And when she does, it will be with the full weight and support of the President, this Congress, and the American people.

Let me be clear—this is not just a vote about the use of force or even terrorism. This is a vote to protect the freedoms of the people of the United States of America. I urge my colleagues to join me in that effort by supporting this important resolution.

God bless our President, God bless the men and women in uniform who will carry out this conflict, and God bless our great Nation.

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.J. Res. 64 to authorize the President to use whatever means necessary to respond to the heinous, barbarous terrorist acts of September 11. I am proud to stand here in unity with my Democratic and Republican colleagues in support of our President, our Armed Forces, our law enforcement personnel, and our entire great nation, as we seek justice for these horrible atrocities.

On September 11, we were violently attacked in an act of war. It was not a war of our choosing. Indeed, Americans are by their nature a good people, and we seek to settle our differences through peaceful means. But when we are violently attacked, we respond with tremendous resolve. This is not a war of our choosing. But we must choose today to forcefully respond to this cowardly act to ensure that it never happens again.

Ten years ago, I was proud to stand in this chamber as we debated a similar resolution to address the aggression of Saddam Hussein. We had principled differences over the use of force, but when we finished our debate and passed the resolution, we all stood united behind our President. Because we are a strong, healthy democracy, we know when to put our differences aside for the greater good of peace, prosperity and security.

Today we are confronted with an even greater challenge to the future of our democracy. But I believe our courage, resolve and unity today has never been stronger. Only a week ago, we were passionately debating the budget, taxes and Social Security. Those issues, important as they are, now pale in comparison to the challenge before us. Today we cast aside our labels of Democrat and Republican, and we stand as one America.

The perpetrators of these heinous acts will be found, their terrorist networks will be eradicated, and justice will be served. This will not happen overnight. Every American should be prepared for a long campaign. But we will succeed. When America's spirit is moved, it is unbound by conventional limits. When America's freedom is threatened, it responds decisively.

The terrorists who committed these atrocities will never understand the power of American freedom, and they will always underestimate American resolve. That is because they live in fear of a world that embraces our ideals of freedom, democracy and equality. While terrorists plot behind closed doors to destroy human lives, compassionate and courageous Americans risk their lives to save lives—as our firefighters and other rescuers heroically demonstrated in the past few days.

The actions that we will authorize today will likely result in lives lost—a reality not of our choosing but forced upon us by the events of September 11. But the eradication of terrorist networks that threaten America, and the punishment of nations that harbor these criminals, will preserve countless lives for many generations to come—not just of Americans, but of all people in the world who cherish freedom and democracy as a way of life. We must use the full might of America and its allies to create a secure world for all of us to live in.

Our world changed dramatically with one swift, despicable act of terrorism. We will never be able to return to the world that existed before September 11. But America has the tremendous resilience to heal, recover and grow stronger after great periods of tragedy. We will meet this new challenge, and rebuild a society that embraces even more vigorously the ideals of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support H.J. Res. 64 to give the President the unwavering support he needs to successfully execute America's mission. Eradicating this terrorist threat is a daunting—but achievable—challenge. America will prevail, because her cause is just. Freedom will endure, because America is its protector.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I've been in Congress for nearly six years. Never have I been so torn over a vote. Even though I am going to vote for this legislation, I have deep concerns and grave reservations about it.

First, it is too narrow. We need a comprehensive anti-terrorist approach. This legislation does not represent such a comprehensive strategy and war against terrorism around the world. It only pertains to the terrorism associated with the events surrounding September 11, 2001. This legislation looks backward, not forward. This legislation fails to develop a strategy to combat and prevent potential or future acts of terrorism.

Second, and paradoxically, it is too broad. The literal language of this legislation can be read as broadly as executive interpreters want to read it, which gives the President awesome and undefined power. As written, the resolution could be interpreted, if read literally, to give the President the authority to deploy or use our armed forces domestically.

Earlier today I voted to support $40 billion in supplemental spending for a fight against terrorism and public social spending for New York's recovery. Tonight I would have preferred to support a vote to reaffirm the authority of the President under the War Powers Act, which gives the President all the authority he currently needs to fight terrorism and protect the citizens of the United States. That would give all Americans more time—60 or 90 days—to investigate more and learn more about all of the issues and facts involved on September 11.

I support the President's commitment to investigate, capture, and punish all of those responsible for this horrible and inhumane deed. This was not only an assault on our nation and our people, but an indiscriminate attack on civilian life. Thus, I also support and approve removing the sanctuaries and support systems of terrorists. I urge all governments to unite to investigate this crime, to prevent its recurrence, and to being to justice those who are responsible. I support doing whatever is constitutionally lawful and necessary to isolate those nations who sponsor and harbor terrorists. But I am not voting to give the President new authority—in the words of Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul D. Wolfowitz—to "end states who sponsor terrorism." We need to operate within traditional constitutional constraints.

I would have preferred to have voted to reaffirm the War Powers Act because it, after 60 or 90 days of the President launching a military response to these terrorist attacks, the President had returned with more information on who did this and how it happened, I might be prepared to vote $100 billion to fight terrorism. And if, after 60 or 90 days, President Bush returned with a request and a rationale for new and expanded presidential authority, I may have been willing to vote to grant him that as well-but not now.

In private meetings all day yesterday, Members raised serious questions and concerns that troubled me greatly.

Some Members noted the similarity to the open-endedness of this resolution to the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. We know the consequences of the vote, which was based on insufficient information and, in that instance we now know, deception. Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Ernest Gruening of Alaska voted "No" on August 7, 1964, and they are seen as wise and heroic today. I am not voting "Yes" on September 14, 2001, for an open-ended Tonkin Gulf-type Resolution. I do not want a repeat of the Johnson administration—which used it to provide dubious legal cover for a massive escalation of an unwinnable war in Vietnam—for either a similar domestic or foreign over-reach against terrorism. I'm not willing to give President Bush carte blanche authority to fight terrorism. We need to agree to fight it together within traditional constitutional boundaries.

Another Member asked, "By voting for this resolution, are we granting the President new authority to conduct extra-legal and extra-constitutional assassinations?" If we are, we are becoming like the terrorists we despise. What does killing people already willing to die really accomplish? It will only create martyrs and multiply terrorists.

We must not become like those who believe that the end justifies any means in the struggle against terrorism. That is the logic of the terrorists. We must respond to this outage, but we must not validate this logic. We must respond to this outrage effectively-by eliminating the underlying grievances that is motivating the terrorism in the first place. What we must do is affirm the principles that came under attack on September 11—respect for innocent life and international law. That is how to rob the terrorists of victory.

Recently President Bush said the United States "will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbored them." But we must make distinctions. In the words of Human Rights Watch, we must distinguish "between the guilty and the innocent; between those who commit atrocities and those who may simply share their religious beliefs, ethnicity, or national origin. People committed to justice and law and human rights must never descend to the level of the perpetrators of such acts. That is the most important distinction of all."

Another Member said we needed to show national unity. A vote to reaffirm the War Powers Act would have given us the national unity we need—and would have given us 60 days to investigate this matter more fully and see more clearly what we are actually looking at.

Another Member said she had been in Congress for 19 years, but never had been asked to make a decision and cast a vote with so little information. In light of one Senator's breach of trust, the administration is now withholding information from Members of Congress. We are voting huge sums of money

and granting virtual unlimited authority to the President with little actual information.

Other Members expressed a concern that if we are going to conduct a ''comprehensive and sustained war against terrorism that eliminates terrorists and terrorism root and branch'' that we must give Americans an understanding of why there are so many people in the world who hate us. We must explore and learn why people are willing to give their very lives in suicidal missions; and why their supporters dance and celebrate in the streets when these terrorists inhumanely succeed to destroying American lives and our symbols of economic power and military might.

I have raised the concern that we need more time to explain to the American people that this is a new kind of protracted war. This is not the kind of war former President Bush fought in the Persian Gulf that ended in just over a month. This is a war that will be fought in public places on our shores and within our borders—in our crowded public buildings, in our subways, in our airports, in our train stations, in our colleges and universities, at our sporting events, and possibly with chemical and biological weapons. The War Powers Act would have allowed us at least 60 to 90 days to better understand and inform the American people about the nature of the war that today they are so anxious to fight.

I too am deeply hurt, distraught, in mourning, fearful, and angry. But we must resist the temptation to allow ourselves to become like those we today so despise. Terrorist violence must be halted, but the pain behind their rage must be heard and addressed. Human beings become terrorists in an ocean of despair. Therefore, any comprehensive approach to ending terrorism must address the waves of pain and injustice of the ocean. The most effective anti-terrorist campaign is one that replaces the despair and hopelessness of the terrorist's supporters with a policy that brings dignity, respect, and justice to every person, neighborhood, community, and nation in the world.

Ms. WATSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the use of force against those persons responsible for recent acts of terrorism against the United States. The resolution is balanced and seeks to ensure that the Congress will be included in the consultative process when and if U.S. troops are introduced into hostilities. I strongly believe that the resolution will continue to enjoy strong bipartisan support only if the 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 persons that participated in the attacks that occurred on September 11.

Mr. Speaker, although I support the resolution, I am mindful of the gravity and seriousness of putting U.S. troops and other governmental personnel in harms way. It is highly probable that more U.S. lives will be lost in our struggle to excise the cancer of terrorism wherever it poses a threat to the U.S., the Western world, and our allies in the non-West. Other countless innocents will also lose their lives. This is not Desert Storm, an operation of relatively short duration that witnessed minimal loss of American lives. Our national commitment to the task ahead of us will require vigilance and forbearance. It will also require that we remain mindful of the fact that the United States is an open society and that any policy or action implemented by the U.S. Government will ultimately fail if it does not have the support of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, in this time of tragedy that has provoked visceral outrage, we must, nonetheless, continue to exercise prudence and good judgment in the prosecution of the U.S. response to these terrorist acts. Indeed a military response alone could ultimately prove to be counterproductive, instead fueling anti-U.S. sentiment, increased alienation, and heightened fanaticism. Instead of eliminating the virus of terrorism we could be creating a new and more virulent strain. Any military action must also be accompanied by a sustained economic and diplomatic response aimed at eliminating all centers of terrorist activities while enhancing the stability and strength of our regional allies.

The task ahead of us is complicated and any resolution will not be quick or easy. Our ultimate success in rooting out terrorism will require patience, sustained commitment, and more, not less, engagement in the world.

I pledge my support to the President as he leads the United States forth to meet this historic challenge.

Mr. VITTER. Mr. Speaker, this week's terrorist attacks against the American people are nothing less than cold-blooded murder and an act of war. I fully support this resolution and urge the President to use any and all means necessary against those nations, organizations, and persons who committed or participated in these heinous acts.

These attacks will only strengthen our resolve to defend the United States and our way of life. These attacks are not just an attack against this wonderful land we call America—they are attacks against our people, our democracy, our values, our civilization. As a nation, we will not rest until we have methodically defeated those who use fear as a weapon against the principles for which our country stands. We are coming after them full throttle.

Finally, we must not forget that thousands of Americans lost their lives this week, and many thousands more lost mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, friends and colleagues. My heart, my prayers, and my condolences go out to them all.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, the United States 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 turn our attention to the pursuit of the terrorists that carried out this horrific act. I strongly support this resolution to authorize the President to use the necessary force to find and punish those responsible.

I do not believe passing this resolution is legally necessary. The Constitution gives the President the power to strike back at our aggressors. However, I do believe that it is necessary for Congress to show overwhelming support for the battle that lies ahead. It will not be an easy fight, and it will not be a short one. But it is a confrontation that we will meet head on, united by the memory of those lost and the values and freedom we hold so dearly. And we will be victorious.

Mr. Speaker, tonight we send a clear message to the world that we are prepared to respond to the forces of hate as previous generations have done before us. I am confident that the compassion and resolve that has come to define the American spirit will see us through this most trying time. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today to address the necessity, imposed on us by unspeakable acts of terrorism, for the United States to respond to the killing and injuring of thousands of our fellow citizens, almost all innocent civilians.

This Nation has the right and obligation to both respond to and defend itself from the violent enemies of our freedom and liberty. Those persons and/or entities that were either directly involved in or provided any assistance to the acts of September 11 pose a clear and present danger to the lives of our people and to our very national security. We will find those responsible and make certain that they, and anyone who helped them, are fully punished. This attack on America and its people will not stand.

Moreover, as we cannot rule out future attacks on U.S. soil or to American interests overseas, we must take a comprehensive approach to this challenge. Appropriately, we will utilize the first rate capabilities of our Armed Forces to ensure the personal security of each and every one of us, at home and abroad. To that end, we commit ourselves by the resolution before us, to root out terrorism wherever it is found around the world.

It will not be an easy task to defeat terrorism. It will require considerable resources and patience. There is no quick solution. I am confident, however, that the President and the Congress, working together, will find the means and methods to prevail.

As a member of the Armed Service Committee, I along with my committee colleagues will perform our duty in providing U.S. Armed Forces the necessary resources to deter and defeat the threat of terrorism. I know that our colleagues will support our work.

There is yet considerable work to be done in the days and months ahead. I am confident that our Nation, and our Armed Forces called upon to defend all Americans, will meet the challenges that lie ahead—just as we have from Concord and Lexington through the war in the Persian Gulf.

I strongly urge passage of the resolution.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against the nations, organizations, or individuals involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks on citizens of the United States.

These were reprehensible attacks against innocent men, women, and children. Anyone who was involved in planning or carrying out these attacks must be punished swiftly and severely.

Moreover, since it is logical to assume that the parties which planned and provided

logistical support for Tuesday's terrible attacks are interested in—and capable of—carrying out similar attacks in the future, it is imperative that the United States use whatever means are necessary to prevent them from doing so.

Finally, it is important to recognize that the United States has aggressively pursued legal and diplomatic measures over the last 30 years to curb terrorism—and that it is logical to conclude from this experience that such measures will not be effective enough to deal with the threat that terrorism poses today.

For these reasons, I support this resolution. I believe that the United States Government has no choice but to utilize military force to punish the organizers of the September 11 attacks and protect the people of this nation from future terrorist threats.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, today was one of the saddest days in the history of our beloved country. It is impossible to watch the events caused by evil unfold before our eyes without feeling great sorrow and great anger. We will never forget the sorrow we collectively feel as a nation. Mr. Speaker, we will also never forget the anger and fury we feel toward those who have hurt and killed so many innocent Americans. I pledge my fortune and honor to do everything in my power to bring justice on all those who have so injured this country and its citizens as we pass this resolution.

However, today was a day of prayer and I was moved by the prayer service at the National Cathedral here in our Nation's Capital. I was very touched by the comments of our President at that service, Mr. Speaker, and now make them a part of this RECORD as we put on the shoulders of our President a burden no one man can possibly bear without the help of God.

Mr. Speaker, the President's words today:

We are here in the middle hour of our grief. So many have suffered so great a loss, and today we express our nation's sorrow. We come before God to pray for the missing and the dead, and for those who loved them.

On Tuesday, our country was attacked with deliberate and massive cruelty. We have seen the images of fire and ashes and bent steel.

Now come the names, the list of casualties we are only beginning. They are the names of men and women who began their day at a desk or in an airport, busy with live. They are the names of people who faced death and in their last moments called home to say, be brave and I love you.

They are the names of passengers who defied their murderers and prevented the murder of others on the ground. They are the names of men and women who wore the uniform of the United States and died at their posts.

They are the names of rescuers—the ones whom death found running up the stairs and into the fires to help others. We will read all these names. We will linger over them and learn their stories, and many Americans will weep.

To the children and parents and spouses and families and friends of the lost, we offer the deepest sympathy of the nation. And I assure you, you are not alone.

Just three days removed from these events, Americans do not yet have the distance of history, but our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.

War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder.

This nation is peaceful, but fierce when stirred to anger. This conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others; it will end in a way and at an hour of our choosing.

Our purpose as a nation is firm, yet our wounds as a people are recent and unhealed and lead us to pray. In many of our prayers this week, there's a searching and an honesty. At St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, on Tuesday, a woman said, ''I pray to God to give us a sign that he's still here.''

Others have prayed for the same, searching hospital to hospital, carrying pictures of those still missing.

God's signs are not always the one we look for. We learn in tragedy that his purposes are not always our own, yet the prayers of private suffering, whether in our homes or in this great cathedral are known and heard and understood.

There are prayers that help us last through the day or endure the night. There are prayers of friends and strangers that give us strength for the journey, and there are prayers that yield our will to a will greater than our own.

This world He created is of moral design. Grief and tragedy and hatred are only for a time. Goodness, remembrance and love have no end, and the Lord of life holds all who die and all who mourn.

It is said that adversity introduces us to ourselves.

This is true of a nation as well. In this trial, we have been reminded and the world has seen that our fellow Americans are generous and kind, resourceful and brave.

We see our national character in rescuers working past exhaustion, in long lines of blood donors, in thousands of citizens who have asked to work and serve in any way possible. And we have seen our national character in eloquent acts of sacrifice. Inside the World Trade Center, one man who could have saved himself stayed until the end and at the side of his quadriplegic friend. A beloved priest died giving the last rites to a firefighter. Two office workers, finding a disabled stranger, carried her down 68 floors to safety.

A group of men drove through the night from Dallas to Washington to bring skin grafts for burned victims. In these acts and many others, Americans showed a deep commitment to one another and in an abiding love for our country.

Today, we feel what Franklin Roosevelt called, ''the warm courage of national unity.'' This is a unity of every faith and every background. This has joined together political parties and both houses of Congress. It is evident in services of prayer and candlelight vigils and American flags, which are displayed in pride and waved in defiance. Our unity is a kinship of grief and a steadfast resolve to prevail against our enemies. And this unity against terror is now extending across the world.

America is a nation full of good fortune, with so much to be grateful for, but we are not spared from suffering. In every generation, the world has produced enemies of human freedom. They have attacked America because we are freedom's home and defender, and the commitment of our fathers is now the calling of our time.

On this national day of prayer and remembrance, we ask almighty God to watch over our nation and grant us patience and resolve in all that is to come. We pray that He will comfort and console those who now walk in sorrow. We thank Him for every life we now must mourn, and the promise of a life to come.

As we've been assured, neither death nor life nor angels nor principalities, nor powers nor things present nor things to come nor height nor depth can separate us from God's love.

May He bless the souls of the departed. May He comfort our own. And may He always guide our country.

God bless America.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

I support our President as he seeks to respond effectively to this unparalleled attack, which has left our nation shocked and angered. But no matter the rate we feel today, our response must reflect our national character, and be guided by justice and our right to self-defense, not by vengeance.

I want those responsible for these heinous crimes to be hunted down and held accountable—in full compliance with our Constitution and our laws. They must pay for their murder of thousands of innocent American citizens and others.

I want to break the global network of terrorism so that no other nation, people or group will know the pain and sorrow America is not experiencing. To be successful, we will need a multilateral, coordinated effort of law enforcement, intelligence and military resources. We cannot do this alone.

I want the best of America to continue to shine—so that the world is reassured that the United States remains a haven for freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of association. Our heritage is rooted in diversity and tolerance, and nothing must abrogate the fundamental freedoms and rights of our people.

I believe this resolution achieves these goals. The body of this resolution is appropriately limited to those entities involved in the attacks that occurred on September 11th. It appropriately and explicitly abides by and invokes the authority of the War Powers Resolution. It reiterates the existing constitutional powers of the President to take action to defend the United States, but provides no new or additional grant of powers to the President.

The President should still consult regularly with the Congress about his intentions, actions and policy as they evolve. The president and the Congress must work together, in concert, in order to maintain the unity so necessary to success. That will require timely consultation, reporting and updates, and a genuine desire to maintain the bipartisan support for this undertaking.

We know military action alone will never defeat terrorism. Last Tuesday, we saw the consequences of raw hate. It has no logic. It has no respect for human life or dignity. It holds no promise for the future. It has no single base or leader. We can, however, begin to address some of the underlying problems that can lead to terror.

We can continue our leadership to help negotiate just and lasting solutions to the world's many conflicts, including in the Middle East.

We can renew our engagement with the international community to find solutions to the global challenges of our times: the environment, weapons proliferation, disease and intolerance.

Our country is unified. We can respond effectively to the horror of September 11th. We

can break the links between terrorists. We can contribute to a world that is not only secure from the threat of terrorism, but also free of the poverty and oppression that are its breeding ground. We must exercise the political will to make this happen.

This resolution helps us begin to achieve these goals, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. STUMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this resolution.

Since the terrible and tragic events of Tuesday, this country and the rest of the world have witnessed the determination of the American people to come together, to rally around our President, and to transcend the tragedy that fell our great Nation.

America's anger at those who planned and perpetrated these terrorist acts is palpable. This Congress has stood as one in expressing our grief over the tragic loss of life, our pride in those who continue the rescue and recovery efforts, and our determination to ensure that those who support the use of terror are severely punished. Now, we must express our unified support for the President to take all necessary and appropriate actions to ensure that the terrorists and their supporters do not win in their effort to undermine our way of life.

Mr. Speaker, the President has been forceful and direct—freedom and democracy are under attack by a determined enemy. This battle will take time and resolve, he stated, but we will win. In our effort to root out the evil that is terrorism, we will once again call upon the dedicated men and women who voluntarily serve our country in uniform. It is their greatness that gives us confidence in our ultimate victory.

The fight against terrorism will be a long and difficult campaign. It requires a serious commitment. But the President must know that the Congress supports him by providing him with the tools he needs to prosecute this battle. The Congress has already agreed to provide significant additional funds for the war on terrorism. Now, in this decisive moment, we must stand behind our troops and send a clear signal to our enemies that the President's actions have our unanimous support.

Passage of this resolution will send that signal.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. 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 gruesome images.

Law enforcement officials are moving swiftly to identify those who were responsible for this heinous crime. Soon it will be clear who committed these unspeakable acts, and those who supported and protected them. And once it is clear the United States will respond.

We respond not simply out of revenge. We act because war has been declared upon America. We act because our world must be rid of terrorists who think nothing of destroying innocent lives. We act in the name of thousands of innocent victims.

This was not just an attack on four planes, or two buildings, or one nation. Rather, it was an attack on democracy and freedom around the globe. America and our allies will rise to the occasion and fight this scourge just as we have risen to defeat past threats to civilization and democracy.

To that end, today I will vote to authorize President Bush to use all necessary and appropriate force to respond to the terror attacks on our nation. This resolution conveys the resolve of the Congress and the American people that those responsible for this heinous crime will be identified and punished.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of President George W. Bush, by agreeing to grant him the authorization to use the resources of the United States to eradicate the evil forces that perpetuate terrorism, through the enactment of H.J. Res. 64.

The barbaric, heinous attacks launched against the civilian and military population of this great nation on September 11, 2001 must not, and will not be tolerated, nor go unpunished.

I ask the people of this great nation, and our allies around the world, to stand with President Bush and support him with their voices, their continued heroic deeds and volunteerism, and most-importantly, with their prayers.

I ask the people of this Nation to pray for forgiveness for the immorality in this country that has become so widespread and which has contributed to the fragmentation of religious thought.

I ask the people of this nation to thank God for the many blessings which have been so generously bestowed upon this nation.

God be with those who have paid the ultimate price for liberty and freedom, and with those who will do so in the future in the effort to restore security and peace for all of us.

God bless this great land, the United States of America.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. We must ensure that our Commander in Chief can bring the full power of the United States Armed Forces to bear against the villains who struck our nation so cruelly the morning of September 11th. We act not out of wrath, but with the solemn realization that evil must not go unchecked, that our security must be defended, and that our liberty must be upheld. We stand together tonight united in our resolve to fight the scourge of terrorism and protect our beloved country and its people. We understand that it will not be easy and that it will require sustained action, commitment, and vigilance. We must steel ourselves for the months ahead and bear in mind the words inscribed on the base of the Marine War Memorial Iwo Jima: "Uncommon Valor Was a Common Virtue." They remind us of the character and courage of those who serve in our Armed Forces, and I think they also apply to all who put their own lives on the line in an effort to save lives during and after Tuesday's terrible attacks. Now is the time for valor for all Americans.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, in the aftermath of the recent terrorist attacks on the United States, Americans have responded to the cries of their fellow citizens. From the many emergency personnel who arrived moments after the first impact, to the volunteers from all over the country arriving to help or donate blood, to the United States Congress, who has appropriated $40 billion help pay for recovery efforts, we have responded. Now it is time to plan the next part of our response: how to punish the perpetrators of this attack and how to protect ourselves in the future.

Our country has come together to get through this time of great tragedy. Members on both sides of the aisle have appropriately put aside partisan politics and present a unified front against terrorism.

Most Americans feel that we should strike back at the individuals, groups, or nations that were involved in these atrocities. I, too, think we should respond to this heinous attack, bring those involved to justice, and put an end to global terrorism. That said, however, I do not believe—even in times of extreme crisis—that the Congress should turn over our constitutional responsibilities to the President. The resolution we are debating today, I fear, begins to do just that.

When writing the Constitution, our Founding Fathers created a balance of powers between the three branches of government to prevent one branch from inappropriately dominating another. Although the Constitution empowers the President as Commander in Chief, it gives the Congress the sole power of declaring war. This resolution gives the President the power to conduct a war without reporting to or consulting with Congress. Frankly stated, it cedes congressional authority to the President.

I have real reservations about the resolution we are considering today. It should contain explicit language ensuring that the President reports to Congress and consults with us in planning and executing a military response. But it does not.

That being said, this resolution is better than earlier versions that were considered. It now makes clear that nothing supersedes the War Powers Act, which requires the President to report and consult with Congress.

Given those facts, I will support the resolution before us today. However, I will continue to insist that the President make Congress an integral part of our nation's response to these attacks. To do otherwise goes against the best interest of the people we represent and the democracy we seek to protect.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution granting authority to the President to use force to respond to the attack on the United States on September 11, 2001.

Our country was the target of an unprovoked, cowardly and vicious attack on Tuesday morning. This act of war committed against our people must not go unanswered and I urge the President to use the authority we are about to give him in an appropriate and decisive manner. We must prevail over our enemy and we must be willing to use the force necessary to achieve total victory.

At this dramatic moment in our history, as we grieve for the loss of thousands of innocent lives and begin to bury our dead, we must not lose sight that this was not just an attack on our government or even our nation.

This must be seen as a monstrous attack aimed at the security and way of life of freedom-loving people throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately describe my feelings or the feelings of Americans with regard to the attack on New York and Washington. However, I know that through the sadness and anger will grow an unbending determination not to be intimidated by the forces of terror and death. America is a great and a good country. We are also now a united people with a common purpose—to seek out and crush the terrorists and their supporters.

I urge support for this resolution, for our President and for the people of the United States.

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. Our nation was viciously attacked on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, leaving children without fathers and mothers, parents mourning their missing children, families experiencing terrible emptiness and loss. All Americans feel the horror, shock, fear, and anger.

The country has been attacked, and as Commander-in-Chief, the President has the power to act to defend the United States of America. Congress recognized this nearly thirty years ago in the War Powers Resolution.

Yet by recognizing the authority our President already possesses under the War Power Resolution, we send a strong statement of national unity. By approving this resolution today, we stand united, as one nation, stating clearly to the perpetrators of this crime, and those who would attack our country in the future, that we will protect our citizens and ensure the guilty are punished.

The horrible crisis is also an opportunity. It is an opportunity for the United States to once again demonstrate to the world the sources of its strength and greatness. I am not speaking of our military might, although it is powerful. We will demonstrate our greatness by the way we seek justice and the way we promote freedom. We will determine with certainty who is culpable and punish them and those who aid them, rather than let our rage lash out indiscriminately.

Community leaders in my district have produced a statement expressing their outrage and sorrow. Wisely they noted that the victims of this attack reflect the diversity of America. They wrote in fact that: ''the backgrounds of its innocent victims are representative of the world's diversity, from Africa to the Americas, Europe to Asia, the Middle East, and beyond.'' As we move forward in seeking justice for the many victims, we must direct our punishment only upon the guilty.

The American people stand behind this quest for justice. With our many friends around the world, we will fight to end the scourge of terrorism. As we rise to this challenge, we must do so relying on America's strengths without sacrificing our cherished principles. Our constitutional liberties stand as an example to the world of what freedom means. We must never forget that we pursue justice in order to secure liberty.

Mr. BONILLA. Mr. Speaker, Evil. It is a word we use too lightly. A word we use when horrible, distasteful, or bad would be more appropriate. It is a word which should be reserved for only the most monstrous and inhuman of circumstances. My colleagues, we have witnessed evil this week. The twin tragedies in New York and Washington, the massacre of innocents, must never happen again. Today, with this legislation, we are sending the world a message. We are stating that America does not recoil in the face of evil. On the contrary, America rises up.

In the last century we faced down the evils of Nazism and Communism. Today, we will face down the evils of terrorism. This evil although a phantom will not be able to hide. The basic goodness that we have seen demonstrated by the firemen, police, military, and civilians at the rescue scenes reflects the basic goodness of America. The selflessness, determination and patience tell us that freedom will be preserved and triumph over this threat.

My colleagues, the forces of evil signed a death warrant for terror last Tuesday. They have unleashed the wrath of the American people. The struggle ahead may be a long one. Ultimately, we will triumph. We will preserve freedom for future generations. We will guarantee hope remains for all mankind. My colleagues please join me in voting for this resolution. God bless America.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Joint Resolution 64, which will authorize the use of force in responding to the terrorist threat that violated the shores of the United States on September 11, 2001. I do not take this action lightly. I fully recognize that this single resolution, though brief in text, will have far-reaching consequences. But, I am certain that this is the only right course of action for our institution and our nation.

The violence that left so many innocent Americans dead or injured or grieving for the loss of a beloved family member or friend was no less than an act of war. Those who preach fear and hatred declared war upon our nation and our people. Indeed, they declared war on all civilized nations and freedom-loving peoples. We must respond in like kind.

In fact, it is our duty to respond with all the power of our principles and all the might of our great and prosperous United States. God has given us a noble land, as Senator Albert Beveridge once said, ''a land that can feed and clothe the world; . . . a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe.'' We must use the gifts that have been showered upon America from the heavens to save the world from tyranny once again.

Just as we did in World War II when we defeated a tyranny of bigotry and hatred, we must engage in an all-out assault against this new tyranny of fear and terror. We are unified in spirit and in purpose and, we are joined by nations far and near. In the end, we will prevail, providing the world with a new day of freedom and peace.

While I am certain that our road will end in victory, I know that it will likely be a long and arduous road to travel. It will not be neat. It will not be without bloodshed or loss of life. It will not be brief. But it will be right and it will be just.

It is not easy to stand before my colleagues and my country knowing that our actions will send young men and women into battle for the cause of freedom. But, we can look their mothers and fathers in the eye and say to them now that this is what must be done. I have little doubt that they understand and that they take comfort in knowing that their children are heroes in a new greatest generation.

And, I feel confident that the American people will stand with those heroes day in and day out until our enemies have been vanquished. I am overwhelmed with an enormous sense of pride and patriotism at the selflessness that so many Americans have shown in recent days in supporting the brave public safety workers and in consoling the bereaved. That indefatigable spirit will sustain us in any battle against any evil.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to remember the words of our President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his Second Inaugural Address to the nation as we to pass this important resolution:

> Before all else, we seek, upon our common labor as a nation, the blessings of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our whole people. May we pursue the right—without self-righteousness. May we know unity—without conformity. May we grow in strength—without pride in self. May we, in all our dealings with all the peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and serve justice. And so shall America—in the sight of all men of good will—prove true to the honorable purposes that bind and rule us as a people in all this time of trial through which we pass.

May God bless this mighty nation and shed his grace and blessings upon the men and women of America's armed forces.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution.

In his Funeral Oration, the great Athenian leader Pericles said ''heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.''

The terrible events of the last few days already have produced many heroes, from the firemen and the police officers who gave their lives to rescue others, to the airline passengers who appear to have sacrificed themselves to save their fellow citizens.

And like the heroes of ancient times, our heroes also have the whole earth for their tomb; for enshrined in every breast is a record of their deeds that we will carry forever with us.

We will never forget what happened on September 11, 2001.

And we must resolve ourselves that these lives of those who perished in this tragedy will not have been sacrificed in vain—that out of their deaths will arise a new commitment to preserve and defend our American freedom.

We must now go about the grim task of identifying the monsters responsible for starting this war and those who may be harboring them; assuring that they pay a very heavy price for their actions.

In doing so, we call upon all of those who love peace and freedom to join us in this crusade. The community of nations must unite to assure that these terrorists have nowhere to run and nowhere to hide.

Together, we must hunt these criminals down to the ends of the earth and assure they

pay dearly for the crimes they have committed against humanity.

The resolution before us provides the President with a specific authorization, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to use force against those responsible for the September 11th terrorist attack.

I do not view this as an open-ended authorization for this or any future President to wage war on any one at any time. It is, instead, in the words of the resolution, an authority to use force against ''those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons.''

All Americans stand behind our President, his advisers, and the brave men and women of our Armed Forces who will be asked to carry out this mission. Our thoughts and our prayers will be with them in the days and months ahead.

We know their task will not be easy. But they should go forward armed with the knowledge that they have the support of all Americans—as expressed by the unanimous vote of their elected representatives.

That is what this resolution signifies, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to start by expressing my sorrow and outrage at Tuesday's cowardly attack. Tuesday's savagery tore our national fabric, but the tragedy also united the Nation. Our immediate priorities are treating survivors, supporting victims' families, restoring essential services, protecting our civil liberties, healing the national psyche and finding and judging anyone who participated in the horrendous act. We all share these imperatives and will do all that we can to help. We all support the President in these endeavors. This is the indomitable strength of our country.

But our eyes also turn to the future with three critical questions, each of which calls for thorough congressional hearings. First, how should we punish those guilty of these dastardly crimes, once we determine who were involved? Second, how can we make sure this nightmare never occurs again? How can we better collect intelligence, tighten security and insist that other Nations do their share to prevent terrorism? Third, how can we pursue both of these goals without abandoning America's hallmark commitment to civil liberties or forgetting the necessity to constantly battle ethnic, religious and racial prejudice.

PUNISHING THE PERPETRATORS

This week, a United Airlines flight attendant expressed the thoughts of many Americans when she told the press ''As horrible as it is to say, I want revenge.'' Clearly the United States will not stand for such a brutal assault on our citizens and our country. The perpetrators must be punished. But if we unleash the full fury of America's military might and we kill innocent people in the process, we will be no better than the terrorists who unleashed their fury on America's civilian population. These acts of hijacking, murder, and terrorism are crimes for which there are laws and punishments under Federal law. These atrocities are not known to have been committed by nation-states but rather by cowardly individuals who we should arrest and try as our justice system demands. We must react with righteousness and justice and not allow ourselves to succumb to the momentary seduction of emotional revenge.

And if we do retaliate, we must exercise our best efforts, as we have always done, to minimize collateral damage against innocent civilians. To disregard that concern because feelings are running so high is to take a path to mayhem that we will live to regret.

PREVENTING RECURRENCE

Some voices have described Tuesday's attack as a ''massive intelligence and security failure.'' That path could easily lead to frenzied finger-pointing that would distract us from necessary improvements. Of course, we must upgrade air travel safety through a greater government role in airport security, rather than airline hired-security employees. Some airline pilots and other observers have deemed current security at some U.S. airports as a ''farce.'' We now know the terrible price paid for our neglect.

Similarly, intelligence collection about potential threats must be improved. We should not underestimate U.S. technical and human intelligence capabilities and past FBI and CIA successes in detecting and disrupting terrorists' plans. Nevertheless, Tuesday's disaster demands improved analysis of information that pours in daily. If that is now hindered by ''information overload'', we must deal with that. But in intelligence, as in athletics, the best defense is a good offense. The best way to defend against terrorism is to penetrate terrorist groups in order to preempt their plots before they begin. We have probably neglected this aspect of intelligence gathering, preferring instead to rely on the latest technology. This must change.

But as we take bold steps to ensure our security, we must be equally vigilant to protect our liberties. On Tuesday, one TV network commentator, during an interview, flatly asked what civil liberties should be cut back for certain groups in this country. There is always tension between public safety and liberty, a tension that we have tested each time we faced a new threat. Americans are proud of our commitment to protecting citizens from foreign and domestic threats without abandoning the Constitution's guarantee of civil liberties. There has been backsliding, to be sure, such as the relocation of innocent Japanese-American families in the post-Pearl Harbor panic. While the Supreme Court later upheld the constitutionality of that action in the *Korematsu* case, most scholars now regard that as one of the modern Court's most shameful decisions. Eventually, the U.S. Government apologized to the surviving victims and provided compensation. Thus, history demonstrates that we must periodically review the delicate balance between national security and civil liberty, and that when the balance is readjusted it should be done cautiously, with great care and with an eye beyond today's headlines. Just as terrorism can destroy lives and property, so can it destroy us from within, causing us to turn our back on our most treasured freedoms.

PREVENTING SCAPEGOATING

Times of great stress also spawn scapegoating. These are very stressful times for America, and signs of scapegoating have already surfaced. The twentieth century has taught us the terrible consequences of directing hostility toward an entire group of people. America has a long, difficult history of struggling to overcome discrimination simply on the basis of religion ethnicity and race. Now, we must guard against turning diffuse feelings of anger against a whole group of Americans such as Muslims or Arabs, if a handful of their members are accused of Tuesday's murders. Already, shops and businesses owned by Americans of Arab descent—and I emphasize ''Americans''—have been trashed and in some cases burned. Individuals have been attacked. These hate crimes must be stopped immediately. Federal, state and local officials should use their powers of persuasion and publicity to stop it and, if necessary, vigorously enforce every applicable law. I will ask the appropriate authorities in Detroit to convene a city-wide conference to address this danger and to exercise the necessary leadership. I have also introduced a sense of the Congress resolution condemning these hate crimes.

PREVENTING GOUGING

There is one point that I should not have to make. Regrettably it appears that I do. If there ever were a time when all Americans should show a spirit of cooperation, collaboration, and mutual concern surely this tragedy is it. Yet there are credible reports of price gouging, profiteering, and other despicable efforts to exploit the situation fuel prices have soared in parts of the Midwest have jumped alarmingly. The mayor of New York has had to warn grocers and other merchants against raising prices as customers seek to stock up in the face of uncertainty. This selfish behavior is intolerable. I am calling on the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the Federal Trade Commission to immediately establish a joint task force to police and pursue any abrupt price hikes in energy fuels.

I also commend my state's Attorney General, Jennifer Granholm, for taking legal action against nine Michigan gas stations accused of price gouging. In notice of intended action served yesterday and today, Granholm accuses each station of charging prices for gas that are ''grossly in excess'' of the market-based price at which gasoline would normally be sold. The Michigan Consumer Protection Act expressly prohibits such sales practices as unfair and unconscionable under the law.

Next, I will turn to the specific language of this resolution.

THE RESOLUTION

In terms of the specifics of the resolution, as ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, I believe it is important that the RECORD reflect what the resolution does and does not do.

By not declaring war, the resolution preserves our precious civil liberties. This is important because declarations of war trigger broad statutes that not only criminalize interference with troops and recruitment but also authorize the President to apprehend ''alien enemies.'' Having said that, the President has declared that we are in a national emergency. Such an emergency triggers other, less severe statutes, including criminal prohibitions on the destruction of war materials.

Second, this resolution does not give the President perpetual authority to use military

force. Not only does Congress have the constitutional duty to oversee the President's use of our men and women in uniform, if has every expectation of revisiting the President's need of the Armed Forces during his pursuit of the terrorists. Should Congress later determine that the President needs more or less authority than he has been given, we will act accordingly.

Finally, this resolution implicitly requires that the President comply with section 4(a) of the War Powers Resolution. That section requires the President to report to Congress whenever U.S. Armed Forces are introduced into hostilities, into foreign territories while equipped for combat, or into foreign territories to substantially enlarge an existing force. These reports will allow Congress to ensure that the needs of the President and the Armed Forces are being met during this on-going crisis.

Mr. Speaker, let us grieve for the victims. Let us restore the destruction. But let us also rededicate ourselves to preserving those very principles that have been the ultimate source of America's strength.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, this week my emotions have run the gamut. On the one hand I have seen my son take a step closer to becoming the youngest mayor in the history of Detroit. Yet, my joy has been destroyed by the hands that inflicted the worst attack against the United States since Pearl Harbor. I share the pain of Tuesday's attack with millions of Americans who have witnessed the subsequent carnage. My emotions cry out for retribution; yet my head tells me that while we must be resolute, we must also be deliberate and circumspect.

For now, as a nation, we stand at the edge of the abyss. We are poised to make the leap that our nation has rarely been called on to make; yet when called to do so, we have leaped with everything that we have. We are poised today to leap into the abyss of war and we cannot do so timidly. Our determination to triumph over terrorism must be resolute and undeterred. It is with a heavy heart that I stand before the American people prepared to tip my hand in favor of using military force. War intrinsically means the loss of lives. And I know that, in addition to the blood that has already been shed, our actions today will sanction further bloodshed of our sons and daughters. However, there are times when circumstance leaves us no choice. Tuesday's attack has left no doubt that our enemies seek to bring America under siege. We have no choice but to protect ourselves, and I have no choice but to support this joint resolution authorizing the President to respond militarily against our enemies.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution, which authorizes the use of force against those responsible for planning and carrying out Tuesday's horrific terrorist attacks. I don't take this lightly. Authorizing the use of our military is one of the most awesome responsibilities we have as members of this body. But at this moment we have no choice. We know the hijackers had ties to Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organization, which also bombed our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and attacked the U.S.S. *Cole.*

The American people will no longer tolerate these barbaric acts. We must do whatever it takes, including the use of military force, to tract down bin Laden and destroy his organization. But this isn't just about bin Laden. There are other radical groups that engage in international terrorism, including Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. To win the war against terrorism, we must eliminate the entire infrastructure that sustains these organizations.

This will involve getting tough with governments that aid and harbor terrorists. Syria allows Hezbollah to operate freely in Southern Lebanon. Iran recently hosted a terrorist "summit," and routinely provides arms and other assistance to Hezbollah and other radical groups. bin Laden is a "guest" of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The suicide bombers of Islamic Jihad and Hamas are nurtured by the Palestinian Authority.

The time has come for these and other governments to make a fundamental choice: Will they continue to support those responsible for taking the lives of thousands of innocent men, women and children? Or will they realize the error of their ways and end their financing, facilitating and harboring of terrorists and their organizational infrastructure, and their state-sponsored incitement of terrorist acts? For if they choose to continue their present course they are not states of concern, they are not rogue states, they are our enemies.

I applaud the administration's efforts to assemble an international coalition to fight terrorism. Working with our allies and other nations concerned about this scourge, we have a real opportunity to make the world safer for freedom and democracy.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Mr. Speaker, I will miss the rollcall vote on H.J. Res. 64, which will formally authorizes the use of military force against the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001.

I have scheduled very important meetings in California over the weekend and Monday with district employers and employees to discuss the defense budget and other matters of national security. These meetings have been scheduled for some time, and cannot be easily reconfigured. Therefore, during the vote I will be unavoidably detained. The events of September 11 were horrific, and I request that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reflect that had I been present and voting, I would have cast my vote in favor of the resolution authorizing the use of military force.

Mr. OSE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give the President the authorization and support he needs to respond to the acts of terror committed this week against the American people.

When I was elected to this House, I took an oath to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic." Today I reaffirm that vow by giving the President the authority to prosecute the battle against our enemies wherever they may hide.

The armed forces of the United States are the best in the world. And the men and women serving in them are ready to act and know our cause to be just.

There is no justification for these despicable actions. There is no justification for providing support or assistance to those who would wage war against innocent men, women and children. There is no place to hide from our coming actions.

In the words of another great President who led this nation in a time of turmoil, Abraham Lincoln, "Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution and in doing so, I stand in support of the President, the men and women of our Armed Forces, and Americans everywhere.

This egregious crime has struck the heart and soul of America but we will not falter or fail in our ideals and values; we will recover. This process is underway in the rescue, recovery and investigative efforts happening in Pennsylvania, New York, and the Washington DC, areas.

Last night both bodies of Congress passed a supplemental aid package to assist the President in providing necessary aid and support in the wake of these tragedies. Now, Congress should give the President the authority to find and punish those responsible for these crimes against humanity.

If the goal of these attacks was to demoralize or scare America and other peace loving nations, let me be clear in saying that these terrorists failed their mission. I say to them, your ungodly actions will be punished. We are a strong and united America.

The deplorable events that occurred on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, were undeniably an act of war. There is no other way to classify the murder of defenseless, innocent civilians. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this resolution, giving the President our support to reinforce that the use of terror as a weapon will never be tolerated.

The SPEAKER. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the joint resolution is considered as having been read for amendment and the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. TIERNEY

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. TIERNEY. I am, in its current form, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TIERNEY moves to recommit the joint resolution H.J. Res. 64 to the Committee on International Relations with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Add at the end the following new section:

SEC. 3. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; CONSULTATION.

(a) REPORTS.—At least once every 60 days after the date of the enactment of this resolution, the President shall submit to Congress a summary on the status of efforts made to carry out this resolution.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that, in addition to complying with subsection (a), the President should comply with all other reporting and consultation requirements under applicable provisions of law, including sections 3 and 4 of the War Powers Resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. TIERNEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I join all of our colleagues and all Americans in our sorrow for Tuesday's victims and in our outrage for the despicable acts of cowardice which have so changed our lives. Tonight, we show our unity; and by so doing we serve notice that we, as a Nation, are resolved to hold accountable those responsible for Tuesday's terrorism.

As we go forward, I do not think this Congress wants to purposely abdicate its constitutional obligations and responsibilities. It seems unlikely that this Congress would knowingly deny itself the information that may well be necessary in the future in order to intelligently carry out its work with the President in meeting their shared responsibilities in the area of national security. Yet if we pass the resolution tonight, without first adding the language of this motion to recommit, I am concerned that that is precisely what might occur.

As written, the joint resolution refers to the War Powers Resolution but 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 and clarify 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.

□ 2245

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 a straightforward 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 is 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 no less, and our obligation to American citizens everywhere demands at least that much.

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. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the motion of 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 reimpose 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.

More 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 reimpose—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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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.

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I urge my colleagues to defeat the motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 420, nays 1, not voting 10, as follows:

[Roll No. 342]

YEAS—420

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Akin
Allen
Andrews
Armey
Baca
Bachus
Baird
Baker
Baldacci
Baldwin
Barcia
Barr
Barrett
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Becerra
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blagojevich
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehlert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bonior
Bono
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Brown (SC)
Bryant
Burr
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Cannon
Cantor
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Carson (IN)
Carson (OK)
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Coble
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cooksey
Costello
Cox
Coyne
Cramer
Crane
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cubin
Culberson
Cummings
Cunningham
Davis (CA)
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
Davis, Jo Ann
Davis, Tom
Deal
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
Engel
English
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Fattah
Ferguson
Filner
Flake
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Frank
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Ganske
Gekas
Gephardt
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Graves
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Grucci
Gutierrez
Gutknecht
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Harman
Hart
Hastert
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill
Hilleary
Hilliard
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hooley
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Hyde
Inslee
Isakson
Israel
Issa
Istook
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Keller
Kelly
Kennedy (MN)
Kennedy (RI)
Kerns
Kildee
Kind (WI)
Kingston
Kirk
Kleczka
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Langevin
Lantos
Largent
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Leach
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Manzullo
Markey
Mascara
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCrery
McDermott
McGovern
McHugh
McInnis
McIntyre
McKeon
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Mica
Millender-McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Mink
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Morella
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Osborne
Ose
Otter
Owens
Oxley
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor
Paul
Payne
Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Phelps
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Putnam
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Rivers
Rodriguez
Roemer
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Ross
Rothman
Roukema
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Sabo
Sanders
Sandlin
Sawyer
Schaffer
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schrock
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simmons
Simpson
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Solis
Souder
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stump
Stupak
Sununu
Sweeney
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thomas
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thornberry
Thune
Thurman
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Toomey
Towns
Traficant
Turner
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Upton
Velázquez
Visclosky
Vitter
Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Waters
Watkins (OK)
Watson (CA)
Watt (NC)
Watts (OK)
Waxman
Weiner
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Wexler
Whitfield
Wicker
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NAYS—1

Lee

NOT VOTING—10

Ballenger
Conyers
Farr
Kilpatrick
King (NY)
Lipinski
Petri
Sanchez
Saxton
Wilson

□ 2317

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. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and the Committee on Ways and Means be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2891) to preserve the continued viability of the United States air transportation system, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). Will the gentleman from Alaska withdraw his request momentarily?

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.

CONDEMNING 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

discharged from further consideration of the resolution (H. Res. 238) condemning any price gouging with respect to motor fuels during the hours and days after the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not intend to object, but yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BARTON) to explain his request.

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, we also want to thank the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. BOUCHER), and all of the other minority members of the Committee on Energy and Commerce for working with the majority on this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution puts the House on record in condemning any acts of price gouging in gasoline or other motor fuels occurring after Tuesday's tragic events. Since Tuesday, there have been widespread media reports about gas stations in some parts of the country jacking up gas prices to as much as $6 per gallon, more than a 300 percent increase.

While America sat stunned and friends and relatives wondered about the well-being of their loved ones, while parts of the country struggled to evacuate government buildings and tourist attractions, while our Nation's emergency response crews mobilized, some vendors were trying to line their own pockets. If this activity is not illegal, it is certainly disgraceful.

This resolution, on a bipartisan fashion, condemns price gouging, wherever it exists. Although prices may have returned to normal, and in most cases prices never escalated, the fact is, the potential remains for consumer abuse. This type of behavior undermines consumer confidence and contributes to public uncertainty during times of crisis, and must not be tolerated.

This resolution calls on State and Federal agencies to investigate allegations of price gouging and to prosecute to the fullest extent of the law any violations of the law. There has been no disruption in our Nation's fuel supply. Production is up, stocks are full, and distribution is operating at normal levels. There is no reason, I repeat, there is no reason to jack up prices. We will get through this crisis intact, and America will be stronger than ever.

Tuesday, September 11, was a day of decision. International terrorists decided to test America's will, and Americans decided to defeat them once and for all. This is not a time to let deceptive gasoline dealers double-deal the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that we can pass this resolution by unanimous consent.

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to my friend, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. TAUZIN), the full committee chairman.

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding. Let me thank the chairman of the Subcommittee on Energy for the work on this bill. Most particularly let me thank the ranking member, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL), the staffs of our two committees, and all of you for the work you have done in bringing this bill to the floor.

The bottom line is this resolution condemns Americans taking advantage of other Americans in the middle of a crisis, when there is no need whatsoever to raise gasoline prices.

There is ample fuel out there for every American. This resolution condemns such taking advantage for greed purposes of other Americans in the middle of this crisis and calls for the Federal Trade Commission to commence an immediate investigation and for the prosecution under State law of those who may have violated the law.

Like all the things we have done this week in the middle of this crisis, this resolution represents incredible bipartisan effort. The drafting was done together, we bring it to the floor together, and we urge its immediate adoption.

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KLECZKA).

Mr. KLECZKA. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman for yielding. Let me also recognize the chairman of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. TAUZIN). I spoke to him numerous times this week.

I have heard about this from Members on the floor. The gentleman from Alabama indicated that in his district the gas prices went to over $5 a gallon. The Midwest, Wisconsin and Milwaukee, has had problems throughout these last couple of years. Basically, it surrounds reformulated gas. We are trying to work with EPA and correct some of that problem.

But then, lo and behold, we have the worst tragedy to beset this Nation on Tuesday; and operators in the city of Milwaukee, like some other unsatisfactory operators, have to raise the price of gas dramatically.

This does not resolve the problem, but I think it puts those types of characters on notice that Congress is not going to stand for it and the FTC should not stand for it. And I have a further caveat or addition to the resolution, and that is, the consumers in those areas should make note of those stations and boycott them. You run a couple of these buggers out of business and the problem is going to resolve itself.

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, continuing to reserve the right to object, I yield further to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BARTON).

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I hope we can pass this resolution by unanimous consent.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H.Res. 238.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, continuing my reservation of objection, I want to thank my good friend from Texas, the chairman of the subcommittee, for his efforts on this bipartisan resolution. The vast majority of the Nation's oil producers, refiners, distributors, and retailers reacted to Tuesday's horrendous events with the same outrage and with the same attention to patriotic duty, as the rest of the Nation did.

Unfortunately, a very small and clearly contemptible minority, including some in the Midwest, chose to exploit this tragedy for selfish end. This resolution not only condemns these actions and urges justice be brought to bear, but it isolates those gougers by showing where the American people and the industry stand on this matter.

Mr. Speaker, the minority fully concurs in the unanimous consent request made by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BARTON.) I urge adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 238

Whereas the retail price of motor fuels reportedly rose by as much as 300 percent in several locations in the United States during the hours and days after the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001;

Whereas reliable reports suggest that the inventory of motor fuels in the United States was adequate during that period;

Whereas no significant disruptions in the availability of motor fuels were reported as a result of the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001;

Whereas several of the Nation's oil companies pledged to hold their fuel prices steady during the period immediately following the terrorist acts;

Whereas the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has announced that all of its member countries ''remain committed to continuing their policy of strengthening market stability and ensuring that sufficient supplies are available to satisfy market needs'' and ''are prepared to use

their spare capacity, if deemed necessary, to achieve those goals'';

Whereas some vendors of motor fuels in the United States may have taken advantage of the uncertainty created by the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001, by knowingly charging in excess of a reasonable price for motor fuels, a practice commonly known as ''price gouging''; and

Whereas price gouging is detrimental to consumer confidence and the economy of the United States, and was particularly detrimental during the hours and days after the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) condemns any price gouging with respect to motor fuels during the hours and days after the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001; and

(2) urges the appropriate Federal and State agencies to investigate any incidents of price gouging with respect to motor fuels during the hours and days after the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001, and to prosecute any violations of law discovered as a result of the investigations.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PRESERVING VIABILITY OF UNITED STATES AIR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and the Committee on Ways and Means be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2891) to preserve the continued viability of the United States air transportation system, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure for a brief explanation of the pending legislation.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend, the ranking member on the committee, for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, on September 11, 2001, the FAA grounded every air carrier in this country within a 2-hour period. This is absolutely necessary for the safety and protection of our country and our people. Remember, September 11, this tragic incident, but the aviation industry immediately and cooperatively obeyed the order, without any resistance or debate. As private industries, they put the welfare of the American people above their own profit and their own welfare.

Unfortunately, we are now facing a serious crisis that may result in a severe reduction in our air transportation system.

□ 2330

We will be, in the very near future, facing layoffs of the airline industry, reductions in flights. And those in Texas will not fly; may you walk and may you die in the desert. There will be reduced capacity and other significant effects, because the air industry in this Nation is one of the most important parts of our commercial fleet.

The ripple effect on our economy will be enormous. We are an economy built on the ability to move goods and people at a reasonable cost. The purpose of H.R. 2891 is to keep our U.S. air transportation system alive and able to serve its important functions for our country, because we shut down the industry.

The bill will provide an immediate ability to the President to provide loans and other assistance to U.S. air carriers, and also to compensate those carriers who can document direct losses because of the actions of our government to protect our national security. This authority would only be for 6 months. For 6 months, ride your horses. It is to provide short-term assistance. Any claim for losses has to be documented and proven. The current crisis requires this action be taken as quickly as possible to preserve not only the financial viability of the airlines, but also to protect the general public welfare.

May I suggest, those that may object to this, understand one thing: rail, road, ship and air. I am the chairman of the Committee on Transportation, and if my colleagues decide not to support this bill, then my colleagues suffer the facts, because my colleagues will not be able to fly. And I said, ride your horses, paddle your canoes, and go where you think you may go. But the airline industry, and I am the chairman of this committee, is in serious, serious trouble. Not because of today, necessarily, not because of the past, but because this tragedy was not their doing. And to have someone object to this means that they say no longer is air transportation important. And let me tell my colleagues, those that want to fly, fly; but do not do it just with wings from the airplanes, fly with yourself. Try flapping your arms; you are not going to get there. You are not going to get there. And that includes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG).

My colleagues have to understand what I am saying. That is not about corporations, it is not about Social Security, it is not about the financial institutions, it is about the economy of this country. I studied this, and the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR) studied it in his time.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object. The events of Tuesday, as the chairman has already expressed, have thrown the airline industry, as the first line of target of terrorism, into an absolute tailspin. The industry has been shut down. It has no revenue streaming in, it has costs going out. It has to pay its pilots, its flight attendants, its mechanics, baggage handlers, and other personnel. They are under contract to do so. They have no revenue coming in. When air travel does resume, two revenue streams have already been denied the airlines: mail and cargo aboard passenger aircraft. Airlines are collectively losing some $340 million to $400 million a day. They have already lost over $1 billion, and over this weekend will accumulate losses of up to $5 billion. The industry could be in complete financial liquidation within a week or two.

What we have proposed in this legislation is an authorization from, listen to the language, from funds made available in subsequent acts. This is not money coming out of the appropriation we approved earlier in the day. It will have to be approved in subsequent acts, and as the chairman has already said, the airlines will have to submit specific showing of losses to the President of the United States, resulting from events that occurred on the 11th of September, and subsequently, and will have to demonstrate that their losses also resulted from the ground stop on aviation service ordered by the Secretary of Transportation.

The reach of this disaster is nationwide, and this is a $600 billion sector of our national economy. It underpins all the rest of the national economy. It gives us the greatest mobility in the world. Two-thirds of all the world's air travel occurs in the United States' airspace. Airlines today cannot get access to the lines of credit that they have lined up at financial institutions because the draw and the demand on those financial institutions is so great that they are reluctant to release the dollars available to them in lines of credit.

Secondly, financial institutions have put all the airlines on credit watch.

Third, their insurance, their liability insurance, has doubled overnight, and they carry insurance against such tragedies.

Fourth, when the terrorists struck, airlines had $35 billion in aircraft and aircraft engine orders, positioned with Boeing, Pratt & Whitney, and GE. They are going to cancel those orders and the effect is going to ripple throughout the whole national economy, with layoffs from the East Coast to the West Coast and from the north and to the south.

What we are proposing to do tonight is to get an authorization in place so that when financial markets open on Monday, airline stocks do not tank and airlines do not go under and they shut down forever. That is what this is about.

Yes, it is on short notice; no, we did not go through the hearing process. We

did not have time. We consulted with all that we could in the very short period of time. We are facing an airline crisis and the airlines need some recognition that Congress will act to prevent a financial liquidation of the airline industry.

Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. ABERCROMBIE).

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I say to my colleagues, please, because I know there is some question about objection. I am pleading with my colleagues, I am making a plea to my colleagues, one Member to another. Every one of my colleagues know me here, some longer than others. Every one of us are colleagues here. Every one of us understands that if another Member asks something of someone, that something is fundamental to the very well-being of their constituents. Please give the benefit of the doubt.

That is what this is about tonight. I realize, as both the chairman and as the ranking member have made clear, I am sure there are a myriad of difficulties associated with this proposition, but there is good and sufficient time subsequent to tonight to deal with all of those. I am sure the chairman would agree and that the ranking member would agree.

□ 2340

I am here to tell Members that the State of Hawaii is at risk of bankruptcy if there is not confidence in the people of this country being able to fly. I am not trying to deal with hyperbole, I am not trying to deal in rhetorical flights, I am saying the basic, fundamental, fiscal facts of life for my State.

I am pleading with the gentleman. Surely none of us are sufficiently filled with wisdom to understand the ramifications of every nuance of this legislation, but we have to have enough confidence and trust in one another to give ourselves the opportunity to come to grips with these various problems, including, Mr. Speaker, the most fundamental one.

What terrorists seek to do is not necessarily to kill people. If that happens, from their point of view, well and good. But they seek to instill fear and discord and anxiety and loss of confidence. That is what this is all about. We cannot succumb to that or they win.

There is not a person in here, Mr. Speaker, since Tuesday, that has cast a vote with which they were completely at ease. I do not believe that a single Member here has been completely at ease, or maybe even mostly at ease with every vote.

But I plead with any Member who is thinking of objecting tonight, please do not do it. Please give us the opportunity to act as colleagues. Please do not put at risk millions of jobs, not tens of thousands, millions of jobs. Do not forget that most of the foodstuffs in this country travel by air. The exports from State to State, it is not just road, it is in the air.

So we must not take a chance that the legislation that has been crafted and the money associated with it will be dealt with anything other than in circumstances in which the greatest possible care will be taken when it comes to the floor after conference.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Further reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAFALCE).

Mr. LAFALCE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Yesterday I stood up within the Democratic Caucus and I said, ''It is going to be necessary, in my judgment, to come to the assistance of the airline industry of the United States.'' I said that I believe that our financial institution and our regulators stand ready to use all the powers that they have under law to do that.

I was a bit dumbfounded today when, in the caucus at approximately 4:30, the Democratic Caucus, I found out for the first time that we might be considering a bill that was intended or that we consider a bill authorizing up to $15 billion, $12.5 billion in loans or loan guarantees, and $2.5 billion for compensation, grants for direct losses.

I expressed some concerns in our Caucus about that, rather strong concerns. I went back to my office, and I discussed it with my staff. My staff said, this is already being reported in The Washington Post. It is a virtual done deal.

I went to the Internet, to The Washington Post, and they ran a story at 4 o'clock and the story at 4 o'clock quoted the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR) as saying that we were going to consider a bill tonight that authorized up to $2 billion in loan guarantees and $2 billion in grants, a total of $4 billion. So sometime between 4 o'clock and 4:30, the $4 billion went to $15 billion. Now, I am not sure about the accuracy of that story on the Internet in The Washington Post, but that is a big jump in half an hour.

I know I said yesterday we were going to have to help the industry, but I was a bit surprised at how this is evolving. First of all, we know the Senate is not going to act at the earliest until Thursday. I do not know if they are going to go along with this.

Secondly, I saw the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. OXLEY) on the floor yesterday. I said to him, ''We have to get to the Senate. The House passed the Defense Production Act, which expires September 30. We have to make sure that the Senate passes the exact same bill.''

Under the Defense Production Act, the President already has the authority to do, in my judgment, what we are doing in this bill. I suppose Members could argue that, but we have always interpreted it broadly. Okay. That could be debated. I appreciate that.

But there is another issue. I have been concerned about insurance. I have been concerned with whether or not insurance policies which cover businesses might be interpreted by insurance companies not to cover acts of terrorism, as called for, because there are exceptions, acts of war, and they might argue.

So I talked with the superintendent of insurance of New York, and he said to his knowledge all the domestic insurers that he has talked to, and the reinsurers, are being very forthcoming, saying immediately, ''We are going to pay for these acts of terrorism. We are not even going to argue that there is a possibility that there was an act of war. We are paying for it.''

I suspect but do not know, and maybe Members could educate me, that every airline has property and casualty insurance for damage to the planes, and reinsurance; and secondly, business interruption insurance. But I do not know this.

The point is, we need to look into this. I do not know whether they do or do not have full insurance for their losses, or insurance for their business interruption, but most businesses I know do have adequate property and casualty insurance and reinsurance, and do, in fact, have business interruption insurance.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I just want to make the point that airlines do not have business interruption insurance as a regular course of business.

Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAFALCE).

Mr. LAFALCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask the gentleman, why not?

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, this is the not the time to debate why not.

Mr. LAFALCE. Mr. Speaker, the last point I want to make is we have to be very careful when we pass loan guarantee legislation that we establish conditionality. I mean banks establish conditionality. The World Bank, the IMF established conditionality. We established conditionality with the Chrysler loan guarantee bill. We got some warrants for it, too. We made money on it. We establish conditionality with New York City. If we are going to do this, and if by some chance this passes tonight, we ought not to come back with a conference report until all these questions are raised under the strongest possible conditions.

Having said that, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I appreciate the gentleman's comments.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I yield.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The gentleman from Alaska will suspend. The time is being controlled right now by the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I understand that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alaska will suspend. The time is being controlled by the gentleman from Minnesota. Will the gentleman from Alaska let the gentleman from Minnesota give him the floor.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I thought he did that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. He has not. The gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I am amazed. You are a little slow.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield to the Chairman.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Do not shake your head, Mr. Speaker. I am also a Member, just as you are.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alaska will suspend. The time is controlled by the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to our chairman, the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman, and out of respect to the Speaker, he is not too quick when it comes to picking up when the gentleman yielded to me.

I would also say just one thing. What bothers me most about this debate is what we are thinking about is the time frame. If we do not do something tonight and the market opens up Monday, I want everybody to think about this, we are hoping and I am praying because I have been through about four of these and some of you have not, being one of the seniors Members of this House. When most of the American people come back and, in fact, believe in America and the faith of America and will not drop the stock market. I have watched this. Check the Gulf War. Check World War II. Check the Korean war and the Vietnam. I have been all through them.

I believe the American people will, in fact, stand up and say yes we are willing to invest; but I will tell you what will happen. We have airline industry on the verge of collapse, and if we do not lay down a mark in the sand and say, yes, we are willing, because of action of our government to back up those airline industries to allow some moneys, they will start going down and every other stock will start following it. Keep that in mind. Keep in mind what I am saying here.

I may be wrong, I hope I am wrong, but if you do not pass this tonight, and Thursday when we have a crash, I hope that those who object to this understand what I am saying because you have created it.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, and I respect the gentleman's heartfelt comments, I yield under my reservation to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY).

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and let me say I do not think anyone who is raising questions tonight is trying to do anything except meet our constitutional responsibilities to know what we are doing before we spend taxpayers' money.

Now, the gentleman from Alaska is a good friend of all of ours; and he has conveyed to us a sense of urgency and he has also conveyed the message that somehow if we do not do what he wants, do it on the basis of almost no explanation and something bad happens, it is our fault.

I would suggest I would like to have fewer threats and more information. How about less rhetoric and more information. I would like to ask some questions. I would like to ask some questions if the gentleman would yield.

□ 2350

We have had no hearings on this. We have had no statement of position from the administration. My staff was told by some proponents of this proposition that OMB was in fact recommending it. When we called OMB, they indicated that while they had a person in the room, that person was there for observation purposes and as a resource only; that they did not have a position.

Not a single person from the administration has contacted, to my knowledge, any member of the Committee on Appropriations when we were in the conference last night arranging the dollars which the gentleman now is seeking to spend, or at least was originally. I do not think a single person from the industry talked to any of the conferees last night to explain why this needed to be turned into an appropriation.

I do not have any answer to the question of what authority the Federal Reserve has in this situation. I had been given the impression today that the Federal Reserve had some authority to establish a fund to provide loan guarantees. I would like to know what authority the Federal Reserve has. If they have not exercised that authority, I would like to know why people think they have not exercised that authority.

These are all reasonable questions that every Member, Republican or Democrat alike, has the right to have an answer to.

I would also like to note if it is being proposed, why is it not being proposed as a mandatory under those pay-go rules rather than adding to our discretionary spending? The supplemental that we passed earlier today grew in 2 days' time from $5 billion to $20 billion to $40 billion, and now people want to spend an additional $15.5 billion. That is enough to give Topsy a bad name.

Now, we have laid out a lot of questions, and I have one very serious procedural question. The language in the proposal the gentleman seeks to introduce says, ''Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President is authorized from funds made available in subsequent acts to take the following actions,'' blah, blah, blah. Now, that language, as it stands, is reasonable. But what happens if we allow this to come to the floor? What happens if the Senate, when they come back into session, takes this bill, strikes that language and allows my colleagues to take all of the money out of the funds that were just appropriated for the purposes which we appropriated before on the floor earlier?

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I will assure the gentleman that the language that is in the bill will come back from conference, or we cannot come back to this body.

Mr. OBEY. If the gentleman will continue to yield, do we have the assurance of all of the bill managers that if the Senate in fact deletes this language that this legislation will not be brought to the floor?

Mr. OBERSTAR. I have consulted with the Chair of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, which has jurisdiction over this matter, in deference to my colleague from New York, that we are bringing a proposition to the House floor in full faith, with this language, and we could not come back here without that language.

Mr. OBEY. Does the House leadership provide that same commitment?

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OBERSTAR. Further reserving my right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I am hoping the House leadership will follow the lead of the Chair of the committee and the ranking member. We work very closely, and I am confident that they will.

If they do not, it is not going to come back.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Further reserving my right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY).

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I think if this is to be considered tonight, and I think, obviously, there are other Members with other concerns, and I still have not heard an answer to the Federal Reserve question, which I think the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) may have some information on, but I think it would be very important, and I would like to hear what the gentleman from Florida says on this matter; but I think it would be very important to have understandings across the board, including from the leadership, that if that were to occur in the Senate, this vehicle would not be brought back to the House and that we would start anew with new legislation.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his observations, and we will attempt to get the resolution to the question about the Federal Reserve; but I do not know of a situation where the Federal Reserve comes in to provide the help as the gentleman has suggested.

Mr. OBEY. Would the gentleman from Minnesota consider yielding to the gentleman from South Carolina to answer the question about the Federal Reserve?

Mr. OBERSTAR. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT).

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Reserve used to have a regulation called Regulation V, for V loans. It dated back to the war but was carried over from the war and renewed each year in the Defense Production Act.

The last entity that I know which qualified for a Reg V loan was the Penn Central. They were to have obtained a $400 million V loan in the early 1970s, until the Reagan administration reversed course and decided against it on the day of closing. I know, because I was working in the Pentagon then. I was tangentially involved with it.

I do not know whether the V loan authority is still on the books, but it applied to transportation nexuses. Where significant transportation nexuses in this country were at risk, it is my recollection it was applicable to those circumstances.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for that clarification, and I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SHADEGG).

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

I would address my colleagues and point out that this has been an extraordinary week. It has been a week in which we have come together. It has been a week when we have stood united, not Republican and Democrat but American. It has been a week in which the debate on this floor has been characterized by immense unity, where we have worked together. I do not want the debate tonight to change that tone.

This is an extraordinary situation. I understand the reservations and the concerns of everybody on each side. I understand the passion of the chairman of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. I understand the concerns of others on the other side. I would simply argue that we stop and reflect. We are being asked tonight to do something extraordinary, but these are extraordinary times.

I would say that those who have expressed concerns, fiscal concerns, appropriators such as the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), who is the ranking member of that committee, has legitimate concerns here and they ought to be considered. But, again, I would argue these are extraordinary times.

The markets will open Monday morning. The signals we send on this floor are vitally important. It seems to me it is clear nothing will become law as a result of what we do tonight. We must await the action of the Senate. But we can send a signal tonight on this piece of legislation, like the signal we sent on the very last piece of legislation. We can send a signal that says the United States Congress understands that the airline industry has been massively damaged by what has happened in the last week and that colleagues like the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. ABERCROMBIE) are suffering dire consequences as a result of that.

I would like to just draw a quick analogy. As we watched in horror on Tuesday when the World Trade Center collapsed, that collapse, if you talk to an engineer, was because one floor collapsed on the other and that floor was not designed to carry the weight of two. So those two collapsed on a third. And when those two collapsed on the third, that floor was not designed to carry the weight of three, and on and on and on. So we saw the collapse straight down to the ground of the entire building.

Our enemies did not seek just to destroy the World Trade Center or the Pentagon; they seek to destroy our economy, and we had better be sure that we do not let them do that. Their goal is not merely, as the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. ABERCROMBIE) said, to kill individuals; it is to instill terror and fear and to cause us to freeze as a Nation. We must get our airlines back in the air; we must as individuals get back on those airlines. We must fly on them. Our sports games must resume. Our economy must resume in full force. And this is one minor step we could take.

I understand that there have been assurances from the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure that they will abide by the negotiated language tonight. I hope that the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, is going to express his view that that language is critical and they must agree to live with that language in the conference committee.

But if they do, I would hope that those who have a desire to object tonight, and who are thinking about objecting as a result of the fact that this is happening in extraordinary procedure, would consider the extraordinary times that we are in.

□ 0000

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, let me yield under my reservation further to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), then the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KANJORSKI), and then the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG).

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, two additional questions I would like to have answered. What is the position of the administration? Are they recommending this or are they not? Secondly, what is the budget scoring associated with this proposal? My understanding is that when we were considering loan guarantees for Amtrak, that scoring for loan guarantees was 100 percent. If that is the case, in this instance we are looking at a $15½ billion package here.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OBERSTAR. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin have a further question?

Mr. OBEY. Those are the two.

Mr. OBERSTAR. I yield to the chairman, the gentleman from Alaska for a response.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I thank the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR). The administration was in the meeting. They have no objection to this legislation. That has been made clear to me. They were very cognizant of the problem we have facing us today.

Mr. OBEY. Are they willing to ask for it so we know they have run the trap lines and think this is fiscally sound?

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Unfortunately, the trap lines today are a little bit fogged and a little bit cluttered with other things in our minds, but my information as they were sitting in our meeting with members of the leadership, the White House was there, and they had no objection at the time, and they in fact said we believe this is a go.

Mr. OBEY. That is contrary to the information from my staff.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I do not have a letter in my hand right now. We started this at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

Mr. DOGGETT. That is the whole problem. You started at 4 o'clock.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) will suspend. The time is being controlled by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR).

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OBERSTAR. I yield further to the chairman.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I want to say for those who are out of order, and they are out of order, this has been going on for 3 days. Do not tell me 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The ranking member and I have been working. We have tried to figure it out. We know the danger. We know what is going to happen. So do not anybody stand in the audience and blurt out like somebody at a circus and say in fact it started at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KANJORSKI).

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have a great deal of respect for the chairman and ranking member. I think we are in a contest here that can be easily resolved. What we are trying to do is send a message to the stock market on Monday. I think that is a reasonable thing to do.

Why do we not pass tonight a sense of the House resolution that this Congress intends to establish an emergency finance administration to take care of not only the airline industry, but potentially the insurance industry, the banking industry, or any part of our industry that may suffer as a result of the disaster of September 11.

That will take care of the message. That will give us the 4 days between now and Wednesday when we return to have sufficient consultation to see whether or not this is sufficient, whether it should be enlarged or whether it should encompass other companies, other industries and other problems. It should not be done at the 12th hour, when we are about to recess, when we all know the Senate has already recessed until next Wednesday. Nothing can be done.

In reality we are trying to send a message to the American people and to the American markets. We can accomplish that by a House resolution expressing the intent of Congress to respond. But it is a fair objection to any Member of this House not knowing what the particularities and the effects and consequences of this piece of legislation will have because we have not had the opportunity to study it. By Wednesday we can stay in town and craft a piece of legislation that will cover all those contingencies and send a broader message to the American people and the American markets that the Congress of the United States and the American government is going to see that the economy of the United States survives.

Mr. OBERSTAR. I appreciate the suggestion of the gentleman, but I respectfully observe that the airlines cannot take a resolution of Congress to the bank.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding.

I know the concern for my colleagues about the lack of the language and the concern that we have not had the time to look at this, but also know the devil is what is going to happen between now and next Thursday when we come back in. It is not just Hawaii. It is not just Chicago. It is every major city in the country. The airlines cannot do this, cannot sustain this. That is what concerns me.

If we are willing to stand here and say I am going to object because it was not brought up to me because of my committee, then I would hope that between now and next Thursday when we see the layoffs and we see what happens, because no business can continue to pay people when you are only running 25 to 30 percent of your load, I do not care what kind of business you are in. So that is what worries me. This Congress has to be flexible enough in these emergency times to be able to make sure that we have the safety net for our infrastructure, and our airlines are an important part of the infrastructure. Thank you for allowing me to speak.

Mr. OBERSTAR. I thank the gentleman. I would be happy to yield to the chairman who sought recognition earlier.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do so because I have some questions that I would like to have answered by my friend and colleague from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. YOUNG.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. That is the reason why I am down here rather than beside him. I do not want there to be any confusion which one is which.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Good or bad.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. My friend from Alaska and the chairman of the authorizing committee made the point that this is not an appropriations issue. I disagree with that. This is an appropriations issue. In fact, the first language I saw, which was about 7:30 tonight, would have taken this $15 billion from this supplemental emergency that we passed today to help recovery in New York and in Pennsylvania and in Virginia. I did not like that because we struggled to get that bill in the condition that we could all accept and vote for, which we all did. So I suggested some different language, and I believe that this new resolution or this new bill includes the language that I suggested, which was that any money coming from this bill would be subject to a subsequent appropriations bill. Am I correct?

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG).

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is correct. You prevailed.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Good. Now what I want to make sure is that because we do not have any information, as the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAFALCE) pointed out, as we had in the Chrysler loan guarantees or the New York loan guarantees, we do not have any information like that. So we do not know where we are. We quickly believe that this is going to cost about $15 billion. We used to have a little bit of information before we commit ourselves to $15 billion.

So what I am asking for, and I believe the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) asked a similar question, I want a commitment from my friend, the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG) and my friend, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR) that the language, if you ever come back from conference, that that language will be protected to guarantee that none of this money will come out of the supplemental that we passed today for the recovery from the terrible terrorist activities.

Mr. Speaker, I want a commitment on the gentleman's part, and we will not object if we can get that commitment, that the gentleman will not present a conference report here that will allow that money to come from the supplemental; that it would not, in fact, be subject to a subsequent appropriations action.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, it is my intention, as I explained to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), that is exactly what we are trying to do.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman says ''trying to do.'' I want a commitment. The gentleman from Alaska will have control over this conference.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the gentleman from Florida will be involved with it. I am sure the gentleman will be sitting beside me.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I doubt that the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG) would suggest that I be appointed as a conferee of his conference.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. If the gentleman would continue to yield, I am trying to say that we will do everything we can to protect the request of the gentleman from Florida. I cannot predict what the Senate is going to do.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Reclaiming my time, I understand that. I have been to conference many times with the Senate, but the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG) can commit what he will do; and the gentleman from Alaska, as chairman, will control that conference, and the gentleman does not have to sign a conference report unless it is what he wants it to be.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, by the time we go to conference, if our airlines are not flying, it does not mean anything. By the time we go to conference, we will know whether this system works. That is what I am suggesting. This is an emergency. My friends, this is not every day.

Mr. Speaker, I have followed this industry from the bottom of my heart for

more than 10 years, and we are in serious trouble. If my colleagues do not understand where we are today, we have serious problems. I will commit as the chairman, if they are viable, everything is working well, then we have a commitment to make sure that they achieve the goals of having the commerce capability.

□ 0010

I am not trying to take money out of an appropriation. I never have.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I take back my time. The gentleman raised a sore point here. On TEA–21 and AIR–21, you took discretionary money and you put it into mandatory accounts and you created a problem for our Members who wanted programs in our transportation bill. You took that money into those programs, you reduced the amount of discretionary money available, and then in the few dollars we had left when the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. ROGERS) brought a transportation appropriations bill on the floor here this year with some Members' projects in it, you sat right there and you, by a point of order, struck all of those projects. Do not tell me what you have done to appropriations bills.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. ROGERS), who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Let me ask the gentleman a question, or anyone here. Is there anything that would prevent the transportation authorization committee recommending to the floor and the floor passing this amount of money as a mandatory account immediately? Is there anything wrong with doing that? Why can we not do that?

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I made that suggestion several times today and was rejected several times today.

Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky. I wonder, if the gentleman will yield further, if the chairman of the authorizing committee would agree. Let us just pass the bill out of mandatory accounts, doing exactly what you are talking about.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I yield to the gentleman from California, the very distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

My understanding is that there was a language change in which the language in the bill in front of us says, ''Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President is authorized from funds made available in subsequent acts,'' which would protect the gentleman in terms of his concerns about the act passed today. I believe the gentleman's concern is that it may go over to the Senate and that language may not remain. It seems to me the appropriate commitment, if the chairman of transportation is willing to make it is, that this is the language that they commit to and that if it comes back differently, then they will not push it.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. And I agree.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I would say to the gentleman, I support that language. I offered that language today during a compromise session, and I agree with that language. I just want to make sure that is the language we will vote on when it comes back from conference. That is all I am trying to get.

Mr. THOMAS. If the gentleman will yield further, and if the commitment from the chairman of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure is that he will not support the bill if that language is not in the bill coming back from conference, if he agrees to that, is that a comfort level?

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I agree with that. I have been saying that for the last 15 minutes.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. For the last 15 minutes the gentleman has said ''if this'' and ''if that'' and ''maybe.''

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. He clarified it.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Wait just a minute. Coming back from conference and opposing a bill is one thing, but refusing to close the conference unless you like the language, that is something else. And you, as chairman, will control that.

Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky. If the gentleman will yield further, I did not hear an answer to my earlier question. Why can we not just pass a bill on the floor getting these moneys out of the mandatory accounts? Nobody would object to that. I would like an answer. Maybe there is an answer to this. Why not pass a mandatory account subsidization as we have been discussing?

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. If the gentleman will yield, without getting myself in trouble, I have agreed to your language.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. But they have already given me an answer to that several times. They are not going to do it, but they could.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I gave you an answer. I agree with your language. We support your language. We talked about this today. The gentleman from Florida knows me. I have never backed out on my word. I may take your money, but I will do it up front. I am not going to take it behind you.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. You did not take it behind me, but you sure took it.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. You bet I did, and I will do it again. But I am going to suggest one thing on this thing. What he suggested, that means a new piece of legislation. I go back to what I have said again and again. I will say it again. We are looking at a time frame. I will admit, the Senate is not going to act, but that stock market opens Monday. If we do not have an assurance that these airlines are going to be taken care of in the sense they lost because we tell them they had to sit down, they are going down and the stock market will go down with them.

Let us talk about legislation later on, but let us think about tonight. Let us not think about 3 weeks down there, 4 weeks down there, but tonight and Monday. After Monday, we have got Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and the Senate goes back in. If they do not want to do this, fine. But let us give them some line that the House of the people is backing it up and not going to let these airlines go down. And they will go down if we do not do this.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I got as much of an answer as I am going to get.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. My problem with this is that every time we ask a question about what, we get an answer about why. We understand why the gentleman thinks it is necessary to proceed. What we are trying to do is work with him honestly and earnestly in order to find out what the best way is to proceed.

Now, the gentleman from Kentucky asked a question. He deserves to have an answer.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. And I told him if you want a new piece of legislation, go for it. But you cannot do it tonight. And we are going to recess tonight.

Mr. OBEY. With all due respect, if the gentleman will yield further, we still have not heard an answer to the gentleman from Kentucky's question. It does not mean that we have to go that way, but we would like to know why that option was rejected when he has proposed it and the gentleman from Florida has proposed it.

I have two other questions I would like to get out here because we are trying to work this out. We are not trying to block this. We are trying work it out, but we need some cooperation from the people who say they want this.

Other questions I have, I still do not know what the position of the administration is, and I need to know from them. I would ask the gentleman from Missouri or anyone else who might know. We are being asked to spend what could be up to $15.5 billion. Goodbye, Social Security.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Cut that out.

Mr. OBEY. That may be perfectly reasonable because this country cannot

operate without a functioning airline system. We understand that. But we want to know whether or not the administration is in support of this or not. Secondly, I want a clear response that if the language that the gentleman from Florida is referring to is not retained in conference, that that conference will not be brought back to this House floor, period. We need answers to those two questions.

And then there is a very troubling provision which has yet to be explained in this bill. On page 5, line 2, it refers to suspension, delay or modification of any quarterly payment or other Federal financial obligations to the United States by the air carriers. Does that mean that they are delaying payroll taxes? What taxes to the U.S. government are they delaying? We are supposed to be defending taxpayers' money. We have to have answers about what this means for taxpayers' money. I have not decided what I am going to do yet. But I would like some answers before we have to decide.

□ 0020

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the Speaker for the courtesies this evening. I support the language we are talking about. I hope we can keep it.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). Is there further objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I think it was only a week ago, well, maybe not a week ago at this time, at 12:20 in the morning, but about a week ago that individuals in this House of both parties expressed their concern about our budget, our financial situation, about whether or not it would be necessary with the budgetary pressures that we have to reach into those monies that are payroll taxes, that businesses and individuals have paid in for their Social Security, and use that for other purposes.

In the tragic week that has transpired since that time, the world has been turned upside down for families in New York, in Washington, across the country. Certainly our situation with regard to the budget has been turned upside down as well. But it is not one that has made our situation better. It has made the pressures on our budget worse.

Last night this House, with no explanation as to the specific purposes for which the monies would be spent, voted to approve the expenditure of $40 billion out of what are basically Social Security monies. That number went up from $20 billion in the morning to $40 billion at night.

Perhaps there were those that were watching the success of the growth of those funds, because now, tonight, before all the bodies are removed, before the dust has settled, before perhaps all the fires are extinguished, there are those that are lining up here at the Capitol door, at the public treasury, asking that they receive some public subsidy, right out of the Social Security fund. Perhaps that subsidy is well justified. I may vote for it myself because it is so compelling. But if it is so compelling, it will be as compelling in the bright light of day as it is with insults and threats at midnight.

I feel that the taxpayers of this country are owed a better explanation than to hear about a bill at 4, with promises and and's, if's, or's and but's, that is going to take perhaps not just $2.5 billion, but perhaps $15 billion out of that Social Security money, that they are entitled to know a little more about it.

If it is so desperate and if it is so essential that this be accomplished before Monday, then I suggest we stay and work on it. I am prepared to do that. I suggest that we stay and have a hearing. If the gentleman has so much wisdom and insight on this, I suggest he convey it to us in the course of an ordinary hearing.

I have been asked tonight what it is that I want. I do not want anything special. I simply want the same consideration I would want for any expenditure of $15 billion out of the Social Security monies, and that is a fair chance to ask some questions about it, to see it deliberated, to get a little investigation to question whether there is business interruption insurance, to question whether or not there are other resources, to question those who say if we do not get all this approved by Monday, people would be laid off. What guarantee is there that they will still be hired on Monday if it is approved? To ask if it is so very, very important that we act here after the midnight hour, why the President of the United States has not found it sufficiently important to call for it in some kind of proclamation.

So, for all of those reasons, I object to doing this tonight. I certainly would have no objection to the kind of resolution the gentleman from Pennsylvania has talked about, or some other way of expressing our concern about this; but I object to this bill coming up, if it has even been filed. I suppose in the last few minutes it has.

I object to it coming up in this fashion, in this manner. It sends a signal to others who will stand at the door of the Treasury and ask for their subsidy.

Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is heard.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, did the gentleman from Texas misspeak? Did he in fact ask to continue to reserve?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection was heard from the gentleman from Texas.

CONDEMNING BIGOTRY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST ARAB-AMERICANS, AMERICAN MUSLIMS, AND AMERICANS FROM SOUTH ASIA

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res 227) condemning bigotry and violence against Arab-Americans, American Muslims, and Americans from South Asia in the wake of terrorist attacks in New York City, New York, and Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, first of all, I would like to thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the leadership of this House for bringing this resolution up. Particularly, I would like to thank the Speaker; the majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY); the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS), who has been so active; the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER); and others. We appreciate the opportunity to have this resolution come before us this evening.

Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to object to this, but I think there are Members who would like to speak on this important resolution.

I will yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS) and then to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is correct, this is a resolution which has been approved by everyone in sight and is very apropos at this moment in our Nation's history, considering the events of this past week.

The only comment I want to make before the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY) will be elucidating on the subject is that we do not want to repeat as a Nation the insidious events that took place after Pearl Harbor with respect to the treatment of Japanese-American citizens, who had to suffer the indignities which are so well chronicled and which were so noted by this Congress in recent years.

So when we talk about treating Arab-Americans in the light of what happened this past week in similar ways, this resolution goes to the heart of that series of events.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, continuing my reservation, I yield to the

distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY).

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, let me begin by thanking the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR) for drafting this legislation and thank the gentleman even more for calling it to my attention and inviting me to be part of this discussion.

Mr. Speaker, this is a serious matter. This goes to the heart of what we have been talking about for the last few days.

This Nation was attacked by criminal terrorists, barbarians. For what reasons, we do not know. Of course, we have asked ourselves why, and we have been offered a lot of reasons.

We are hurt, we are angry, we are disappointed. We intend to set this thing right. But we do not set it right, Mr. Speaker, if we paint the whole world with one brush.

These were people with hatred in their hearts. They are not all the people of a race, a religion or a creed. Indeed, most of the people in this country that are Arab-Americans, most of the people in this world who are Arabs, most of the American Muslims, most of the people in the world who are Muslims, most of the people in the world who are South Asians, are as shocked and horrified as we are.

These were criminals. These were thugs. I do not know their agenda, but it is wrong for us to spread the blame for that kind of behavior to any person other than those who are responsible. As a good decent Nation, we will hold those who are accountable, who are responsible for transgressing against the rules of human dignity accountable; and that same good decent Nation that holds them accountable with all the rigor of their law and force and might should use all the rigor of their law and force and might to speak up for and protect the innocent.

□ 0030

That is what America is about.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask that this body pass this resolution, and I would say to my Nation that I love so much, vindicate our heroes, those that have come before us and those that we now fear we will have to put on the fields of danger, by having the ability to understand that all the world's people, each and every separate person in this world, is God's child that deserves our respect and our decent care and love and affection, only when they demonstrate that they do not hold any animus.

Finally, two thoughts from our scripture. We are admonished no matter how bad things are, no matter how angry we are, do not sin in your anger, Mr. and Mrs. America. Do not diminish yourself. Secondly, even for those who are criminal perpetrators, we are told to love the sinner, but hate the sin.

Let us try to rise to an occasion, an occasion where we can demonstrate in our common ordinary business where we treat one another on the street, in their homes, in their places of religious observation, wherever we find them, irrespective of creed or national origin, that we treat everybody the same, with equal respect and decent treatment. Then, we as a Nation of people might be worthy of all that has been sacrificed by our national heroes.

Again, I thank the gentleman for bringing this to my attention. I know so many good Americans who happen to be Arab Americans, South Asian Americans, American Muslim communities, and they are hurt and they are injured and they are angry, and they too cry out with their heart, why this pain and why this harm should be brought to this great Nation. Let us let it end with us setting the better example.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the leader for his eloquent statement.

Under my reservation, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. TOM DAVIS), who has played a very important role in making this happen.

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from Michigan for his leadership on this issue.

Just in the last few days, in my district in Northern Virginia, anti-Arabic graffiti was written at a local high school. We have had an Islamic bookstore that has been vandalized.

The vast majority of American Muslims and Arabs are as appalled at these acts of terrorism as the rest of us. Many of these Muslim and Arab Americans and Sikhs came to escape this type of terrorism in their own countries, and it has come here now. But they have come here, as most of our forbears, for the freedom and the opportunity offered in America. We cannot afford to let the terrorists divide our country between Muslim and Arab and Jews and Christians. We do not want to repeat the mistakes of World War II where we singled out Japanese Americans for discrimination. We need to show that Americans stand together: Christians, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs and others in support of our President and against any type of discrimination. Against any group, discrimination cannot and should not be tolerated.

This resolution affirms our role as leaders in recognizing that no group should be singled out for discrimination simply because they share a common heritage or religious background similar to the terrorists.

I ask that we pass this resolution. Again, I commend the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR) for his leadership.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER).

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding under his reservation.

I want to say that I strongly support this resolution. I want to thank the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR) for the leadership that they have shown on this very important issue.

There are few things that outrage me more than the kind of discrimination that was just outlined by the gentleman from Virginia that has taken place. The graffiti that has come up in the wake of Tuesday's tragedy is just horrible, and we need to do everything that we can to ensure that that does not happen. I believe that this resolution should send a very strong signal about the leadership that the United States is going to take in ensuring that this kind of discrimination does not take place.

Just a little more than 12 hours ago, Mr. Speaker, Dr. Muzammil Siddiqi, the leader of the North American Islamic Society, gave the opening prayer at the very moving service that most of the Members of this body attended. I believe that his presence at that service that we attended was a very strong signal from President Bush and other leaders in this country that we are not going to tolerate that kind of discrimination which has been described already here and which, frankly, is of concern to me and to others.

Attempts to bring about generalization is something that is very tempting for a lot of people, and I will simply say that we need to caution the American people against that. That is why I chose to stay here when the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) first mentioned to me the prospect of this resolution. I wanted to voice my very strong support for it.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. Before I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. RAHALL), my good friend who is of Lebanese descent, I want to just say a few words, if the gentleman would permit me.

Like all Americans, Arab Americans, Muslims in America, Sikhs, they have strongly condemned these heinous and outrageous acts that have been perpetrated against America and its people. And like their fellow citizens of all faiths, they have joined in efforts to give blood; they have been parts of vigils around this country; they have conducted their own religious services. They were the firemen and the police that were involved in trying to rescue people in New York City. They are part of what we all are grieving and suffering from so painfully in these last 3 days, 4 days.

So I would say tonight that in the wake of this attack, it is really most unfortunate and sad and outrageous that the Arab American community

and the Muslim American community and the South Asian community, the Sikhs particularly, have been targeted with this bigotry that the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) alluded to, and violence.

Near Chicago, bigots tossed a fire bomb at an Arab American community center. In old town Alexandria, vandals attacked an Islamic bookstore, as the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) said, and two Virginia mosques received threatening phone calls. In New York, a man tried to run over a Pakistani woman in the parking lot of a shopping mall, accusing her of destroying my country, and the list goes on and on. Many of the children in the schools are fearful because of their religion or because of where their ancestors or families may have come from. Women, Muslim women are fearful about wearing their head coverings in public, as well are Sikhs who have expressed that same concern to me today. It is a serious problem.

I think not only did Muzammil Siddiqi speak today at the service, but Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, the Archbishop of Washington, spoke as well.

□ 0040

He reminded us. He said this. He reminded all Americans in prayer that: ''We must seek the guilty and not strike out against the innocent, or we become like them who are without moral guidance or direction.'' So I hope and pray in the days ahead that people will remember that.

When I was at the White House on Wednesday, the day after the tragedies, I had occasion to speak with the President and the Cabinet and the other leaders of the Congress. We talked about this issue. We raised this issue. There was agreement throughout the room that we would keep this issue in mind and in the forefront of our discussions as we proceed in the weeks and months ahead.

So I want to commend the President, because he soon thereafter condemned this bigotry on national television, and so did the Attorney General, John Ashcroft, and so did Mayor Giuliani, with quite a bit of force in New York City.

Today, we in the Congress lend our voices to this chorus for American tolerance, Mr. Speaker, and diversity, and for the rights of every American of every heritage and faith to live and worship with safety and confidence and pride.

It is very heartening to see Members on both sides of the aisle stand up in support of what this resolution says.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend, the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL), who has always been, for the 25 years he has been in the House, a leader on these issues.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend from Michigan for yielding; and I to want to commend him for bringing this to the floor this evening, as well as the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and to thank the gentleman from Michigan for his leadership on other relevant issues in this arena as well, and most particularly, his sponsorship and fight for the secret evidence legislation.

Mr. Speaker, we are all justifiably angered about the events of 9/11 last week. We, often, in our rage, in our fit of anger, say and do things that, upon reflection, we perhaps regret. But the instances that have been referred to by previous speakers, including the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR), go beyond those just temporary slips of judgment or temporary slips of the tongue. They go to what is basic about our American society, and it is really an attack upon what is basic about our military society.

Let us not forget that Arab Americans, Muslim Americans, South Asian Americans, are Americans first. They chose to come to this country in order to seek a better way of life for themselves and their families. They pay taxes. They vote. They donate to various charitable causes within their communities. They have become well respected, and they have contributed in so many walks of life, whether it be the medical profession, the legal profession. Whether it be doctors, lawyers, whether it be teachers, whether it be laborers in our factories, they have contributed so much to our American way of life.

Let us not forget as well that there were members of these communities that were in those Twin Towers that lost their lives, as well. Let us not forget that fact.

So I guess the best way to describe these attacks against Arab Americans or Muslim Americans or South Asians is, as my hometown newspaper described it today, to paraphrase my hometown paper in Beckley, West Virginia, these are yahoos that are making these attacks, yahoos who happen to pose as great a threat to our American society, to our freedoms, and to our way of life as those perpetrators of those heinous crimes against our country last Tuesday.

They are ignorant, those who espouse these attacks. They are not the majority of Americans. No, they are a small group; and fortunately, these attacks are not as prominent today as they were in past occasions, like the Gulf War or the Oklahoma City bombing. That is because more and more recognition is coming to the communities represented by Arab Americans, Muslim Americans, South Asians, because of their contributions to our American way of life.

As the gentleman from Michigan has mentioned, they have all, to the group, condemned, highly condemned, the acts of last Tuesday. They have organized themselves into blood donation drives, they are contributing their money, they are praying as hard as each of us for the victims of these crimes against our country, and for the hopes of their families and their futures.

So I commend the gentleman from Michigan and the gentleman from Pennsylvania for bringing this resolution to the floor and urge its unanimous passage.

Mr. BONIOR. I thank my colleague.

Continuing to reserve, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY), who has not only spoken out against this kind of bigotry, but has actually organized in her own district.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding to me, and the efforts and leadership of my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan, to end this kind of bigotry and discrimination.

In the face of this unspeakable assault on the American people, we have so many reasons to be proud this week. We look at the firefighters, the police, the other emergency workers who went into harm's way, and so we are celebrating as an American family an opportunity to embrace each other, even as we grieve, and congratulate those who have worked so hard to end the suffering.

At the same time there has been this one sour note, and that is, that there are those who have used this occasion to commit acts of bigotry and even violence against people who want to join with us as Americans, as residents of this country, as people offended by this act of terrorism and find themselves being the victim. It is hard for me to even imagine people who are feeling so hurt by what happened and then themselves go out in the street and find themselves to be harassed as somehow to blame for these acts of violence when they are completely innocent.

I have a district that is so diverse, all kinds of people, every race and religion and ethnic origin; and we are going to take a walk down Divine Avenue this Sunday, a street in my district that has shops, a booming commercial district of Muslims and Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Orthodox Jews, Jewish people. And we are going to walk from one end of the street to the other, just take a walk together, hand in hand, arm in arm to express our solidarity.

That is the kind of thing that we need to be doing in this hour of need in this country to help heal each other and not turn against each other, and that is the essence of this resolution that I hope everyone will support.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I think it is a beautiful idea, and I hope it is emulated around the country. I yield to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much for his leadership on this issue. He has been a continuing advocate for these issues, and as well, I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS), Chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims for bringing this particular resolution to the floor of the House. And I would certainly want to offer to the American people the fact that we are better than this.

Clearly, it is important during this time of great emotion, constantly seeing our brethren searching for those who may still live or those who do not live. It is stressful as we watch the continuous rescue efforts in New York, some still continuing at the Pentagon, the review of the heroic act of those who downed the plane in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, you want to lash out. You want to find some easing of your pain. But listening to a woman who was full of pain say we do not want them here is not the way that America shows its pain. America understands what freedom, what democracy, and what our values are all about.

So I think this is particularly important today for the Congress of the United States to use its national platform to be louder than those disjointed chords of confusion and hatred and really speak loudly to our local jurisdictions, our governors, our mayors, our county commissioners, our local law enforcement, our parishes, churches, synagogues and mosques, our community organizations, all of them, our neighbors, our schools. We must speak in one voice that we will not tolerate this kind of singling out of Americans, Arab Americans, South Asian Americans, and American Muslims.

In particular, I think one of the greater tragedies is what is happening to our children, children who have to go to and from school, children who have to mingle on school playgrounds, and it is in school classrooms and on school sports teams. What are we doing to them? Are we setting up a situation where those who believe this is the right thing to do because they heard adults say this? Are they then intimidating others who happen to be Arab American, South Asian Americans and American Muslims? We are dividing our children.

The one thing about a terrorist act is it is to instill an enormous amount of fear in society, and what happens out of fear? You begin to turn on each other. Let us show the perpetrators of these terroristic acts that we do stand against terrorism, and we are fearless. In fact, we are so fearless that we are going to unify with each other and we are going to find unity in being an American, an Arab American, South Asian American and American Muslim.

□ 0050

In my community, there is a situation going on that preceded this tragedy. A Pakistani woman lost her life through some unfortunate incident in a store. We came together with that community because we want justice. We respect civil rights, but we want to find out what happened to that woman. We are going to continue that fight and that unity.

In Houston, Texas, I believe we are going to share on Sunday afternoon as well with a community forum to have people come together and talk about how we are united and not how we are divided. So I again want to thank the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, and I also want to acknowledge the ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary, one of the original cosponsors, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS), who likewise offers very strong support for this resolution.

It is important that we pass this tonight. I am sorry that it is at 5 or 10 minutes to 1 a.m., but what this resolution will allow us to do is to go back and encourage and push our local fathers and mothers to ensure that the governments of our communities, the people of our community understand what being American is all about. I thank the gentleman again for his leadership on this. Each of us must be soldiers and, with this message, go back to convey to our communities that we will not accept this kind of intolerance.

Mr. BONIOR. I thank my colleague for her eloquent statement.

Mr. Speaker, under my reservation of objection, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER), who I have worked with on a number of these issues over the years.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I think it speaks well of all of us in this body and of our country that today, as we get to the business of designing our counterattack against savagery that has been unleashed against our countrymen, that we take this time to ensure that the rage that is felt throughout our country does not take us in the same evil direction that we plan to fight.

It is very easy to do. We understand that. Because as we are fighting a group of fanatics overseas, it is very easy for Americans to lose sight that people who perhaps are Muslim in their faith, and those people who are responsible for the attack may well and probably were Muslims, to generalize in that way. But that would be just a crime against our own citizens and against innocent people.

Our greatest strength as a Nation is that we are a people who recognize that we are of all races and of all religions. I was very proud today that at the National Cathedral we had all faiths represented there, including Islam. And if we break that strength, we are actually weakening ourselves. We as a people do not want to compromise that policy and that strength of our country, which is that we are of all races and all religions. We are bonded together by a love of liberty and a commitment to each other. U.S., United States. That means us, and us now includes many Muslim fellow citizens. And they are heartbroken, as we are, at what has happened.

Just one thought. And I will be very quick because I know other people want to express this. Bin Laden wants us to alienate all the Muslims of the world, and especially to alienate our fellow Muslim Americans. That is part of this terrorist plot. Their strategy is that we, as Americans, will be so enraged, and we have a right to be enraged and angry, that we will strike out blindly and, without thinking, will alienate all of the Muslim world against us, including those Muslims who live as Americans next door to us.

We cannot be stupid enough to fall for his strategy. We must proceed in seeking revenge for those people, our fellow citizens that have lost their lives; and we must do it in a smart way and make sure that we do not alienate those Muslims. Instead, we need to recruit and reach out to Muslims throughout the world who are good and decent people, who are freedom-loving people, who will join us in a crusade to see that a new standard of morality is set for all of mankind. And that standard is that no noncombatants will ever, no people will ever tolerate an attack and murder of noncombatants in order to achieve their ends. In this goal we can enlist the Muslim community and we should try to do so.

It would be a crime against our own goals if we in some way fell to bin Laden's strategy and tried to strike out at all Muslim countries. We need to recruit the good people of that community.

I appreciate the gentleman's leadership on this. It is really important we do this tonight.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, before I yield to my two colleagues from California, who have done very good work in this area, I want to yield, under my reservation of objection, to one of the leaders of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WU).

Mr. WU. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan for yielding to me, and I thank him for his leadership in bringing this resolution to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, as Chair of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, I have received troubling reports of incidents involving south Asians being accosted, accused. Now, grief and anger are very, very understandable this week. We have been grievously attacked. Grief and anger are understandable reactions; but we must stand

together as one people, as Americans, as unhyphenated Americans.

The goal of terrorism is to instill fear, to divide, to break down that delicate fabric of civility that holds us together. Now, heinous things happened this week, but I would like to point out what did not happen. It is my belief that the terrorists struck us and then stood back, and what they hoped would happen is that riots would break out in New York, Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, my home of Oregon; that pandemonium would prevail; abandonment of duty. Instead, people rose to the occasion as one society, as one people. People stood at their posts, did their duty even unto death, even going into buildings that were burning and collapsing. We stood together as one people this week, and we will not be divided. Americans will not accuse fellow Americans based on race, religion, ethnicity, or national origin.

Tonight, I was at a candlelight vigil at the memorial for the internment of Japanese Americans which occurred during World War II. There are many eloquent phrases carved into the stone at that memorial, but I think the core concept which was carved into the stone there is that we must remember the mistakes of the past so that we will not repeat them. So let us, as we launch into this future, let us be at our best. Let us remember and learn from past errors. Let us have the courage to face the difficult days ahead and to seize this moment to build a free and safe world for all people, regardless of background.

□ 0100

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, continuing my reservation of objection, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. ISSA).

Mr. ISSA. Mr. Speaker, it is beyond my possible understanding how in America, even the isolated incidents that have happened, could happen if we really view what those same people would like to have us do. We do not know who perpetrated this crime for sure. We think it may be Osama bin Laden or his allies. We do not know if Osama bin Laden is backed completely by Iraq or by other groups. We are not sure where the money comes from.

It is my personal wish, and I believe this body's wish, to find out; and once we find out, we eradicate the capability of those people who struck us so viciously once and for all. That is a reasonable response, and I believe America wants to make that response.

But we cannot make that response with clean hands if in fact we use the opportunity of this disaster to seek revenge against others in our society.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot explain hate, and I would not try. What I would like to do for a moment is just share something from my own youth.

When I was in high school, I worked for Rabbi Kasen in Cleveland Heights. I was in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood, which is not bad for an Arab kid from Cleveland, and I got one of the best jobs a kid could get, I was working for the rabbi delivering poultry. I did not know much about the rabbi, but over the years as I would return the car at the end of the evening back to his home rather than where I picked up the poultry, I would learn a little more and a little more.

By the time I was done working for him, I had discovered that his entire family had been wiped out in the Holocaust. He bore a tattoo on his arm, and he was a Holocaust survivor. But I discovered something else, something more important that I think everyone in America has to understand when we look at these acts of violence.

He was a man of God because he bore hatred towards no one, including those who had so terribly disrupted his and his family's life. Instead, he felt pity for them because they would know no salvation, they would know no rest. They would be the recipients of only evil forever after, while he would go on doing his little duty of running a small shop in Cleveland Heights. He would run a little shop and he would raise his children.

That lesson is a lesson America has to understand. We cannot let our grievances, no matter how great, turn into acts of violence. America has a right to respond to those who would hurt us and prevent them from doing it in the future, but we can only do that with our heads held high if we in America take the lead that Rabbi Kasen taught me as a boy, and do not seek to strike out against those who have done wrong; but rather, in fact, do not do what they did because only by, as Christians say, by turning the other cheek, will we have clean hands to seek the proper outcome, and that is justice for the acts done against us.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, continuing my reservation of objection, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA).

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. And this is a fitting time to say it. In the 9 years I have been in this Chamber, I have never seen the gentleman from Michigan take on a task, an assignment, without giving it his all, his commitment and his conviction. And I think all of us stand very proudly with the gentleman from Michigan in this case because oftentimes there are populations in this country that do not have people standing for them.

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting in this House at 1 in the morning that as we send out some powerful messages what has happened over the last few days, that we do not forget to send this message as well.

This resolution is important, and I thank the gentleman from Michigan and all those who drafted this resolution. It is important because, as we know, a house divided cannot stand. We have demonstrated tremendous resolve in this Congress in the last few days, issuing resolutions which have committed this country and our young men and women to things that perhaps we will not want to think about as days pass, but we have done it in unanimous votes or near-unanimous votes.

As we send those messages, I think it is appropriate that one of the messages that is sent will be a message to all Americans that we will stand united, that we are not a house divided, and we want everyone to know that within our house that we call America, our neighbors deserve to be treated equally, whether the individual is of Arab-American descent, whether South Asian American, whether American Muslim, we are all Americans and everyone deserves to be part of that house united.

I believe it is so important that we conclude this day's session by giving not just this message that we are prepared to take on with resolve those who chose to try to plunder this country, but also send the message that all of us recognize that this will be done as a team; that when we take on this task that Congress has set forth with the President, that it is recognizing that we are a fabric made up of so many different people.

This Sunday we will be holding memorial services for one of our Americans who perished on one of those flights that was destined to a life of infamy. We will be honoring Mrs. Tooran Boloorehi, who happens also to be Arab American.

I hope that when we have these services for all of the Americans who perished, we will remember that we are honoring them for their service, for their life, and more importantly, for the dignity that they showed in this country. It is time for us to recognize that the more we come together, the more we will be that house that not only is not divided, but is a house that will portray to the rest of the world what we can do when we bring the diversity of the world together.

Mr. Speaker, that is why at the end of the day, our resolve through these resolutions that we pass will demonstrate not only that we will defeat terrorism, but that we will bring the world together, because in America we have proven it makes no difference being hyphenated as an American or not, we will come together.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to stand with the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR) and all of my colleagues who have taken the time after a very long week to say to all of our American brothers and sisters, we stand together with them because they deserve it, and we will prove to them when they decided to come to America, they were right.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, continuing my reservation of objection, I yield to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE).

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, I have a special responsibility to speak tonight. I represent Bainbridge Island just west of Seattle. It is full of great people, and it is a great place to live. In early 1942, the United States Government herded up some American citizens of Bainbridge Island and marched them down to a dock and put them on a ferry boat and put them in camps.

I think the Congressman from that district owes it to the people now who are feeling the human passion and anger that is very understandable, to urge this country not to repeat, or even its private citizens, to repeat those kinds of mistakes.

I also have a responsibility tonight to speak in favor of this, because in my district some knuckle-head defaced a mosque in Lynnwood, Washington. Near my district, an armed man was arrested yesterday threatening to burn down a mosque. The child of my staffer's sister had to be taken out of daycare because somebody phoned in a bomb threat due to the heritage of the folks at the day-care center. I do not think those acts are American.

Mr. Speaker, let me tell the American act. Today I asked one of my staff to go to that mosque in Lynnwood, Washington and talk to the people. By happenstance, when he drove up to the mosque, there were about 50 cars that drove up loaded with foodstuffs and flowers and Christians who had come from their churches to tell that mosque that that was not an American way and not consistent with religious liberty and our brotherhood in this country. That was an American thing to do.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say I am proud of some things that are going on in my district, too. Let us tell the people who are angry about this, and I understand anger. Tomorrow morning I am going to call two of my constituents whose son was lost in the Pentagon. I understand passion and sorrow and anger.

□ 0110

But those who have it, let us tell them that if you want to have an effective strategy to win this war against terrorism, let us let the Muslim people of the world know that we stand against terrorism and for brotherhood and respect for all religious faiths.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DELAHUNT).

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. The hour is late. There probably are very few folks here in this Nation that are watching us tonight. But I think this is one of those truly great moments in the history of this institution, tonight.

Let me echo the sentiments expressed earlier by the gentleman from California about the sponsor of this legislation, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR). Since I have been here for some 5 years, there is no one that has advocated for justice, for human rights as the gentleman who will be sorely missed in this institution.

It is clear that across the Nation, the anguish and the grief runs so deep. And the events of this week have saddened us all, all Americans. It has really seared the hearts of the Members in this institution and Americans everywhere. Our pain has given rise to a profound anger. And as the gentleman from Washington indicated, it is a righteous anger. It is a righteous anger, almost in the Biblical sense of that term. Our challenge now, and truly I suggest the test of our democracy, is to harness that anger and to respond in a manner that is firm, that is clear, that is resolute and is just, and that befits a great Nation. And that not just merely respects our ideals but honors our ideals. I believe that we are doing that right now.

I have never been as proud of serving in this Chamber as I am at this very moment. So many Members have stayed, and we are all tired. We are all weary. It has been an extraordinarily emotional week for all of us. But this is truly a proud moment. Now I think it is critical that we remind ourselves and our fellow citizens that we must never confuse that righteous anger with hate. They are different.

Earlier tonight, both the majority leader, the gentleman from Texas, and the Democratic leader, the gentleman from Missouri, observed with great eloquence that America is great because America is good. That is true. We rightfully claim a unique moral voice among the family of nations. That is why, despite the imperfections that were alluded to by the gentleman from Texas in his remarks earlier, America represents the hopes and dreams of a world that truly yearns for peace, for freedom and for justice. Hatred has no place in America. Hatred had no place in America in the aftermath of the outbreak of World War II. And it has no place in America tonight. Hatred is an attack on and an insult to our values and our moral authority. Those who committed the atrocities that stunned the Nation represent the face of hatred. We can never yield to hate. For if we do, they will have robbed us, not just of our innocence but our values and our ideals and everything that this country is about.

Mr. BONIOR. I thank my colleague for a beautiful statement.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOODLATTE).

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan for yielding and for his leadership in bringing forth this resolution which I strongly support, and I do so for several reasons. First, I represent a district from rural areas and smaller cities. We do not have a large number of Arab Americans in my district. But perhaps that is all the more reason to support it. Imagine living in an area where you have come to experience the freedom and democracy and economic opportunity and live in an area where there are few other people with whom you might identify based upon your religion or your ethnic heritage. It is all the more important that we strike a blow for that very freedom, that very principle in all parts of our country. Second, this is the founding principle upon which our country was founded. People fled all parts of the world to come here to experience religious freedom and freedom from tyranny. And so many of the people who have come here from Middle Eastern lands and other lands with a Muslim heritage have done so because others in those lands have mistreated them and have not lived by the principles that we espouse in this country.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, I believe that the very success of the endeavor that we are now undertaking, which I think will be a long-term endeavor, to root out terrorism and to respond to those who have caused this hateful, devastating, despicable disaster that has taken place in this country. If we are truly going to be successful, we have to send the message that we are not directing this at anybody because of their religious beliefs or because of their ethnic heritage, we are directing this against terrorists. If we do not have that message, not only with Arab Americans in this country but with those of that background across the entire world, we will face a far greater maelstrom as we go along.

We must convince the people of the world that we are directing this as peace-loving people against those who would take away that peace and that freedom from us. If we do not convey that message, then we will be all the longer in struggling with the crisis that we face today. So I am very, very strongly resolved with the President and with every Member of this body that we are going to very forcefully respond to the terrorists who caused this despicable act. I also think we have to at the same time send forth a message that we are doing this as freedom-loving Americans who respect all other Americans and are not doing this directed at anybody from anywhere in the world simply because of their heritage or religious beliefs.

□ 0120

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, continuing my reservation, I yield to my friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH).

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan, and I want to say what an honor it has been to work with the gentleman through my time in Congress on so many concerns relating to this issue which is before us. The gentleman and I share many common beliefs, values, and constituencies.

I am privileged to have one of the largest constituencies of Arab-Americans and Muslims and Arab-Christians and Asian-Indian constituencies in the United States; and I know, as has been recited tonight, that we are talking about Americans, our brothers and sisters, individuals whose sons and daughters serve this country; individuals who have built many of our communities; individuals who provide jobs for many of our families; individuals who own and operate many of our small businesses; individuals who are stalwart citizens in the community; individuals who believe in our Constitution; individuals who believe in our way of life; individuals who help describe what is good about America.

So it is appropriate that we are here past 1 o'clock in the morning to make a statement about what America represents, about what America stands for, about the principles which bring us to this House.

Now, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR) has been in this House much longer than I have, but I will say, as someone who has had the privilege of serving in this House for almost 5 years now, every day that I come into this Chamber and I walk along this counter, I see carved in the counter certain principles expressed in single words. Starting from my left, you see the word ''peace,'' and then next to it carved in the wood is the word ''liberty,'' and right here in the center is the word ''tolerance.'' Behind me carved in wood, the word ''justice,'' and right around the corner, the word ''union.''

These principles literally physically frame our debate every minute that we are here on the floor of the House of Representatives. You cannot miss them. They look out at us every moment; and by reference, they look out at America.

Arab-Americans are our brothers and our sisters, and we have the responsibility to stand up for them, just as in the last few hours we took a stand on behalf of those poor souls who perished by claiming the right to pursue justice on their behalf, because we do not need any more victims in this country. America does not need to incur any more losses on our soil, and we do not need to incur it at the hands of American citizens turning against U.S. citizens, turning against our own people. So tonight we plead for tolerance.

Now, tonight all across America people stood outside their homes and held candles in the darkness. Those candles were held to send out the light of hope in the darkness of despair.

The previous night thousands of people surrounded the Reflecting Pool between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial, and a ring of light framed the water, reflecting the stars above.

We know that light always shines in the darkness. That is the promise of so many of our holy scriptures. We know the light of tolerance shines in the darkness of hate. We know the light of justice shines through the darkness of prejudice. We know the light of liberty shines through the dark hold of emotional, spiritual, and physical chains. We know the light of peace shines through the darkness of terrorism. We know the light of union shines through the darkness of division.

My country tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing; long may our land be bright, with freedom's holy light, protect us by thy might, great God, our king.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA).

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I certainly want to commend our majority leader, and especially the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR), our minority whip, for his sponsorship of this important resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 227, now before this body for consideration.

Mr. Speaker, I realize it is 1:30 in the morning, but this is certainly a very important issue that must be addressed by this institution. Certainly not taking anything away from the thrust of all the energies and the efforts that are made, not only by our President but by the Congress, concerning the tragedy that has just taken place in the past couple of days, but I must say that the United States Congress must express its firm opposition and strong condemnation of those in our country who advocate hatred, bigotry and racism against our fellow Americans whose cultural roots are from the Middle East, from South Asia, and especially our fellow American citizens who are members of the Muslim faith.

In my desire in echoing the sentiments of my friend from Massachusetts (Mr. DELAHUNT), I, too, would like to express my sincere appreciation and commendation to you, our minority whip, for your leadership and certainly the outstanding service that you have rendered to our Nation. I, too, will sorely miss not only your handsome face, but just being here as a fellow colleague and a Member of this institution.

I will always remember the gentleman as a true warrior, who has always advocated truly what freedom really means, the principles of human rights, and certainly the rights of working men and women all over America and their struggles and efforts in making ends meet and providing for their children.

I thank the gentleman.

I, too, would like to associate myself with the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WU), as chairman of our Asia-Pacific Congressional Caucus expressing some concerns about the hate crimes that are now evident throughout some of our communities in America simply because our fellow Americans are Arab-Americans.

We have taken also an understanding of what happened after the Oklahoma City bombing, and what was the first reaction by our local and Federal officials? It seems to me that all Arab-Americans were profiled. This is certainly not in good standing as far as I am concerned as far as what America should really be about.

I thank my good friends, the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL), the gentleman from California (Mr. ISSA), and the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA). I certainly appreciate the comments made earlier about this very important issue.

In my youth, Mr. Speaker, I lived among people from various different cultural backgrounds. This, of course, was in the State of Hawaii, where you get to appreciate what it means to be going or living alongside or being with a student who happens to be of Filipino ancestry or Japanese or Chinese or Korean or Pacific Islander, or even those who are African-Americans.

But I am always reminded, and seemingly also, Mr. Speaker, in the past couple of days, that a great many of number of our colleagues of the House have always used the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, as a reminder, and in a very similar fashion, of what happened in the past couple of days.

□ 0130

Mr. Speaker, there is a very strong distinction that I want to share with my colleagues about what happened to Americans who happened to be of Japanese ancestry. The fact that it was our government that took some 100,000 Japanese Americans, born and raised here in this Nation, confiscated their properties, took everything that belonged to them, took them to what was known as ''relocation'' camps, I call them concentration camps, and, yet, despite all the bigotry that was heaped upon the Japanese in World War II, there were some 6,700 Nisei soldiers who volunteered from California, from all over the country, and especially from the territory of Hawaii, that organized two combat units known as the 100th Battalion of the 442nd infantry combat groups, and because of the racism President Roosevelt felt, as it was also with General Marshall, that maybe in their spirit of really wanting to defend the enemies of our Nation,

sent them to Europe, which they did, they went to Europe.

I want to share with my colleagues the results of their value and the courage that they displayed in defending this flag, despite the fact that their parents and their brothers and sisters were being placed in concentration camps throughout America. Mr. Speaker, 18,000 individual declarations were given to these men who died and fought for America, the Japanese Americans. Over 9,000 Purple Hearts were awarded. The 100th Battalion was sometimes known as the Purple Heart Battalion.

Mr. Speaker, 314 percent, the casualty percentage of those Japanese Americans who fought so bravely on behalf of our Nation. Some 562 Silver Stars, medals, were honored. Ironically, only one Medal of Honor was given to these Japanese Americans and, thank God, in 1996 when Senator COCHRAN introduced a bill to review the whole efforts of why only one Medal of Honor was given, despite the fact that some 52 Distinguished Service Crosses were given to these Japanese Americans.

But in view of the recent review that was made, and for which I am very grateful, the record has now been changed to 21 Medals of Honor were given to these Japanese Americans, including the distinguished Senator from Hawaii, Senator INOUYE.

I wanted to share this with my colleagues because I do not know if I would have been able to do what they did in World War II. Put yourself in their shoes. After spilling your guts out and being wounded and all that you have done for your country and you had to come back from Europe looking for your parents and brothers and sisters in a concentration camp. I do not know if I could do that, Mr. Speaker. But this is what these men did to defend the honor of our Nation.

I say this with sincerity, because I want my colleagues to know that we are now at the shadow of getting the same type of attitude, the same type of concern of hatred and bigotry towards people who are totally innocent from what has happened. So just because it was the Japanese military that bombed Pearl Harbor, I sincerely hope, and I am sure that my colleagues will agree with me, that this should not be the case given to our fellow Arab Americans throughout this country.

Yes, we should say never again that this should ever happen to our country, but always it seems that this happens all the time. I wish I did not have to be known as a Pacific American or a Chinese American or an African American. I never hear anybody saying I am a French American or British American or German American. Why is it that we have to do these labels? Is it not ironic that this is not French America, this is not British America, this is not Russian America, this is the United States of America. We are a united America. The strength of our Nation, Mr. Speaker, lies in its diversity, and I think this is what makes us so unique. This is what makes this country so powerful and so much a great example before all of the nations of the world, what truly freedom means and what democracy is all about.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his very eloquent and passionate statement. I appreciate it.

Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. BAIRD).

Mr. BAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan for yielding me this time. I thank those who have spoken so eloquently tonight on this matter.

Mr. Speaker, in the immediate aftermath of the collision of those jets with the World Trade Center, the President of the United States addressed the people of this great country and he said, America is being tested, and he assured us that we would pass the test. We will pass that test. But we will pass it only if we pass it with compassion and unity and strength of all our diverse peoples, from all faiths, all national origins, all ethnicities, all united as one united people in this great United States of America.

These agents of aggression, of hatred against Arab Americans, are precisely the opposite of what makes this country great and what makes this country worth defending. We must stand united. We must unite to reject these acts of hatred, because we can only conquer terrorism with unity, and ultimately with love for our fellow human beings.

I rise in profound support, and I thank the gentleman from Michigan for his initiative and for all of those who have spoken on this resolution.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, under my reservation of objection, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. NEY).

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, I too want to stand to thank the gentleman for introducing what I think is a very important and critical resolution. I just wanted to reflect for a second. I know the hour is late, but I will be brief.

When the hostages were taken in Iran, I can remember clearly, there were elected officials that began to want to introduce resolutions to ask students because they were from Iran, Iranian Americans, to actually not be able to be teaching assistants or to leave, and that whole fever erupted across the country. I can remember a scene in a restaurant where there were Iranian Americans, and in fact, it was in Ohio at the time, that people were saying, why do you not go home? These people were home. That type of fever prevailed.

Now we have amongst us over 1 million Iranian Americans that live in the United States and live in neighborhoods, and people who know them, and people look back with embarrassment and shame about what happened. We do not want to see that happen again. So the feelings and thoughts have to be I think for us to realize that we need to learn our lesson and look back from what happened at that time.

Also, I just wanted to reflect on the children of people of Arab American descent and some of the comments that are made to them. It is incumbent upon us, and that is what we are doing tonight to spread this word, and to ask Americans that feel this passion for fairness to talk to other Americans when they make a comment that is a broad brush.

I want to close by saying that I lived in Iran in 1978. I have been on the other side of this type of situation, and I was there during the turbulence during the fall of the Shah. At that time I can remember Iranians who told other Iranians to not make the comments because we were obviously American in our look. I want to thank those people that helped thousands of us to not have the harassment. I have been in those shoes, in a sense, and we have to just I think as Americans, Mr. Speaker, put ourselves in the shoes of these Americans of Arab descent, and I think this message will go out. I hope the media also, I say to the gentleman, keep hammering this in, that our country was founded on fairness and freedom that has been so eloquently expressed here tonight.

I thank the gentleman for doing something good and right for the people of this country.

□ 0140

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for adding to what I think has been a very extraordinary dialogue here this evening on something that is very fundamental to what we are about as a country, and that is the words that not only the gentleman shared with us here this evening, but the words of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH) and others who referred to the notion of tolerance, justice, liberty, union, and peace. These are all ideals that we cherish deeply in our Nation.

I am so proud of the folks who came here this evening to speak and to make that differentiation that is so important to so many millions of Americans today who have lived in fear as a result of the actions that have been taken against their brothers and sisters.

Mr. Speaker, let me just end with this. The Prophet Mohammed has taught that God does not judge according to our bodies or appearances, but he looks into our hearts, he scans our hearts, and looks into our deeds.

The holy Qu'ran teaches ''Oh, Mankind, we created you from a single soul, male and female, and made you

peoples and tribes so that you may come to know one another,'' so that we may come to know one another.

As leaders and as Members of Congress, if we could take the message that we articulated so well this evening and spread that throughout our country over these next days and weeks and months, I think we will have done a good service. When the world watched our national prayer service earlier today, as many alluded to in their speeches on the floor today, they heard the healing words of many faiths: a Muslim Iman, a Jewish rabbi, and Christian clergy, Mr. Speaker.

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, the neighbors helping neighbors, strangers helping strangers, is that hate can never conquer our Nation's spirit. That is the common faith that they share, that hate can never conquer our Nation's spirit.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, this week, thousands of people in New York and Washington lost their lives in a brutal assault on our Nation that was a calculated strike at the heart of our freedom and national unity. Millions of Arab Americans, South Asian Americans and American Muslims around the country have shared our sorrow and outrage at Tuesday's terrorist attacks. They have donated their blood, their money, their food and their time to the rescue and recovery efforts at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Now these same individuals who have mourned and prayed with us have come under suspicion by their neighbors and the threat of additional violence in the form of hate crimes at their homes, schools, community centers and mosques. As a part of our effort to protect America from violence, we must unequivocally condemn the attacks against these groups and pledge to protect their civil rights and civil liberties.

My district is home to one of the largest Arab and Muslim communities in the country. It is vital that we distinguish the beliefs of these Americans from the perpetrators of Tuesday's violence, and recognize that American Muslims share our values and contribute significantly to our communities. If we fail to do so, then we will have seriously undermined freedom—the same principle we find ourselves vigorously defending in the wake of Tuesday's attacks.

All Members should stand to condemn any acts of bigotry, violence or discrimination against Arab Americans, South Asians and American Muslims and call upon Americans of every faith and heritage to stand together in this time of national crisis. We must pledge that in our pursuit of national security government agencies will work to avoid activities that encroach upon the civil rights and civil liberties of citizens or legal residents of the United States.

As we should have learned from the shameful history of internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, the civil rights and civil liberties of discrete groups of minorities should be specially considered during times of domestic and international turmoil. Our sense of community with fellow Americans of Arab and South Asian descent and those of the Muslim faith should not be counted as another casualty of Tuesday's senseless violence.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues for their time this evening, and I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 227

Whereas all Americans are united in condemning, in the strongest possible terms, the terrorists who planned and carried out the attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, and in pursuing all those responsible for these attacks and their sponsors until they are brought to justice and punished;

Whereas the Arab-American, South Asian-American, and American Muslim communities are a vital part of the Nation;

Whereas on September 12, 2001, in a mass for the Nation and the victims of the terrorist hijackings and attacks, Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, the Archbishop of Washington, D.C., reminded all Americans in prayer that ''we must seek the guilty and not strike out against the innocent or we become like them who are without moral guidance or direction'';

Whereas the heads of State of several Arab and predominantly Muslim countries have condemned the terrorist attacks on the United States and the senseless loss of innocent lives; and

Whereas vengeful threats and incidents of violence directed at law-abiding, patriotic Americans of Arab or South Asian descent, particularly the Sikh community, and adherents of the Islamic faith have already occurred: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—

(1) declares that in the quest to identify, bring to justice, and punish the perpetrators and sponsors of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, that the civil rights and civil liberties of all Americans, including Arab-Americans, American Muslims, and Americans from South Asia, should be protected; and

(2) condemns any acts of violence or discrimination against any Americans, including Arab-Americans, American Muslims, and Americans from South Asia.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Members may have 5 days within which to revise and extend and include extraneous material on H. Con. Res 227.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

AMENDING IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT TO PROVIDE PERMANENT AUTHORITY FOR ADMISSION OF ''S'' VISA NONIMMIGRANTS

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill (S. 1424) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide permanent authority for the admission of ''S'' visa nonimmigrants, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS) for a comment on the bill.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, this issue comes before us at a very appropriate time. It was about 2 days ago, maybe 3 days ago now considering the time is after midnight, authority ran out for our government, through the Attorney General, to be able to bring in alien witnesses for cases involving terrorists, of all things; meaning that when the Attorney General, the Justice Department, and the intelligence communities of our government were able to mount a case against terrorists, so appropriate in view of the events of the past week, that they could bring in people with special information under what was called the ''S'' visa, a special program to permit aliens to come in for the specific purpose of providing information and testifying, as it were, in these cases constructed by our Justice Department against terrorists.

That authority has run out, and it ran out almost immediately after the events took place in the Pentagon and in New York. So we have to reinstate it as fast as possible. That is why we are here tonight, because now it becomes even more urgent that we be in a position to be able to authorize the Attorney General to continue building the cases against these new terrorists now and others yet to come, we hope not, which we will do everything we can to prevent, but we must reinstate the authority for these special visas, these ''S'' visas that would permit this extra arm of law enforcement to work its will.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Continuing to reserve my reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman for bringing this important initiative to the floor of the House tonight, particularly with the great need that we have. It is obvious that we are in a time deep of sorrow.

And Congress continues and will continue to seek all possible avenues which would help provide assistance to

the American public in our time of need.

This legislation, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS), the chairman has indicated, is appropriate as the U.S. attorney and the Attorney General are looking to bring solution to the heinous acts that occurred this week.

The Violent Crime Control Act of 1994 created the ''S'' nonimmigrant visa classification. We need to restore this visa which expired on September 12, 2001. Without this legislation, law enforcement will not be able to bring in foreign nationals who may be able to provide their needed information. It is well known that the search for the perpetrators of the heinous acts that occurred on September 11, 2001, is an international search.

Right now, the number of visas to bring in individuals are limited, 200 visas are for those who provide critical information about crimes. Fifty visas are specifically devoted to those who can provide critical information about terrorism. An application for the ''S'' visa must be made by a Federal, State or local law enforcement agency or by a court, and once an individual enters on an ''S'' visa, he or she is admitted for the purpose of cooperating with law enforcement.

This is crucial inasmuch as our Attorney General and all of the additional officials are looking to bring some resolution, great resolution to this enormous tragedy. These visas are particularly necessary because many of these people are in danger in their home countries after they have cooperated with an investigation or testified in a criminal proceeding.

There is much that this Nation has to do to, ultimately, in our future to bring closure to the terrible loss of life. In order to do this expeditiously, we need the insight of these individuals around the world who will come and testify and bring evidence so that we can put an end to these evil acts.

This legislation, I believe, is important, and so the objection that I have expressed is one that I am willingly now prepared to withdraw and ask that my colleagues do support this legislation so that we can move expeditiously in what we need to do to solve the terrible acts that occurred this week.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. PERMANENT AUTHORITY FOR ADMISSION OF "S" VISA NONIMMIGRANTS.

Section 214(k) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1184(k)) is amended—

(1) by striking (2);

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (3), (4), and (5) as paragraphs (2), (3), and (4), respectively; and

(3) in paragraph (4)(E) (as redesignated), by striking ''paragraph (4)'' and inserting'' paragraph (3)''.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on S. 1424, the Senate bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

TERRORIST VICTIMS FLAG MEMORIAL RESOLUTION OF 2001

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on House Administration be discharged from further consideration of the resolution (H.Res. 239), providing Capitol-flown flags to each surviving victim, and the family of each deceased victim, of the terrorist attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. BAIRD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. NEY) for an explanation of the resolution.

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is here on behalf of the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the ranking member of the Committee on House Administration, and myself.

This resolution would authorize funds for the provisions of flags that have been flown over the great Capitol to the surviving victims and the families of those who lost their lives in the tragic events of September 11, 2001.

Pursuant to this resolution, those who were injured or lost a loved one in these hideous attacks would be entitled to receive, at no cost, the United States flag. I believe all Members will agree that provisions of the flag, what we believe in the flag as a symbol of our country and to give that is the least we can do to show our support for those tragically affected by these barbaric acts.

□ 0150

Mr. Speaker, as we stand here tonight, behind you is our flag, which is the greatest symbol of our country. And as we have the energetic give and take of public debate on the floor of this Chamber to do our duty, to represent freedom, to represent our constituents and our very American way of life, we recognize, I know, that we could not be here to have our debates and our agreements and our disagreements if it were not for the veterans of our country, who from the beginning of our revolution up through today, as our military stands ready always, as our troops are overseas in situations that put them in harm's way, and we always know through all of this that the colors do not run on that flag and neither have our veterans.

I mention the veterans because they are so important to us. Mr. Speaker, I believe also we should mention that we realize that somewhere in this tragic amount of individuals who have lost their lives, there are veterans; but we also recognize in fact that there are nonveterans that have also in fact lost their lives. And it is fitting that those targeted, whether veterans or nonveterans, should receive in tribute the symbol of our great Nation, the American flag, that has been flown across the United States Capitol, the structure that houses our great institutions of democracy.

Tragically, the victims of this savage attack are numerous. Though there are many victims, each should be honored. Every single one of them. This resolution will permit Members to show that they, this Congress, and our country mourn the loss deeply of our fellow citizens and we are in solidarity with those that have had the ultimate price of their lives taken away from them and we are in deepest sympathy with their families.

It has long be been the law of this Nation and of our land that when a veteran dies their family receives a flag. All those who died and were injured on September 11, 2001, again may have not been in our armed services, but they all assuredly were casualties of war, and they should be recognized as such. I hope all Members will join me in passing this resolution.

Mr. BAIRD. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the distinguished gentleman from Ohio and the gentleman from Maryland for introducing this legislation. And, parenthetically, I would like to thank them both for their support of recent efforts to counsel the staff and other Members of this body to help them deal with the events surrounding the tragedy of Tuesday.

Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, two great symbols of the United States were attacked along with thousands of our countrymen. When the symbols of the World Trade Center fell, that collapse took with it the lives of thousands of innocent men, women, young children, and senior citizens. We have grieved

since that time; and in our grief other symbols have risen up to demonstrate our solidarity with the victims, and those symbols are those familiar stars and stripes of the American flag. As those symbols have risen, they have lifted the human spirits of our population.

It is one of the tragedies of events like this that the fire and the degree of destruction will tragically not leave remains even for the loved ones who are left behind. They will be left with memories. They will be left with horrifying images, with photographs; but they will not have even the bodies, in many cases, of their loved ones to cherish. But this body today has an opportunity to give at least something to the survivors and the families, and that something is something very precious. It is an American flag. It is a flag that will have been flown over this Capitol, a Capitol that stands for the entire world as a symbol itself, a symbol of freedom.

As we look up each day in the weeks to come and we see the flags symbolizing that freedom over this building, we can know, and the families of the victims can know, that those flags stand for them, they stand for future generations, and they stand for the best this country has to offer.

With this resolution, the Congress is authorizing the giving of those flags to the survivors' families from this terrible accident; and it is our hope, however small the gesture may seem, that in some small way those flags can lift the spirits of the families as they have lifted the spirits of the Nation for many years past and for years to come.

I commend the authors of this legislation. I encourage all Americans to fly their own flags over their homes and businesses, and I hope that in some small way this bill and the flags that will be given to the families will help carry them through this difficult time, just as the flags have helped carry our Nation through many past challenges and crises.

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAIRD. Further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, I just wanted to point out, and I would be remiss if I did not do this, that though we have authored this resolution, myself and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), I want to note that this tremendous idea, this tremendous gesture, this move by this Congress to help communicate with these families that we do care that they paid the ultimate price, was the idea of the gentleman from Washington. He brought it to us. And I just wanted to commend the gentleman for bringing this idea. Although we have authored it, we really appreciate the thoughtfulness of the gentleman in proposing this.

Mr. BAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 239

Resolved,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This resolution may be cited as the ''Terrorist Victims Flag Memorial Resolution of 2001''.

SEC. 2. CAPITOL-FLOWN FLAGS FOR VICTIMS OF THE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, TERRORIST ATTACKS.

(a) AUTHORITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—At the request of a surviving victim, or the family of a deceased victim, of the terrorist attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001, the Representative of such victim or family may provide the victim or family with a Capitol-flown flag, not to exceed one flag per victim or family, together with the certificate described in paragraph (4).

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Paragraph (1) shall take effect on the date on which the Committee on House Administration approves the regulations issued by the Clerk of the House of Representatives under subsection (b).

(3) COST.—Flags shall be provided at no cost to the victims or their families. Such funds as may be necessary for the administration of this program, including the purchase and delivery of flags provided pursuant to this resolution, are hereby authorized to be appropriated from the applicable accounts of the House of Representatives.

(4) CERTIFICATE DESCRIBED.—The certificate described in this paragraph is a certificate which is signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Representatives providing the flag, and which reads as follows: ''This flag has been flown over the United States Capitol, in memory of those who perished, and to honor those who were injured, as a result of the terrorist attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001. It is presented to the surviving victims, and the families of those who lost their lives, with profound sorrow on behalf of the United States House of Representatives.''.

(b) REGULATIONS AND PROCEDURES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the date of adoption of this resolution, the Clerk shall issue regulations for carrying out this resolution, including regulations to establish procedures (including any appropriate forms, guidelines, and accompanying certificates) for requesting a Capitol-flown flag.

(2) APPROVAL BY COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION.—The regulations issued by the Clerk under paragraph (1) shall take effect upon approval by the Committee on House Administration.

(c) APPLICABILITY.—This resolution shall only apply to victims of the terrorist attacks which occurred in the United States on September 11, 2001.

(d) DEFINITIONS.—In this resolution—

(1) the term ''Capitol-flown flag'' means a United States flag flown over the United States Capitol in honor of the deceased or surviving victim for whom such flag is requested;

(2) the term ''Representative'' includes a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress; and

(3) the term ''victim'' means a person who lost his or her life in, or due to, the attacks of September 11, 2001, or who sustained physical injury due to the attacks, but does not include the aircraft hijackers and any other person determined to have taken part in those attacks.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The Speaker pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, September 14, 2001.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
The Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 2(h) of Rule II of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have the honor to transmit a sealed envelope received from the White House on September 14, 2001 at 3:56 p.m. and said to contain a message from the President whereby he submits a copy of an Executive Order and a Proclamation concerning the emergency declared as a result of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

JEFF TRANDAHL,
Clerk of the House.

DECLARATION OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY BY REASON OF CERTAIN TERRORIST ATTACKS AND ORDERING READY RESERVE OF ARMED FORCES TO ACTIVE DUTY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 107–118)

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on International Relations and ordered to be printed.

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 201 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1621), I hereby report that I have exercised my authority to declare a national emergency by reason of the terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center, New York, New York, and the Pentagon, and the continuing and immediate threat of further attacks on the United States. A copy of my proclamation is attached.

Further, I have authorized, pursuant to section 12302 of title 10, United States Code, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of Transportation with respect to the Coast Guard when it is not operating as a service within the Department of the Navy, to order to active duty units and individual

members not assigned to units of the Ready Reserve to perform such missions the Secretary of Defense may determine necessary. The deployment of United States forces to conduct operational missions in connection with the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks necessitates this action. A copy of my Executive Order implementing this action is attached.

GEORGE W. BUSH.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 14, 2001*.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. FARR of California (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today and September 15 on account of personal family business.

Ms. KILPATRICK (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today on account of official business in the district.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. KLECZKA) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SHERMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. FOLEY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. SENSENBRENNER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HANSEN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. EHLERS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KIRK, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DOOLITTLE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TANCREDO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FOLEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. NORWOOD, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WELDON of Florida, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at their own request) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEAL of Georgia, for 5 minutes, today.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Joint resolutions of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S.J. Res. 19. Joint resolution providing for the reappointment of Anne d'Harnoncourt as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution; to the Committee on House Administration.

S.J. Res. 20. Joint resolution providing for the reappointment of Roger W. Sant as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution; to the Committee on House Administration.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. Trandahl, Clerk of the House, reported and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 2133. An act to establish a commission for the purpose of encouraging and providing for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education.

H.R. 2882. An act to provide for the expedited payment of certain benefits for a public safety officer who was killed or suffered a catastrophic injury as a direct and proximate result of a personal injury sustained in the line of duty in connection with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

H.R. 2888. 2001 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 2001

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at noon on Monday, September 17, 2001.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

CORRECTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF SEPTEMBER 12, 2001

The RECORD of September 11, 2001 contained a statement by Representative CULBERSON in which the Government Printing Office erroneously inserted the word ''not''. The online version of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD has been corrected and the corrected statement follows:

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. Speaker, the House is meeting today to lend 110 percent support to our Commander-in-Chief, President George W. Bush. Every Member of Congress is completely unified in our support for President Bush to do whatever is necessary to rescue the wounded and attend to the victims and their families, and to identify those responsible for this atrocity, hunt them down, and bring them to justice.

These attacks are an act of war against the people of the United States. We will eradicate these terrorists wherever they may be and punish anyone who harbored them, anyone who gave them a nickel, and anyone who gave them comfort and aid.

Members of Congress are furious and outraged, but we will be thoughtful and deliberative in our response. Above all, we will support our Commander-in-Chief.

As Congress and our President decide how America should respond, we must be sure to remember Benjamin Franklin's warning that those who "give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 59 minutes a.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, September 17, 2001, at noon.

OATH FOR ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Under clause 13 of rule XXIII, the following Members executed the oath for access to classified information:

Neil Abercrombie, Aníbal Acevedo-Vilá, Garry L. Ackerman, Robert B. Aderholt, W. Todd Akin, Thomas H. Allen, Robert E. Andrews, Richard K. Armey, Joe Baca, Spencer Bachus, Brian Baird, Richard H. Baker, John Elias E. Baldacci, Tammy Baldwin, Cass Ballenger, James A. Barcia, Bob Barr, Thomas M. Barrett, Roscoe G. Bartlett, Joe Barton, Charles F. Bass, Xavier Becerra, Ken Bentsen, Doug Bereuter, Shelley Berkley, Howard L. Berman, Marion Berry, Judy Biggert, Michael Bilirakis, Sanford D. Bishop, Jr., Rod R. Blagojevich, Earl Blumenauer, Roy Blunt, Sherwood L. Boehlert, John A. Boehner, Henry Bonilla, David E. Bonior, Mary Bono, Robert A. Borski, Leonard L. Boswell, Rick Boucher, Allen Boyd, Kevin Brady, Robert A. Brady, Corrine Brown, Sherrod Brown, Henry E. Brown, Jr., Ed Bryant, Richard Burr, Dan Burton, Steve Buyer, Sonny Callahan, Ken Calvert, Dave Camp, Chris Cannon, Eric Cantor, Shelley Moore Capito, Lois Capps, Michael E. Capuano, Benjamin L. Cardin, Brad Carson, Julia Carson, Michael N. Castle, Steve Chabot, Saxby Chambliss, Donna M. Christensen, Wm. Lacy Clay, Eva M. Clayton, Bob Clement, James E. Clyburn, Howard Coble, Mac Collins, Larry Combest, Gary A. Condit, John Cooksey, Jerry F. Costello, Christopher Cox, William J. Coyne, Robert E. (Bud) Cramer, Jr., Philip P. Crane, Ander Crenshaw, Joseph Crowley, Barbara Cubin, John Abney Culberson, Elijah E. Cummings, Randy ''Duke'' Cunningham, Danny K. Davis, Jim Davis, Jo Ann Davis, Susan A. Davis, Thomas M. Davis, Nathan Deal, Peter A. DeFazio, Diana DeGette, William D. Delahunt, Rosa L. DeLauro, Tom DeLay, Jim DeMint, Peter Deutsch, Lincoln Diaz-Balart, Norman D. Dicks, John D. Dingell, Lloyd Doggett, Calvin M. Dooley, John T. Doolittle, Michael F. Doyle, David Dreier, John J. Duncan, Jr., Jennifer Dunn, Chet Edwards, Vernon J. Ehlers, Robert L. Ehrlich, Jr., Jo Ann Emerson, Eliot L. Engel, Phil English, Anna G. Eshoo, Bob

Etheridge, Lane Evans, Terry Everett, Eni F. H. Faleomavaega, Sam Farr, Chaka Fattah, Mike Ferguson, Bob Filner, Jeff Flake, Ernie Fletcher, Mark Foley, J. Randy Forbes, Harold E. Ford, Jr., Vito Fossella, Barney Frank, Rodney P. Frelinghuysen, Martin Frost, Elton Gallegly, Greg Ganske, George W. Gekas, Richard A. Gephardt, Jim Gibbons, Wayne T. Gilchrest, Paul E. Gillmor, Benjamin A. Gilman, Charles A. Gonzalez, Virgil H. Goode, Jr., Bob Goodlatte, Bart Gordon, Porter J. Goss, Lindsey O. Graham, Kay Granger, Sam Graves, Gene Green, Mark Green, James C. Greenwood, Felix J. Grucci, Jr., Luis Gutierrez, Gil Gutknecht, Ralph M. Hall, Tony P. Hall, James V. Hansen, Jane Harman, Melissa A. Hart, J. Dennis Hastert, Alcee L. Hastings, Doc Hastings, Robi Hayes, J. D. Hayworth, Joel Hefley, Wally Herger, Baron P. Hill, Van Hilleary, Earl F. Hilliard, Maurice D. Hinchey, Ruben Hinojosa, David L. Hobson, Joseph M. Hoeffel, Peter Hoekstra, Tim Holden, Rush D. Holt, Michael M. Honda, Darlene Hooley, Stephen Horn, John N. Hostettler, Amo Houghton, Steny H. Hoyer, Kenny C. Hulshof, Duncan Hunter, Asa Hutchinson, Henry J. Hyde, Jay Inslee, Johnny Isakson, Steve Israel, Darrell E. Issa, Ernest J. Istook, Jr., Jesse L. Jackson, Jr., Sheila Jackson-Lee, William J. Jefferson, William L. Jenkins, Christopher John, Eddie Bernice Johnson, Nancy L. Johnson, Sam Johnson, Timothy V. Johnson, Stephanie Tubbs Jones, Walter B. Jones, Paul E. Kanjorski, Marcy Kaptur, Ric Keller, Sue W. Kelly, Mark R. Kennedy, Patrick J. Kennedy, Brian D. Kerns, Dale E. Kildee, Carolyn C. Kilpatrick, Ron Kind, Peter T. King, Jack Kingston, Mark Steven Kirk, Gerald D. Kleczka, Joe Knollenberg, Jim Kolbe, Dennis J. Kucinich, John J. LaFalce, Ray LaHood, Nick Lampson, James R. Langevin, Tom Lantos, Steve Largent, Rick Larsen, John B. Larson, Tom Latham, Steven C. LaTourette, James A. Leach, Barbara Lee, Sander M. Levin, Jerry Lewis, John Lewis, Ron Lewis, John Linder, William O. Lipinski, Frank A. LoBiondo, Zoe Lofgren, Nita M. Lowey, Frank D. Lucas, Ken Lucas, Bill Luther, Carolyn B. Maloney, James H. Maloney, Donald A. Manzullo, Edward J. Markey, Frank Mascara, Jim Matheson, Robert T. Matsui, Carolyn McCarthy, Karen McCarthy, Betty McCollum, Jim McCrery, James P. McGovern, John McHugh, Scott McInnis, Mike McIntyre, Howard P. McKeon, Cynthia A. McKinney, Michael R. McNulty, Martin T. Meehan, Carrie P. Meek, Gregory W. Meeks, Robert Menendez, John L. Mica, Juanita Millender-McDonald, Dan Miller, Gary G. Miller, George Miller, Patsy T. Mink, John Joseph Moakley, Alan B. Mollohan, Dennis Moore, James P. Moran, Jerry Moran, Constance A. Morella, John P. Murtha, Sue Wilkins Myrick, Jerrold Nadler, Grace F. Napolitano, Richard E. Neal, George R. Nethercutt, Jr., Robert W. Ney Anne M. Northup, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Charlie Norwood, Jim Nussle, James L. Oberstar, David R. Obey, John W. Olver, Solomon P. Ortiz, Tom Osborne, Doug Ose, C. L. Otter, Major R. Owens, Michael G. Oxley, Frank Pallone, Jr., Bill Pascrell, Jr., Ed Pastor, Ron Paul, Donald M. Payne, Nancy Pelosi, Mike Pence, Collin C. Peterson, John E. Peterson, Thomas E. Petri, David D. Phelps, Charles W. Pickering, Joseph R. Pitts, Todd Russell Platts, Richard W. Pombo, Earl Pomeroy, Rob Portman, David E. Price, Deborah Pryce, Adam H. Putnam, Jack Quinn, George Radanovich, Nick J. Rahall, II, Jim Ramstad, Charles B. Rangel, Ralph Regula, Dennis R. Rehberg, Silvestre Reyes, Thomas M. Reynolds, Bob Riley, Lynn N. Rivers, Ciro D. Rodriguez, Tim Roemer, Harold Rogers, Mike Rogers, Dana Rohrabacher, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Mike Ross, Steven R. Rothman, Marge Roukema, Lucille Roybal-Allard, Edward R. Royce, Bobby L. Rush, Paul Ryan, Jim Ryun, Martin Olav Sabo, Loretta Sanchez, Bernard Sanders, Max Sandlin, Tom Sawyer, Jim Saxton, Joe Scarborough, Bob Schaffer, Janice D. Schakowsky, Adam B. Schiff, Edward L. Schrock, Robert C. Scott, F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr., José E. Serrano, Pete Sessions, John B. Shadegg, E. Clay Shaw, Jr., Christopher Shays, Brad Sherman, Don Sherwood, John Shimkus, Ronnie Shows, Bill Shuster, Rob Simmons, Michael K. Simpson, Norman Sisisky, Joe Skeen, Ike Skelton, Louise McIntosh Slaughter, Adam Smith, Christopher H. Smith, Lamar S. Smith, Nick Smith, Vic Snyder, Hilda L. Solis, Mark E. Souder, Floyd Spence, John N. Spratt, Jr., Cliff Stearns, Charles W. Stenholm, Ted Strickland, Bob Stump, Bart Stupak, John E. Sununu, John E. Sweeney, Thomas G. Tancredo, John S. Tanner, Ellen O. Tauscher, W.J. (Billy) Tauzin, Charles H. Taylor, Gene Taylor, Lee Terry, William M. Thomas, Bennie G. Thompson, Mike Thompson, Mac Thornberry, John R. Thune, Karen L. Thurman, Todd Tiahrt, Patrick J. Tiberi, John F. Tierney, Patrick J. Toomey, Edolphus Towns, James A. Traficant, Jr., Jim Turner, Mark Udall, Robert A. Underwood, Fred Upton, Nydia M. Velázquez, Peter J. Visclosky, David Vitter, Greg Walden, James T. Walsh, Zach Wamp, Maxine Waters, Wes Watkins, Diane E. Watson, Melvin L. Watt, J.C. Watts, Jr., Henry A. Waxman, Anthony D. Weiner, Curt Weldon, Dave Weldon, Jerry Weller, Robert Wexler, Ed Whitfield, Roger F. Wicker, Heather Wilson, Frank R. Wolf, Lynn C. Woolsey, David Wu, Albert Russell Wynn, C.W. Bill Young, Dan Young.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

3621. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the annual animal welfare enforcement report for fiscal year 2000, pursuant to 7 U.S.C. 2155; to the Committee on Agriculture.

3622. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled, ''Efficient Facilities Initiative of 2001''; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3623. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation relating to the reduction of recurring reporting requirements; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3624. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting a Report on Pharmacy Benefits Program; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3625. A letter from the Deputy Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting a Report on Chiropractic Health Care Implementation Plan; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3626. A letter from the Under Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting a report on the Department of Defense Fiscal Year 2000 Purchases from Foreign Entities; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3627. A letter from the Deputy Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting a report on Federally Funded Research and Development Center's Estimated FY 2002 Staff-years of Technical Effort; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3628. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation regarding FHA-insured multifamily housing mortgage and housing assistance restructuring; to the Committee on Financial Services.

3629. A letter from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, transmitting an appropriations report; to the Committee on the Budget.

3630. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy, Planning and Innovation, Department of Education, transmitting Final Regulations—Federal Perkins Loan Program, Federal Family Education Loan Program, and William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program, pursuant to 20 U.S.C. 1232(f); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

3631. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting a report on Injury Prevention and Control-Related Programs and Activities of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Fiscal Years 1997 and 1998; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3632. A letter from the Secretary, Department of the Interior, transmitting the biennial report on the quality of water in the Colorado River Basin (Progress Report No. 20, January 2001), pursuant to 43 U.S.C. 1596; to the Committee on Resources.

3633. A letter from the Acting Administrator and Deputy Under Secretary, Department of Commerce, transmitting the annual report of the Coastal Zone Management Fund for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration for fiscal year 2000, pursuant to 16 U.S.C. 1456a(b)(3); to the Committee on Resources.

3634. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Commerce, transmitting a report on

Grant-In-Aid for Fisheries; to the Committee on Resources.

3635. A letter from the Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, transmitting the 2000 annual report on the activities and operations of the Public Integrity Section, Criminal Division, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 529; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3636. A letter from the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army, Department of Defense, transmitting a feasibility report of the Ocean City, Maryland and Vicinity, project; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3637. A letter from the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army, Department of Defense, transmitting a feasibility report for Brigantine Inlet to Great Egg Harbor Inlet, Brigantine Island, New Jersey; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3638. A letter from the Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment to Class E Airspace; Chillicothe, MO [Airspace Docket No. 01–ACE–4] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3639. A letter from the Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment to Class E Airspace; Olathe, KS [Airspace Docket No. 01–ACE–5] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3640. A letter from the Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment to Class E Airspace; Cabool, MO [Airspace Docket No. 01–ACE–3] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3641. A letter from the Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment to Class E Airspace; Rome, NY [Airspace Docket No. 00–AEA–05FR] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3642. A letter from the Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class E2 Airspace; Greenwood, MS [Airspace Docket No. 01–ASO–9] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3643. A letter from the Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establish Class E Airspace: Pelham Lake, VA [Airspace Docket No. 01–AEA–15FR] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3644. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operation Regulations: Hackensack River, NJ [CGD01–01–062] (RIN: 2115–AE47) received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3645. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operation Regulations; State Road 84 bridge, South Fork of the New River, mile 4.4, Fort Lauderdale, Broward County, Florida [CGD07–01–073] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3646. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operating Regulation; Mississippi River, Iowa and Illinois [CGD 08–01–016] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3647. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operating Regulation; Ouachita River, Louisiana [CGD08–01–019] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3648. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operating Regulation; Lake Pontchartrain, LA [CGD08–01–020] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3649. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operation Regulations: Harlem River, NY [CGD01–01–011] (RIN: 2115–AE47) received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3650. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Wings Over Lake Air Show, Michigan City, IN [CGD09–01–038] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3651. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Lake Erie, Port Clinton, OH [CGD09–01–051] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3652. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone: Captain of the Port Detroit Zone [CGD09–01–049] received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3653. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Cleveland Harbor, Cleveland, OH [CGD09–01–034] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received August 17, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3654. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation relating to the operation and management of the Department of Defense; jointly to the Committees on Armed Services and International Relations.

3655. A letter from the Deputy Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting a report on Outreach to Gulf War Veterans Calendar Years 1999 and 2000; jointly to the Committees on Armed Services and Veterans' Affairs.

3656. A letter from the Deputy Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting a Report on Defense Health Program Obligations of FY 2000 Emergency Supplemental Funding; jointly to the Committees on Armed Services and Appropriations.

TIME LIMITATION OF REFERRED BILL

Pursuant to clause 2 of rule XII the following action was taken by the Speaker.

H.R. 1408. Referral to the Committee on the Judiciary extended for a period ending not later than October 5, 2001.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. YOUNG of Florida:

H.R. 2888. A bill making emergency supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 2001 for additional disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, and for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations, and in addition to the Committee on the Budget, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. LANTOS (for himself, Mr. ACKERMAN, and Mr. MCDERMOTT):

H.R. 2889. A bill to lift the nuclear test sanctions against India; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mrs. ROUKEMA (by request):

H.R. 2890. A bill to extend FHA-insured multifamily housing mortgage and housing assistance restructuring authority, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. YOUNG of Alaska (for himself, Mr. OBERSTAR, and Mr. THOMAS):

H.R. 2891. A bill to preserve the continued viability of the United States air transportation system; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. HERGER:

H.R. 2892. A bill to suspend for 1 year the payment to States of a bonus to reward decreases in illegitimacy ratios under the program of block grants to States for temporary assistance for needy families; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HERGER:

H.R. 2893. A bill to provide for demonstration and evaluation of, and dissemination of information concerning, promising approaches to promoting and supporting involved, committed, and responsible fatherhood, promoting and supporting healthy marriages, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Education and the Workforce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. KIRK (for himself, Mr. HYDE, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. COOKSEY, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. DREIER, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois, Mr. FORBES, Mr. KENNEDY of Minnesota, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. ISSA, Mr. OSE, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. PENCE, Mr. CRANE, and Mr. PLATTS):

H.R. 2894. A bill to amend the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956 to increase the maximum amount of an award paid under the Department of State rewards program in connection with the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. LIPINSKI (for himself, Mr. DEFAZIO,Mr. COSTELLO, and Mr. KIRK):

H.R. 2895. A bill to amend title 49, United States Code, to require that the screeningof passengers and property on flights in air transportation be carried out by employees of the Federal Aviation Administration, to expand the Federal Air Marshal program of the Federal Aviation Administration, to establish requirements for carry-on baggage on flights in air transportation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. PAUL:

H.R. 2896. A bill to provide for the safety of United States aviation and the suppression of terrorism; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. SERRANO:

H.R. 2897. A bill to provide for the granting of posthumous citizenship to certain aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence who died as a result of the hijackings of 4 commercial aircraft, the attacks on the World Trade Center, or the attack on the Pentagon, on September 11, 2001, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TRAFICANT:

H.R. 2898. A bill to amend the Act of June 1, 1948 to provide for reform of the Federal Protective Service, to enhance the safety and security of federal, state and local employees, members of the public at airports with any facilities under the control of the General Services Administration, or airports under the control of the Federal Aviation Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and in addition to the Committee on Government Reform, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. ARMEY (for himself and Mr. GEPHARDT):

H.J. Res. 64. A joint resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States; to the Committee on International Relations; considered and passed.

By Mr. BONIOR (for himself, Mr. ARMEY, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. FROST, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. SUNUNU, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. HORN, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. ISSA, Ms. SOLIS, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Ms. LOFGREN, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. CAMP, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. WOLF, Mr. RUSH, Mr. KIRK, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. LATOURETTE, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. PITTS, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. ROGERS of Michigan, Mr. PALLONE, Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. INSLEE, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. PASCRELL, Ms. WATERS, Mr. JOHN, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. KUCINICH, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. WU, Mr. BACA, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Ms. BERKLEY, Ms. KILPATRICK, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. MOORE, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. LAFALCE, Mr. OLVER, Mr. WATT of North Carolina, Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. GONZALEZ, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. HOYER, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. MATHESON, Mr. CARSON of Oklahoma, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. COYNE, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. KIND, Mr. PHELPS, Mr. COSTELLO, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. CAPUANO, Ms. RIVERS, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Ms. WATSON, Mr. LAMPSON, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Mr. HONDA, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. DELAHUNT, Ms. LEE, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Mr. TOWNS, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. HOLT, and Mr. DREIER):

H. Con. Res. 227. Concurrent resolution condemning bigotry and violence against Arab-Americans, American Muslims, and Americans from South Asia in the wake of terrorist attacks in New York City, New York, and Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001; considered and agreed to.

By Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas (for herself, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Ms. WOOLSEY, and Mr. BRADY of Texas):

H. Con. Res. 228. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the children who lost one or both parents or a guardian in the September 11, 2001, World Trade Center and Pentagon tragedies (including the aircraft crash in Somerset County, Pennsylvania) should be provided with all necessary assistance, services, and benefits and urging the heads of Federal agencies responsible for providing such assistance, services and benefits to give the highest possible priority to providing such assistance, services and benefits to those children; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRAVES:

H. Con. Res. 229. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that any reform of the Social Security Program not include mandatory coverage of State and local employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYNN (for himself and Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia):

H. Con. Res. 230. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress regarding the establishment of a National Day of Remembrance; to the Committee on Government Reform.

By Mr. TAUZIN (for himself, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. UPTON, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. GORDON, Mr. LARGENT, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. BURR of North Carolina, Mr. MARKEY, Mrs. CUBIN, Mr. DOYLE, Mr. SHIMKUS, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia, Mr. JOHN, Mr. BUYER, Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri, Mr. BASS, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. PITTS, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. WALDEN of Oregon, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. RUSH, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. LUTHER, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. ENGEL, Ms. DEGETTE, Ms. HARMAN, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. WYNN, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. BLUNT, and Mr. BARTON of Texas):

H. Res. 238. A resolution condemning any price gouging with respect to motor fuels during the hours and days after the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce; considered and agreed to.

By Mr. NEY (for himself and Mr. HOYER):

H. Res. 239. Resolution providing Capitol-flown flags to each surviving victim, and the family of each deceased victim, of the terrorist attacks which occurredon September 11, 2001; to the Committee on House Administration. considered and agreed to.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 19: Mr. GRAVES, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, and Mr. VITTER.

H.R. 239: Mr. CANTOR.

H.R. 270: Mr. HASTINGS of Florida.

H.R. 356: Mr. PASTOR.

H.R. 458: Mr. SHIMKUS.

H.R. 507: Mr. REYNOLDS.

H.R. 535: Mr. SHOWS.

H.R. 557: Mr. BARRETT.

H.R. 699: Mr. THOMPSON of California.

H.R. 721: Mr. UDALL of Colorado.

H.R. 781: Mr. HALL of Ohio.

H.R. 951: Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. NEY, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. WALDEN of Oregon, Mr. EHRLICH, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. HOEKSTRA, Mr. GILCHREST, and Mr. WYNN.

H.R. 1007: Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky.

H.R. 1037: Mr. KELLER.

H.R. 1097: Mr. GONZALEZ and Mr. LATOURETTE.

H.R. 1149: Mr. TOWNS, Mr. BACA, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. OWENS, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Ms. SANCHEZ, Mr. ISRAEL, Mr. CARSON of Oklahoma, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Ms. SOLIS, Mr. MEEKS of New York, and Mr. PRICE of North Carolina.

H.R. 1158: Mr. ENGLISH.

H.R. 1238: Mr. MCINNIS and Mr. KELLER.

H.R. 1357: Mr. BISHOP, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, and Mr. PORTMAN.

H.R. 1377: Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky.

H.R. 1388: Mr. OBERSTAR.

H.R. 1476: Mr. OWENS.

H.R. 1600: Mr. COOKSEY.

H.R. 1629: Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. PASTOR, and Mrs. WILSON.

H.R. 1645: Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky, Mr. BILIRAKIS, and Mr. MASCARA.

H.R. 1733: Mr. CARSON of Oklahoma.
H.R. 1744: Mr. CALVERT, Mr. CONYERS, Ms. HART, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. NADLER, and Ms. BALDWIN.
H.R. 1754: Mr. BUYER, Mr. UDALL of Colorado, and Mr. GORDON.
H.R. 1911: Mr. VITTER.
H.R. 2036: Mr. REYNOLDS and Mrs. DAVIS of California.
H.R. 2057: Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. SABO, and Mr. FRANK.
H.R. 2064: Ms. CARSON of Indiana.
H.R. 2096: Mr. SESSIONS.
H.R. 2220: Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. SNYDER, Mr. FARR of California, and Ms. DELAURO.
H.R. 2329: Mr. COOKSEY, Ms. HART, Mr. ROTHMAN, and Mr. RANGEL.
H.R. 2375: Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. ANDREWS, and Mr. LATOURETTE.
H.R. 2527: Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. MANZULLO, Mr. KILDEE, and Mr. WAMP.
H.R. 2561: Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, and Mr. JEFFERSON.
H.R. 2592: Ms. RIVERS.
H.R. 2641: Mr. FROST and Mr. WYNN.
H.R. 2663: Mr. KELLER.
H.R. 2675: Mr. MATHESON.
H.R. 2695: Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. CRANE, and Ms. DUNN.
H.R. 2706: Mrs. EMERSON.
H.R. 2718: Mr. KUCINICH.
H.R. 2722: Mr. BALDACCI, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. TERRY, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. CROWLEY, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mrs. CAPPS, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. RAHALL, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. SABO, Mr. TIERNEY, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. MCGOVERN, and Mr. DEUTSCH.
H.R. 2725: Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California and Mr. KUCINICH.
H.R. 2792: Mr. BASS.
H.R. 2837: Mr. FRANK, Ms. LOFGREN, and Ms. PELOSI.,
H.J. Res. 15: Mr. GILMAN, Mr. BONIOR, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. SHAW, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. STENHOLM, and Mr. GOODE.
H.J. Res. 27: Mrs. CUBIN.
H.J. Res. 56: Mr. ENGLISH and Mr. GOODE.
H.J. Res. 62: Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland.
H. Con. Res. 188: Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California.
H. Con. Res. 212: Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. TIERNEY, Mr. FILNER, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. OWENS, Ms. WATSON, and Mr. RANGEL.
H. Res. 52: Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. SHOWS, and Mr. VITTER.

DISCHARGE PETITIONS—ADDITIONS OR DELETIONS

The following Members added their names to the following discharge petitions:

Petition 3 by Mr. TURNER on House Resolution 203: Cynthia A. McKinney and Frank R. Wolf.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

EXPRESSING SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT EVERY CITIZEN IS ENCOURAGED TO DISPLAY THE FLAG

SPEECH OF

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 12, 2001

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution, H. Con. Res. 225, and commend the gentle lady from Missouri, Congresswoman EMERSON, for drafting this measure.

I extend my condolences to the thousands of victims and their families throughout our Nation who have suffered from these terrorist attacks, and, particularly, to my colleague from New York, Mr. CROWLEY, who lost his cousin, John Moran, a New York City fire fighter, who died on Tuesday at the tragedy at the World Trade Center. Our prayers are with you and your family, and we commend your cousin John for paying the ultimate price for those in need. Our Nation's fire fighters, law enforcement, and emergency personnel are the pillars of our community. Our entire Nation mourns when we lose any brother or sister in uniform.

Following the barbaric terrorist attacks on our great Nation, earlier this week, thousands of Americans joined together to donate their time, services, and blood to the victims of this tragic day. These charitable acts reflect the compassion of the American spirit and the respect for life we share as a nation.

This resolution further calls on our American citizenry, to raise up the flag of our Nation as a symbolic gesture of the solidarity of our Nation and as a proclamation to the cowards who perpetrated these heinous attacks that we, as a nation, continue to stand as the beacon of freedom in this world. Their attempt to bring chaos and terror to the hearts of Americans has only brought forth the great sense of patriotism, liberty, and kindness which stands as the cornerstone of our Nation.

I proudly join the Members of this House and millions of Americans in supporting this measure and calling for all our neighbors to display, with pride, resilience, and solidarity, the stars and stripes of the United States of America.

God bless the American people and the United States.

ATTACKS AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER AND THE PENTAGON

HON. ROBERT A. BRADY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I saw the worst of the world, but I saw the best of America. The police, fire and rescue workers, and the average person just trying to help showed the world what America is made of. They showed that our values will survive any attack.

The murderers behind this will also find out what Americans are made of. They will learn that freedom is stronger than fear. They will learn that our democracy is stronger than murder. And they will learn that America—and Americans—are stronger than them.

God Bless the men and women working hard to help their fellow Americans. God Bless the victims of this attack. God Bless America.

PRAYER FOR WORLD TRADE CENTER DISASTER

HON. LAMAR S. SMITH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the following prayer is from the website spirituality.com. It can inspire us all.

WORLD TRADE CENTER DISASTER: MY PRAYER FOR MY BROTHER

(By Laura Matthews)

At the moment I write this, I've just heard that one of the World Trade Center buildings has collapsed. My brother works in that building, and there's been no word. I've been in touch with my family around the country, and we're all praying. This is my prayer for my brother.

Where can my heart go when there is no news, and perhaps no hope? I must go to the one almighty God. I must know His almighty presence.

I dig deep into what I know to be true. There is only one God, divine Life, holy Love. The God that my brother loves and serves is the God that connects us all—terrorist and victim alike. My thought now is echoing with God, that oneness that fills all space, in offices, stairwells, plazas, airplanes. I refuse to conceive of any space that is not filled with God. I place my brother in that space, wholeheartedly. He can't leave that space, it surrounds him and upholds him and guides him.

I see my brother continuing to walk through life, as he has every day until now and will forever, with the glory of God shining through him. I'm not seeing his life as something that can end. I'm seeing it as eternal, as full, complete, ideal. I'm clinging to this, because the thought that there may be death to deal with in my family's future cannot be the final word. The final word must be Life. It must be God.

God is there, in New York, in Jerusalem, in Washington, in Baghdad. God is here with me in Boston. It's not a bunch of gods scattered all about, but the one God, literally filling all space, blanketing all creation. I touch that one God in thought and I'm touching all creation. And that God is holding my brother close, with all the others—all of them.

It's not only my brother or our family. It's entire buildings, entire cities, entire countries. I'm putting it all in the divine space, everyone, every action, every lifespan. That space contains nothing but Love and glory. The pain, fear and confusion are nothing within that holy place.

My brother and all the people involved are in that holy place. I am holding them there in thought. It is the structure of Love that surrounds them, and it cannot be destroyed.

(Later the author got word that her brother was five minutes away from his office when the building was hit.)

HONORING THE HEROISM OF AIRLINE PILOT JASON DAHL

HON. SCOTT McINNIS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. McINNIS. Mr. Speaker, on September 11, 2001, we experienced the most vicious and horrific terrorist attack on our soil in America's history. This deliberate and systematic assault on innocent American civilians resulted in numerous fatalities. One of the hijacked planes, United Airlines Flight 93, en route from Newark to San Francisco, crashed into Stoney Creek Township in Pennsylvania. Jason Dahl—a resident of Ken Caryl, Colorado—was the pilot of that plane. While three other hijacked aircraft made it to their intended targets including the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, this aircraft did not. While we may never know exactly what transpired on that aircraft and particularly in the cockpit of flight 93, Jason Dahl, in one manner or another, gathered the courage and bravery to resist the attack and avoid another massive strike on America. Due to his selfless act of sacrifice, Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to Jason Dahl today and recognize him as a hero worthy of this body.

Last week, Jason floated an e-mail to his colleagues requesting a switch in flights because he wanted to spend more time with his family. Since no one was able to take the flight from Newark to San Francisco, Jason fulfilled his responsibility and as a result he, his co-pilot, 38 passengers and five flight attendants were led to their death by the terrorists on-board.

Jason Dahl resided in the Ken Caryl Ranch area in Colorado. He was well respected and liked by his neighbors. Never shying away from the opportunity to extend a helping hand, Jason was a dedicated husband to Sandy, father to Matt, his son, and friend to many. Furthermore, he was a "standards" captain for United Airlines. This special role allowed Jason to not only fly aircraft, but also provided

the opportunity to teach and test other pilots. Many of his counterparts recognized Jason as a very capable and skilled captain.

Mr. Speaker, the wishes of the terrorists aboard United Flight 93 may never be understood, but we can deduce that something went wrong in the pursuit of their ultimate objective. Jason was probably the reason behind the failure of their mission, and in so doing, he saved American lives. While many people died in this tragedy, we must recognize the greater triumph of the situation and the battle against terrorism that was claimed in this particular moment. Mr. Speaker, Jason Dahl emerged as a national hero on September 11 and I would like to acknowledge his patriotic sacrifice. My warmest regards and deepest sympathies are extended toward his family at this time of remembrance. Jason Dahl will be remembered as a hero who gave his life to America and we will all miss him dearly.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES REGARDING TERRORIST ATTACKS LAUNCHED AGAINST UNITED STATES, HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 61

SPEECH OF

HON. TOM UDALL

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 11, 2001

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, December 7, 1941. September 17, 1862. November 22, 1963. Pearl Harbor—The Day which Lives in Infamy. The Battle of Antietam—America's Bloodiest Day. The Assassination of President Kennedy—The Loss of America's Innocence. These dates have profound meaning in the Nation's eternal memory. They had an immeasurable impact on the American way of life, and the effects remain with us today. Transcending tragedy, the horrific events of these dates reach to a level that changes everything we know and ever will know about our world, our country, and ourselves.

Hoping against hope, we prayed that this terrible list would not grow, but we must now add Tuesday, September 11, 2001 to the grim list.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday our great Nation suffered the most violent and costly attack on American soil in our nation's history, and our lives will never be the same. The attack was aimed at the heart of our country, and the attackers hoped to break the spirit of our citizens.

The cowards who attacked us clearly misunderstood the strength of character and resolve of the American people. We do not back down in the face of hardship, and we will prevail over our enemies, no matter how long it takes.

Terrorists may shatter our buildings, but they cannot shatter our commitment to the values we hold most dear: freedom, democracy, liberty, opportunity. We must commit ourselves today not only to defend ourselves and punish those who attacked us, we must also commit to rebuild the lives and the innocence that have been shattered. As the scope of the devastation becomes clearer, our task will only grow more serious and important, but I know that we will rebuild our world.

As we move forward to rebuild what has been shattered, we must put our world back together in a way that is mindful of not only our profoundly rich history and traditions but is also mindful of that which connects all of humanity. We are blessed by the assistance and efforts of countless rescue workers who are risking their lives to rescue victims; I commend their courageous work and believe that their efforts should be examples to us all as we each make our own contributions to the recovery efforts.

Finally, we must not let feelings of anger and frustration rob us of the very things that make our country great. Make no mistake, we will find those responsible for these terrible attacks, and hold them responsible. In doing so, however, we must be thoughtful, careful, and deliberate. We must and will remain vigilant in the defense of the liberties of our citizens. America can be safe and free, and our best days remain before us. God bless America.

PROVIDING FOR EXPEDITED PAYMENT OF CERTAIN BENEFITS FOR PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICERS KILLED OR INJURED IN CONNECTION WITH TERRORIST ATTACKS OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

SPEECH OF

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 13, 2001

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in full support of H.R. 2882 expediting payments to the families of the brave public safety officers killed or injured in the line of duty during the heinous acts of terrorism against the United States which occurred on September 11, 2001. Our Nation owes these heroic men and women our deepest gratitude and we extend to their families our sincerest and heartfelt sorrow for their loss. As our Nation comes to grips with the shocking enormity of these attacks, our dedicated public safety officers remain on the front line of the massive search and rescue efforts underway. They are leading a tireless search for our fellow citizens and for their fallen comrades. At this time of national tragedy, let us acknowledge the ongoing sacrifices that our Nation's brave public safety officers continue to selflessly endure in the name of freedom and humanity. And may the ultimate sacrifice of their comrades never be forgotten. We pray for the safety of our public safety officers and the safe return of their fellow officers who remain missing. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

AMERICA STANDS RESOLUTE IN THIS TIME OF TRAGEDY

HON. PETE SESSIONS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday morning the American people were viciously and deliberately attacked by terrorists in what I consider to be an act of war.

We have entered into a new era in world history. Terrorists have now begun to flout international law and standards of common decency. They target the American people because we are strong and because they are weak. Some say that we cannot and should not be the world's policeman. But we will serve justice and we will punish those who are responsible.

This battle is a new kind of war, and we must be prudent in how we prosecute it. All nations who harbor, who train, who support, who fund these terrorist groups, bear equal responsibility for the actions of these terrorists.

We must dedicate the proper resources to deal with them in the appropriate way. Terrorists may be able to run, but they cannot hide from America's determination and justice.

Many of those who died were dedicated public servants. They were members of our armed forces, firefighters, and police officers. They were people dedicated to serving and protecting America. Others were citizens dedicating to living the American dream, who had wives or husbands or children or parents who loved them and who will miss them.

These people were innocent victims in a war conducted against America by terrorists who attacked unsuspecting civilian targets. It is now time we begin to fight back.

On behalf of myself and the Fifth District of Texas, I would like to express my deepest condolences the families of the victims. May God protect them in this time of trouble.

HONORING MACLOVIO ''JOE'' LOPEZ JR.

HON. SCOTT McINNIS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. McINNIS. Mr. Speaker, It is with profound sadness that I pay tribute to Maclovio ''Joe'' Lopez who passed away on September 11, 2001. Joe, 41 years old, was a native of Pueblo, Colorado and was traveling from Boston to Los Angeles on business when his United Airlines Flight 175 was hijacked and crashed into the World Trade Center in New York City.

Joe Lopez was born and reared in Colorado, the second oldest of seven children to Maclovio and Martha Lopez. Joe graduated from Pueblo County High School prior to pursuing a career that would ultimately require him to frequently travel from Los Angeles to Boston. Tragically, Joe's commute landed into the evil hands of cowardly terrorists who horrified our nation by attacking innocent American citizens.

The events that took place on September 11, 2001 will never be forgotten. It is the duty of our nation not only to remember that day, but also to honor those individuals whose lives were so quickly lost. Joe Lopez was a loving and honorable man. My heart and prayers go out to Joe's friends and family during this time of mourning. They can rest assure that we will come together as a Nation to see that the proper course of action is taken against these criminals who perpetrated this senseless act. Joe was an outstanding member of his community and a heroic role model for others. I would like to extend my deepest sympathy and warmest regards to Maclovio "Joe" Lopez's family and my thoughts and prayers along with those of our Nation are with them.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, due to the horrific and incredible attack on the World Trade Center, I traveled to my district to offer assistance and comfort to my constituents in this time of great tragedy. Because of my absence from the House on September 13th, I missed rollcall votes numbered 338, 339 and 340. Had I been present, I would have wholeheartedly voted in favor of the resolution condemning the terrorists attacks against the United States and extending Congress' deepest condolences to the victims of these heinous and cowardly actions; I would have voted in favor of H.R. 2882, the measure that expedites payments of benefits for the public safety officers killed or injured; and H.R. 2884, the legislation that extending tax benefits for the September 11th victims. In addition, I would have voted "yea" on the resolution urging people to fly the U.S. flag.

My thoughts these past days and in the coming weeks are with all those in my beloved city whose lives have been affected by the tragedy in lower Manhattan. I join everyone in our city in praying for our many friends who are missing and injured and for their loved ones.

It is an honor everyday to serve in the House of Representatives as a representative of the greatest city in the world. As soon as I learned of the attacks on the Trade Center, I drove to Manhattan to be with my family and offer assistance to my friends and neighbors. My heart is warmed by the response of our city—the rescue workers, the medical response teams, the orderly evacuation of lower Manhattan by the people who work and live there and the thousands who have gone to blood donor centers.

All New Yorkers will forever remember the bravery of the rescue workers who rushed into lower Manhattan as the Trade Center towers burned. It is apparent that many hundreds of these firefighters, cops and medical personnel may be among the thousands now unaccounted for. We in the city witness countless selfless acts by these heroes on a daily basis. Today we are awed by their response to the tragedy and heartbroken by their fate.

The victims at the Pentagon and of the air highjackings are also in our thoughts and prayers.

We are the most diverse city in the world but today we are united as one. We stand squarely with the President, our Governor and Mayor and pledge to bring the perpetrators of these tremendously cruel acts to justice.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. CAROLYN C. KILPATRICK

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, due to official functions scheduled in the 15th Congressional District of Michigan, I am unable to return to Washington; therefore I respectfully request a leave of absence from business for Friday, September 14. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" on H.R. 2888, the bill providing emergency supplemental appropriations, Rollcall No. 341.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC) INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS

HON. ALBERT RUSSELL WYNN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, today I recognize the American Veterans Committee (AVC). The American Veterans Committee is an outstanding organization of American veterans with ongoing concerns and interest in our foreign policy and international affairs. I submit for the RECORD their International Affairs Platform and Resolutions, as prepared by the American Veterans Committee, International Affairs Commission and adopted by the American Veterans Committee (AVC) National Board at the National Board Meeting, Tuesday, August 26, 1997, with appropriate changes as of August 2001.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC)
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PLATFORM

We, the members of the American Veterans Committee (AVC), believe that in international affairs the objective of the United States of America (US) is the maintenance of peace with justice for all. The world must avoid the holocaust of nuclear war. The restoration of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, the end of the Cold War, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the fall of the Berlin Wall brought much hope of the avoidance of nuclear war—at least among the major powers—in the foreseeable future. Many international problems remain including the threat of international terrorists, and the US has been active—along with the United Nations—in dealing with hostilities in the Middle East and the Balkan States, Central and Southeast Asia, such African states as Somalia, Rwanda and Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), and in Central America and the Caribbean. The work of the US has aided in establishing and restoring elective governments wherever possible.

Within that framework, US foreign policy, like US domestic policy, must seek always to enhance social justice for and the welfare of the individual, in all classes and without regard to race, religion, ethnicity, language, gender, sexual orientation, or age. Our policies should strive for realization of the world envisioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a world in which all might eat and sleep in safety, live under and vote in an elective government, with realistic hope and opportunity of attaining their reasonable aspirations.

I. THE UNITED NATIONS AND WORLD GOVERNANCE

The United Nations (UN), in spite of the recognized areas which require strengthening, continues to be the best hope for peace in the world. American support of the UN must be an essential part of our foreign policy. The authority of the UN must be strengthened in a process in which selected elements of national sovereignty will be progressively transferred, in a manner that will enhance the fundamental freedoms and the well-being of all the peoples of the world.

AVC supports the following principles, reforms and programs for a more effective UN:

1. International law governing disputes and conduct of UN member states, and other states, with one another should be improved, clarified, codified, and *obeyed*. The US and all member states should work within the UN for the development of clear, well understood and respected international law. All member states should accept the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to interpret and implement international law.
2. Debtor states must pay their UN past and current dues and assessments.
3. The effectiveness of the UN must be improved through better financing, including such mechanisms that will bring in appropriate revenue from developed nations of the world.
4. The UN structures for dispute mediation and conflict prevention and resolution must be strengthened.
5. Further international cooperation for peace and sustainable development should be enhanced.
6. Movement should be made toward a genuine career UN civil service.
7. The influence of civil society at the UN should be strengthened.
8. The integrity and independence of the Office of the Secretary General, as expressed in the UN Charter, are crucial to the strength and effectiveness of the UN. The US should oppose any attempt to weaken the powers of this office. AVC commends the leadership of the present Secretary General, Kofi Annan, in making the organization work more effectively . . . and extends its very best wishes to him on his election to a well deserved second five-year team.

II. WORLD VETERANS FEDERATION (WVF)

AVC points with pride to and pledges continuing support for the World Veterans Federation (WVF), a worldwide organization of former combatants whose activities are a remarkable example of the kind of private international cooperation on which lasting world peace and justice can be built. AVC thus is proud to have been one of those veterans organizations that helped establish WVF more than a half century ago, and took part in the recognition of the WVF 50th Anniversary, and looks forward to the 24th General Assembly in South Africa in 2003.

III. THE RIGHTS OF AND RESPECT FOR WOMEN

Since its establishment in 1944, AVC has always had women among its members and

leaders. AVC in its Platform is guided by the 1995 Beijing Conference and its ''Platform for Action'' and the subsequent reaffirmation during the last half decade. In 1995, the UN convened the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. The Conference wrote and adopted the Beijing Declaration and the ''Platform for Action,'' the definitive statement of women's agenda for empowerment world-wide. Since that time, the ''Platform for Action'' has been the basis for evaluating the international community's progress in meeting the goals set forth in that document. This has been done during the yearly meetings of the UN Committee on the Status of Women since 1995.

A Special session of the UN General Assembly was called in the year 2000, ''Beijing + 5,'' which looked at how far the goals of this Platform have been achieved. That Session reaffirmed the principles and commitments expressed in the ''Platform for Action.'' Furthermore, it set forth a Political Declaration which called upon all nations to take further actions and initiatives to implement the Platform. It also urged a greater role for women in peace processes. Breaking new ground, ''Beijing + 5'' introduced new focal points of concern for women: HIV/AIDS and racial discrimination. Both of these issues were taken up by the 45th Session of the UN Commission on the status of Women in 2001. Now in 2001 and looking forward to subsequent years in this decade, AVC reaffirms its support for the rights of and respect for women.

IV. NUCLEAR TESTING AND DISARMAMENT AND THE TREATY BANNING CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Complete elimination of nuclear weapons testing and the establishment of international controls on this most dangerous technology must be the goal of American foreign policy. Our world finds itself in the unique and unenviable position where one generation can make life on Earth unlivable for later generations.

The adoption by the UN of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in September 1996 is a significant advance with all five Permanent Security Council states among the signatories. Complete and total disarmament is the ultimate *Summum bonum*, but this is an objective remote in time; immediate achievement is not feasible. Efforts toward that goal should be made by the US nonetheless and should be encouraged in other nations. Mankind can never reach its true destiny if it must continue to allocate so high a percentage of its resources to forge the weapons of war.

AVC without reservation supports the adoption by the UN of a treaty that bans in the world the use of chemical weapons. AVC believes that the world-wide ban on testing nuclear weapons on the total elimination of the anti-personnel land mines, and the ban on the use of chemical weapons have a major role in ensuring the continuation of civilization of this Earth.

V. UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES

Inevitably differences have arisen and will continue to arise between the US and its allies, but these are differences which can be and must be resolved around the conference table. In its negotiations, the US should seek the rights and privileges of the willing partner.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in a world considerably different from the world of today. AVC supports the reassessment by the NATO nations of their membership. Its continued organization and operation should reflect the changing purpose. AVC is clearly aware of the division with respect to the issue of expansion of NATO, including the costs of remilitarization of any new NATO members to bring them up to a stage of military equality with other NATO nations. Further, AVC is well aware of WVF General Assembly discussion that did not lead to approval of any specific new nations to become a part of NATO. Further, AVC recognizes the importance of the continuing discussion of NATO and Russia with respect to a broader membership, while at the same time being aware of the concern of Russia with respect to broad membership that may also include former Soviet republics. Finally, very careful consideration should be given to expediency of NATO actually becoming a part of the UN.

In Latin America we must make every effort to erase the image of the US as a prosperous, patronizing, and paternalistic benefactor or intervener in the economic and political development of those nation states. It should be the objective of the US foreign policy to create instead an image of a US that wants to be a good partner as well as a good neighbor—in helping the peoples of Latin America work out their own destiny.

The US should, at every turn, encourage the UN or the Organization of American States (OAS) to be the forum in which to resolve differences and disagreements among or with our Latin American neighbors. We must show by word and deed that we have no desire to impose our own form of government or way of life upon any country of Latin America. The US nevertheless continues to believe in the effectiveness of a democratic form of government and the opportunity for all people at the very least to enjoy adequate food and shelter, education and health.

VI. THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD

At the beginning of the second millennium, the US must continue to be willing to help the developing nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to direct their own destinies. The UN forum must be held open to the developing nations. And the services of the UN specialized agencies, for example, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the many NGOs must appropriately be focused on the needs of the developing nations. Thus, every consideration must be given to the problem of AIDS, especially in the developing countries but also in other nation states of the world. Further, especially with respect to the AIDs problem, the US as well as other developed nations must make every effort to provide pharmaceutical supplies to combat the AIDS epidemic at a cost reasonable to be met in the developing nations.

The gap between the social and economic bases of the developed countries and those of the developing countries to widen. The decline in relative socioeconomic position of developing nations, accompanied as it is by a population explosion (now being recently addressed), has led to dangerous tension and the outbreak of violence and disorder in many areas of the world. Africa faces particularly difficult problems. African institutions, such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), have confronted these problems and deserve the continuing support of US. There must never be another Rwanda.

Acknowledging that the ability of the US to underwrite services in assistance of all foreign countries is limited, its efforts to aid developing countries should be utilized at points of greatest potential for success. Priority should be given to those countries which can make the most rational and productive use of such aid, humanitarian considerations aside under conditions of famine and natural disasters. In evaluating the effectiveness of US aid, due weight should be given not only to economic and environmental considerations but also to the strengthening of democratic institutions and the consolidation of efforts on a regional basis.

Only when asked and only when it is clear that armed force is necessary to thwart a take-over by powers inimical to the survival of a weak and developing nation should the US furnish military assistance. Even then, it should with the approval of the UN and support of the regional organizations.

VII. RUSSIA AND CHINA

The end of the Cold War, creating Russia and fourteen other independent nation states, has caused a monumental improvement in the international relations of the US and Russia and the Eastern European states as well. With many problems remaining, all have moved toward democratic governments and market systems no longer identified as communist.

China also does not seem as threatening as it has in the past—as the ''free market economy'' has penetrated even this nation state. At the same time, quarrels between the US and China—both with respect to independence of Taiwan and ''human rights''—are expected to continue. Trade between the US and China is expanding, an indication of a changing market economy in that nation. The US should use it trading relationship to continue to press for relaxation of China's stern measures against a free press.

VIII. ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES

AVC strongly supports the efforts of the US to continue the peace process begun at Camp David in 1979, continued at Madrid in 1991, further affirmed at Oslo in 1993, reflected further in the Wye Memorandum Agreements of the Prime Minister of Israel and the Head of the Palestinian Authority, the agreements flowing from Camp David in 2000, and now the services of a US representative in 2001. Although no rigid deadline should be set, the ultimate goal of peace with security for Israel should be the fulfillment of the UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967); that Resolution requires that Israel evacuate the territory occupied in that year in return for recognition by Arab countries of Israel's sovereignty, territorial integrity, political integrity, and peace. Exception must be made for areas absolutely necessary for Israel's existence as a state.

IX. WORLD TRADE

Unlimited global economic growth through global free trade in a global free market is an American goal. Whatever the means to reach this goal—the goal must provide for all people to have at the very least enough to eat and a decent place in which to live. The creation of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), presumably, were so constructed that enough to eat and a place to live would be a result of new monetary and financial direction. In reviewing the historic and almost legendary Bretton Woods' Conference and succeeding meetings on global financial structure, AVC reflects on the one hand what the World Bank and the IMF have accomplished and at the same time what these two structures have failed to attain. The brave new world of global financial institutions, translational corporations, and free trade, while having benefited some of the people, needs to pay considerably more attention to the substantial reduction of the ever widening distance between the rich and the poor.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) and the North American Free Trade Agreement

(NAFTA) have the support of those who point out that new jobs are created and the world is moving in the direction of both programs; at the same time, those who oppose both focus on the loss of jobs in the US, the erosion of labor and environmental standards. AVC favors continued probing public discussion of WTO and NAFTA.

X. GLOBALISM, REGIONS, AND SUB-REGIONS

As the world is and has been organized, AVC has already confirmed its support for the UN and the realization of the direction of world trade. At the same time, we note such other organization as (1) nations brought together in the Helsinki Accord, 1975; (2) the European Union, (3) the OAU, that is, the Organization of African Unity; (4) the nations in Southern Asia brought together in a pact more than a score of years ago; and (5) the OAS, that is, the Organization of American States.

With respect to subregions, AVC notes the Stability Pact of Southeastern Balkan nations—Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, and of late Yugolsav Serbia, as well as Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania—that have seen civil and other strife during the last decade. Further, at the 23rd General Assembly of the WVF, the Conference approved the establishment of the Standing Committee on Women of Asia and the Pacific (SCOW-Asia/Pacific) and other Standing Committees for other world regions.

Again with respect to the OAU, AVC notes the reassuring meeting of the OAU Ministers of State 8–10 July 2000 and the subsequent meeting of OAU Heads of Sate 10–12 July 2000 . . . and the agreements with respect to economic, political, education, and health problems and issues in the nations that met in Lome, Togo, West Africa.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS RESOLUTIONS

I. THE UNITED NATIONS—SUPPORT WITH REFORM

Recognizing that the American Veterans Committee (AVC) has been a staunch supporter of the United Nations (UN) since its inception in 1945 and has taken a very active role in the World Veterans Federation (WVF), a role that has enabled AVC to serve in the capacity of a non-governmental organization (NGO) at the UN;

Recognizing further and commending the UN for the establishment of the War Crimes Tribunal, now embracing Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and noting that in carrying out the objectives of the UN position Slobodan Milosevic has been brought before the War Crimes Tribunal for crimes against humanity;

Recognizing nevertheless that time as brought the need for reform of a number of the systems and activities of the UN and those of some of its member states; and observing further that some member states and even our own nation, the US, have failed to meet their financial obligations as dues-paying members in the UN;

Resolved by AVC:

1. THAT debtor states should pay their UN dues in full to fulfill their treaty obligations; that stringent consequences for continued non-payment must be instituted;

2. THAT the effectiveness of the UN must be improved through better financing. Careful consideration must be given to such proposals as the following: (a) a treaty among member states to establish partial self-financing of UN peace-keeping and other programs through a worldwide tax on airline tickets and the value of ocean freight; (b) a surcharge on international postage items; (c) rent for the exclusive use of satellite positions; (d) national legislation within member states to ease the way to voluntary individual contributions to UN programs through tax-deductibility of contributions; and (e) sale of UN bonds to private individuals and of extra premium postage stamps;

3. THAT the UN structures for dispute mediation and conflict prevention and resolution be strengthened through the establishment of a UN Peace Observation Corps of 100–200 highly-trained professional observers and mediators to assist the Security Council and Secretary General—backed by a competent research and analysis unit—to track potential crisis situations and, further, to identify the most successful approaches to conflict prevention and resolution from past crises;

4. THAT UN peacekeeping capability be improved through such means as (a) predesignation of peace-keeping units in their own forces by member states with provision for joint training of such designated units to be financed either through voluntary contributions or regular peace-keeping expenditures; (b) a task force established by the Security Council to study the practical detail of a small UN Readiness Force, to be placed at the disposal of the Security Council—10,000 troops composed of volunteers contributed by member states in small units (companies or battalions) . . . and with the purpose of intervention in the early stages of the possible conflict before it expands to widespread fighting and, when not engaged in peace-keeping operations to train peace-keeping personnel of interested member states; (c) a second task force established by the Security Council to investigate practical steps to revive the Military Staff Committee (foreseen in the UN Chamber) with responsibility for enforcement, peace-keeping operation, and disarmament;

5. THAT the Security Council become more responsive to the concerns of the General Assembly through arranging for regular presentation of the Assembly to the Council and discussion by the latter of the views of the General Assembly, as reflected in the Assembly Resolution, with the President of the Assembly given ex-officio membership on the Council, and through continued study of the representative qualities of the UNSC membership;

6. THAT the rule of law among nations be strengthened through (a) a movement toward universal acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) by introducing a procedure where the Security Council would decide, in cases where continuing bilateral disputes threaten world security, to require the UN member states involved (including Security Council members) either to present themselves to conciliation proceedings or to take the dispute to the ICJ; (b) General Assembly authorization of the Secretary General, under Article 96 of the Charter, to turn to the ICJ for advisory opinions; and (c) provision that individuals or groups who consider that their rights have not been respected may petition the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights for reaction and then, if the issue is not resolved, to petition the General Assembly for a hearing;

7. THAT further international cooperation for peace and substantial development be enhanced through the establishment of a UN Economic Security Council to take the place of ECOSOC, its functions being to balance the interests of citizens, nations, and corporations in an increasingly globalized economy and, in particular, to improve coordination on economic and social programs within the UN system;

8. THAT movement be made toward a genuine career UN civil service, with training of UN staff on all levels to include the recognition of diversity of cultures. And, further, with the elimination of political appointments, level-by-level over a period of years, with all positions in the UN Secretariat except those of the Secretary General and his immediate staff being held only by those who have passed the UN entry examination or met other well-established professional criteria including maintenance of a high-level of performance;

9. THAT the influence of civil society at the UN be strengthened through measures such as a biennial Citizens' Assembly at the UN representing all non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The Citizens' Assembly would develop concepts and proposals for transmittal to and discussion by the General Assembly with widest possible participation of NGOs at all UN conferences. AVC, it might be noted, has always made its contribution to the UN operation by serving as an NGO.

10. THAT isolationism within the US be fought in all its forms, as the US with about five percent of the world's population needs the UN to serve as a necessary and vital bridge to the rest of the world; and

11. THAT funding of the UN Trusteeship Council should end inasmuch as there are no longer any Trust Territories, thereby eliminating a stark example of bureaucratic waste within the UN itself and setting a precedent for other comparable action as warranted.

II. US RATIFICATION OF UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COVENANTS

Supporting since the adoption by the UN nearly a half-century ago of the ''Universal Declaration of Human Rights'' the philosophy and concept of human rights for all people all over the globe;

Supporting further the UN Human Rights Covenants on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights—as well as the UN Human Right Covenants on Civil and Political Rights;

Noting that more than 175 nations of the world have ratified the UN Human Rights Covenants;

Noting further that the US became a signatory to the UN Human Rights Covenants during the administration of President Jimmy Carter;

AVC respectfully urges the President of the United States to take all immediate and reasonable steps to move the US not only as a signatory but also as a nation ratifying both UN Human Rights Covenants (a) Economic, Social, and Cultural as well as (b) Civil and Political Rights.

III. US RATIFICATION OF RELEVANT CONVENTIONS PROTOCOLS AND TREATIES ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Recognizing the importance of the UN Conventions on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and other international conventions and treaties which promote the human rights of women and their desire for full equality with men in all pursuits of life;

AVC calls for the US Senate (a) to endorse the CEDAW which would make the US a signatory to the CEDAW and (b) to support other international conventions and treaties promoting the rights and interests of women;

AVC affirms the proposition spelled out in *The Platform For Action* that human rights are universal and equally applicable to women; the inherent and indivisible rights of women must be affirmed by the international community, and support the Mission Statement from Beijing that ''equality

between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development, and peace.'' [N.B. The previous statement flows from the UN 4th International Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China, September 1995.]

IV. THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION/US AND THE WORLD FEDERALIST ASSOCIATION

Recognizing for decades that the World Federalist Association (WFA) in the US and World Federalism elsewhere in the world have appropriately emphasized the global nature of the Earth and our life thereon;

Recognizing further that the work of the UN Association (UNA)/US in its support of the UN itself has similarly reflected an understanding of the global nature of the world;

Observing that both of these organizations have emphasized the great need of peoples to work together for a better world while their governments work together in the UN for peace and security;

Having members of AVC also in positions of leadership and membership in the WFA and likewise in positions of leadership in the UNA/US;

Believing today that the WFA position is still sound and that its national and regional meetings are productive, having produced recent leadership in advancing the international criminal court, the Hague Appeal for Peace, a UN readiness force, and adequate UN funding . . . likewise noting the effectiveness and value of the results achieved by the national and regional assemblies of the UNA/US;

AVC finds that both the work of the UNA/US and the World Federalist Association have goals and programs that lead to a stronger and more productive relationship of the peoples in the nations of the world; and, therefore, AVC supports both of these organizations.

V. US SUPPORT FOR THE REPORT ON THE IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICT ON CHILDREN

Noting with satisfaction the release of the important study of the ''Impact Of Armed Conflict On Children'' (Graca Machel Study);

Reaffirming AVC's traditional support for strict adherence to international humanitarian laws and human rights standards in situations of armed conflict;

Reaffirming further our support for the implementation of the Convention of the Rights of the Child;

Pleased that the WVF is a part of the Coalition Against the Use of Child Soldiers;

AVC also supports the Coalition Against the Use of Child Soldiers and the findings of the Report 'Impact Of Armed Conflict On Children.' AVC also (a) urges upon the International community to offer special care and protection of refugee and internally placed children and (b) further urges international support for the findings of the Report, including calling upon governments to prevent the recruitment and demobilization of children under the age of 18.

VI. BAN ON ''ANTI-PERSONNEL'' MINES

Noting that the US used the phrase ''global humanitarian tragedy caused by the indiscriminate use of anti-personnel mines''

Reviewing the long-standing position of AVC in support of the total ban of land mines, or anti-personnel mines;

Noting at the same time that generals of the US Armed Forces established that land mines hurt the US more than they helped our Armed Forces;

Continuing to observe that around the world children and women and other civilians have sustained injuries and even death from land mines;

AVC continues respectfully to urge the President of the United States to adopt a strong position with the goal of eliminating land mines, or anti-personnel mines, from our global life.

VII. WORLD VETERANS FEDERATION—A HALF CENTURY OF AVC SUPPORT

Reviewing with gratification the more than half century history of the WVF and the founding membership of AVC in WVF in 1950 as well as the continuing AVC membership now in 2001;

Reviewing also the long and consistent programs and work of WVF in behalf of veterans as well as those who have suffered on account of war—the WVF program always including support of the UN;

Recalling the guidance of WVF by the CREDO created by the late UN Undersecretary General Ralph J. Bunche . . . the Credo having the celebrated phase ''None can speak more eloquently for peace than those who have fought in war'';

Noting that WVF has consistently brought veterans from all over the world to its General Assemblies, Council meetings, and such special meetings as the the 1990 Conference on the Mediterranean held in Malta, and observing that WVF has celebrated its 23rd General Assembly (Paris 2000);

Taking pride in the fifty-year leadership of WVF Presidents and Secretaries General;

The American Veterans Committee continues to support without reservation the World Veterans Federation and looks forward to continuing membership and contribution to WVF programs.

VIII. THE SOUTHEAST BALKIN STATES

Having goals of peace, security, and development in the Balkans and well aware that what was once Yugoslavia is now Yugoslavia/Serbia (including Montenegro), Bosnia-Herzegovinia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia and further recognizing that this European sub-region also includes such nations states as Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Turkey;

Noting with appreciation that the World Veterans Federation (WVF) brought together its member organizations (International Conference, Luxembourg, 5–7 May 1996) to arrive at ''principles to be followed and measures to be taken'' for attainment of those goals . . . and that the Luxembourg International Conference carefully took into account the position adopted in Dayton (Ohio/USA) with respect to Bosnia-Herzegovinia;

Aware that peoples of different ethnic, religious, and historical background do have differences, sometimes substantial almost insurmountable differences;

Noting further that the Stability Pact includes a ''Coordinator,'' a citizen of a nation not among those of the Eastern Balkans;

Supporting the Stability Pact and the elections of a democratic state and urging the peoples to support the results of the elections wherever in the Balkan States;

Also supporting the position that individuals accused of ''war crimes or crimes against humanity'' must be brought before the appropriate court;

Believing with respect to the totality of the Balkan States that ''recognition by every State in the region of all the other States in the region and renunciation of all forms of nationalism leading to the notion of 'greater State,' ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and intolerance toward minorities'';

Continuing to respect the final act of Helsinki, which emphasizes the security and cooperation in Europe;

The American Veterans Committee continues to adopt the position that mediation and discussion, together with (a) peace-keeping, economic, and infrastructural support from NATO and the UN, including in both instances the US, and (b) vital governing provisions of Bosnia-Herzegovina and other Balkan States will lead to a state of multi-ethnic, multi-culture, and multi-denomination with full respect for the rights of all the people concerned.

IX. ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Applauding in the early days of AVC the establishment of the nation of Israel;

Supporting the leadership of President Jimmy Carter in bringing together Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and Egypt's leader Anwar Sadat;

Noting with satisfaction the further movement toward conciliation, reconciliation, and peace formulated by Palestinian Authority and the present and immediate past Prime Ministers of Israel;

Urging the leaders of Israel and Palestine today to continue using mediation in arriving at agreements, including an agreement with respect to East Jerusalem;

AVC continues to support the right of Israel to peace and economic and sociocultural development and the use of the instruments of discussion and mediation in the consideration of all elements and aspects of difference and conflict between Israel and its neighboring peoples and nations—whether they be Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, or any other nation state, AVC in supporting the above stated development in Israel in no way implies that it does not support similar development of Palestine as well as all other nations as they too seek peace and improvement of the quality of life for their peoples.

X. CUBA

Observing that Fidel Castro has been in power in Cuba for more than forty years and that all efforts to remove him and change his regime have been and continue to be futile;

Recalling that the US has resumed relations with Germany, Japan, and Vietnam after devastating wars and relations with Russia subsequent to the Cold War;

Believing that the Helms-Burton Act has not been and will not be effective in achieving its stated goal(s), and judging further that this Act of Congress has only created conflict between us and our close allies;

AVC believes that the US appropriate to the present times should establish diplomatic relations, permit commercial relations, continue to provide humanitarian aid, and end the application of sanctions that adversely affect Cuba and our allies.

HONORING RICHARD ''AL'' SEAGLER

HON. SCOTT McINNIS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. McINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to honor Richard ''Al'' Seagler for his service to our great nation in World War II. Anticipating that he would get drafted, Al courageously enlisted with the Navy. It is my pleasure to pay tribute to Mr. Seagler for the sacrifices he made in preserving the freedom of our nation.

Mr. Seagler experienced many sleepless nights as Japanese forces made countless attacks on his construction battalion that was located on the island of Guadalcanal. The campaign at Guadalcanal cost America a great number of lives before the United States decidedly took the island and changed the course of the Pacific Theater in World War II forever. Mr. Seagler played a vital role in America's course of action by directing a construction battalion whose job included providing a workable infrastructure for American troops and maintaining open supply lines in Guadalcanal.

These important construction battalions were known as ''Seabees,'' but their name and recognition have since disappeared from our national memory. Mr. Seagler sweated his days away in order to sustain the American operations in the region. In addition, Al accomplished many great feats in the construction battalion while dodging the enemy's bullets, living in a disease-infested jungle, and laying down to sleep to the sound of the Japanese fighter planes bombing the Guadalcanal coast.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Seagler showed great courage and heroism as a soldier in World War II. Therefore, it is my privilege to acknowledge his honor and pride for our great Nation. Al is still an active citizen in Montrose, Colorado where he has served as a role model for both young and old. I commend Mr. Seagler for his distinguished service to the state of Colorado and our great Nation.

STATEMENT ON HOWARD AND RIETA PARK CIRCUMNAVIGATING THE GLOBE

HON. ROB SIMMONS

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize Howard and Rieta Park, a couple from my hometown of Stonington, CT, who, on June 10, 2001, concluded a 31,000-mile sailing journey around the world.

Traveling on their 53-foot Sparkman and Stevens yawl, named COMET, the Park's odyssey took them across the Caribbean, through the Panama Canal to the Galapagos Islands, across the Pacific to the French Marquesas, the Cooke Islands, Tonga, Fiji, New Zealand, and New Caledonia.

They trekked to the Great Barrier Reef along the Australian coast, across the Indian Ocean, around the tip of South Africa's Cape of Good Hope and through the southern Atlantic Ocean on their way to St. John, the U.S. Virgin Islands. The Parks finally came home to Stonington, where they began their journey in November 1998.

To plan to undertake such a daunting journey is impressive enough—to complete the journey is truly remarkable. The trip was not without danger. Howard Park spoke of one day when he saw what he believed to be a whale alongside their craft. As COMET neared the submerged figure it rolled and dove under the boat, lifting the entire vessel out of the water for a moment.

As the tail of the creature rose behind the yawl's rear, Howard Park did not see a whale's tail but the back fin of a shark. The 60-foot beast was a shy, basking shark, and the silently moving boat had startled it. Howard Park said the image of this giant tail rising out of the water would remain with him forever.

There were also sites of extraordinary beauty. The Parks had not seen land for 19 days when they approached the Marquesas Islands. They waited until dawn to pull into port, giving them the opportunity to watch the sunrise over the volcanic peaks of Hiva Oa. Describing what they saw, Howard Park said, ''There were high, high mountain peaks and indescribably beautiful vegetation.''

Why undertake such an intimidating journey? The answer lies within the heart and soul of mankind. We are inquisitive, and we dream. Throughout history men have sought to find out what lies beyond the next hill—what waits to be discovered beyond the horizon, and they have followed their dreams into reality.

That we might know the unknown we have traveled to the depths of the oceans and have reached far beyond our own globe to the distant stars. It is our nature to dream—and to try and satisfy that dream.

The Parks have experienced the journey of a lifetime. And why not! Life is a finite adventure. There is only one, certain end. We should make our voyage as sweeping, as productive, as positive, and as exhilarating as possible.

Reflecting on life's adventure, Theodore Roosevelt said, ''He must long greatly for the lonely winds that blow across the wilderness and for sunrise and sunset over the rim of the empty world. His heart must thrill for the saddle and not for the hearthstone. The joy of living is his who has the heart to demand it.''

I commend Howard and Rieta Park on their exceptional achievement. As we go through life, may we, like the Parks, treasure images that will remain with us forever. And like Theodore Roosevelt, may we realize that the joy of living is his who has the heart to demand it.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES REGARDING TERRORIST ATTACKS LAUNCHED AGAINST UNITED STATES

SPEECH OF

HON. NICK LAMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 11, 2001

Mr. LAMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart to express for the people of Southeast Texas and for myself our sympathy for those who have lost loved ones in the horrible tragedy our country suffered yesterday.

I have received many messages of well wishes and sympathy from constituents and friends literally around the world. A member of the French parliament, for example, asked me to please transmit his profound sympathies to the U.S. Congress and the American people.

We thank you all for your prayers and support. The United States of America is strong, and will not be shaken by such a cowardly act which killed so many of our countrymen.

But, Mr. Speaker, I want to talk about a slightly different message than my colleagues have spoken of so far, a message about children. As adults, we have the ability to process this tragedy much differently than how our children process this. We must be sensitive to our children's needs, and give them an opportunity to discuss their feelings. I'd like to take a moment to paraphrase a column by Cordelia Anderson that I received this morning:

As adults, we need to be calm and focused for the children. We need to receive support from other adults, so that we are able to effectively guide our children. We must talk with our kids and listen to them, find out what their fears are, what their concerns are, and then try to address them as directly and as calmly as possible. We must try to reassure them that there are adults there to help them and to protect them, and after giving them time to talk and to share, to return them to their regular routine of school. Our children are worth the time that we take to do this, and it is indeed important.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the police, the firefighters, the emergency personnel and the magnificent citizens who sacrificed their lives or who are still helping in this disaster. My heart and the hearts of my constituents go out to the people of New York and of Washington, DC. I urge my fellow citizens to support our President as we take swift and decisive action against the persons who perpetrated this tremendously horrendous act of cowardice.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to support this resolution, and I ask that God bless America.

TRIBUTE TO JOEY BISHOP

HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, Joey Bishop is a great American. He began his work in the boxing industry in 1939 at the Dick Mettee Gym training boxers. In 55 years, Joey Bishop won 250 amateur bouts, 38 senior bouts, and has refereed 3,500 bouts. At the age of 72, his record of 288 wins and 0 losses remained unscathed when he retired after defeating Canadian Welterweight Champion Boysie Phillips. This most impressive victory gave him the Indianapolis Senior Boxing Welterweight Championship belt.

Joey Bishop is not only an excellent athlete, but he is also an Army Veteran. He participated in the Special Services Boxing Unit, and won the Pan American Lightweight belt in 1943, and the Pan Am Welterweight title in 1944. Joey has also served for over 15 years on the Ohio Boxing Commission.

It is my honor and a privilege today to pay tribute to Joey Bishop. It is a privilege and an honor to represent such a fine American, and I will always consider Joe as my friend.

IN OUR DARKEST HOUR, AMERICA STANDS UNITED AND STRONG

HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, like my constituents in the Dayton, Ohio, area, and all Americans, I am shocked and horrified by the brutal terrorist attack on our Nation on September 11. I am saddened for the victims and their families.

It was an act of pure evil. And yet even this evil is not so great that it consumes the good which still abounds in our great Nation.

Carl Sandburg wrote, ''I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us. I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision.''

I am profoundly moved by the spirit of the American people who have responded to the crises with a generosity almost unimaginable. I am uplifted by the mood among members of Congress who have abandoned all partisan differences to pass critical legislation. I am deeply proud to see how our leaders are working together around the clock.

In my district, citizens are calling me to ask if they can give money back to the government to assist with an antiterrorist campaign. A company in the Dayton area which manufactures protective equipment for firefighters is donating boots, gloves, and masks to the New York fire department. High schools in my community set up collection barrels at the football games for people to give food and equipment for the rescue effort.

At this darkest hour, all of America is acting as one in a way I've never seen before. In our unity, we are strong—strong enough to rebuild from this attack and strong enough to overcome the terrorists behind it—and to emerge stronger than before.

In one of his fireside chats in 1940, just before America entered World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt said, ''We defend and we build a way of life, not for America alone, but for all mankind.''

Once again, Americans are called to defend themselves and civilization itself. I am proud to say that we are up to that challenge.

MUSLIMS LOVE PEACE AS MUCH AS ANYONE

HON. JOSEPH R. PITTS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, almost 60 years ago during World War II, our Nation imprisoned Japanese Americans in internment camps simply because of their ethnic background. Today, we are all rightly horrified by this action. In the aftermath of this week's tragedy, we must not repeat this chapter in our history. Arabs and Muslims are NOT all terrorists bent on destroying our Nation. They too desire to live in peace with their families and communities. In fact, millions of Arabs live in this great land—2.2 million of whom are Arab Christians.

Our Arab and Muslim compatriots in our nation also weep with pain and sorrow as they grieve the loss of loved ones. Many of them fled their homes and came to the United States as refugees to get away from the very same types of people as those who attacked our country.

In the past few days, the outpouring of deeply sympathetic support and condolences my office personally has received has come from Islamic nations such as Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Egypt, Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Western Sahara, and Algeria, and from Palestinians.

As our great nation pulls together, let us not turn to hate and violence, but to the underlying spirit of courage and compassion that has made this country a beacon of freedom and hope for a new life. Justice must and will be implemented—but it will be against those who deserve it, the savage terrorists—not our fellow Arab and Muslim citizens and friends here and around the world.

PAYING TRIBUTE TO MIGUEL RAMIREZ

HON. GENE GREEN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this week, our Nation has experienced much human tragedy. Although my hometown of Houston, Texas was spared the devastation that occurred in New York City and in Washington, D.C., we did suffer from a tremendous loss. Today, I rise to pay tribute to Miguel Ramirez.

On Tuesday, September 11, 2001, Aldine High School lost Miguel Ramirez, one of its most promising ninth grade students. Miguel had been preparing for an afternoon football practice session before he collapsed.

Miguel was new to Aldine High School, but he quickly embraced the school and its traditions. He was an honor student and was enthusiastic about football. Despite the fact that Miguel Ramirez was only fourteen years old, he made a lasting impression on his family, his friends and his teachers.

Recently, the *Houston Chronicle* reported on the impact Miguel had had on his football teammates. I would like to share the following excerpt:

> ''We had a meeting this morning, and the attitude of the team is that they wanted to go out and win a game for Miguel,'' said freshman coach Mark Muilenburg. ''There really wasn't any hesitation about them wanting to play and we talked about that as a team. Miguel was a guy that was always at practice and a guy that always wanted to play. He just started playing this year, and he was so proud of his jersey and so proud of the fact that he was on a team.''

Mr. Speaker, the loss of any life is sad, but the loss of a young life is truly tragic. Even in death, Miguel will continue to lead through the contributions he has left behind, the relationships he has forged, and the example he has set.

I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to join me in expressing our heartfelt condolences to the Miguel Ramirez family, especially to his parents David and Maria, and to his many friends and classmates at Aldine High School.

HONORING FIREFIGHTERS AND POLICE OFFICERS FOR THEIR OUTSTANDING SERVICE TO OUR NATION

HON. ROSA L. DeLAURO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my deepest thanks and appreciation to all of the firefighters and law enforcement officials who have volunteered their expertise in the wake of the tragic events of the past several days. Tuesday, September 11, 2001 will live in the hearts and minds of Americans for generations to come. To challenge democracy is to challenge the very core of all that we cherish. Communities across our nation have come together, united by a single truth: the spirit of America, though tested, can never be broken.

The men and women who serve as firefighters and law enforcement officials face risks that few of us can truly comprehend. Each day, they must be ready to perform under intense pressure—literally in life or death situations as we have all witnessed in recent days. Their commitment and dedication cannot be questioned.

Perhaps this is best illustrated in the faces of the many firefighters, police officers, and emergency personnel, who have volunteered their time and efforts throughout the past several days. I speak not only of those directly involved with the rescue efforts in Lower Manhattan, but to the many departments nationwide who have offered assistance with equipment, rescue teams, and various other forms of support. Many of these dedicated men and women have gone to their communities sponsoring blood, clothing, food and water drives. They have been an inspiration to us all and yet when asked why you will always hear the same reply: ''It's my job.'' In my home state of Connecticut, the thousands of men and women who serve our local fire and police departments have continually been on hand—ready and willing to do all that they can for our neighbors and I thank them for their incredible work. I want to especially commend the approximately eighty firefighters from the Third Congressional District of Connecticut who are now directly assisting in the New York rescue effort.

It is with great pride and the deepest admiration that I rise today to pay tribute to these men and women and to thank them for their tremendous efforts on behalf of our communities and our nation. I stand today to urge all Americans to thank their local fire and police departments for all that they do for us every day.

FOURTH PRATHAM GALA

HON. NICK LAMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. LAMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend those associated with the fourth Pratham Gala held last month in Houston, Texas. Pratham was established in 1994 by UNICEF and the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, with the mission to achieve ''Universal Primary Education'' in Mumbai by the year 2000.

This mission is now growing in scope and scale. Throughout India, individuals, corporations and the state governments are taking the initiative to further ensure that every child in their respective cities receives a formal education.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include a recent article from the Indo-American News regarding the recent successful Gala in Houston and again add my congratulations.

[From the Indo-American News, Sept. 13, 2001]

PRATHAM CONTINUES TO BUILD MOMENTUM AND FUNDS

(By Bidisha Roy Banerjee)

HOUSTON—Targeted to reach out to the slum-children across India, Pratham has found tremendous amount of success in such a short time. The support Pratham received so far has been overwhelming and much more than anticipated. Since the last gala, Pratham has made great strides in both India and USA.

Not only has Pratham doubled the number of children it reaches (180,000 to date), it has also successfully established programs in 12 cities and nine rural areas with another seven cities being initiated this year. Several Pratham chapters have spread in a number of cities and college campuses in America.

The fourth Pratham Gala in Houston served as an evidence that a

Emceed by radio show hostess Meena Dutt, the event started with an invocation by Uma Mantravadi, singer and attorney, who performed a beautiful selection of songs.

The first speaker of the event, Vijay Goradia, Chairman of Pratham USA was introduced by Meena Dutt as the ''man who does not want to speak; a man who contributed the major chunk and the man who brought Pratham to Houston.''

Goradia amused the audience by mentioning a conversation that he overheard just before the program started.

Three kids were discussing how they could contribute to Pratham. The first one said he would draw a circle, throw his allowance in the air, and donate to Pratham and keep the rest to himself. The second kid said the same. The third kid, a Gujarati boy, said he would draw a square, stand outside it and throw all of his allowances in the air. Whatever dropped outside the square, he would donate to Pratham and the rest of it inside the square, he would keep for himself.

Goradia lauded Pratham for its tremendous achievement in the last four years and boasted that ''Houston is the leader in drawing the maximum amount in the last four years. Other cities are now taking cue and following initiative. It is replicable in lot of different cities. I hope and wish Houston will continue to lead the way and show what basic programs like Pratham can do for lives of others.''

Meena Dutt reminded the audience that ''Many say that he (Goradia) has money, so give it. But not everyone who has money wants to share it. A little sharing can go a long way.''

The next speaker was a 17-year-old Pratham volunteer who flew all the way from Mumbai to attend the gala, Disha Katharani. ''Vision without action is merely a dream, Action without vision is merely a passing time. But vision with action can change the world.'' Quoting Joel Barker, Disha went on to appall the audience by her wisdom, courage and her inspirational speech. A 12th grader in Ruparel College, Disha's interest in Pratham was initiated by her grandmother who took her to an orphanage and gave her the responsibility of teaching the children. After this incident, which had clearly left its impression on Disha's young mind, her father Harish Katharani exposed her to Prathan's Pratishristi (Computer Assisted Learning project) through his friend and Pratham's informative web-site. As someone who grew up with an access to a computer, Disha realized that computer assisted learning center might be one of the key ingredients to an educational revolution in India. Dr. Madhav Chuhan, cofounder of Pratham and Yogi Patel of Houston assisted Disha to carry through the daunting task of acquiring 30 computers which were shipped to Mumbai with the help of K.C. Singh. Although proud of her enormous achievement in seeing through her dream, Disha looks forward to bringing smiles to more innocent faces and the light of knowledge to many more dark and rusting minds. ''This is just a drop in the ocean,'' says the awe-inspiring youngster in her motivational speech, ''But we must remember that every drop constitutes an ocean and make our best efforts to make this world a better place.''

Cofounder of Pratham, Dr. Madhav Chauhan is a man who eats, breathes, and sleeps Pratham. A former teacher in the University of Houston, Dr. Chauhan spoke about the birth of the Indian Education Initiative. ''When we started, we talked only to Balvadi but now we have increased to different categories such as 6–11 year old out-of-school children, children in school but not learning, and children from the streets and railway platforms. And in the next year, we should have 10 times this definition.''

''Pratham programs such as the pretest, mid-test and the post-test are directed to gauge every child's learning ability. At the present level of our skills, about 60 percent children who entered Pratham without any learning background, learned to read and write in less than six months. I myself was amazed by the results. This, I am sure, will get better and better,'' exulted the founder.

With the support from municipal government, Pratham added Lucknow to its program only three weeks ago, while Bhopal came into the picture just 10 days back. Dr. Chauhan said, ''The challenge in Bhopal is unique. Let's see if a child can stand up and read a story book.''

Turning to the Houstonians, Dr. Chauhan expressed his gratitude to the people who helped raise the most funds for Pratham USA. ''You give so selflessly that we are constantly encouraged by your compassionate nature. I hope you continue giving and make difference in the lives of these children.''

Dr. Chauhan's speech was followed by a screen presentation on Pratham in action. Happy kids in classroom, enjoying the learning process and laughing at the cartoons they play on the computers—little boys and girls, the future of India. Pratham sure has made a world of difference in the lives of people. Keynote speaker N. Vahul, Chairman, ICICI took out time from his undoubtedly busy schedule to attend the gala. Its amazing how a man of his stature can find the time to give generously. It is mainly due to his support that Pratham could reach out from 2,000 children to 200,000 children.

Clearly impressed by the eloquent speech of Disha Katharani, Vaghul said ''I have never seen a young person speak with so much passion and commitment. Even after a quarter century of public speaking, I feel I should not talk tonight after Disha's speech. Its said that 'give me 100 dedicated people, and I will change the face of the country,' but I say, 'Give me 100 Dishas and I will change India.' ''

Vaghul said that ''India is the world that binds us together. On one hand it evolves a sweetness and pride and on the other, sadness. A sadness because a country with so much potential cannot reach the top position due to poverty. The underlying cause for all this is selfishness and greed in every sector which is pulling our country down. Maybe it is the human nature but unless a counter balance is achieved, we will not be able to come up again. In Houston I see the counter balance. The element of selflessness, love and compassion which I see in Houston, travels across the oceans and lights the heart of hundreds. We have missed the industrial revolution of the 19th century because we were not the masters of our own destiny and we were afraid of being taken over. When we woke up, it was impossible to catch up with the revolution. But in the 21st century, we have 20 million qualified individuals, ready to race the Knowledge revolution. This time we are wide awake and we have the brain power. So we will not let this revolution bypass us. By the year 2010, my gut feeling tells me that we will turn this 20 million into 200 million and race with the entire universe. This is where Pratham is needed.'' Citing the example of New Yorker Abraham George who goes to rural India and tests the IQ of children to educate them, Vaghul said ''we have the same culture, same genes and same talents. Let us help Pratham make the rest of the people useful citizens of India. At least we made one Disha. If we can replicate Disha's commitment, then we have succeeded. Pratham will be fortunate of 10% of corporate India can express the same amount of compassion, love and commitment as shown by the people in Houston.''

Congressman Nick Lampson's commitment to the South Asian community goes much beyond the duties of his elected office. Pratham was honored to have him grace the event with his presence. Nine years as a teacher, Congressman Lampson believes that ''teachers are blessed because they see the future everyday from their spots.''

Congressman Lampson cited the example of Parveen Shaikh who is a Bridge Course teacher at Zakariya Bandar in Mumbai. Coming from an illiterate family, Parveen's dream was to become a teacher. And Pratham gave her that chance, encouraged her to pursue that dream by teaching at balvadis and following a vision. Applauding the committed community members who have played a key role in the fast expansion of Pratham, Lampson said ''You are touching the soul of mankind with every dollar that you donate. Your commitment is giving a person your vision and role.'' Congressman expressed his wish to travel to India to see if the same type of program can be initiated in other countries.

Paul Lima of Northwest Mutual Financial Network, the sponsors of the Gala Event spoke about the high sense of social responsibility of his country. ''When I heard about Pratham and understood their cause, I felt humbled,'' said the VP, Emerging Markets.

''The high level of integrity and the fact that Pratham is considered the top organization in what it does, makes us at Northwest Mutual very honored to sponsor this event and we sincerely hope to be involved in this for many more years in the future.''

A vote of thanks was passed by Pratham President Yogi Patel. ''Pratham has a very special meaning to me because I can relate to those kids.'' Patel recollected his own childhood, growing up in a small town in India where his parents were illiterate. There was no formal Pratham in that town but there definitely were people with the Pratham spirit. These were the people who paid for Patel's tuition and books and tickets to USA when he got admitted to Rice at the tender age of 17. And today, due to these generous and compassionate people, he has been able to carry on the spirit through his two daughters, Shivani Yogendra Patel, M.D. and Anuja Yogendra Patel, B.A. Double Major. Thanking Dr. Madhav Chauhan, Patel said ''You are a modern day architect. You have created a beautiful vehicle.'' He thanked Mr. Vaghull and Vijay Goradia for their intensive support. He thanked all the donors who paid time and money and made Pratham a success story. ''If education has worked for my family and my kids, it sure should change the lives of every individual out there waiting for an opportunity.''

After dinner, cultural program was performed by Uma Mantravadi and her music group.

The gala raised $390,000 with 560 ardent supporters attending the event promising their integrity to a cause so great that it can change the life of mankind and the destiny of a country. The current target of Pratham is now $500,000

TRIBUTE TO ARLETTE T. GATEWOOD

HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following for the RECORD.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF ARLETTE T. GATEWOOD

Born to Mayhue and Ella (Jackson) Gatewood, in the late 1920's, the fourteenth child of fifteen children, Arlette T. Gatewood began on his journey of life. Raised on the Eastside of Youngstown's Sharon Line and a graduate of East High School class of 1947.

During his adolescent years he met a sweet, supportive girl named Emma G. Bunch, whom he married, and 51 years and two daughters later, they are still a couple that has love, respect and commitment to each other.

Arlette's daughters, Aleatha L. Summers and Roslyn M. Austin both of Evanston, IL were raised by the stern hand of a father that instilled a foundation of love, common sense, and self-respect along with a wealth of knowledge and commitment. These keys of success have been handed down to his grandchildren: Rashida, and Jelani Summers and Marcus Austin, and this torch will be handed down to future generations.

Arlette over the years has taken the time to share his time and knowledge with his nieces and nephews, and with so many other young adults. There are so many lives that Arlette has influenced, the advice shared and the support given has created powerful, productive adults throughout this country.

For 32 years Arlette worked as a cranesman in the Conditioning Yard at the Brier Hill Plant of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. A member of Local Union 1462, United Steelworkers of America AFL–CIO–CIC, where he served in various capacities as a Local Union Officer; Vice President, Treasurer, and Grievance Committeeman also served as a member of the Civil Rights Committee, and the Worker's Compensation Committee. A dedicated trade unionist, he was appointed to the position of Staff Representative January 16, 1978 by Frank Leseganich, Former Director of District 26. Though retired from work, Arlette continues to fight for the rights of labor and labor relations.

Arlette is a member of Reeds Chapel A.M.E. Church where he serves on the Trustee Board, a member of the Board of Directors of Interfaith Home Maintenance Service, Leadership Youngstown, and the Labor Advisory Committee for Congressman Traficant.

He is also a board member of Youngstown Community Action Council, a past board member of the Youngstown Employment and Training Corporation (YETC) where he served as president for 4 years, a member of Citizens Participation Organization (Model Cities), Mahoning Valley Council of Church Economic Task Force, and Labor-Management Citizens Committee of Youngstown.

Arlette serves as a member of the Youngstown Area Urban League, Youngstown Chapter of N.A.A.C.P., Associated Neighborhood Centers, Leadership Youngstown Class of 1987, A. Phillip Randolph Institute; and Board of Trustee of the United Way.

Arlette Gatewood is and has been an asset to the entire community and has shared his experiences so that the future generations can benefit from his knowledge. He is a silent storm throughout the valley.

To My Husband, Our Father and Our Grandfather:

HERE'S TO THE MAN

Here's to the man who knows who he is and where he stands, the man with enough confidence in his own beliefs that he isn't afraid to let others express theirs . . .

Here's to the man who doesn't claim to know the answers until he has tried to understand the questions, the man with the strength to hold an unpopular opinion and the courage to change his mind . . .

Here's to the man whose warmth and wisdom and humor have earned him the respect of his friends and family and who makes this world a better place in which to live . . .

Arlette, Daddy, Papa

HERE'S TO YOU!!!

With Love,
Emma, Pam, Raymond, Roslyn ''Bunny'', Ray Austin, Shani, Jelani, Marques, and Pap

THE RETIREMENT OF DR. SARAH HARRIS

HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart. My community of Dayton, Ohio is losing one of its most respected citizens. Fortunately, she is just retiring and moving to Nevada, but it is a loss of Montgomery County nonetheless.

Dr. Sarah E. Harris has been a stalwart of Montgomery County and the Miami Valley of Ohio all of her life. She exemplifies what it means to be a public servant. Her life has been dedicated to serving others and improving the lives of all of her neighbors. She has been the perfect example of a Good Samaritan, always willing to lend a hand and meet a need. Like a good neighbor, Dr. Harris was there.

She is also a good friend and I will miss her a great deal. I have had the pleasure of working with her for many years, in a variety of capacities. She has worn a number of hats in her lifetime and is still retiring early. We thought we had a few more good years left and I am happy that she will return to Dayton to continue her relationships and work on bringing our community closer together.

Dr. Harris is a product of the fine education from Dayton's public schools and Miami University of Ohio. She immediately started her career of public service by becoming first a teacher and then a principal in Dayton. She continued by also working with Central State University and the Dayton Urban League. In 1987, she began her service as Montgomery County Treasurer and continued as one of our three county commissioners from 1990 through 1992.

As she has stated, ''nobody likes to lose an election, but I think it catapulted me into different things.'' Yet another testament to her commitment to our community is that she did not leave public service, after leaving elected office. She continued her work as the director of our chapter of the National Conference on Christians and Jews, now the National Conference on Community and Justice.

Her recent service as co-chair of the Dayton Dialogue on Race Relations (DDRR) continued her dedication to improving the lives of people from all backgrounds. She has brought all of her talent, energy and dedication to bear on this current initiative. I am pleased that U.S. District Judge Walter Rice, County Commissioner Vicki Pegg and City Commissioner Dean Lovelace will continue their work and be joined by former Common Pleas Judge Adele Riley.

I am particularly touched by Dr. Harris' tireless work with this latest endeavor. She has volunteered full-time to ensure the success of the DDRR and its signature dialogue groups. These groups meet in people's homes, with people of all ethnic backgrounds. They have conversations about their personal experiences with issues of race in an informal setting. Instead of just speaking of black and white, people are building relationships that will allow them to think of friends who happen to be of a different race.

The last time I was together with Dr. Harris was on the steps of the United States Capitol. We were there for a conference on ''Connecting Communities for Reconciliation and Justice,'' sponsored by Initiatives for Change and Hope in the Cities. I was proud to have her introduce me to her fellow participants and glad to have her representing Dayton at this international gathering.

I join with all of the residents of Montgomery County in wishing her and her husband a wonderful retirement. She has truly earned it. I thank her for her selfless service to our community. She is a true public servant and I am honored to count her as a friend.

WORLD TRADE CENTER AND PENTAGON TERRORIST ATTACKS

HON. WM. LACY CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, like most of my fellow Americans, I am at a loss for the appropriate words to express how angry, how appalled and how deeply saddened I am about the violence that was committed against our country this week.

And yet, I see acts of resolve and courage around me—the rescue workers risking and losing their lives, the long lines of blood donors, the American flags waving proudly from houses, from barns, from cars and from schools—I realize that no mere words can make the American commitment to freedom any stronger than it already is.

This country was the target of a faceless, voiceless aggressor who stole the lives of thousands of innocent people but who now lacks the courage to stand up and tell us who they are or why they did what they did.

But let this enemy rest assured that we are not a nation in hiding and have not become the victim of helplessness or fear. Rather, we are a country that is finding tremendous strength from some deep place in our collective spirit, and that strength will take us in the coming days, weeks and months where we as a nation need to go.

As for the thousands of people who lost loved ones in this senseless tragedy, I wish I could personally speak to each one, shake their hands and tell them what heroes they and their loved ones are in this country's eyes. But they probably already know that. If not yet—they will in time.

There is one thing I can say with certainty and that is this: America is on the threshold of change. It will never be the same, and as I personally mourn and grapple with frustration and sift through the rubble of what happened all around me, I am also prouder to be an American that I have ever been in my life.

THE BATTLE OF AMERICA

HON. ADAM B. SCHIFF

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, a secondary blast at the Pentagon rocked my building as I prepared to leave for the Capitol. I walked down East Capitol while people streamed out of the House Office Buildings and passed me on the street. The Capitol Hill police were cordoning off the area, sirens wailing in the background; no one was permitted further entry and Members of Congress were barred from their own offices. Another hijacked plan was in the air and one presumed destination was another target in the Capitol.

The Members of Congress, gathering at police headquarters to be briefed and set up makeshift offices, 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 large 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 far above their 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 may have spared further casualties by taking down the hijackers and their own plane above Pennsylvania.

Firefighters and police officers by the hundreds rushing into the collapsing wreckage of the World Trade Center to rescue the victims, many, God bless them, so many, losing their lives in the process. One firefighter, inured and lying in the hospital, telling the Governor of New York: "What d'ya expect? We're New Yorkers." God, they make me proud.

American doctors, nurses, search and rescue teams from all over the country, by car, bus and train, using any means to come to the wounded and offer their help. Citizens all over the country lining up to donate blood, so much blood, in lines up to four hours long. Children outside the federal building in Oklahoma, site of another terrorist attack, putting their Teddy Bears in a box to be sent to the children in New York—now orphaned. "We just want them to know they will be all right," an Oklahoma boys says as he drops his bear in the box.

The face of this tyrant is new, and yet not so new. Like Hitler, 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 ends. He thinks we are weak, because we do not tell our citizens what to think, how to act, whom to worship. Because we tolerate dissent. He does not realize this is our strength. And he has awoken the sleeping giant.

"What he has done," as Churchill had said, "is to kindle a fire in [American] hearts here and all over the world which will glow long after all traces of the conflagrations he has caused in [New York, Washington and Pennsylvania] have been removed."

What these petty tyrants do not understand, have never understood, is that for all our rough-and-tumble public discourse, we are one people, acting under one President, and capable of greater single-mindedness of purpose in times of adversity than any repressive regime. These acts of terror will not divide us. All Americans—young, old, Democrats, Republicans, men, women, Christians, Moslems and Jews—are united against the common foe.

We will not be turned against each other. We will not tolerate acts of violence against Moslem Americans, many of whom lost their lives, serve as police and firefighters in the rescue effort, and all of whom are equally repelled at these atrocities. We will not relinquish our freedoms of speech, assembly and religion, nor sacrifice our precious right of privacy or way of life. "The price of freedom is high, and Americans have always paid it," President Kennedy said. We pay it still.

This is the Battle of America. The enemy may be new, but the fight has always been the same. Our government, our democracy is predicated on basic human freedoms, on the right of the governed to control their own national destiny. The civil war tested whether any nation so conceived could long endure. We have endured. We will go on, with growing confidence that we can fight terrorism wherever we find it, and strengthened by the conviction that the generation of Americans now being tested will not falter or flag.

PROVIDING FOR EXPEDITED PAYMENT OF CERTAIN BENEFITS FOR PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICERS KILLED OR INJURED IN CONNECTION WITH TERRORIST ATTACKS OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

SPEECH OF

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 13, 2001

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this President, this nation and this legislation. The devastating and cowardly attack on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, the American people, and free democratic societies everywhere must be responded to with the swift justice and mighty force of the United States military and our allies. We must continue to stand together to make it through this most difficult time. We must also support the victims, families and the heroic search and rescue teams currently working tirelessly in New York as well as the on-going investigations of these deplorable acts. Yesterday, we voted for the Victims of Terrorism Relief Act of 2001 to provide tax relief for the victims of this heinous attack on our soil. In addition, we passed legislation that will expedite payments of certain benefits to public safety officers. These are just two of the necessary steps to ensure the largest possible benefit to the families of those who have paid the greatest possible price. Today, we must focus on the vast work that remains to be done. None of this, however, will be feasible without significant resources that are dedicated to their intended purpose.

As we enter into a potentially prolonged attack on terrorism and its sponsors throughout the world, we must be prepared for the consequences of this significant decision. We must take steps to ensure that the resources are available to secure our skies and protect our people. These steps must include funding for fortifying our military, upgrading our intelligence, and security needs, while simultaneously supporting those who are suffering from the effects of the devastation of a few short days ago. The supplemental funding that

we are voting on will support our military, rebuild our city, and assist those who are suffering. Mr. Speaker, I stand with my colleagues, united with our President and in defiance of those who believe that they can threaten our freedom. I support this legislation and pray for the victims, the rescue workers and all Americans.

TERRORIST ATTACKS

HON. ROBERT E. (BUD) CRAMER, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to strongly condemn the cowardly act of violence that besieged our nation yesterday. Today, we stand as a nation resolved to continue our way of life. National symbols of power were shaken, but the true strength of the country, our people, remain solid.

We will act swiftly to determine those responsible for this cowardice and retaliate against the perpetrators. We continue to support our Commander in Chief as he leads us through this truly horrible time for our nation.

I commend those citizens of all walks of life who became America's heroes yesterday as they worked to rescue the injured and console families of victims. Our thoughts and prayers are with those who are injured, those who lost their lives, and those who are courageously involved in rescue efforts. We will come together as a nation by giving blood, donating our time and services to help the afflicted, and flying our American flags proudly.

Members of Congress and citizens across the country today refuse to be frightened and demoralized as we attempt to pick up the shattered pieces of our lives and restore some semblance of normalcy to our daily routines.

However, this indeed is a dark time for America, which has generated grave memories that will last forever. What is important now is that we face and learn from this solemn chapter in our history. We must reassess our national security apparatus and come to terms with those lapses in security that allowed these terrorists to take root on U.S. soil. But, make no mistake, the rest of the world should know—and know so resoundingly—that the United States will not tolerate cowardly acts of terrorism.

I agree wholeheartedly with the President that we will make no distinction between those who committed this barbaric act of cowardice and those who harbor and give them sustenance. All of the perpetrators of these dastardly deeds must come to feel the full force of our power—unleashed in all of its awesome might.

Surely, the wounds inflicted upon our national conscience by this horrendous act of terrorism are deep. However, while we have suffered a tremendous loss, our resolve to confront and defeat the evil that brought about this tragedy has only been strengthened.

I stand behind the President at this moment of national sorrow. As a nation we are united in our unyielding determination to prevail against terrorism and those who support it.

TRIBUTE TO TERCERA IGLESIA BAUTISTA ESPAÑOLA

HON. JOSÉ E. SERRANO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. SERRANO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Tercera Iglesia Bautista Española, a treasured Bronx institution and a historic house of worship that celebrated its Centennial anniversary September 15, 2001.

Mr. Speaker, Tercera Iglesia Bautista Española was founded between the years of 1900 and 1902. As one of the first Baptist churches of its kind, serving a largely Hispanic congregation, it has become an invaluable part of Hispanic-American history and American history in general. Located on Alexander Avenue, the church stands as a beacon of true beauty in the heart of the south Bronx.

Throughout its 100 years of existence, Tercera Iglesia has been a model of excellence with its numerous and far-reaching community services. Not only are Bronx residents able to come to Tercera Iglesia for spiritual enrichment and fellowship, they can come to the church for assistance with life's daily trials. The church's pastor, Reverend Dr. Jose D. Rivera-Tormos serves as a pillar of the community and as an exceptional spiritual guide for his congregation. Reverend Rivera-Tormos is blessed with a dedicated and competent staff of church officials who go beyond the call of duty daily.

Mr. Speaker, beyond Tercera Iglesia's wealth of community programs and remarkable religious activities, it's very structure makes it a priceless institution. The building was designed at the turn of the century by architects Ward and Davis who implemented modern techniques in its construction. A delicate balance of elaborate decor in the entrance and simple rustic design throughout other parts of the church make it a unique structure worthy of commemoration.

For the past century, hundreds of thousands of Bronx residents have found solace and aid within the walls of Tercera Iglesia Bautista Española. I hope that all of my esteemed colleagues will join me in honoring this sacred and historic institution on its centennial anniversary.

TRIBUTE TO BARRY RASCOVAR

HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay special tribute to Barry Rascovar, one of the most well-respected journalists in Maryland who recently retired from the The Baltimore Sun. For more than 20 years, Barry's strong editorial voice has reverberated throughout Maryland. His insights and knowledge of Maryland politics and politicians has made his twice-a-week column a "must read" for anyone who cares about Maryland.

Barry graduated with honors from Dickinson College and holds an M.S., with honors, from Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. He also holds a Doctor of Humane Letters degree from both Towson University and Villa Julie College. Barry started out as a reporter on The Baltimore Sun's city desk in 1969. He quickly moved to covering the Maryland General Assembly in Annapolis and to news editor of The Baltimore Sun's Washington bureau. Since 1979, Barry has been deputy editorial page editor of The Baltimore Sun, shaping the voice of Maryland's largest daily newspaper.

We are fortunate that Barry has many talents. He is the respected author of "The Great Game of Maryland Politics," and he edited and authored "Marylanders of the Century". He also has helped the younger generation understand the intricacies of government as an adjunct professor for the Department of Government and Public Administration at the University of Baltimore.

I hope that my colleagues will join me in saluting Barry Rascovar, an award winning journalist who has the respect of those he worked with and those he covered. His 32-year career in journalism helped make The Baltimore Sun a respected and knowledgeable voice in our region. His retirement is a tremendous loss to all those who admire and respect his intelligence and integrity.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. CAROLYN McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mrs. McCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, due to the tragic acts of terrorism that occurred in New York, today I joined President Bush, along with the majority of the New York delegation, to view the scene of destruction and witness firsthand the incredible recovery effort. Unfortunately, I was unable to return to Washington to cast my vote for H.R. 2888. Had I been present, I would have supported this important emergency appropriation measure that helps set New York City on the path to restoration.

A LETTER FROM CHRIS JOHNSON

HON. TIMOTHY V. JOHNSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in light of the tragic events of September 11th, I would like to present a letter that my son, Chris Johnson, wrote:

> There's so much to say about the 4 plane crashes on Tuesday, it's hard to know where to start. First of all, I feel very, very, sad about the horrible loss of life in these crashes. I am also feeling very grateful for the courage of many Americans—both on board the airlines that crashed, as well as the rescuers who have volunteered to help in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania.
>
> Tuesday's attacks on our country were sickening acts of evil. They make me feel angry and revengeful and protective of my

country. My dad called us from Washington, D.C. right after the third hijacked plane hit the Pentagon building. They had just evacuated the Capitol building and he was calling to say he was OK. I wasn't worried. I have a lot of confidence in my dad and I know that he is a survivor. I think the citizens of our country should feel the same and remember that our elected officials are working dutifully to do all that they can to help keep our country safe and protected. Our President and our Congressmen, now more than ever before, need our full confidence and support.

My mom's best friend lives in an apartment building in New York City, right across the street from the World Trade Center. She called my mom Tuesday night to tell her she was alive. She ran outside of her apartment Tuesday morning in her pajamas, to see what was wrong and saw the second plane fly into the tower right over her head. She reported to my mom that she ran for her life down the street and then over the Brooklyn Bridge (barefoot and in her pajamas!) to safety across the bay. She said that the steel and glass was raining down from the sky onto her head. She said it was instantly so hot that the glass windows of her apartment building were melting down the side of the building. She has lost everything she owns, but she is alive. We just thank God she is alive.

Many people, thousands, are not alive today. They did not survive this horrible, cruel, evil, insane attack on our country. They have mothers and fathers and children who are heartbroken and suffering a horrible loss. While nothing can be done to bring these lives back to their families, justice—and I mean, Justice—must be done! This will not be easy to accomplish, and in the coming weeks and months, it will get harder and harder for us to remain united in our resolve to stand firm as a country, heal together and strive for peace in the world, but we will. Let freedom ring!

TRIBUTE TO LIEUTENANT GENERAL TIMOTHY J. MAUDE

HON. JOHN M. McHUGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. McHUGH. Mr. Speaker, today I rise with a heavy heart to salute Lieutenant General Timothy J. Maude, the Army's deputy chief of staff of personnel, who is among the 74 Army personnel missing and presumed killed in the September 11th attack on the Pentagon.

The horrible violence done to America by the terrorist attack of September 11th hits sharply home when we learn that good Americans, like Lieutenant General Timothy J. Maude, the Army's deputy chief of staff for personnel, have been lost in this senseless act of terror. Tim, as he invariably introduced himself, was on duty at the Pentagon when a terrorist-piloted aircraft slammed into his office. America's Army has lost a dedicated professional. A true friend to America's soldiers is gone. The nation will miss this patriot.

I knew General Maude professionally, as he often testified before my Subcommittee on personnel policy matters. But I am certain the intensity, creativity, and commitment that marked his professional life were indicators of the quality of his heart and soul, as well. I know he will be deeply missed by the many who called him friend.

From my perspective, when the Army chose him to be its senior military personnel specialist 13 months ago, Tim Maude was the right man to meet the challenges the Army faced. Then, the future of the all-volunteer Army—active, Reserve, and National Guard—was seriously in question. Army recruiters were struggling to attract sufficient numbers of quality men and women, and recruiting advertising appeared increasingly ineffective. Understaffed Army divisions faced the challenge of having too few people to train properly, and the difficulty of dealing with increasingly more frequent deployments with an insufficient number of personnel. Pay was inadequate, and the Army appeared ill-positioned to effectively recruit America's future military heroes. Today, that bleak picture is dramatically changing for the better, in large part because Tim Maude found the methods, means, and support within the Army, the Department of Defense, and on Capitol Hill to turn things around.

Throughout his 34-year Army career—from the day he enlisted to when he became the chief of personnel—Tim Maude served in a series of assignments that groomed him to successfully meet the Army's most complicated personnel challenges. His list of accomplishments is long. His contribution to the Army will be lasting. Quite simply, he made a difference.

There are no words that can lessen the sorrow his family, friends, and colleagues are experiencing. It is always difficult to cope when someone is taken before their time, but the sense of loss is somehow amplified by the tragedy of these horrific circumstances. I hope that his family is comforted by the knowledge that he was admired, respected, and appreciated by all of us who knew him on Capitol Hill. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting General Maude. We will miss him.

STATEMENT ON H. CON. RES. 225—EXPRESSING SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT EVERY CITIZEN IS ENCOURAGED TO DISPLAY THE FLAG

SPEECH OF

HON. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 13, 2001

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask all Members to vote for this resolution that I cosponsor with my colleagues urging people to fly the American flag. Tuesday's act of terrorism is one of the greatest challenges in the history of our country. In times of austerity, in times of national tragedy—and this is the greatest we have ever seen on U.S. soil—it is important to unite, to come together, to comfort, indeed, to 'rally around the flag.'

In light of the tragedy that has struck directly thousands of families, we urge people to fly the flag as a show of solidarity with all the victims of this horrible assault on humanity, on the United States. The flag is an enduring symbol of American democracy and American freedom. It is a symbol of the courage and the bravery and the essential human kindness of our people. Its display—especially at times of national tragedy—is yet another in a number of spontaneous and empowering, very human responses that we have witnessed in the last 48 hours.

Let the flags around the country as they fly and are displayed in neighborhoods and on our buildings, send the signal that the United States remains united. We are so sorry and in such sorrow at the horrible loss of life and the unspeakable agony of those affected by this event. We are equally determined to ensure that the perpetrators of this crime will be found and properly punished. We will do everything in our power to make sure that what happened a couple days ago never, ever happens again. Finally, we are determined to adjust and adapt to this new world to give our government and our country and our people and institutions the support and unity which all of us need at this most trying moment for America and the American people.

TO CITY OF KEWAUNEE

SPEECH OF

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 10, 2001

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 788 is special legislation which transfers a surplus piece of Federal property to the City of Kewaunee, Wisconsin. This piece of property is no longer needed as an Army Reserve Center nor is it needed for any other federal government purpose.

I would like to thank the Gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. GREEN, for working with me to address my concerns regarding this piece of legislation. I know it was his desire to have H.R. 788 passed prior to the House breaking for summer recess. However, by waiting until today, we were able to work together over the recess period and produce a stronger bill.

The bill before us is significantly different from the bill as it was originally introduced. I will highlight the differences quickly. The bill specifies that the property must be used and occupied only by the City, or by another local or State government entity approved by the City. In addition, the bill includes a reversionary clause which states that, during the next 20 years, if the property is not used as intended, it will revert to the federal government. Furthermore, the bill states that the property cannot be used for commercial purposes.

In the 1949 Property Act, Congress lays out how surplus federal property is to be disposed. GSA is instructed to sell property for the most profit possible. Monies received are used for a number of things including environmental clean-up and land preservation.

However, the Act also listed a number of ways a piece of property can be transferred free of charge under what is called a ''Public Benefit Conveyance'' exception. Congress decided that the public interest in giving property away for ''public benefit'' outweighs potential profit from public sale. Included in the 1949

Act were four such public benefit exceptions: health, education, park and recreation, and historical monuments. Since 1949, the Act has been amended numerous times to add more public benefits. These additions are wildlife refuge, ports, prisons, airports, homeless, self-help housing, and law enforcement/emergency response.

The City of Kewaunee is interested in using this former Army Reserve Center to house its city hall, city council, and senior center. Those types of use do not fit into any of the 11 current exceptions. Therefore, the federal government cannot transfer this property free of charge without special legislation like that which is before us today.

Although I am pleased that the City of Kewaunee is able to benefit from this property transfer, this bill should not in anyway be seen as setting a precedent for future special legislation. Congress can and should amend the Act if it determines that city halls or other exceptions should exist. With proper hearings and mark-ups, the Committee on Government Reform may decide that the definition of public purpose should be expanded. It may decide otherwise.

THOUGHTS ON THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

HON. BOB BARR

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share these thoughts by Mark Helprin in the September 12, 2001 Wall Street Journal. His argument makes an excellent case for a total and committed defense of our nation against the elements of international terrorism.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 12, 2001]

WE BEAT HITLER—WE CAN VANQUISH THIS FOE, TOO

(By Mark Helprin)

America, it is said, is slow to awaken, and indeed it is, but once America stirs, its resolution can be matchless and its ferocity a stunning surprise.

The enemy we face today, though barbaric and ingenious, is hardly comparable to the masters of the Third Reich, whose doubts about our ability to persevere we chose to dissuade in a Berlin that we had reduced to rubble. Nor is he comparable to the commanders of the Japanese Empire, whose doubts about our ability to persevere we chose to dissuade in a Tokyo we had reduced to rubble. Nor to the Soviet Empire that we faced down patiently over half a century, nor to the great British Empire from which we broke free in a long and taxing struggle that affords a better picture of our kith and kin than any the world may have today of who we are and of what we are capable.

And today's enemy, though he is not morally developed enough to comprehend the difference between civilians and combatants, is neither faceless nor without a place in which we can address him. If he is Osama bin Laden, he lives in Afghanistan, and his hosts, the Taliban, bear responsibility for sheltering him; if he is Saddam Hussein, he lives in Baghdad; if he Yasser Arafat, he lives in Gaza; and so on. Our problem is not his anonymity but that we have refused the precise warnings, delivered over more than a decade, of those who understood the nature of what was coming—and of what is yet to come, which will undoubtedly be worse.

The first salvos of any war are seldom the most destructive. Consider that in this recent outrage the damage was done by the combined explosive power of three crashed civilian airliners. As the initial shock wears off it will be obvious that this was a demonstration shot intended to extract political concessions and surrender, a call to fix our attention on the prospect of a nuclear detonation or a chemicall or biological attack, both of which would exceed what happened yesterday by several orders of magnitude.

It will get worse, but appeasement will make it no better. That we have promised retaliation for decades and then always drawn back, hoping that we could get through if we simply did not provoke the enemy, is appeasement, and it must be quite clear by now even to those who perpetually appease that appeasement simply does not work. Therefore, what must be done? Above all, we must make no promise of retaliation that is not honored; in this we have erred too many times. It is a bipartisan failing and it should never be repeated.

Let this spectacular act of terrorism be the decisive repudiation of the mistaken assumptions that conventional warfare is a thing of the past, that there is a safe window in which we can cut force structure while investing in the revolution in military affairs, that bases and infrastructure abroad have become unnecessary, that the day of the infantryman is dead, and, most importantly, that slighting military expenditure and preparedness is anything but an invitation to death and defeat.

Short of a major rebuilding, we cannot now inflict upon Saddam Hussein or Osama bin Laden the great and instantaneous shock with which they should be afflicted. That requires not surgical strikes by aircraft based in the United States, but expeditionary forces with extravagant basing and equipment. It requires not 10 aircraft carrier battle groups but, to do it right and when and where needed, 20. It requires not only all the infantry divisions, transport, and air wings that we have needlessly given up in the last decade, but many more. It requires special operations forces not of 35,000, but of 100,000.

For the challenge is asymmetrical. Terrorist camps must be raided and destroyed, and their reconstitution continually repressed. Intelligence gathering of all types must be greatly augmented, for by its nature it can never be sufficient to the task, so we must build it and spend upon it until it hurts. The nuclear weapons programs, depots, and infrastructure of what Madeleine Albright so delicately used to call ''states of concern'' must, in a most un-Albrightian phrase, be destroyed. As they are scattered around the globe, it cannot be easy. Security and civil defense at home and at American facilities overseas must be strengthened to the point where we are able to fight with due diligence in this war that has been brought to us now so vividly by an alien civilization that seeks our destruction.

The course of such a war will bring us greater suffering than it has brought to date, and if we are to fight it as we must we will have less in material things. But if, as we have so many times before, we rise to the occasion, we will not enjoy merely the illusions of safety, victory, and honor, but those things themselves. In our history it is clear that never have they come cheap and often they have come late, but always, in the end, they come in flood, and always in the end, the decision is ours.

IN MEMORY OF LINDA M. GEORGE AND CHRISTOPHER ZARBA

HON. JAMES P. McGOVERN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, earlier in the week I offered remarks on three of my constituents who were lost in Tuesday's tragic attacks. As the days have progressed, I have learned that other people from my district were also killed.

I would like to take just a minute of the House's time to honor two people: Linda M. George and Christopher Zarba.

Linda George, 27, was one of seven employees from the TJX Companies who died on American Airlines Flight 11, which was hijacked and crashed into the World Trade Center.

Linda lived in Westborough, and was planning to get married on October 20 in Worcester. She graduated from St. Peter-Marian and Providence College. She was a passionate worker, a terrific athlete and a great friend to those who knew her.

She leaves behind her parents, Richard and Carolyn and her fiancee, Jeff Pereira.

Christopher Zarba, 47, was from Hopkinton. He was a software engineer for Concord Communications, Inc. He was also killed on American Airlines Flight 11.

His loss has been deeply felt by his family and his colleagues at Concord. Saturday would have been his 48th birthday.

Mr. Speaker, I know all of my colleagues join me in mourning the loss of these and every victim of Tuesday's tragedy. Our deepest sympathies go out to their families at this difficult time.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

URGING TOLERANCE IN THE WAKE OF TUESDAY'S ACTS OF TERRORISM

HON. HILDA L. SOLIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Ms. SOLIS. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the terrorist acts perpetrated in New York City and Washington, DC, I am heartened by the American people's extraordinary display of kindness and cooperation. I have been moved by how our diverse Nation has come together in a united show of support—men and women, children and adults, Christians and Muslims, Jews and Buddhists, Hindus and Catholics, Latinos and Caucasians, Asian Americans and African Americans.

However, I am concerned about reports of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim acts committed by some in our communities. American Muslims and Arab Americans share our commitment to the American ideals of freedom, justice, and

democracy. They live, work, and have established businesses in our communities. Their children attend schools alongside our children. They support our community organizations. They are our neighbors and our friends.

Acts of discrimination only serve to divide our Nation and weaken our strength.

Our Nation is made stronger when we embrace our diversity. We know that any discrimination stands in direct opposition to the ideals our founders set forth in the declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

Today I joined my Congressional colleagues in cosponsoring a resolution condemning acts of hatred or discrimination against people of Middle Eastern and South Asian descent. The resolution encourages ''people of every faith and heritage to stand together in this time of national crisis.''

I urge all United States citizens to reject misguided acts of prejudice and to continue their unwavering support for our Nation and its ideals of freedom and peace.

RECOGNIZING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LAND TRUST OF NAPA COUNTY

HON. MIKE THOMPSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the tremendous contributions of the Land Trust of Napa County over the past 25 years. The Land Trust has experienced great success since two of its founders, F.S. (Si) and June Foote, realized their hopes of preserving the environmental identity of the Napa Valley.

In 1976, Harry Tranmer, Vic Fershko, John Whitridge joined the Footes as founding board members just as other land trust organizations were beginning to have success across the nation. From its humble roots in the Footes' living room, the Land Trust of Napa County has now become a model for land trusts around the country.

The Land Trust achieved great success because of the hard work of its members and the dedication of people in Napa County to protect and enrich the environment in which they live. The first piece of land donated to the Land Trust was a 640-acre parcel on Mt. George in eastern Napa. Since then, the Land Trust has succeeded in securing over 25,000 acres of land for future generations of residents in the Napa Valley.

At a time when commercial and residential development of land is destroying the natural characteristics of agricultural lands and open space, the Land Trust has been instrumental in preserving the Napa Valley's unique beauty and heritage. In addition to purchasing land, the Land Trust works to monitor and enforce programs for conservation easements. Its monitoring program, for which it has recently hired an Easement Monitoring Coordinator, is used by organizations in the Bay Area, across California, nationwide to develop a standard monitoring and enforcement process.

Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the Land Trust of Napa County's 25th Anniversary, I would like to recognize its outstanding contributions to our generation and future generations in the Napa Valley.

HOW WILL WE ACT!

HON. NICK SMITH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share the comments of my Chief of Staff, Kurt Schwartz, which reflects the feelings of many Americans in reacting to the terrorist attack. ''Will we forget? Will the sick, sinking feeling fade? Will we once again fail to follow through on fine words and dramatic promises? Or will ''Remember the Trade Center'' replace ''Remember Pearl Harbor?'' Will we act with resolve, or will we do too little?

As Margaret Thatcher noted at another time of crisis, ''This is no time to go wobbly.'' We have implacable enemies. We must deal with them implacably. They do not hesitate to spill blood, including their own. We must not hesitate to return their wrath. Anything else is futile.

Democracy is self-absorbed, and can underestimate threats from abroad. But it can also rouse itself to righteous anger in crisis. Our duty is to direct that anger, give it purpose, use it to defend democracy and freedom. Before forgetfulness seeps in.''

VICTIMS OF TERRORISM RELIEF ACT OF 2001

SPEECH OF

HON. DANNY K. DAVIS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 13, 2001

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to offer my support for H.R. 2884, Victims of Terrorism Relief Act of 2001. We have all heard and read stories of the heroic acts of these individuals, which bestows a sense of pride in my heart. We must never forget the innocent lives that were lost. We must hold the thoughts of these victims in our hearts forever.

My prayers go out to the families and friends of the victims of these horrific events. On that day when their freedom was denied and their lives destroyed, must serve as motivation to restore the very principles for which this country was originally founded. Yet it is certain that this is a very important and difficult issue to resolve. While the administration strategically prepares to protect our country, we must now protect the rights of these victims. We owe this to our citizens. Tax relief for these victims is a must. It now is time to rebuild America to restore the liberty and justice for all.

While the World Trade Center no longer is standing, the Statue of Liberty stands strong for the remembrance of each of you. Mr. Speaker, Justice and human decency will prevail for all allowing, us to all heal in time.

HONORING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE POST OF OAKLAND, CHARLES W. FOSTER, ON HIS RETIREMENT

HON. BARBARA LEE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 2001

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a friend and a long valued member of the Oakland and Bay Area community, Chuck Foster, Executive Director of the Port of Oakland who is retiring from the Port after a long and distinguished career.

Mr. Foster arrived in the Bay Area more than thirty years ago, having been stationed there during his service as a Naval aviator. He joined the Naval Reserves upon release from active duty and retired 15 years later with the rank of Captain.

Given Mr. Foster's substantial aviation training while in the Navy, it is natural that much of his career after leaving the Navy focused on transportation matters, especially those in aviation. He served as the Assistant Director of Aviation at San Jose International Airport before being appointed the Director of Aviation at Oakland International Airport. He held that position for five years, until he was promoted to Deputy Executive Director of the Port. In 1995, the Board of Port Commissioners of the Port of Oakland appointed Mr. Foster Executive Director, responsible for the overall management of the Port's aviation, maritime and commercial real estate divisions and all aspects of Port administration.

My friend Chuck Foster provided a unique combination of leadership and commitment that has nurtured the growth of the Port of Oakland, and in turn, the Bay Area region. Under his skillful leadership, the Port of Oakland's three divisions experienced extensive growth and the Port embarked upon an extensive, unprecedented expansion.

During Mr. Foster's administration, Oakland International Airport has proposed a terminal expansion and reconfiguration project, as well as the development of a light-rail rapid transit link between BART and the airport. Additionally, the Port's Maritime Division acquired four of the world's largest Super Panamex cranes, initiated the deepening of Oakland Harbor to 50 feet and converted 530 acres of military land into commercial terminal facilities which serves as a model of base-closure economic conversion. Presently, the Commercial Real Estate Division has begun its project to convert more than 1000 acres of property into a thriving waterfront neighborhood.

Chuck Foster's dedication and service to the Bay Area community does not end with his efforts at the Port of Oakland. Throughout his career, he has served on various boards and otherwise been active with numerous business and charitable community organizations. Whether his talents are directed towards his efforts with the Oakland Chamber of Commerce, California Council for International Trade, International House at the University of California, Berkeley or the Summit/Alta Bates Medical Center, he has approached all of these activities with the same dedication, vision and passion.

Over his career, Mr. Foster has traveled extensively throughout the world, and his success in his business dealings for the Port is matched only by his role as an ambassador for the Bay Area and the Nation. He is the best of what America has to offer the world—committed to partnership and sound relations with those who are engaged in the growing world community.

I am most appreciative to Chuck for the way he has attempted to address the needs and concerns of the residents of Oakland, particularly in West Oakland. The presence of residential neighborhoods in areas adjacent to industrial activity will always create tension and Oakland has been no exception. However, Mr. Foster saw to it that community groups had not only a voice, but a role to play in the Port's various activities and expansion projects. He has always sought to achieve a proper balance between economic growth and community needs. He formed community advisory panels for both the airport and seaport development planning processes and opened a Port office in the West Oakland neighborhood most impacted by the Port's maritime activity to ensure appropriate community outreach. These efforts have created an atmosphere of more than simply goodwill, but one of cooperation and a sense of community.

Mr. Speaker, as Charles Foster leaves behind a long and rich history at the Port of Oakland, I would ask that Congress join me in expressing our thanks to him for his 15 years of service there and his earlier contributions to the nation in uniformed and civilian life. I am proud to recognize Chuck Foster's esteemed accomplishments and to extend my best wishes to him in his well-earned retirement.

PROVIDING FOR EXPEDITED PAYMENT OF CERTAIN BENEFITS FOR PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICERS KILLED OR INJURED IN CONNECTION WITH TERRORIST ATTACKS OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

SPEECH OF

HON. DANNY K. DAVIS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 13, 2001

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to express my support of H.R. 2882, to ensure that our public safety workers have coverage as a result of the recent terrorist acts. It is my belief that it is our responsibility to redress this situation in a timely fashion.

At the onset of the horror that we experienced on the eleventh day of this month, a victory was won in the hearts of all Americans. These brave individuals are winning the War each and every second. True honor and patriotism shall be bestowed upon them. By now, we have all seen the bravery and extraordinary effort that the Fire Fighters and Police Officers in New York and Washington as well as the rescue workers in these areas. The amount of courage that has been displayed by these individuals is incredible and will forever be remembered. It is now our responsibility in light of the current circumstances to make sure that the families of these public safety workers feel the confidence that the Congress will help ease their burden. I commend each and every one of these workers and their commitment to excellence as shown over these events.

Mr. Speaker, distinguished colleagues, join me in praising our fallen public safety officers for their extraordinary commitment to the community. They have earned and deserve our recognition, respect and praise. We will never forget these workers.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT EVERY CITIZEN IS ENCOURAGED TO DISPLAY THE FLAG

SPEECH OF

HON. SHEILA JACKSON-LEE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 13, 2001

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the September 11, 2001, World Trade Center and Pentagon tragedies, including the aircraft crash in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, will forever scar the face of democracy, freedom, and the circle of human dignity. But as a nation of Americans who have faced the greatest degree of adversity throughout our history, we shall, once again, overcome.

This legislation demonstrates to ourselves and to the world, our collective resolve to overcome this tragedy and to stay the course in our journey to the mountaintop, so that all peoples of the world may one day live free from the tyranny of hopelessness, lawlessness, and apartheid.

In our unified show of support for the sacrifice made in the name of freedom, by those we have lost, we ask all people of this great Nation, regardless of race, color, economic status, or religious denomination, to fly the American flag for the next 30 days.

I urge my colleagues from both sides of the aisle to support this legislation.