

will. We stand with him against the forces of darkness that have broken our hearts but emboldened our spirits.

We know this war will require our patience, our perseverance, our unwavering courage and commitment. Our only timetable is to stay the course until the job is finished. The future of liberty, freedom, and human dignity hang in the balance and our Nation will not be found wanting.

May God's wisdom and judgment guide our steps and may God bless America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA).

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

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I examined the war-torn Pentagon site, the lingering scent of smoke, the ruins of a building, the courageous rescue workers, including the Montgomery County, Maryland Search and Rescue Team.

Tonight, as this debate was taking place, I was calling families of some of the Montgomery County, Maryland victims, victims of the Pentagon attack. The victims include Michelle Heidenberger, Todd Reuben, William Caswell, Darin Pontell, Lawrence Getzfred, Ernest Willcher, Gerald Fisher, Lisa Young, Ted Moy. The list goes on. This is not New York or Pennsylvania. This is just so far what we have heard from the Pentagon. There will be a lot more coming, unfortunately, throughout this Nation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

There has been much eloquence in this Chamber in recent days from all

sides, and I appreciate it. But the American people will not be satisfied with our eloquence. They want us to stand with our Armed Forces, stand with our allies around the world, and swiftly, swiftly settle the debt owed to us by those who brought harm upon this country on Tuesday.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. FATTAH. Mr. Speaker, there were some very bright young people from the district, here in Washington, who because of their excellent school work were off on a trip with their teachers who died on September 11. Along with thousands of others they were the casualties of this act that was perpetrated.

Today we take this step, and I rise in support of this resolution, and I rise specifically on behalf of these children, for it is our responsibility to provide for their protection, to provide for their promise and their potential.

Whatever the perceived real grievance is of those who took this action, attacking innocent children and thousands of other innocent Americans is unacceptable.

We must respond. We know not what the tactics or strategy or play of this engagement will be, but we must act.

Mr. Speaker, I stand and I support this resolution.

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

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Speaker, tonight we stand with our President as our Nation prepares to do battle with those

who seek to destroy the American way of life. Tonight we vote to give our President full authority to use America's full military might against those responsible for this week's despicable attacks against the United States and its people.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of the resolution. God bless America.

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues have quoted President Roosevelt of another horrible day in our country's life, that this day will live in infamy. I want to also quote his wisdom when he said, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," because that is the goal of the terrorist, to instill fear in the American people. That would be their greatest victory. But the spirit of the American people and the unity that we will show them tonight should give them a clue that they will not have that success.

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

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

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, with this vote of resolve and unity, we become stewards of the American values expressed so eloquently 40 years ago by a new President, John F. Kennedy, "Let every Nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Today a new President and a new generation are handed the torch of liberty that has been kept alight by the

untold sacrifices of past generations of Americans.

Those terrorists who now challenge the will and values of this generation of Americans will soon find out that the awesome power of our military might 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 Nazism that threatened the very concept of humanity and the lives of entire races of people.

Today we face another global threat, terrorism, which once again threatens the foundation of all peace-loving nations. Today the world looks to America and this very body for the very clear and unmistakable message that we as a Nation will not tolerate people and organizations to operate in opposition to the very foundation that every society is based upon: the sanctity of human life.

□ 2130

I pray for our President.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we shall overcome someday.

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

(Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation. This

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

Each day our intelligence officials obtain more information of the facts surrounding the events of September 11, 2001. It is clear that this was a carefully crafted plan for tremendous destruction. The criminals wanted to create a constant state of fear in American citizens across our great country. But the American people will not be bullied. They will not be cowed. Mr. Speaker, our citizens are joined together in prayer, giving of their time, their love, their resources. There has never been a greater demonstration of unity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

May God bless America.

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

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, we owe it to our people, we owe it to our history, we owe it to the folks that made us where we are. We owe it to those firefighters in New York. We owe it to our military personnel in the Pentagon. We owe it to those New Yorkers

that have had their world brought down around their ears.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, tonight we talk patriotism, and we should. And we talk sacrifice, and we should. And we talk courage. We talk all those things about humanity and we should. But I do think it is important for the American people to realize that this is going to be a very arduous, difficult, nasty, drawn-out struggle. One of the great characteristics and many times it is unsung, but it is there, is perseverance. Just keeping on going. It is so important that we as a public and citizens understand that, because this is not going to be something which brave words will conquer. It is only our perseverance.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, along with all of my colleagues and all Americans, I believe

that the United States of America must respond effectively and appropriately to this unprecedented attack on our people and our Nation. This resolution gives awesome responsibility to the President of the United States, but it should not be interpreted as unlimited power to use force or commit troops.

This resolution has been carefully drafted to restrict our response to those we know to be responsible for this atrocity. It is not a carte blanche for the use of force. This resolution requires compliance with the war powers resolution which directs the President to report to the Congress and to consult whenever possible. These requirements and this power must not be taken lightly.

I have thought long and hard about this vote. I do not want to regret it. I want to be able to tell my grandchildren that I voted this night to make the world safer. I pray that in supporting this resolution, we are making the right decision, and I pray that the President will make the right decisions.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. LANGEVIN).

Mr. LANGEVIN. Mr. Speaker, tonight I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the use of force to combat the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Mr. Speaker, the terrorist acts of cruelty and inhumanity committed 3 days ago have not weakened our Nation. Instead, the American people have forged stronger bonds and have demonstrated the compassion and concern that make our Nation great. United in our resolve, the United States is prepared to take action against those who have threatened us. America has the determination, strength and courage to combat the scourge of terrorism. We will identify the people, powers, and organizations that have contributed to terrorism, we will hold them accountable for their inhumanity, and we absolutely will not stop. We will succeed.

In the coming weeks, the men and women in our military and intelligence communities will be called upon to serve their Nation. I commend them for their dedication and their bravery. I also call upon the American people to maintain the solidarity demonstrated in recent days and to focus on the true enemy instead of targeting innocent people because of skin color or customs or beliefs. Americans of all faiths, races, and backgrounds join in condemnation of terrorism and together we shall prove victorious.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as she may consume to the distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon (Ms. HOOLEY).

(Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, every fourth of July, we celebrate our national independence. It's a day when nearly all of us have the day off from work, a day when we can gather with our families for a cook out, and maybe attend the local parade or spend the day lounging by the pool. It's a day when we can see the latest Hollywood Blockbuster—this past year it was Pearl Harbor, a movie based on what, until this past Tuesday, was the most horrible attack ever on American soil.

Because vacation days are so hard to come by, many of us base our vacations around the 4th. This isn't necessarily for the sake of the holiday, but to simply save a vacation day. And while there's nothing wrong with any of the above practices, time and prosperity have mellowed the significance of our national birthday, as they have Memorial Day and Veterans Day.

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

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

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

As much as I disdain the notion that taking human life is a decision for politicians to make—events of this week have placed us in a position where, as previous members of this body have done before, we must ask our fellow citizens to once again fight those who defeat all we stand for.

To all my colleagues assembled here tonight, understand this: there will be Americans who will not survive the fighting to come. There will be casualties, both physical and psychological. There will be parents who lose their only children. There will be spouses who lose their soulmates, and children who will be orphaned. There will be small towns who will lose the child who sang the best in the church choir, and big city neighborhoods who see young person always playing basketball come home without legs, or without arms.

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

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

Let us pledge tonight that veterans of this and every war are treated as first-class citizens, as well as the millions of Americans who

served our nation without having to fire a shot in anger. No longer should they have to wait weeks for medical treatment. No longer should they be homeless on our streets or go without psychological treatment if needed. No longer should our retirees see their pensions hijacked to help balance our budget.

War is a serious business, and we shouldn't take what we're about to do lightly. Yes, the attacks of September 11, 2001 require us to eradicate an enemy that has proven to be more deadly than any we've ever faced. Support this resolution, and support our men and women in the armed forces. But remember their sacrifices not just today, but years from now after they have won this war, when Memorial Day or the 4th of July are once again excuses to take a break from work or to spend an afternoon off enjoying ourselves with friends and family.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GRUCCI).

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

Mr. GRUCCI. Mr. Speaker, I, along with a number of my colleagues from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, visited what is now known as ground zero in New York's lower Manhattan, the site where the two proud buildings of the World Trade Center once stood. I watched on the faces of those who were working and those who were volunteering. And while there was sadness in their eyes, there was a determination in their movement, in their step, and in their actions. There was a commitment on their part to hold together and to band together and to do what needs to be done in that Herculean effort in trying to move the tons of rubble and steel to look for the precious body that still may be gasping for air and waiting for arrival of those to come to help them. I stood with those who were working, and I understood their pain in their heart and the sadness in their face but the determination that they have to make sure that those who perpetrated this crime never do it again, not to us but not to anyone in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support this resolution tonight. But, more than that, I rise as a proud American with all of my colleagues here in this House and all Americans throughout this country. We will find those who have done this and bring them to justice.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, today I also join the President of the United States and Democrats and Republicans from this House in a place of war and a place of hope. In the wreckage of the World Trade Center, we saw the signs of war, twisted steel, shattered windows, smoking ruins. But, Mr. Speaker, amidst the devastation we saw the signs of America: small flags planted in the rescue workers' helmets, people

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may

consume to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the Subcommittee on National Security of the Committee on Government Reform.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we face a far more daunting task. This time, our enemy is faceless. It hides in the shadows. Its mission is morally and spiritually bankrupt. It's united only in its hatred for our democratic ideals and peaceful way of life.

The path that lies ahead is a dangerous one. Defeating this enemy won't be easy, and it won't come quickly. Yet I am confident that authorizing force will save lives by preventing future acts of terrorism, and so I cast my vote without reservation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We stand united to defeat any attempts of terrorists to rob us of our freedom. We shall never surrender that freedom.

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

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

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

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, Members of this Congress are truly united in their faith in God and country. That's why we are unwavering in our convictions and resolve to defend America and our interests against the acts of terror and cowardice perpetrated against us on September 11, 2001 at the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the crash in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. These egregious acts against humanity took the lives of thousands of innocent civilians that spanned God's spectrum of

every race, ethnicity and religious denomination.

In 1973, The War Powers Resolution (Public Law 93-148) was passed over the veto of President Nixon, in order to provide procedures for Congress and the President to participate in decisions to send U.S. Armed Forces into hostilities.

Such force is constitutional under the Necessary and Proper Clause which specifically provided that "Congress shall have the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution, not only its own powers but also all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States."

The policy behind this power, entrusted to the President as Commander in Chief, to deploy U.S. armed forces to defend itself is "exercised only pursuant to: (1) A declaration of war; (2) specific statutory authorization; or (3) a national emergency created by attack upon the United States, its territories or possessions, or its armed forces." Pursuant to this authority, the President "in every possible instance" shall consult with Congress before deploying U.S. Armed Forces, and to continue consultations as long as the armed forces remain in hostile situations.

By authorizing military action under the War Powers Act the American people not only support the President, but they also provide guidance through their elected leaders that the actions this great nation takes are neither over broad nor inadequate. This congress can and must assure the proper response and level of retaliation.

Mr. Speaker, the acts of aggression perpetrated against us certainly qualify under the War Powers Act, and such consultations between the President and the Congress are also clearly upon us.

America has suffered perhaps the greatest attack and act of aggression in its history. Thousands of people were killed and injured in this horrific act, simply because they were Americans and for their common love of freedom and democracy. Therefore there is little doubt that collaboration between Congress and the Executive is justified in this instance, as a matter of statutory and constitutional law.

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

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

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

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for this resolution. Nearly every Member of Congress this week has said this: on Tuesday, September 11, our country was brutally attacked. It was an act of war. It demands response.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

justified. This resolution limits that use to respond to the September 11 attack on our Nation. It is not only justified, but there is no more legitimate use of military than to defend one's country from acts of foreign attack. The resolution recognizes the role and responsibility of Congress in authorizing and committing our military to hostile action. The Constitution provides that the Congress has the power to "provide for the common defense" and the power to "declare war". The resolution strikes the right balance between the President and Congress and is in compliance with the War Powers Act, making it clear of the President's obligations to consult with and inform Congress. Now is the time for Congress to act. Let those who were responsible for these horrible deeds know that the Congress and the President and the American People are united and are resolved to bring the perpetrators to justice and to prevent such acts from ever happening again on our shores.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 2200

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

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, unimaginable evil has been perpetrated against



our free country. We must authorize our President to take all necessary actions to prevent those responsible for these dastardly acts from again inflicting such cowardly malice against our people.

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

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

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

This is going to be a difficult vote for me. Since early in 1970, when I stepped off an airplane in Vietnam and joined my infantry unit, it has been my dream and it has been my prayer that no American would ever again have to shed their blood nor give their life on foreign soil. As a Member of Congress, I never dreamed of voting to send our American men and women into combat, but then I never dreamed I would be calling the mother and the father of a young man from Eureka, California, in my district, who was on board one of those hijacked airplanes on September 11.

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

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

(Mr. UDALL of New Mexico asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

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

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

The cowardly terrorists perpetrating these unspeakable acts may think they have won, but they better think again, because they have united us. A united

America will overcome this evil. A united America will continue to be a beacon for freedom-loving people, and a united America will prevail in the end.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of this resolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, I too join the choir here of support for our

President. This is an historic moment in our country, a sad moment. But I would just like to express a thought for the future.

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he or she may consume to the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Mrs. CHRISTENSEN).

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

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

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

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

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

And though I stand here with my colleagues, in this awesome time of decision, I do so as one who is not afforded the opportunity to cast a vote. At many other times, I have felt the sting of not being fully able to participate in our democracy, but never more than tonight. For tonight we authorize our President to send my constituents, like all others to a war unlike any other before, and perhaps to die for this country, which we love.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I just returned with some of my colleagues from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, from Ground Zero, at the World Trade Center in New York City. It was a terribly disturbing sight; almost incomprehensible, the magnitude of this horrific crime. But it was also an incredibly inspiring, uplifting moment, and it filled me with a tremendous sense of confidence in our future. Confidence? The police, the firefighters, rescue workers, utility workers, Armed Forces, volunteers. Together, I know we, 270 million Americans, will win this war. United. No one can beat us.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Those who stand against us, actively, by organizing, financing, or executing terrorism, or passively, by sheltering terrorists and their allies, or implicitly, by teaching hatred to children or justifying violence against innocents, will know the full fury of a just and gentle America aroused. We will not rest until the world is free at last from the grave threat that struck so hard at our Nation's heart.

Since the end of the Cold War, this Nation has taken much for granted: our freedom, our liberty, our safety. These days are over. I say to my colleagues, Today, at this moment, a new generation is being called upon to defend our way of life and protect our citizens. A new war is upon our shores. Its first innocent casualties have already fallen. Let us meet this test with all the unity and will we can muster, and may God bless America.

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

(Mrs. DAVIS of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. DAVIS of California. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of Congress, I hardly expected to have to take this extraordinary step, but I do it with the grave seriousness with which it is intended.

Last May I stood on this floor and I welcomed my first new grandchild, and I said at that time that for many of us the issues that we deal with today, we need to think about how they affect our children and our grandchildren. I would submit to my colleagues today that that is what I am thinking about, because what we are doing today is securing for them our American way of life.

Our American way of life reflects that fragile balance between our individual freedom and the security of our Nation, because that is the cornerstone of our democracy and to which our children are born. And to our foes: You have underestimated our will to assure that that justice and that freedom flourishes throughout our land.

□ 2215

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER).

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

Mr. Speaker, not one Member of this body ran for election to go to war. We seek peace. But in the last century, America has spent the lives of our young men and women in major conflicts on five occasions on other shores to restore peace, and now war comes to us.

We did not invite this, but we will not shirk from it. A band of thugs has visited upon this Nation and upon innocent American citizens death and destruction, the likes of which the world has never seen. It falls upon us to ensure that not only can it not succeed on our soil, but that it should not be tolerated in any corner of the globe.

This resolution gives to our President the tools to begin a long and arduous campaign to end this terrorism. It will not end with the punishment of one man or group or even one nation sympathetic to their cause. It will end with a victory so brutal and decisive that no one or group, no matter how much they hate freedom, will dare to risk repeating the terror they have put the world through for the last 30 years. No nation state, no matter how much they hate America as the world's most conspicuous example of freedom, will find it in their nation's interest to attempt to surreptitiously support them.

This will not be quick or easy, but this is a united Congress, this is a dedicated President, the American people are fully committed to our goal, and we will succeed.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, we were all shocked, horrified, disgusted, and sorrowed at the tragic events that transpired September 11, 2001, resulting in a large loss of life. My thoughts and prayers are with the families. There is no doubt, all of our own lives hold more value to



us than before, and we have been forever changed as individuals and as a nation by experiencing such a devastating loss.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This resolution would allow us to pursue, prosecute, and punish these criminals. We do this because civilized nations prove again and again that terrorists have no legitimacy among them.

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, today, even as we bind the wounds as thousands of brave

Americans still work to free those who are trapped, to care for those who are injured, to recover those who are lost. Congress, on behalf of our good and brave people, must act.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, together we mourn our Nation's terrible, terrible losses and

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we join together not as Democrats nor Republicans, but Mr. Speaker, as proud Americans prepared to defend freedom as our forebears did before us.

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

Before yielding back the balance of our time, may I just say that I arrived on these shores in August of 1947, and in all those years I have never been more proud to be an American than this week. The unity, the goodness, the commitment, the decency of our people has been so obvious and clear and so powerful and moving. This country will stand united as we destroy international terrorism, however long it takes.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of our time.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of our time to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY).

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for yielding me this time, and I thank both him and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for your leadership on the floor during this debate.

I would like to thank, Mr. Speaker, all my colleagues, all these Members of this House of Representatives. Today I have had a rare opportunity. I had an opportunity to listen to most of the speeches, and it was a good debate about a serious subject. Mr. Speaker, this is a serious moment for each and

every one of us, and you can see it weighing in our hearts.

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

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

We came here in search of one thing. We came here to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. That is what we wanted. We have had to struggle too many times, Mr. Speaker, in the history of this great world as we have tried to play out that wonderful drama as a marvelous experiment in the history of the world. We have had to struggle against our own imperfections and there has been hurt; and we tried to overcome that hurt.

On so many other occasions we have been called upon to struggle for the freedom that we love so much against the enemies of freedom. Even in the beginning of this great Nation, with the minutemen, we took to our muskets to win our freedom. And another time we fought with one another, and just about lost the greatness of this Nation and we brought it back together.

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

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What Nation ever in the history of the world has so much loved freedom that they spent their own peace to defend the freedom of people other than themselves? That is to be known, that is to be respected, that is to be cherished, if only by ourselves.

And now we are challenged again. Why do they challenge us? What do they seek to achieve? Are they wanting to change our commitment to freedom across the globe? Do they think we are a bother to them as they try to suppress other people and deny them their rights? A great Nation does not change the course of its policies towards other nations and other people because of the cruel, inhumane acts of terrorism by barbaric people who do not understand respect. We will not change who we are and what we stand for in this world and who we have been and what we have stood for in this world because of this.

I am told that in some instances, with some of these people, they hate our religion. We only ask that we all gather together and give respect for one another in our religious beliefs. We try to do that for others, and I believe

as a Nation we do it well. Not perfect, but well. And we work so hard at doing that for others we require that it be the same for us.

Tonight, we have gathered here to discuss something, and I have heard so many of my colleagues in this body say it, it is something we do not want to do, to join again in authorization with our President, the commander in chief of the United States of America, to commit our young men and women in uniform to the field of danger in the defense of freedom. A simple thing, done over and over and over again.

We have been reminded by others, some of us, of the costs we might expect these young men and women to pay, the costs that have been paid by the heroes we have talked about in this debate. This will not come cheap. There will be mamas and daddies with broken hearts with the loss of the most precious gift the good Lord has ever given them: their children.

But when mothers and fathers in this great land lend their children to the cause of freedom, they do just that. We do not commit our children for frivolous reasons to fields of danger. This is not about revenge. It is not in our heart. We are a good Nation. We are a kind Nation. We will forgive our enemies in victory; and we struggle to forgive ourselves for our imperfections, but we do not commit our children to acts of vengeance.

We do not cheapen the heroism of our great American heroes with the quest of territory or the thought of dominance of other people. We will spend our heroes only for freedom, decency and respect; for the right to live an ordinary mundane everyday life, to go to work and be left alone, to do our bit and share with others, to hold our children and put them to bed at night with a very simple little kiss on the cheek and a very soft little assurance: sleep safely, my darling, for you are in America and you are free and you are safe and our heroes have made it so for you.

Mr. Speaker, let us vote for this resolution. Let us take this harsh task. Let us ask our young men and women once more in America to go out and be the sensational heroes at risk that they never wanted to be and, bless our hearts, that we never wanted them to have to be. Let us get this done. Let us remove this blight on the world. And, Mr. Speaker, let us have the blessings of liberty for ourselves, but oh so much more importantly, for our posterity.

(Mr. NADLER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

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

I have spent much of my career speaking out against the use of mili-

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

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

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

I wish we had a choice, but the charred rubble and the thousands of dead Americans lying just blocks from my office in Manhattan, and the hundreds more a stone's throw from this very building demonstrate that we have no choice. We must pass this resolution. We must wage the war that has been thrust upon it. We must do it resolutely, and we must be victorious and rid the world of this scourge of terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from my congressional district and walked with the President through the ruins of the World Trade Center. Somewhere in those charred and twisted ruins lie the bodies of relatives, friends, children, colleagues, neighbors, firefighters, police officers, working people, and innocent tourists.

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

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

But if our lives were changed forever, the world was not. The people who carried out this murderous attack on our Nation, the organizations which recruited, trained, and supplied them, the governments which gave them shelter and support, the fanatical leaders who have whipped up hatred so great that young people were willing to fly planes filled with innocent civilians into crowded office buildings—all of these despicable murders and demagogues have been at work for years. The only

thing that has changed is that we have now joined the family of nations which has far too long paid a terrible price because we have failed to act.

We now know without any doubt what the price of inaction, of appeasement, of willful blindness, will be. When we allow nations which offer shelter and pay tribute to these murders to pretend that they are our friends, we get the betrayal we ourselves have invited. Anyone who witnessed the mobs in the Palestinian territories celebrating our tragedy in the streets understands the attitude of our enemy in this war; they shake your hand and then cheer your pain.

So the world has not changed, but I believe the American people have. Our Nation is now ready to recognize that we have been in a war for many years, and our people now recognize that if we do not defend ourselves in that war from those for whom our lives, our children, and our way of life are a daily affront, we will not survive as a nation.

The Constitution gives Congress the awesome power to declare war and authorize the use of military force in the defense of the Nation. The United Nations Charter gives member nations the right to "collective self-defense." Tonight we do just that. I wish we had a choice, but the charred rubble and the thousands of dead just blocks from my office in Manhattan, and the hundreds more a stones throw this very building, demonstrate that we do not.

(Mr. ENGEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I, too, have just come back from New York with the President, and I must say that I still have the mud all over me. Being a New Yorker, born and bred, I was not prepared for what I saw at ground zero.

Ten years ago, Mr. Speaker, I stood in the well and was one of the Democrats who crossed party lines to support the first President Bush in the Persian Gulf War to do what he needed to do as our commander in chief, and I now do the same 10 years later with President Bush.

This is a very difficult time for all Americans. We need to band together to fight this scourge of terrorism, and I think we know it now more than ever before. I have never been more proud to be an American. I have never been more proud to be a New Yorker, to see the firemen, the policemen, the iron workers, and everyone else working together to try to find more survivors, to try to do whatever they can to help each other.

This is going to be a long prolonged fight. As our President said, it is a war, a war on terrorism, but a war that we will win. I am very, very proud; proud of this body and proud to be an American. God bless America.

(Mr. FERGUSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. I, too, came back from ground zero in New York, the site of so much wreck-

age and destruction. And for those who say that this was done by cowardly, faceless villains, yes, they were cowardly; but the face that we see is the face of evil and hatred in our world today.

We contrasted that evil with the hope and the determination and the courage of the firefighters and police officers and rescue squad personnel working with the glimmer of hope of finding additional survivors. For these individuals who have worked in the toughest of circumstances for 3 days, it was incredible to see their faces light up with words of encouragement from our President.

There was so much noise and machinery. There was a firefighter in the back who yelled, "Mr. President, we can't hear you." And the President responded with, "But I can hear you, and all of America can hear you. And for those who took down these buildings, they are going to hear from us."

Tonight's resolution represents our opportunity to make sure that they do hear from us. Tonight, we have an opportunity to stop this evil. We do not seek revenge; we seek justice. We know that this is not going to be a short-term project. We need to bear down and have perseverance for the long haul. We will root out those who were responsible for that massacre, and America will stare down the face of evil and hatred.

To those who have endured so much suffering, we will not let you down.

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I am voting for this resolution with a heavy heart, but without hesitation.

Like the hearts of all Americans, my heart is heavy with grief for all those killed and injured in this week's despicable attacks. It is weighted with sympathy for all their families and friends, and with concern for what may lie ahead for our country and for other people around the world.

But, however heavy our hearts, we in the Congress and throughout America know we must not lose heart.

We know we must not hesitate to fulfill our responsibilities to our fellow citizens and to our country.

We know that if we do, we will be giving way to terror and giving victory to those who seek to terrorize America.

And all Americans—Christians, Jews, Muslims, and all others, too—know that we cannot let these criminal deeds go unanswered.

This resolution is a key part of the answer. It says the President can use force in a "necessary and appropriate" response directed at those who "planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001," as well as those who harbored the perpetrators, so they will not commit new offenses. It is broad, but it is not unlimited. It covers the culpable but it is not aimed at anyone else.

In other words, in voting for this resolution, I am voting not for vengeance but for justice.

I think it is the duty of all civilized people to insist on meting out justice to those who are guilty, including those who have aided and abetted the perpetrators—and we must not hesitate to carry out that duty.

But we have another duty as well—a duty to ourselves and to the things we hold most dear.

To paraphrase Churchill, this week may prove to be only the end of the beginning of events that will challenge us all. Those events likely will test our resolve in persisting through a long and unsettling struggle. And they definitely will test our dedication to our own principles—the very principles that have made America what it is and so have made us hated by those who hate those principles.

We must not waiver in defending those principles. We must not weaken in our determination to maintain our Constitution and democracy. And we must not surrender or reduce the basic freedoms and the rights of all Americans—because, if we do any of those things we will have lost the struggle, whatever the results of the use of force authorized by this resolution.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, American government today is confronted with an unprecedented challenge. A concerted terrorist attack has been perpetrated against our institutions, people, and way of life. As legislators we are obligated to look to our constitutional heritage to craft an appropriate response. What is clear is the imperative to act. What is less clear is the methodology to pursue.

Terrorism is neither easily understood, nor combatted. The assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon represent perhaps more a conspiracy of hatred than a traditionally understood act of war. Yet the rationale for an international police action led by U.S. Armed Forces must be rooted in traditional just war doctrine.

There is in the Western tradition a hallowed just war doctrine developed by ecclesiastics and jurists, followed by statesmen, instinctively accepted by the peoples of many countries in tradition and right. Briefly, it holds that for war to be considered just, it must be animated by a just cause and informed by righteous intention, that it be undertaken by a lawful political authority and only as a last resort, and that rectifying actions be proportionate to the wrongs committed.

With this resolution Congress is obligated to lay forth an intent to hold accountable to the bar of justice perpetrators of a crime against civilized values. We do this, however, with no intent of territorial aggression nor desire to precipitate breaches between the Moslem and Judeo-Christian worlds. Indeed, we act out of a desire to emphasize what unites rather than divide the three great monotheistic religions.

All moral communities are structured by religious values. Thus our revolution against British authority was premised upon "self-evident" individual rights and legitimized by an "appeal to heaven," a higher law of conscience which precedes the more mundane civil laws of society. In establishing our constitutional form of government the Founders brought into being not a secular system, but a desecularized one premised on the dual conviction that no political leader or institution speaks for God, and at the same time, that under God, truth and right are not matters ultimately decided by majority vote.

The decision not to establish a state church, however, was never intended to precipitate a divorce of religious values from politics. Citizens were expected to derive their values

from religion, but to practice their faith by example rather than coercion; to be moral without moralizing. Likewise, governance was intended to be rooted in law and due process and the resolution we are now debating is intended to underscore the role of our legislators in advancing a foreign policy decision.

Here, it demands stressing that for a community founded as "one nation, under God," a critical basis for making judgments of the nature thrust today before Congress is the Ten Commandments, the essence of the ethical teachings of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. As the scholar Huston Smith puts it: "It is through the Ten Commandments that Hebraic morality has made its greatest impact upon the world. Taken over by Christianity and Islam, the Ten Commandments constitute the moral foundation of half the world's population."

As Smith and others have pointed out, the ethical precepts contained in the Ten Commandments—whether as worded in Exodus 20: 1–17 or Deuteronomy 5: 6–21 of the Hebrew Bible, as summarized by Jesus of Nazareth in "two great commandments," Matthew 22: 37–39 in the New Testament, or as in the injunctions and prohibitions in Surah 17: 22–39 of the Koran—represent the minimum standards of conduct if life in community is to be an enduring possibility.

The Ten Commandments are not the exclusive possession of a single religious tradition nor the expression of a particular moral code. Rather the importance of the Ten Commandments lies not in their uniqueness but in their universality. They are not only the final word in any area, they are the first word. This is why, over three thousand years after their formulation, they remain the moral cornerstone of half the world.

The Ten Commandments are relevant to discussion of this resolution because just as the Judeo-Christian tradition emphasizes the civilized belief that "Thou shalt not kill," the Koran states: "do not kill any one whom Allah has forbidden . . ."

The distinction that matters is not nuanced differences between the Old and New Testaments and the Koran, but between committed individuals of faith and fanatics. The former are concerned principally with improving their own lives; the latter with imposing their beliefs on others. Yet it is impressive how closely St. Paul's admonition about modesty of judgment—that we all see through a glass darkly—parallels Mohamed's directive "follow not that of which you have not the knowledge . . . do not go about in the land exultingly, for you cannot cut through the earth nor reach the mountains in height."

These parallels are important in this discussion because as we contemplate the use of force, we the representatives of the American people have an obligation to emphasize the commonality of our values. We respect Islam and Islamic nations. The only brief we hold is against parties that manipulate hatred and employ tactics of terror.

Here, to return to just war doctrine, a central tenet is proportionately. Care must be taken in any military action to limit to the maximum extent possible collateral damage and seek instead individual accountability. We must in the American tradition pay a decent respect to the opinions of mankind. Otherwise, we will not only create more terrorists than we root out and cause a world currently sympathetic to

our dilemma to turn against us, however righteous our cause. Fanaticism, in other words, should be matched by a commitment to right or wrong, not counter-fanaticism. The fundamental goal of the policy we sanction this evening must be prevention, not revenge.

Finally, a note about historical parallels. The Gulf of Tonkin resolution is not proper precedent. Tonkin, after all, involved an unconfirmed rifle attack from a wooden boat against a U.S. naval vessel in a combat zone off the shores of Vietnam. No one was killed or injured; no damage was inflicted. In this case, an unprovoked, cowardly attack was launched against American citizens and military personnel on American territory. The Congress, in conformity with the War Powers Resolution which resulted from the lack of constitutional clarity that engulfed our involvement in Vietnam, has no choice except to authorize executive discretion. What this debate must frame, however, is both the discretion that is appropriately delegated to the President or underscored under the Constitution and the limits of nature of judgement that must be applied to the circumstance. In this regard, this Member simply wishes to place in the RECORD a concern for the need for international cooperation and proportionality of response. Fundamentally, at this stage, the crimes that have been committed are of a few against two symbolic bastions of civilization. The goal should be individual accountability of parties that plan and participate in terrorism or harbor terrorist activity. Prayerfully, a war on terrorism need not precipitate a war between cultures or states.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. It authorizes the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those who attacked our country on September 11, or those who aided or harbored them. The death and destruction that rained down from the skies on Tuesday has horrified and outraged the entire nation. We can never replace the innocent lives that were lost, but we honor their grievous loss when we act to prevent such a heinous crime from happening again.

The enemy that did this must be identified and punished. Their network of support must be uprooted. In the difficult effort ahead, we must be resolute, determined and united in purpose. The resolution before the House tonight reinforces and supports the powers granted to the President in the Constitution as Commander in Chief and those granted him under the War Powers Act. More than that, it underscores the determination of Congress to stand with the President, the men and women of our nation's armed forces, and all Americans in the great task before us.

As a freedom loving people, we did not seek this fight. But as nation that loves freedom, we shall not shun it. Let us stand together and pass this resolution.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart, one that is filled with sorrow for the families and loved ones who were killed and injured in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Only the most foolish or the most callous would not understand the grief that has gripped the American people and millions across the world.

This unspeakable attack on the United States has forced me to rely on my moral compass, my conscience, and my God for direction.

September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am con-

vinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States.

I know that this use-of-force resolution will pass although we all know that the President can wage a war even without this resolution. However difficult this vote may be, some of us must urge the use of restraint. There must be some of us who say, let's step back for a moment and think through the implications of our actions today—let us more fully understand its consequences.

We are not dealing with a conventional war. We cannot respond in a conventional manner. I do not want to see this spiral out of control. This crisis involves issues of national security, foreign policy, public safety, intelligence gathering, economics, and murder. Our response must be equally multi-faceted.

We must not rush to judgment. Far too many innocent people have already died. Our country is in mourning. If we rush to launch a counter-attack, we run too great a risk that women, children, and other non-combatants will be caught in the crossfire.

Nor can we let our justified anger over these outrageous acts by vicious murderers inflame prejudice against all Arab Americans, Muslims, Southeast Asians, or any other people because of their race, religion, or ethnicity.

Finally, we must be careful not to embark on an open-ended war with neither an exit strategy nor a focused target. We cannot repeat past mistakes.

In 1964, Congress gave President Lyndon Johnson the power to "take all necessary measures" to repel attacks and prevent further aggression. In so doing, this House abandoned its own constitutional responsibilities and launched our country into years of undeclared war in Vietnam.

At that time, Senator Wayne Morse, one of two lonely votes against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, declared, "I believe that history will record that we have made a grave mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States . . . I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake."

Senator Morse was correct, and I fear we make the same mistake today. And I fear the consequences.

I have agonized over this vote. But I came to grips with it in the very painful yet beautiful memorial service today at the National Cathedral. As a member of the clergy so eloquently said, "As we act, let us not become the evil that we deplore."

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight in strong support of this resolution. What we are doing tonight is authorizing the use of our Armed Forces for war. It is a war we did not want, and it is a war we did not start. But the primary responsibility of any government must be the protection of its citizens, and so Tuesday's attacks on the citizens of the United States have left us with no choice. The perpetrators of these heinous crimes must be found, and then they must suffer the consequences of their deeds.

I take this vote tonight knowing there will be challenges ahead. There will be danger. And there will be sacrifice. But this is a war we must win. For us as Americans, and for the free world.

Terrorists use fear as a weapon. But we will not surrender to fear. Because they are not

just facing the best-trained and best-equipped military the world has ever known; they are facing the fierce determination and the quiet anger of the American people. The attacks on Tuesday were designed to bring chaos to the United States, but it has done just the opposite. We stand together as one nation. We understand there will be challenges ahead. And we know what must be done. And that is why we are here tonight and authorizing the President to use all necessary force to destroy these terrorist organizations. September 11th is a day we will always remember, and I believe it is a day the enemies of freedom will live to regret.

Mr. WU. Mr. Speaker, as brave Americans continue working to rescue and treat those trapped under the remains of the World Trade Center and the damaged Pentagon, my heart and prayers continue to be with those who have lost loved ones and those with loved ones still to be found.

Since Tuesday, I have seen Americans in our finest hour. We have experienced the deepest of loss, sadness, despair, and anger. But Americans have joined together to help each other, and I am proud.

We Americans demand that individuals, organizations, or countries responsible for this monstrous act be brought to justice. Our actions must be deliberate, decisive, and effective.

We will not deliberately attack innocent civilians and become like our attackers.

Article I, section 8 of the our Constitution grants to Congress the authority "To declare War."

This is one of the most profound of powers. The Founders recognized that the power to send our sons and daughters to war is the most important decision a nation can make. They invested this power in Congress, the institution closest to the people.

I believe this solemn congressional responsibility is critical to protecting the delicate balance of power between the legislative and executive branches. This balance of power was carefully crafted and has allowed the United States to remain one of the most stable and enduring democracies in the world.

I would have strong reservations about a resolution authorizing the use of force in an open ended manner reaching far beyond responding to this specific terrorist attack on America. This is not that resolution.

This resolution restates the authority I believe Congress already granted to the President under Section 2(c)(3) of the War Powers Resolution. My reading is that nothing in this resolution supercedes congressional authority under the Constitution or War Powers Resolution and the President would continue to be bound by the reporting and consultation requirements. Under this resolution, Congress reserves the right to review the President's plans and actions.

The purpose of our restatement, of this use of force resolution, is to demonstrate that America stands united. I pray that President Bush will use the awesome powers of the United States with wisdom.

Mr. HILLEARY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of our Commander-in-Chief, our Armed Forces, and the important action this body takes today. This resolution means America will go into our war on terrorism with a solid front.

We're not retaliating because we're angry, although we are. We're not doing this out of

revenge, although it is. This is not simply about justice, although we are entitled to justice. Rather, we are retaliating to save our freedom and way of life. Those who were violently attacked on September 22nd would be attacked again, maybe with nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons next time, if we were to allow the perpetrators to go unpunished, or even lightly punished. But we won't. America is a peaceful nation, but when our freedom and security are challenged as they are now, we will do whatever it takes to protect our way of life.

I do not take this decision lightly. This war is going to be an extensive and costly one. This vote will result in the likely loss of life for a good number of American servicemen, and the certain upheaval of many American families. Our enemies don't think America has the stomach for an ugly sustained fight like this one. Our enemies are wrong.

Ten years ago, I was on the receiving end of a resolution like this one, just another young Air Force officer, waiting for the word. I know it was an agonizing decision for many members of this body, but it was the right one for America and for the world. I believe this one is, too. We need to remember this when the going gets tough. Right is right, and must be defended.

It says in the seventh Psalm that, "He who digs a hole and scoops it out falls into the pit he has made. The trouble he causes recoils on himself; his violence comes down on his own head." In the near future, the violence of America's enemies will come down on their own heads. We will find these barbarians, we will hunt down those who harbor them, and we will make an example of them. We did not start this. But we will finish it.

God bless the victims and their families, God bless our brave soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines. And God bless America.

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Joint War Powers Resolution, but not without reservation. Clearly, the terrorist attacks on September 11th caused unprecedented death, destruction and despair in our nation. The attacks struck a blow not only to our citizens and buildings, but also against our values, our freedoms, our way of life. They touched all of us; and we must seek justice, honor our fellow citizens, and prevent further terrorist acts.

Today, we join with the President to undertake such acts as are necessary to prevent any future acts of terrorism against our citizens. Today, and for many days ahead, we hurt, we mourn, and we honor the memory of those whose lives were taken by the terrorist attacks, and those whose lives were lost in courageous rescue efforts. Many of our citizens are angry, indeed, enraged and want to strike back, and we must strike back.

We do not understand and may never understand why anyone would commit such unspeakable, horrific deeds. The terrorists sought to instill in us fear and insecurity. To this, we must not submit; we must strike back. We must take the necessary actions to safeguard our lives and American interests, but we must not relinquish our cherished freedoms and values.

In America, we cherish our values, our humanity, our love of justice. Therefore, as we pursue the terrorists, and those who aided or harbored them, we must not become terrorists. We must not become filled with the evil

force which we abhor in the terrorists. We must strike back, but must do so consistently with the values that we hold dear. The President should act only on the basis of convincing evidence of the identity of the terrorists, and employ that force which is necessary to deter and prevent future acts of terrorism against our citizens. The authorization we give the President today is not unlimited. Congress will monitor progress of our military actions and work with the President to ensure that our actions under this resolution are necessary and appropriate, consistent with our values, in conjunction with our friends and allies, and in accordance with international laws.

We are a strong and resilient nation. We will recover and rebuild our broken lives, our buildings and our way of life. Let us pray that God's grace and wisdom will guide us through the difficult days ahead.

Mr. MASCARA. Mr. Speaker, we gather here this evening to declare America's intention to exercise her right of self-defense and her obligation to protect her citizens. I stand shoulder to shoulder with my colleagues to announce, through this joint resolution, that acts of terrorism will not be tolerated. At present, these cowards may be nameless, well-trained, well-financed, and filled with hate towards America, but we will soon know who they are and they will rue the day they chose to attack American freedom.

I take no solace or comfort in voting for this resolution, but I do it proudly. Let there be no doubt: while we did not seek this fight, we are more than ready to finish it. America burns with a seething, unyielding, smoldering anger that will not be extinguished until it has punished this ruthless foe.

Never again should Americans wake up to see their precious landmarks hit by airplanes. Never again should Americans wake up to see the symbols of their military strength and superiority attacked by cowards. Never again should Americans have to wonder if the symbols of their cherished democracy are safe. In short, never again.

I support this resolution with a firm resolve. We will win this campaign against terrorism. May God bless the United States of America.

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to express my strongest support possible for H.J. Res 64, a resolution authorizing the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks against our country. I want to thank the leadership of both parties for acting as quickly as they did to bring this legislation forth.

Mr. Speaker, only a few hours ago, I stood at Ground Zero, in lower Manhattan, with President Bush and many of my colleagues and viewed first hand the devastating destruction that occurred in New York City on Tuesday morning, September 11, 2001. We saw the mountains of rubble that once was the World Trade Center. We saw the neighboring buildings that surround this area that are also damaged. We talked to city and state officials and learned about the tremendous economic impact this event will have. But most importantly, what we did not see was the thousands of people, mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, friends all, who were indiscriminately killed by cowards. This attack on our innocent citizens, this attack on our nation's financial center and on the heart of our national defense, the Pentagon, and the hundreds of people who died there, must not go



unpunished. I know I stand united with my colleagues tonight, shoulder to shoulder, in supporting the President of the United States to give him the authority and tools necessary to seek justice to this most horrific act of violence.

This nation has never wanted war. We are a peaceful nation. And, I do not take these actions that we are authorizing tonight lightly, but I believe the American people understand that there are those times when the actions by others must be answered. This is one of those times. We must respond, in kind and with a united voice, to the actions of these ruthless forces. I know the American people are willing to endure even a protracted campaign, if necessary, in order to secure the future of our country.

I urge my colleagues to vote unanimously in support of this resolution. God bless the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. speaker, on September 11th, America came face to face with undisguised evil. We did not blink. What the enemies of America perceive as weakness, we celebrate as strength—freedom, tolerance, democratic governance. No enemy can ever take these things from us, because they are ingrained in our institutions, our way of life, and our very character as a people.

In times of trial, these principles give America the strength and resolve to meet any challenge, no matter how great. We will rise to this challenge as we have done countless times before. As we mourn our dead, we prepare for war. Americans are people of goodwill. We do not seek war, and waging war is something we do neither with relish nor with joy. But wage war we must, with all the ferocity and all the commitment of a Nation roused to righteous anger. Whether it takes weeks, months, or years, we will prevail.

To those who have spilled the blood of American innocents, and those who have harbored them, our message is a simple one: You can run, but you can't hide. America will track you down, and for what you have done, you will pay. You will pay. God bless this House, and God bless America.

Mr. ROSS. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, September 11, 2001, is a day that none of us in this Chamber—none of us in this country—will forget. It is a day when our nation experienced an attack unlike we have ever seen. Thousands of lives in our nation were lost and many, many more were forever changed because of the despicable and deliberate acts of terrorists. As we observe this National Day of Prayer and Remembrance for this terrible tragedy, our hearts are with all the victims and their families, and our thoughts and prayers are with those working so hard to remove the rubble and hopefully find additional survivors.

We can no longer think of these terrorist attacks as something that we see on television that happen only in far away lands. The threat to our national security is evident, and our response to the attacks at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon is critical. It must be strong, it must be carefully calculated, and it must be swift.

The time has come for the United States to make a full force effort to eliminate the terrorist networks across the globe, and I urge my colleagues to support this resolution authorizing the President to use such necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for the terrorist attacks on September 11

and anyone or any country who assisted them.

This is no easy task, but our troops are ready, and our government stands united, Democrats and Republicans alike, in our resolve to end terrorism in the United States.

Yes, Tuesday was dark day for America. But, Mr. Speaker, it was not near as dark as the days that lie ahead for the evil perpetrators who masterminded these attacks. The American spirit is alive and well, and our commitment to seek out and take action against those who would commit such heinous and cowardly acts is unwavering. We will not allow these terrorists to alter the kind of world that our children and grandchildren grow up in.

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in strong support of this resolution. All American's have been reminded that freedom comes at a price. The citizens of the United States have fought to sustain one's right to remain free, engaging in major conflicts from our birth during the Revolutionary War, to the War of 1812, the Mexican War, Civil War, Spanish-American War, World War I and II, Korea, Vietnam, and finally the Gulf War.

Each conflict cost precious lives, but those men and women gave their lives so that future generations would continue to live under the blanket of freedom. We all feel the tremendous loss of life—loved ones, friends, colleagues—and our prayers are steadfast with the victims, their families, and those brave souls who are risking their lives at this very moment in search and rescue operations.

My colleagues, we are about to vote on a course of action that again pits hope against terror—and—freedom against oppression. Our enemies will never know freedom, because they are imprisoned by hate—and for that—they have already lost.

As we stand united behind our President and with our fellow Americans, I offer the following reflection: After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Admiral Yamamoto lamented that his country's action had "awakened a sleeping giant." My colleagues, that giant has awakened again.

For the Lord is my light and my salvation—whom shall I fear? The Lord is the stronghold of my life—of whom shall I be afraid? When evil men advance against me to devour my flesh, when my enemies and my foes attack me, they will stumble and fall.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the House and Senate in support of H.J. Res. 64, to authorize the use of our Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent terrorist attacks against the United States. Passing this resolution and sanctioning the use of our courageous armed forces is not something we do lightly, hastily, or in pursuit of vengeance. Putting the men and women of our military in harm's way is a grave decision that should only be resorted to when no other course of action is appropriate.

This resolution is a deliberate, well-considered, and I believe proper response to the deplorable acts of terror committed against our country, our people, and indeed, the entire civilized world.

Passing this resolution demonstrates to our country and to all the nations of the world our united resolve to punish those responsible for these heinous acts, and more importantly, ensures that perpetrators of terror are not allowed to continue their campaign of violence

against innocent persons both here and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, by passing this resolution we send this critical message to our military: We stand behind you as you prepare to defend our country and the ideals of freedom and democracy, for our citizens and the world community.

Mr. OXLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have heard this plea from my constituents in the fourth congressional district in these numbing days following the unconscionable terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon: Find those who did this. Make them answer for their evil. Defend the ideals that our predecessors fought for, to make this a safer and more peaceful world for the generations to come.

I was in this House a decade ago when we debated a resolution to support our President, George Bush, when he went to war against Saddam Hussein. I hoped never to have to speak to a military challenge of that magnitude again. But on September 11, America was attacked at home by an enemy that hides in shadows and kills without conscience.

By authorizing the use of all necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for terrorist attacks, this Congress shows that it and the American people stands behind our President, George W. Bush, and civilized society. While it is not a technical declaration of war, for all practical purposes the United States is at war with those who want to harm our people, disrupt our economy, shatter our security, and destroy our democratic values. All nations in the world who profess the values of civilization should be with America on this defining mission.

We will win before the causes of liberty and justice are more powerful than the forces of evil and hatred. Americans have answered this call before. This time, the enemy is not so much a single country as a destructive concept called terrorism. But we will prevail because this new challenge has once again shown that we are the United States. We know what we are fighting for: the triumph of liberty, freedom, and peace over fanaticism and violence. Our response is just, and our cause will prevail.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, tonight, I vote to support the use of America's military force against the terrorist organizations that plotted to attack our peaceful Nation. This will likely be the most important vote I take as a Member of Congress. With this vote, I put my trust in our President, the men and women of our Armed Forces, and my fellow Americans. We will overcome this tremendous challenge with honor, dignity, and justice.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight with a heavy heart.

The floor we stand on here is the centerpiece of American democracy. It has been the site of weighty debates, presidential addresses, and critical votes. I have witnessed and participated in many of these since I was first elected to represent the people of North Carolina's 3rd District in 1994. As a servant of the people, these events are all humbling.

However the vote we are poised to take today is one of my most significant votes in my congressional career—and the most important type of vote that Congress ever takes. Today we vote to authorize the Commander-in-Chief to send our brave men and women in uniform into harm's way.



This is not a vote to be taken lightly. We do so with righteous cause—to respond to the despicable acts of war committed against the American people and the very freedoms and ideals for which our Nation stands. And we do so with the solemn understanding that some of the men and women that we send to fight this new war may not return. They may be from districts around the country—they may be from my own.

But the action we take tonight is absolutely necessary.

Our Nation was violated, our people slaughtered, our democracy threatened. Justice must be delivered—the victims of this tragedy deserve it and the American people demand it.

This resolution will demonstrate to the world—and most importantly those who committed these horrendous crimes—that the United States will respond. And when she does, it will be with the full weight and support of the President, this Congress, and the American people.

Let me be clear—this is not just a vote about the use of force or even terrorism. This is a vote to protect the freedoms of the people of the United States of America. I urge my colleagues to join me in that effort by supporting this important resolution.

God bless our President, God bless the men and women in uniform who will carry out this conflict, and God bless our great Nation.

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.J. Res. 64 to authorize the President to use whatever means necessary to respond to the heinous, barbarous terrorist acts of September 11. I am proud to stand here in unity with my Democratic and Republican colleagues in support of our President, our Armed Forces, our law enforcement personnel, and our entire great nation, as we seek justice for these horrible atrocities.

On September 11, we were violently attacked in an act of war. It was not a war of our choosing. Indeed, Americans are by their nature a good people, and we seek to settle our differences through peaceful means. But when we are violently attacked, we respond with tremendous resolve. This is not a war of our choosing. But we must choose today to forcefully respond to this cowardly act to ensure that it never happens again.

Ten years ago, I was proud to stand in this chamber as we debated a similar resolution to address the aggression of Saddam Hussein. We had principled differences over the use of force, but when we finished our debate and passed the resolution, we all stood united behind our President. Because we are a strong, healthy democracy, we know when to put our differences aside for the greater good of peace, prosperity and security.

Today we are confronted with an even greater challenge to the future of our democracy. But I believe our courage, resolve and unity today has never been stronger. Only a week ago, we were passionately debating the budget, taxes and Social Security. Those issues, important as they are, now pale in comparison to the challenge before us. Today we cast aside our labels of Democrat and Republican, and we stand as one America.

The perpetrators of these heinous acts will be found, their terrorist networks will be eradicated, and justice will be served. This will not happen overnight. Every American should be prepared for a long campaign. But we will succeed. When America's spirit is moved, it is un-

bound by conventional limits. When America's freedom is threatened, it responds decisively.

The terrorists who committed these atrocities will never understand the power of American freedom, and they will always underestimate American resolve. That is because they live in fear of a world that embraces our ideals of freedom, democracy and equality. While terrorists plot behind closed doors to destroy human lives, compassionate and courageous Americans risk their lives to save lives—as our firefighters and other rescuers heroically demonstrated in the past few days.

The actions that we will authorize today will likely result in lives lost—a reality not of our choosing but forced upon us by the events of September 11. But the eradication of terrorist networks that threaten America, and the punishment of nations that harbor these criminals, will preserve countless lives for many generations to come—not just of Americans, but of all people in the world who cherish freedom and democracy as a way of life. We must use the full might of America and its allies to create a secure world for all of us to live in.

Our world changed dramatically with one swift, despicable act of terrorism. We will never be able to return to the world that existed before September 11. But America has the tremendous resilience to heal, recover and grow stronger after great periods of tragedy. We will meet this new challenge, and rebuild a society that embraces even more vigorously the ideals of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support H.J. Res. 64 to give the President the unwavering support he needs to successfully execute America's mission. Eradicating this terrorist threat is a daunting—but achievable—challenge. America will prevail, because her cause is just. Freedom will endure, because America is its protector.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I've been in Congress for nearly six years. Never have I been so torn over a vote. Even though I am going to vote for this legislation, I have deep concerns and grave reservations about it.

First, it is too narrow. We need a comprehensive anti-terrorist approach. This legislation does not represent such a comprehensive strategy and war against terrorism around the world. It only pertains to the terrorism associated with the events surrounding September 11, 2001. This legislation looks backward, not forward. This legislation fails to develop a strategy to combat and prevent potential or future acts of terrorism.

Second, and paradoxically, it is too broad. The literal language of this legislation can be read as broadly as executive interpreters want to read it, which gives the President awesome and undefined power. As written, the resolution could be interpreted, if read literally, to give the President the authority to deploy or use our armed forces domestically.

Earlier today I voted to support \$40 billion in supplemental spending for a fight against terrorism and public social spending for New York's recovery. Tonight I would have preferred to support a vote to reaffirm the authority of the President under the War Powers Act, which gives the President all the authority he currently needs to fight terrorism and protect the citizens of the United States. That would give all Americans more time—60 or 90 days—to investigate more and learn more about all of the issues and facts involved on September 11.

I support the President's commitment to investigate, capture, and punish all of those responsible for this horrible and inhumane deed. This was not only an assault on our nation and our people, but an indiscriminate attack on civilian life. Thus, I also support and approve removing the sanctuaries and support systems of terrorists. I urge all governments to unite to investigate this crime, to prevent its recurrence, and to bring to justice those who are responsible. I support doing whatever is constitutionally lawful and necessary to isolate those nations who sponsor and harbor terrorists. But I am not voting to give the President new authority—in the words of Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul D. Wolfowitz—to “end states who sponsor terrorism.” We need to operate within traditional constitutional constraints.

I would have preferred to have voted to reaffirm the War Powers Act because it, after 60 or 90 days of the President launching a military response to these terrorist attacks, the President had returned with more information on who did this and how it happened. I might be prepared to vote \$100 billion to fight terrorism. And if, after 60 or 90 days, President Bush returned with a request and a rationale for new and expanded presidential authority, I may have been willing to vote to grant him that as well—but not now.

In private meetings all day yesterday, Members raised serious questions and concerns that troubled me greatly.

Some Members noted the similarity to the open-endedness of this resolution to the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. We know the consequences of the vote, which was based on insufficient information and, in that instance we now know, deception. Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Ernest Gruening of Alaska voted “No” on August 7, 1964, and they are seen as wise and heroic today. I am not voting “Yes” on September 14, 2001, for an open-ended Tonkin Gulf-type Resolution. I do not want a repeat of the Johnson administration—which used it to provide dubious legal cover for a massive escalation of an unwinnable war in Vietnam—for either a similar domestic or foreign over-reach against terrorism. I'm not willing to give President Bush carte blanche authority to fight terrorism. We need to agree to fight it together within traditional constitutional boundaries.

Another Member asked, “By voting for this resolution, are we granting the President new authority to conduct extra-legal and extra-constitutional assassinations?” If we are, we are becoming like the terrorists we despise. What does killing people already willing to die really accomplish? It will only create martyrs and multiply terrorists.

We must not become like those who believe that the end justifies any means in the struggle against terrorism. That is the logic of the terrorists. We must respond to this outrage, but we must not validate this logic. We must respond to this outrage effectively—by eliminating the underlying grievances that is motivating the terrorism in the first place. What we must do is affirm the principles that came under attack on September 11—respect for innocent life and international law. That is how to rob the terrorists of victory.

Recently President Bush said the United States “will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbored them.” But we must make distinctions. In the words of Human Rights

Watch, we must distinguish "between the guilty and the innocent; between those who commit atrocities and those who may simply share their religious beliefs, ethnicity, or national origin. People committed to justice and law and human rights must never descend to the level of the perpetrators of such acts. That is the most important distinction of all."

Another Member said we needed to show national unity. A vote to reaffirm the War Powers Act would have given us the national unity we need—and would have given us 60 days to investigate this matter more fully and see more clearly what we are actually looking at.

Another Member said she had been in Congress for 19 years, but never had been asked to make a decision and cast a vote with so little information. In light of one Senator's breach of trust, the administration is now withholding information from Members of Congress. We are voting huge sums of money and granting virtual unlimited authority to the President with little actual information.

Other Members expressed a concern that if we are going to conduct a "comprehensive and sustained war against terrorism that eliminates terrorists and terrorism root and branch" that we must give Americans an understanding of why there are so many people in the world who hate us. We must explore and learn why people are willing to give their very lives in suicidal missions; and why their supporters dance and celebrate in the streets when these terrorists inhumanely succeed to destroying American lives and our symbols of economic power and military might.

I have raised the concern that we need more time to explain to the American people that this is a new kind of protracted war. This is not the kind of war former President Bush fought in the Persian Gulf that ended in just over a month. This is a war that will be fought in public places on our shores and within our borders—in our crowded public buildings, in our subways, in our airports, in our train stations, in our colleges and universities, at our sporting events, and possibly with chemical and biological weapons. The War Powers Act would have allowed us at least 60 to 90 days to better understand and inform the American people about the nature of the war that today they are so anxious to fight.

I too am deeply hurt, distraught, in mourning, fearful, and angry. But we must resist the temptation to allow ourselves to become like those we today so despise. Terrorist violence must be halted, but the pain behind their rage must be heard and addressed. Human beings become terrorists in an ocean of despair. Therefore, any comprehensive approach to ending terrorism must address the waves of pain and injustice of the ocean. The most effective anti-terrorist campaign is one that replaces the despair and hopelessness of the terrorist's supporters with a policy that brings dignity, respect, and justice to every person, neighborhood, community, and nation in the world.

Ms. WATSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the use of force against those persons responsible for recent acts of terrorism against the United States. The resolution is balanced and seeks to ensure that the Congress will be included in the consultative process when and if U.S. troops are introduced into hostilities. I strongly believe that the resolution will continue to enjoy strong bipartisan support only if the Ex-

ecutive, in good faith, consults with and informs the Congress in a timely manner.

I should also note that the resolution is not a carte blanche endorsement for the use of force against any suspected terrorist group anywhere in the world, but is more narrowly crafted to endorse all necessary and appropriate use of force against nations, organizations, and persons that participated in the attacks that occurred on September 11.

Mr. Speaker, although I support the resolution, I am mindful of the gravity and seriousness of putting U.S. troops and other governmental personnel in harms way. It is highly probable that more U.S. lives will be lost in our struggle to excise the cancer of terrorism wherever it poses a threat to the U.S., the Western world, and our allies in the non-West. Other countless innocents will also lose their lives. This is not Desert Storm, an operation of relatively short duration that witnessed minimal loss of American lives. Our national commitment to the task ahead of us will require vigilance and forbearance. It will also require that we remain mindful of the fact that the United States is an open society and that any policy or action implemented by the U.S. Government will ultimately fail if it does not have the support of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, in this time of tragedy that has provoked visceral outrage, we must, nonetheless, continue to exercise prudence and good judgment in the prosecution of the U.S. response to these terrorist acts. Indeed a military response alone could ultimately prove to be counterproductive, instead fueling anti-U.S. sentiment, increased alienation, and heightened fanaticism. Instead of eliminating the virus of terrorism we could be creating a new and more virulent strain. Any military action must also be accompanied by a sustained economic and diplomatic response aimed at eliminating all centers of terrorist activities while enhancing the stability and strength of our regional allies.

The task ahead of us is complicated and any resolution will not be quick or easy. Our ultimate success in rooting out terrorism will require patience, sustained commitment, and more, not less, engagement in the world.

I pledge my support to the President as he leads the United States forth to meet this historic challenge.

Mr. VITTER. Mr. Speaker, this week's terrorist attacks against the American people are nothing less than cold-blooded murder and an act of war. I fully support this resolution and urge the President to use any and all means necessary against those nations, organizations, and persons who committed or participated in these heinous acts.

These attacks will only strengthen our resolve to defend the United States and our way of life. These attacks are not just an attack against this wonderful land we call America—they are attacks against our people, our democracy, our values, our civilization. As a nation, we will not rest until we have methodically defeated those who use fear as a weapon against the principles for which our country stands. We are coming after them full throttle.

Finally, we must not forget that thousands of Americans lost their lives this week, and many thousands more lost mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, friends and colleagues. My heart, my prayers, and my condolences go out to them all.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, the United States suf-

fered perhaps the darkest day in its history. Yesterday, this body approved legislation to aid the families of the victims and those that gave their lives trying to save them. Today, we turn our attention to the pursuit of the terrorists that carried out this horrific act. I strongly support this resolution to authorize the President to use the necessary force to find and punish those responsible.

I do not believe passing this resolution is legally necessary. The Constitution gives the President the power to strike back at our aggressors. However, I do believe that it is necessary for Congress to show overwhelming support for the battle that lies ahead. It will not be an easy fight, and it will not be a short one. But it is a confrontation that we will meet head on, united by the memory of those lost and the values and freedom we hold so dearly. And we will be victorious.

Mr. Speaker, tonight we send a clear message to the world that we are prepared to respond to the forces of hate as previous generations have done before us. I am confident that the compassion and resolve that has come to define the American spirit will see us through this most trying time. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today to address the necessity, imposed on us by unspeakable acts of terrorism, for the United States to respond to the killing and injuring of thousands of our fellow citizens, almost all innocent civilians.

This Nation has the right and obligation to both respond to and defend itself from the violent enemies of our freedom and liberty. Those persons and/or entities that were either directly involved in or provided any assistance to the acts of September 11 pose a clear and present danger to the lives of our people and to our very national security. We will find those responsible and make certain that they, and anyone who helped them, are fully punished. This attack on America and its people will not stand.

Moreover, as we cannot rule out future attacks on U.S. soil or to American interests overseas, we must take a comprehensive approach to this challenge. Appropriately, we will utilize the first rate capabilities of our Armed Forces to ensure the personal security of each and every one of us, at home and abroad. To that end, we commit ourselves by the resolution before us, to root out terrorism wherever it is found around the world.

It will not be an easy task to defeat terrorism. It will require considerable resources and patience. There is no quick solution. I am confident, however, that the President and the Congress, working together, will find the means and methods to prevail.

As a member of the Armed Service Committee, I along with my committee colleagues will perform our duty in providing U.S. Armed Forces the necessary resources to deter and defeat the threat of terrorism. I know that our colleagues will support our work.

There is yet considerable work to be done in the days and months ahead. I am confident that our Nation, and our Armed Forces called upon to defend all Americans, will meet the challenges that lie ahead—just as we have from Concord and Lexington through the war in the Persian Gulf.

I strongly urge passage of the resolution.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against the nations,

organizations, or individuals involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks on citizens of the United States.

These were reprehensible attacks against innocent men, women, and children. Anyone who was involved in planning or carrying out these attacks must be punished swiftly and severely.

Moreover, since it is logical to assume that the parties which planned and provided logistical support for Tuesday's terrible attacks are interested in—and capable of—carrying out similar attacks in the future, it is imperative that the United States use whatever means are necessary to prevent them from doing so.

Finally, it is important to recognize that the United States has aggressively pursued legal and diplomatic measures over the last 30 years to curb terrorism—and that it is logical to conclude from this experience that such measures will not be effective enough to deal with the threat that terrorism poses today.

For these reasons, I support this resolution. I believe that the United States Government has no choice but to utilize military force to punish the organizers of the September 11 attacks and protect the people of this nation from future terrorist threats.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, today was one of the saddest days in the history of our beloved country. It is impossible to watch the events caused by evil unfold before our eyes without feeling great sorrow and great anger. We will never forget the sorrow we collectively feel as a nation. Mr. Speaker, we will also never forget the anger and fury we feel toward those who have hurt and killed so many innocent Americans. I pledge my fortune and honor to do everything in my power to bring justice on all those who have so injured this country and its citizens as we pass this resolution.

However, today was a day of prayer and I was moved by the prayer service at the National Cathedral here in our Nation's Capital. I was very touched by the comments of our President at that service, Mr. Speaker, and now make them a part of this RECORD as we put on the shoulders of our President a burden no one man can possibly bear without the help of God.

Mr. Speaker, the President's words today:

We are here in the middle hour of our grief. So many have suffered so great a loss, and today we express our nation's sorrow. We come before God to pray for the missing and the dead, and for those who loved them.

On Tuesday, our country was attacked with deliberate and massive cruelty. We have seen the images of fire and ashes and bent steel.

Now come the names, the list of casualties we are only beginning. They are the names of men and women who began their day at a desk or in an airport, busy with life. They are the names of people who faced death and in their last moments called home to say, be brave and I love you.

They are the names of passengers who defied their murderers and prevented the murder of others on the ground. They are the names of men and women who wore the uniform of the United States and died at their posts.

They are the names of rescuers—the ones whom death found running up the stairs and into the fires to help others. We will read all these names. We will linger over them and learn their stories, and many Americans will weep.

To the children and parents and spouses and families and friends of the lost, we offer

the deepest sympathy of the nation. And I assure you, you are not alone.

Just three days removed from these events, Americans do not yet have the distance of history, but our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.

War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder.

This nation is peaceful, but fierce when stirred to anger. This conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others; it will end in a way and at an hour of our choosing.

Our purpose as a nation is firm, yet our wounds as a people are recent and unhealed and lead us to pray. In many of our prayers this week, there's a searching and an honesty. At St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, on Tuesday, a woman said, "I pray to God to give us a sign that he's still here."

Others have prayed for the same, searching hospital to hospital, carrying pictures of those still missing.

God's signs are not always the one we look for. We learn in tragedy that his purposes are not always our own, yet the prayers of private suffering, whether in our homes or in this great cathedral are known and heard and understood.

There are prayers that help us last through the day or endure the night. There are prayers of friends and strangers that give us strength for the journey, and there are prayers that yield our will to a will greater than our own.

This world He created is of moral design. Grief and tragedy and hatred are only for a time. Goodness, remembrance and love have no end, and the Lord of life holds all who die and all who mourn.

It is said that adversity introduces us to ourselves.

This is true of a nation as well. In this trial, we have been reminded and the world has seen that our fellow Americans are generous and kind, resourceful and brave.

We see our national character in rescuers working past exhaustion, in long lines of blood donors, in thousands of citizens who have asked to work and serve in any way possible. And we have seen our national character in eloquent acts of sacrifice. Inside the World Trade Center, one man who could have saved himself stayed until the end and at the side of his quadriplegic friend. A beloved priest died giving the last rites to a firefighter. Two office workers, finding a disabled stranger, carried her down 68 floors to safety.

A group of men drove through the night from Dallas to Washington to bring skin grafts for burned victims. In these acts and many others, Americans showed a deep commitment to one another and in an abiding love for our country.

Today, we feel what Franklin Roosevelt called, "the warm courage of national unity." This is a unity of every faith and every background. This has joined together political parties and both houses of Congress. It is evident in services of prayer and candlelight vigils and American flags, which are displayed in pride and waved in defiance. Our unity is a kinship of grief and a steadfast resolve to prevail against our enemies. And this unity, against terror is now extending across the world.

America is a nation full of good fortune, with so much to be grateful for, but we are not spared from suffering. In every generation, the world has produced enemies of human freedom. They have attacked America because we are freedom's home and defender, and the commitment of our fathers is now the calling of our time.

On this national day of prayer and remembrance, we ask almighty God to watch over our nation and grant us patience and resolve

in all that is to come. We pray that He will comfort and console those who now walk in sorrow. We thank Him for every life we now must mourn, and the promise of a life to come.

As we've been assured, neither death nor life nor angels nor principalities, nor powers nor things present nor things to come nor height nor depth can separate us from God's love.

May He bless the souls of the departed. May He comfort our own. And may He always guide our country.

God bless America.

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

I support our President as he seeks to respond effectively to this unparalleled attack, which has left our nation shocked and angered. But no matter the rate we feel today, our response must reflect our national character, and be guided by justice and our right to self-defense, not by vengeance.

I want those responsible for these heinous crimes to be hunted down and held accountable—in full compliance with our Constitution and our laws. They must pay for their murder of thousands of innocent American citizens and others.

I want to break the global network of terrorism so that no other nation, people or group will know the pain and sorrow America is not experiencing. To be successful, we will need a multilateral, coordinated effort of law enforcement, intelligence and military resources. We cannot do this alone.

I want the best of America to continue to shine—so that the world is reassured that the United States remains a haven for freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of association. Our heritage is rooted in diversity and tolerance, and nothing must abrogate the fundamental freedoms and rights of our people.

I believe this resolution achieves these goals. The body of this resolution is appropriately limited to those entities involved in the attacks that occurred on September 11th. It appropriately and explicitly abides by and invokes the authority of the War Powers Resolution. It reiterates the existing constitutional powers of the President to take action to defend the United States, but provides no new or additional grant of powers to the President.

The President should still consult regularly with the Congress about his intentions, actions and policy as they evolve. The president and the Congress must work together, in concert, in order to maintain the unity so necessary to success. That will require timely consultation, reporting and updates, and a genuine desire to maintain the bipartisan support for this undertaking.

We know military action alone will never defeat terrorism. Last Tuesday, we saw the consequences of raw hate. It has no logic. It has no respect for human life or dignity. It holds no promise for the future. It has no single base or leader. We can, however, begin to address some of the underlying problems that can lead to terror.

We can continue our leadership to help negotiate just and lasting solutions to the world's many conflicts, including in the Middle East.

We can renew our engagement with the international community to find solutions to the global challenges of our times: the environment, weapons proliferation, disease and intolerance.

Our country is unified. We can respond effectively to the horror of September 11th. We

can break the links between terrorists. We can contribute to a world that is not only secure from the threat of terrorism, but also free of the poverty and oppression that are its breeding ground. We must exercise the political will to make this happen.

This resolution helps us begin to achieve these goals, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. STUMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this resolution.

Since the terrible and tragic events of Tuesday, this country and the rest of the world have witnessed the determination of the American people to come together, to rally around our President, and to transcend the tragedy that fell our great Nation.

America's anger at those who planned and perpetrated these terrorist acts is palpable. This Congress has stood as one in expressing our grief over the tragic loss of life, our pride in those who continue the rescue and recovery efforts, and our determination to ensure that those who support the use of terror are severely punished. Now, we must express our unified support for the President to take all necessary and appropriate actions to ensure that the terrorists and their supporters do not win in their effort to undermine our way of life.

Mr. Speaker, the President has been forceful and direct—freedom and democracy are under attack by a determined enemy. This battle will take time and resolve, he stated, but we will win. In our effort to root out the evil that is terrorism, we will once again call upon the dedicated men and women who voluntarily serve our country in uniform. It is their greatness that gives us confidence in our ultimate victory.

The fight against terrorism will be a long and difficult campaign. It requires a serious commitment. But the President must know that the Congress supports him by providing him with the tools he needs to prosecute this battle. The Congress has already agreed to provide significant additional funds for the war on terrorism. Now, in this decisive moment, we must stand behind our troops and send a clear signal to our enemies that the President's actions have our unanimous support.

Passage of this resolution will send that signal.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. 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 al-

though a phantom will not be able to hide. The basic goodness that we have seen demonstrated by the firemen, police, military, and civilians at the rescue scenes reflects the basic goodness of America. The selflessness, determination and patience tell us that freedom will be preserved and triumph over this threat.

My colleagues, the forces of evil signed a death warrant for terror last Tuesday. They have unleashed the wrath of the American people. The struggle ahead may be a long one. Ultimately, we will triumph. We will preserve freedom for future generations. We will guarantee hope remains for all mankind. My colleagues please join me in voting for this resolution. God bless America.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Joint Resolution 64, which will authorize the use of force in responding to the terrorist threat that violated the shores of the United States on September 11, 2001. I do not take this action lightly. I fully recognize that this single resolution, though brief in text, will have far-reaching consequences. But, I am certain that this is the only right course of action for our institution and our nation.

The violence that left so many innocent Americans dead or injured or grieving for the loss of a beloved family member or friend was no less than an act of war. Those who preach fear and hatred declared war upon our nation and our people. Indeed, they declared war on all civilized nations and freedom-loving peoples. We must respond in like kind.

In fact, it is our duty to respond with all the power of our principles and all the might of our great and prosperous United States. God has given us a noble land, as Senator Albert Beveridge once said, "a land that can feed and clothe the world; . . . a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe." We must use the gifts that have been showered upon America from the heavens to save the world from tyranny once again.

Just as we did in World War II when we defeated a tyranny of bigotry and hatred, we must engage in an all-out assault against this new tyranny of fear and terror. We are unified in spirit and in purpose and, we are joined by nations far and near. In the end, we will prevail, providing the world with a new day of freedom and peace.

While I am certain that our road will end in victory, I know that it will likely be a long and arduous road to travel. It will not be neat. It will not be without bloodshed or loss of life. It will not be brief. But it will be right and it will be just.

It is not easy to stand before my colleagues and my country knowing that our actions will send young men and women into battle for the cause of freedom. But, we can look their mothers and fathers in the eye and say to them now that this is what must be done. I have little doubt that they understand and that they take comfort in knowing that their children are heroes in a new greatest generation.

And, I feel confident that the American people will stand with those heroes day in and day out until our enemies have been vanquished. I am overwhelmed with an enormous sense of pride and patriotism at the selflessness that so many Americans have shown in recent days in supporting the brave public safety workers and in consoling the bereaved. That indefatigable spirit will sustain us in any battle against any evil.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to remember the words of our President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his Second Inaugural Address to the nation as we to pass this important resolution:

Before all else, we seek, upon our common labor as a nation, the blessings of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our whole people. May we pursue the right—without self-righteousness. May we know unity—without conformity. May we grow in strength—without pride in self. May we, in all our dealings with all the peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and serve justice. And so shall America—in the sight of all men of good will—prove true to the honorable purposes that bind and rule us as a people in all this time of trial through which we pass.

May God bless this mighty nation and shed his grace and blessings upon the men and women of America's armed forces.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution.

In his Funeral Oration, the great Athenian leader Pericles said "heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart."

The terrible events of the last few days already have produced many heroes, from the firemen and the police officers who gave their lives to rescue others, to the airline passengers who appear to have sacrificed themselves to save their fellow citizens.

And like the heroes of ancient times, our heroes also have the whole earth for their tomb; for enshrined in every breast is a record of their deeds that we will carry forever with us.

We will never forget what happened on September 11, 2001.

And we must resolve ourselves that these lives of those who perished in this tragedy will not have been sacrificed in vain—that out of their deaths will arise a new commitment to preserve and defend our American freedom.

We must now go about the grim task of identifying the monsters responsible for starting this war and those who may be harboring them; assuring that they pay a very heavy price for their actions.

In doing so, we call upon all of those who love peace and freedom to join us in this crusade. The community of nations must unite to assure that these terrorists have nowhere to run and nowhere to hide.

Together, we must hunt these criminals down to the ends of the earth and assure they pay dearly for the crimes they have committed against humanity.

The resolution before us provides the President with a specific authorization, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to use force against those responsible for the September 11th terrorist attack.

I do not view this as an open-ended authorization for this or any future President to wage war on any one at any time. It is, instead, in the words of the resolution, an authority to use force against "those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons."



All Americans stand behind our President, his advisers, and the brave men and women of our Armed Forces who will be asked to carry out this mission. Our thoughts and our prayers will be with them in the days and months ahead.

We know their task will not be easy. But they should go forward armed with the knowledge that they have the support of all Americans—as expressed by the unanimous vote of their elected representatives.

That is what this resolution signifies, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to start by expressing my sorrow and outrage at Tuesday's cowardly attack. Tuesday's savagery tore our national fabric, but the tragedy also united the Nation. Our immediate priorities are treating survivors, supporting victims' families, restoring essential services, protecting our civil liberties, healing the national psyche and finding and judging anyone who participated in the horrendous act. We all share these imperatives and will do all that we can to help. We all support the President in these endeavors. This is the indomitable strength of our country.

But our eyes also turn to the future with three critical questions, each of which calls for thorough congressional hearings. First, how should we punish those guilty of these dastardly crimes, once we determine who were involved? Second, how can we make sure this nightmare never occurs again? How can we better collect intelligence, tighten security and insist that other Nations do their share to prevent terrorism? Third, how can we pursue both of these goals without abandoning America's hallmark commitment to civil liberties or forgetting the necessity to constantly battle ethnic, religious and racial prejudice.

#### PUNISHING THE PERPETRATORS

This week, a United Airlines flight attendant expressed the thoughts of many Americans when she told the press "As horrible as it is to say, I want revenge." Clearly the United States will not stand for such a brutal assault on our citizens and our country. The perpetrators must be punished. But if we unleash the full fury of America's military might and we kill innocent people in the process, we will be no better than the terrorists who unleashed their fury on America's civilian population. These acts of hijacking, murder, and terrorism are crimes for which there are laws and punishments under Federal law. These atrocities are not known to have been committed by nation-states but rather by cowardly individuals who we should arrest and try as our justice system demands. We must react with righteousness and justice and not allow ourselves to succumb to the momentary seduction of emotional revenge.

And if we do retaliate, we must exercise our best efforts: as we have always done, to minimize collateral damage against innocent civilians. To disregard that concern because feelings are running so high is to take a path to mayhem that we will live to regret.

#### PREVENTING RECURRENCE

Some voices have described Tuesday's attack as a "massive intelligence and security failure." That path could easily lead to frenzied finger-pointing that would distract us from necessary improvements. Of course, we must upgrade air travel safety through a greater government role in airport security, rather than airline hired-security employees. Some airline pilots and other observers have deemed current

security at some U.S. airports as a "farce." We now know the terrible price paid for our neglect.

Similarly, intelligence collection about potential threats must be improved. We should not underestimate U.S. technical and human intelligence capabilities and past FBI and CIA successes in detecting and disrupting terrorists' plans. Nevertheless, Tuesday's disaster demands improved analysis of information that pours in daily. If that is now hindered by "information overload", we must deal with that. But in intelligence, as in athletics, the best defense is a good offense. The best way to defend against terrorism is to penetrate terrorist groups in order to preempt their plots before they begin. We have probably neglected this aspect of intelligence gathering, preferring instead to rely on the latest technology. This must change.

But as we take bold steps to ensure our security, we must be equally vigilant to protect our liberties. On Tuesday, one TV network commentator, during an interview, flatly asked what civil liberties should be cut back for certain groups in this country. There is always tension between public safety and liberty, a tension that we have tested each time we faced a new threat. Americans are proud of our commitment to protecting citizens from foreign and domestic threats without abandoning the Constitution's guarantee of civil liberties. There has been backsliding, to be sure, such as the relocation of innocent Japanese-American families in the post-Pearl Harbor panic. While the Supreme Court later upheld the constitutionality of that action in the *Korematsu* case, most scholars now regard that as one of the modern Court's most shameful decisions. Eventually, the U.S. Government apologized to the surviving victims and provided compensation. Thus, history demonstrates that we must periodically review the delicate balance between national security and civil liberty, and that when the balance is readjusted it should be done cautiously, with great care and with an eye beyond today's headlines. Just as terrorism can destroy lives and property, so can it destroy us from within, causing us to turn our back on our most treasured freedoms.

#### PREVENTING SCAPEGOATING

Times of great stress also spawn scapegoating. These are very stressful times for America, and signs of scapegoating have already surfaced. The twentieth century has taught us the terrible consequences of directing hostility toward an entire group of people. America has a long, difficult history of struggling to overcome discrimination simply on the basis of religion ethnicity and race. Now, we must guard against turning diffuse feelings of anger against a whole group of Americans such as Muslims or Arabs, if a handful of their members are accused of Tuesday's murders. Already, shops and businesses owned by Americans of Arab descent—and I emphasize "Americans"—have been trashed and in some cases burned. Individuals have been attacked. These hate crimes must be stopped immediately. Federal, state and local officials should use their powers of persuasion and publicity to stop it and, if necessary, vigorously enforce every applicable law. I will ask the appropriate authorities in Detroit to convene a city-wide conference to address this danger and to exercise the necessary leadership. I have also introduced a sense of the Congress resolution condemning these hate crimes.

#### PREVENTING GOUGING

There is one point that I should not have to make. Regrettably it appears that I do. If there ever were a time when all Americans should show a spirit of cooperation, collaboration, and mutual concern surely this tragedy is it. Yet there are credible reports of price gouging, profiteering, and other despicable efforts to exploit the situation fuel prices have soared in parts of the Midwest have jumped alarmingly. The mayor of New York has had to warn grocers and other merchants against raising prices as customers seek to stock up in the face of uncertainty. This selfish behavior is intolerable. I am calling on the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the Federal Trade Commission to immediately establish a joint task force to police and pursue any abrupt price hikes in energy fuels.

I also commend my state's Attorney General, Jennifer Granholm, for taking legal action against nine Michigan gas stations accused of price gouging. In notice of intended action served yesterday and today, Granholm accuses each station of charging prices for gas that are "grossly in excess" of the market-based price at which gasoline would normally be sold. The Michigan Consumer Protection Act expressly prohibits such sales practices as unfair and unconscionable under the law.

Next, I will turn to the specific language of this resolution.

#### THE RESOLUTION

In terms of the specifics of the resolution, as ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, I believe it is important that the RECORD reflect what the resolution does and does not do.

By not declaring war, the resolution preserves our precious civil liberties. This is important because declarations of war trigger broad statutes that not only criminalize interference with troops and recruitment but also authorize the President to apprehend "alien enemies." Having said that, the President has declared that we are in a national emergency. Such an emergency triggers other, less severe statutes, including criminal prohibitions on the destruction of war materials.

Second, this resolution does not give the President perpetual authority to use military force. Not only does Congress have the constitutional duty to oversee the President's use of our men and women in uniform, 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 track 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 authorize the use of military force against the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001.

I have scheduled very important meetings in California over the weekend and Monday with district employers and employees to discuss the defense budget and other matters of national security. These meetings have been scheduled for some time, and cannot be easily reconfigured. Therefore, during the vote I will be 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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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	DeGette	Hyde
Ackerman	Delahunt	Inslee
Aderholt	DeLauro	Isakson
Akin	DeLay	Israel
Allen	DeMint	Issa
Andrews	Deutsch	Istook
Armer	Diaz-Balart	Jackson (IL)
Baca	Dicks	Jackson-Lee
Bachus	Dingell	(TX)
Baird	Doggett	Jefferson
Baker	Dooley	Jenkins
Baldacci	Doolittle	John
Baldwin	Doyle	Johnson (CT)
Barcia	Dreier	Johnson (IL)
Barr	Duncan	Johnson, E. B.
Barrett	Dunn	Johnson, Sam
Bartlett	Edwards	Jones (NC)
Barton	Ehlers	Jones (OH)
Bass	Ehrlich	Kanjorski
Becerra	Emerson	Kaptur
Bentsen	Engel	Keller
Bereuter	English	Kelly
Berkley	Eshoo	Kennedy (MN)
Berman	Etheridge	Kennedy (RI)
Berry	Evans	Kerns
Biggert	Everett	Kildee
Billirakis	Fattah	Kind (WI)
Bishop	Ferguson	Kingston
Blagojevich	Filmer	Flake
Blumenauer	Flake	Klecza
Blunt	Fletcher	Knollenberg
Boehliert	Foley	Kolbe
Boehner	Forbes	Kucinich
Bonilla	Ford	LaFalce
Bonior	Fossella	LaHood
Bono	Frank	Lampson
Borski	Frelinshteyn	Langevin
Boswell	Frost	Lantos
Boucher	Gallely	Largent
Boyd	Ganske	Larsen (WA)
Brady (PA)	Gekas	Larson (CT)
Brady (TX)	Gephardt	Latham
Brown (FL)	Gibbons	LaTourette
Brown (OH)	Gilchrest	Leach
Brown (SC)	Gillmor	Levin
Bryant	Gilman	Lewis (CA)
Burr	Gonzalez	Lewis (GA)
Burton	Goode	Lewis (KY)
Buyer	Goodlatte	Linder
Callahan	Gordon	LoBiondo
Calvert	Goss	Lofgren
Camp	Graham	Lowe
Cannon	Granger	Lucas (KY)
Cantor	Graves	Lucas (OK)
Capito	Green (TX)	Luther
Capps	Green (WI)	Maloney (CT)
Capuano	Greenwood	Maloney (NY)
Cardin	Grucci	Manzullo
Carson (IN)	Gutierrez	Markey
Carson (OK)	Gutknecht	Mascara
Castle	Hall (OH)	Matheson
Chabot	Hall (TX)	Matsui
Chambliss	Hansen	McCarthy (MO)
Clay	Harman	McCarthy (NY)
Clayton	Hart	McCollum
Clement	Hastert	McCrery
Clyburn	Hastings (FL)	McDermott
Coble	Hastings (WA)	McGovern
Collins	Hayes	McHugh
Combest	Hayworth	McInnis
Condit	Hefley	McIntyre
Cooksey	Heger	McKeon
Costello	Hill	McKinney
Cox	Hilleary	McNulty
Coyne	Hilliard	Meehan
Cramer	Hinchey	Meek (FL)
Crane	Hinojosa	Meeks (NY)
Crenshaw	Hobson	Menendez
Crowley	Hoeffel	Mica
Cubin	Hoekstra	Millender
Culberson	Holden	McDonald
Cummings	Holt	Miller (FL)
Cunningham	Honda	Miller, Gary
Davis (CA)	Hooley	Miller, George
Davis (FL)	Horn	Mink
Davis (IL)	Hostettler	Mollohan
Davis, Jo Ann	Houghton	Moore
Davis, Tom	Hoyer	Moran (KS)
Deal	Hulshof	Moran (VA)
DeFazio	Hunter	Morella

Murtha
Myrick
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Oberstar
Obey
Oliver
Ortiz
Osborne
Ose
Otter
Owens
Oxley
Pallone
Pallone
Pascarella
Pastor
Paul
Payne
Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Phelps
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Portman
Price (NC)
Price (OH)
Putnam
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Rivers
Rodriguez
Roemer
Lee

Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Ross
Rothman
Roukema
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Ryan (WI)
Ryan (KS)
Sabo
Sanders
Sandlin
Sawyer
Schaffer
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schrock
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shoos
Shuster
Simmons
Simpson
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Solis
Souder
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stump
Stupak

NAYS—1

NOT VOTING—10

Ballenger	King (NY)	Saxton
Conyers	Lipinski	Wilson
Farr	Petri	
Kilpatrick	Sanchez	

□ 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