

□ 1745

## AFTER RECESS

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

## COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

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

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, September 14, 2001.  
Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,  
The Speaker, House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

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

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

With best wishes, I am  
Sincerely,

JEFF TRANDAH,  
Clerk of the House.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

H.R. 2133, to establish a commission for the purpose of encouraging and providing for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*:

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

H.R. 2888, 2001 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for recovery from and response to terrorist attacks on the United States.

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

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

United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States:

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

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

There was no objection.

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

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

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

## H.J. RES. 64

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

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

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

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

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

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

## SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This joint resolution may be cited as the "Authorization for Use of Military Force".

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

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

(b) WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REQUIREMENTS.—

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

(2) APPLICABILITY OF OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—Nothing in this resolution supercedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution.

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

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

## GENERAL LEAVE

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

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

There was no objection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

These are the times that try men's souls. On September 11, we lost thousands of people, with thousands more injured, and with two symbols of the strength and vitality of our democracy, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, destroyed or badly damaged.

A sworn enemy that dares not confront us in the open attacked us in the most cowardly way, by targeting innocent citizens of this great Nation. This enemy operates in the shadows, hates with an unnatural passion, and practices political fanaticism that glorifies violent death and condemns innocent life.

For too long, this enemy has been protected and supported and sheltered by rogue nations. The friends of our enemies are also our enemies, and they

will bear equal responsibility. We must defend our Nation. We must defeat these enemies once and for all. We must eliminate the scourge of terrorism.

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

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

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

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

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

I am comforted by the work of the President and his team. They are assembling a worldwide coalition of civilized nations. These nations look to the United States for leadership, and they want to join us in this great crusade. We will provide that leadership.

We have a job to do in this Congress, and this authorization for the use of force is an important part of that responsibility.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must deny them that hope. Our forefathers, who won our liberty, bequeathed it to us in the knowledge that to keep it we would have to prove ourselves worthy of it. They were confident that we would not shrink from the measures necessary to defend it. All who have gone before us, all who have given their lives for their country are witnesses to us here today. That is why I ask my colleagues to put aside our differences and move beyond rhetoric and now act.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I rise in strong support of this resolution.

This week our Nation lost its innocence but found a new sense of unity and purpose. We now face a severe test, one demanding severe measures. The resolution before us empowers the President to bring to bear the full force of American power abroad in our struggle against the scourge of international

terrorism. It will enable him, in the words of our Secretary of State, to eradicate terrorism, "root and branch."

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

□ 1800

In considering this resolution, Mr. Speaker, the historic nature of this occasion cannot be overstated. Precious few times in our 225 years as a Nation have we been faced with such a grave and momentous decision. One need only look at the devastation, the broken bodies, the flood of tears left in the wake of Tuesday's monstrous terrorist attacks to grasp the awesome responsibility before us.

Mr. Speaker, the world is watching these deliberations and is asking: Is the United States up to the challenge? Are we, as a Nation, blessed for so much of our history with peace and prosperity, capable of mounting a costly and concerted campaign against international terror? Let us today answer those doubts with a resounding affirmation.

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

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

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

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

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

The President has a solemn responsibility to use this power wisely and to consult with and report to the Congress throughout the long struggle ahead. We in Congress also have an ongoing responsibility: to contribute to these efforts, monitoring the crisis, investigating its causes, gathering expert insights, and doing all in our power to ensure that these terrible events are never repeated.

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

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

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

We shall prevail.

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

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

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

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

The best tool the framers of the Constitution provided under these circumstances was the power of Congress to grant letters of mark and reprisal in order to narrow the retaliation to only the guilty parties. The complexity of the issue, the vagueness of the enemy,

and the political pressure to respond immediately limits our choices. The proposed resolution is the only option we are offered, and doing nothing is unthinkable.

There are a couple of serious points I would like to make. For the critics of our policy of foreign intervention in the affairs of others, the attack on New York and Washington was not a surprise, and many have warned of its inevitability. It so far has been inappropriate to ask why the U.S. was the target and not some other Western country. But for us to pursue a war against our enemies, it is crucial to understand why we were attacked, which will then tell us by whom we were attacked. Without this knowledge, striking out at six or eight or 10 countries will not help.

Without this knowledge, striking out at six or eight or even ten different countries could well expand this war of which we wanted no part. Without defining the enemy there is no way to know our precise goal nor to know when the war is over. Inadvertent or casual acceptance of civilian deaths as part of this war I'm certain will prolong the agony and increase the chances of even more American casualties. We must guard against this if at all possible.

Too often over the last several decades we have supported both sides of many wars only to find ourselves needlessly entrenched in conflicts unrelated to our national security. It is not unheard of that the weapons and support we send to foreign nations have ended up being used against us. The current crisis may well be another example of such a mishap.

Although we now must fight to preserve our national security, we should not forget that the founders of this great nation advised that for our own sake we should stay out of entangling alliances and the affairs of other nations.

We are placing tremendous trust in our President to pursue our enemies as our commander-in-chief but Congress must remain vigilant as to not allow our civil liberties here at home to be eroded. The temptation will be great to sacrifice our freedoms for what may seem to be more security. We must resist this temptation.

Mr. Speaker we must rally behind our President, pray for him to make wise decisions, and hope that this crisis is resolved a lot sooner than is now anticipated.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL).

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

Mr. Speaker, it is very appropriate for this Congress to be granting specific authority to the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against the terrorists that attacked America this week and against those that harbored the terrorists. It is important, I believe, to note that this grant of authority and this purpose of force is to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States. In other words, we are not just engaging in an act of retaliation or revenge, as satisfying as that will be, but we are taking action to

prevent this from happening again to save the lives of Americans.

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

It may be we do not need to grant this authority. Under the War Powers Act, the President has the ability to use force when America is attacked, as we have been this week. But it is good for Congress to add our voice of support and to specifically grant this authority to the President.

We must be targeted and accurate. We must spare innocent civilians, but we must act and act firmly. We must also be ready to use diplomacy, to build a worldwide coalition to combat terrorism, to lead the charge, to unite the democratic governments that oppose terrorism and those authoritarian governments that also oppose terrorism. We need to provide that leadership. This is our opportunity.

We need to make sure that we fight the terrorists and not the Islamic world. Most of the Islamic world agrees with us in opposition to terrorism. If we are creative and sensible, this can be the beginning of the end of international terrorism.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART), a distinguished member of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, this great Nation is a Nation made from many origins but with a national identity and a national cohesion, a nationhood, which is almost unprecedented in the history of the world. Yet American patriotism is not threatening to others. Americans seek to do no harm to the rest of the world. Quite the contrary. Repeatedly, Americans have gone to the aid of others whose sovereignty and freedom have been kidnapped by tyrants.

America is a peaceful and free Nation; and we intend to pass on that peace and freedom to our children so that they, in turn, may bequeath it to their children.

America is free and secure because each generation has made certain to preserve our freedom and our security for the next generation. There can be no freedom without security, just as security without freedom is the essence of dictatorship, something that this Nation, thanks be to God, has never known and will never know.

It is now this generation's turn. Mr. Speaker, this generation's responsibility to preserve freedom and security for our posterity, and our commander in chief, our Armed Forces, and this entire Nation will not fail.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr.

BLUMENAUER), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

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

Last Tuesday, war was declared, not just on the United States but on civilized people everywhere. The American people were instantly united and resolved around this challenge. This resolution this evening is another step in the long struggle for the American people to see that their Nation's leadership is equal to this challenge.

While I am one who believes that the American President has these powers and more, there is a chance here to jointly define the challenge. There is an opportunity for Congress and the administration, people in both parties, to be very clear about what our challenge is and what we are going to do.

Our Nation has never quite undertaken this issue in quite the same way. We can avoid the problems of the past. We saw in the Spanish-American War we had the wrong cause for the wrong war. During World War II, we saw our government commit, sadly, acts against the civil liberties of Japanese-American citizens. I think we have learned from those experiences in the past.

I am hopeful this resolution will be the first step for more direct actions that will be inclusive, inclusive here on Capitol Hill, inclusive of citizens around the country, inclusive with our friends and allies abroad, and, indeed, with some countries with whom we may not have the warmest of relations; but we are all united in this effort to protect the rights of many men and women in civilized countries everywhere.

I hope this is a beginning of an effort to show that we Americans are equal to the challenge and that we are going to lead it in a way that is going to help spare other people around the world from the terror of these dark and sinister forces.

□ 1815

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

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

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

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

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

kind and must be resolved on the grandest scale.

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

To say it in a way that perhaps Osama bin Laden might understand and other terrorist groups, I ask them to hear me tonight. We are coming after them and the fury of hell is coming with us.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER), the ranking member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

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

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

The action that was taken by these terrorists against the American people must be responded to and it must be responded to with resolution in a most comprehensive fashion. It cannot be a symbolic act. It cannot be a one-time action. It must be comprehensive. We must be diligent and the American people must be patient.

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

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

I would hope as we do that, the people in this country would have patience with one another; that they would recognize that when the airplane slammed into those buildings, it killed Muslims and Christians and Jews and Asians and Italians and Irish and all the rest. It killed the landscape of the American society. When we do this, we must understand that we cannot lose that national character, which is truly our liberties and freedoms that are the beacon, the light that goes out from this

building to those people in those nations that yearn for them and do not have them.

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

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

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, until tonight the most important vote that I had cast as a Member of this body was the vote that I cast in 1991 to support then President George Bush in our Gulf War. Now we are at another grave moment of decision for our Nation.

This is a tragedy of unspeakable proportions. We grieve for all of those who have been affected by this horror.

After Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, Melville wrote a poem that expresses as best we can the force of our emotion in the wake of this horror. He wrote, "There is a sobbing of the strong, and a pall upon the land. But the people in their weeping bare the iron hand. Beware the people weeping when they bare the iron hand."

The cowards who planned and executed the attack and any state that harbors them should be aware and beware of our iron hand, because they will pay.

As a Congress we will lock arms, we will rally behind our President and we will confront terror as one, because freedom will prevail.

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

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

Mr. President, we are wholeheartedly entrusting you with the most powerful military the world has ever known. We are doing so because we trust him to use this force with certainty, with swiftness, with judiciousness, and firmly, to make it perfectly clear that this country and the world will not tolerate again what happened on Tuesday.

Mr. President, I want to encourage you to continue to work closely with Congress. This is not just your travails you face. These are our travails. These are the travails of the entire country. Mr. President, we will work together with you to help you succeed because your success will be our success as a country.

There are Members of Congress, Democrat and Republican, who are anxious to work with you to address the very difficult details in terms of the military issues, the diplomatic issues, the economic issues, the judicial issues we all face as we launch into this new stage in fighting terrorism.

Mr. President, we support you this evening, and we look forward to continuing to work closely with you.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair would advise all Members to address the Chair and not the President directly.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CANTOR).

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. On Tuesday, unspeakable acts of violence were committed against innocent Americans. As we mourn the loss of these Americans, we stand united behind our President. I send my condolences to the families that are suffering.

I am inspired by those who have given of themselves to assist the victims of this attack. Civilized society has long sought to end the use of violence, but the perpetrators of terrorism and states that harbor them are the enemies of civilized society. They only understand the use of force, and the time has come to speak to them on their terms.

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, the language before us is limited only by the slim anchor of its September 11 reference, but allows war against any and all prospective persons and entities. This resolution shows that the challenges presented by terrorism as war have already begun with language before there is any action.

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

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

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

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, as I listened the other day to my colleagues respond on their own, away from this building, to what had happened, I noticed two overriding themes. One was in a free society that stands as a symbol for freedom of the world, we are uniquely open to the kind of cowardly acts that happened this week.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, it is easy to blame our intelligence agencies for what happened, but as long as we have allowed Osama bin Laden and others to sit there in safety, launching attack after

attack against America, some of those attacks will be successful. We must demand that the Taliban government hand Osama bin Laden and his henchmen over to us now and stop harboring terrorists. If they refuse, then we must initiate hostilities. We will prevail by aligning ourselves with the Northern Alliance. Hostilities with the Taliban may involve American casualties, but failure to act will involve thousands and tens of thousands of American casualties.

□ 1830

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This unspeakable act on the United States has forced me, however, to rely on my moral compass, my conscience, and my God for direction. September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am convinced that

military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States. This is a very complex and complicated matter.

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this resolution to use force.

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

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

In 1795, British statesman Edmund Burke said, "All that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing." The same holds true today. The free nations of the world must seize this opportunity and work together to end the evil of terrorism. As the rock of freedom in the world, America must lead the charge.

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

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding time, and I join my colleagues in support of this resolution authorizing the use of military force. Our American public and the free world look to us today for leadership and swift action. We cannot and we will not fail them. The sheer horror of the events that transpired in New York and the Pentagon are unprecedented in our history and they demand strong, decisive and deliberate action. Anything less is an abrogation of our responsibility as con-

gressional leaders and would be interpreted by those who have utter disdain for our country, for our institutions, and for our people as a failure of resolve and the ultimate sign of weakness.

Our enemies, whoever and wherever they are, and those who harbor them, must clearly understand that we will never tolerate the acts of terrorism, acts of war, that have been perpetrated upon us and they must understand that there is no escape from American justice.

Inaction is capitulation. Of one thing I am certain, we as Americans will never capitulate to terrorism or to any interest that looks to destroy our Nation. There comes a time when action and force become an absolute necessity. The families of those who died in this unspeakable horror, mothers, fathers, children, old and young, deserve to know that they did not die in vain. From this day forward we are a wiser, changed people, stronger, more united, firm in our commitment to our government, our country, our freedom, and to justice. Fear must not be allowed to rule us.

God bless America.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the learned gentleman from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON).

Mr. ISAKSON. I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, the book of Ecclesiastes tells us that for everything there is a time: a time for love, a time for hate.

On Tuesday morning, an expression of hate, unbelievable and unparalleled in all of our lifetimes, took place as Americans were used as instruments against Americans in a horrible toll of life and tragedy. On behalf of the sixth district of the State of Georgia and the United States of America, I rise in support of a resolution to give our President the full authority to respond and act to this act of hate and violence.

Mr. Speaker, the last thing I did before I walked to this Chamber was to call Brandi Unger, 13 years old, in Roswell, Georgia, to thank her for the letter she sent to me and the President and the handful of dollars she raised this past week to help America to fight this evil.

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

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

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. There are many facets of it, but I would only like to focus on one. We know the hijackers had ties to Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda organization. We must do whatever it takes, including the use of mili-

tary force, to track down bin Laden and destroy his organization. But this is not just about bin Laden. There are other radical groups that engage in terrorism, including Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad. To win the war against terrorism, we must eliminate the entire infrastructure that sustains these organizations. This will involve getting tough with governments that aid and harbor terrorists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we go on the offensive. And we commit our sons and daughters to that enormous chore. This week, a reporter caught a citizen in New York taking dust off a car and putting it into a jar and he asked, "Is that your



car?" The citizen said, "No. These are my friends. We have lost our friends." It is time to put an end to this madness.

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

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

Unlike the terrorists who attacked the innocent, our response will be against the guilty. The U.S. Constitution carefully divides the power to wage war between Congress and the President. I am confident that the resolution before us today strikes the appropriate balance between the President and Congress. It gives the President flexibility as Commander in Chief to conduct military operations as he sees fit, but it also requires the President to consult and report to Congress. It retains the important 60-day limit on military action without further congressional approval.

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

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

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

□ 1845

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We also know that our response to these attacks will require great sacrifice. Our troops, who have long earned our respect and admiration, will be called again into harm's way and will need our unwavering support. Ordinary Americans, already sacrificing so much in the loss of those they love and in their commitment to supporting

our Nation, will be called upon to sacrifice still more. This battle will be long and difficult, and it will require concerted resolve from all Americans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yes, this is retaliation.

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

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

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

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

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

And may God bless the United States of America.

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

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, the United States sustained, but heroically withstood, a terrorist attack of unprecedented magnitude. Make no mistake about it: this was not only an attack committed against this Nation as the leader of the free world, but was also an assault against all of humanity, against our very civilization as we know it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These terrorist attacks were clearly a crime against humanity. What does a democracy do to punish criminals? We put them on trial. If found guilty, we imprison them. The U.S. military action should be centered on arresting the responsible parties and the Government placing the suspects on trial.

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

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

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

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

(Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

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

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

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

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

God bless America.

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

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

Then, just as now, our Nation rose up as one to respond to a horrific incident with steadfast determination to defend ourselves and to find and punish the aggressors. The resolution before us gives the President authority to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided in these terrorist attacks. Make no mistake about

it: the cowardly terrorists responsible for bringing harm to our American family will be punished.

A force resolution was presented to Congress in 1991 which did not receive my support, for I felt the situation lacked the gravity required before we put our men and women in uniform in harm's way. Our borders were not at risk of an invasion; our citizens were not in imminent danger.

The tragic events of this week have violated all these precepts. We must respond swiftly and with force against those who maimed and killed innocent Americans, men, women and children.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to vote to endorse this resolution.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the learned gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS).

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

Mr. Speaker, a formal authorization for use of force now is just that, a formality. We have now been in war and have been since Tuesday morning. As Americans, we did not seek this war, but we will not shirk from defending our country. Let us go forth with confidence; let us go forth with resolve, to seek down these murderers, to destroy them, and to destroy their ability to repeat Tuesday's dastardly attack.

Our response must encompass not only those who perpetrated the crime, but those who supported it, and all those who have sheltered and provided resources to these killers. In this, I am confident all America is united.

May God be with us.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the distinguished ranking member of our Committee on House Administration.

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

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

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

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

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese admiral who planned that treachery remarked, "I fear all we have done is awaken a sleeping giant and filled him with terrible resolve."

Mr. Speaker, our national resolve expressed in the resolution before us is equally determined, and those responsible for these depraved attacks have every reason to fear it.



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

□ 1900

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. CASTLE, Mr. Speaker, I also rise in strong support for this resolution authorizing the use of military force against those who attacked our Nation on September 11, 2001. On this day of national remembrance and mourning, we must act to ensure that those who have lost their lives in these horrific acts of violence have not died in vain.

Earlier today, we heard the words of our spiritual leaders reassuring us and giving us solace at this difficult time. Now, as the Nation's political leaders, we must act.

We do so with the devastation of these attacks fresh in our minds. New York Mayor Giuliani reported that nearly 5,000 people have been reported missing. At the Pentagon, over 100 are dead or still missing. We must not forget those innocent people aboard the planes, nearly 200 killed. If these estimates hold true, they would amount to twice as many casualties as those suffered in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Their deaths cannot go unanswered, or more Americans will die the next time terrorists want to champion their unjust cause at our expense. The United States must respond with our full might and force to destroy these terrorists and all who give them aid and safe harbor.

Today, the House of Representatives will authorize the President of the United States to use the Armed Forces against those nations and organizations responsible for Tuesday's destruction. Mr. Speaker, it is our responsibility, our duty, to empower our President to act and act decisively.

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

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

Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution. On September 11 we lost more American lives than on any single day in history. Terrorism must be stopped around the world.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution to approve the use of American military force in response of the attacks this week on our Nation and her people.

Earlier today, I joined with our civilian and military leadership at the National Cathedral for the prayer service in mourning for the victims of Tuesday's attacks. The Reverend Billy Graham was absolutely correct to observe that the assault that was meant to tear us apart has instead joined us together. Our Nation has come together to grieve for the dead, the injured and the missing, and we all weep at the incomprehensible suffering that has been inflicted on the American family. This collective mourning is a necessary and healthy process to help us recover as a people and face the difficult days ahead.

But as the Scripture teaches us, "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven." The time to mourn will pass. And the time to act will come.

I support this resolution because America must act. America must act deliberately and with decisive force to strike down the terrorist enemy. America must act to protect our country from this new danger whose evil knows no bounds. America must act to eliminate the threat of terrorist attack on our people wherever that threat may exist.

I support this resolution because this Congress must come together—Democrats and Republicans alike—to stand side by side with our Nation's Commander in Chief as he leads our military into the most challenging campaign we have ever faced. We must come together on a bipartisan basis to support our brave young men and women in uniform, some of whom may not live to see our victory over this enemy.

I support this resolution, but this Congress and the American people must understand that we are embarking on a very dangerous mission whose duration is unknown and whose outcome is not foreordained. Our enemies in this war hide in the shadows and retreat to the far reaches of the Earth. Our enemies do not have the courage to face us in open combat so our military leaders will need

to adapt a new approach to win this war. But I strongly support this resolution because America must stand up once and for all and state to the world: no one with the means and the will to threaten the American people will be tolerated—anywhere on the face of the Earth.

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

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

After the attacks of this week, many Americans recalled Pearl Harbor. I thought of the Battle of Britain and Hitler's indiscriminate bombings of London. Churchill's words still so powerfully resonant: "He hopes by killing so many numbers of civilians and women and children that he will terrorize and cow the people of this mighty imperial city. Little does he know the spirit of the British nation or the tough fiber of the Londoners who have been bred to value freedom above their own lives."

So true of America. Little do these petty tyrants and murderers know the spirit of the American people or the tough fiber of the New Yorkers, our defense workers, or the civilians who spared further casualties by taking down the hijackers and their own plane over Pennsylvania.

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

"What he has done," as Churchill has said, "is to kindle a fire in hearts here and all over the world which will glow long after all traces of the conflagrations he has caused have been removed."

What these petty tyrants do not understand and have never understood is that for all of our rough-and-tumble public discourse, we are one people, under one President, and capable of greater single-mindedness of purpose than any repressive regime.

We will not relinquish our freedoms of speech, assembly, and religion, nor sacrifice our precious right of privacy or way of life. "The price of freedom is high, and Americans have always paid

it." President Kennedy said. We pay it still.

This is the battle of America. The enemy may be new, but the fight has always been the same. Our government, our democracy, is premised on basic human freedoms, on the right of the governed to control their own national destiny. The Civil War tested whether any Nation so conceived could long endure. We have endured. We will go on, with growing confidence that we can fight terrorism wherever we find it and strengthened by the conviction that the generation of Americans now being tested will not falter or flag.

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

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of this joint resolution authorizing the use of military force against those responsible for the September 11, 2001 terrorist acts against our country.

We are about to make what, for most of us, will be the most important vote in our time as Members of Congress. Authorizing the use of force is a monumental event, and its significance should not be minimized. This resolution is not about vengeance; it is about victory, it is about winning a war against an enemy that is actively seeking to kill American citizens and destroy our way of life.

We are not naive. The use of force has many risks, but we risk more by doing nothing. This resolution acknowledges that the world is a different place today, but we have the ability and the will to win a war against terrorism. The security of American lives requires us to succeed. I urge adoption of this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Nevada (Ms. BERKLEY), a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

Ms. BERKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my strongest support for this resolution authorizing the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001.

Today I stand in solidarity with my colleagues, with the administration, and my countrymen in defending America, in promising to seek justice and revenge on those who planned, authorized, committed or aided the vicious agents of evil who carried out these terrorist attacks. It is a war we are ready to wage; it is a war we must win.

America stands ready to fight against terrorism wherever it rears its ugly head. Ours is not a war against a people or a religion, but it is a war against those that would enslave the minds of men and sow the seeds of hate and fear. I am confident that those who cherish freedom will heed our call to join us in our fight against international terrorism, and I am equally confident that we will make these cow-

ardly terrorists suffer the wrath of a determined Nation.

No one can perpetrate such devastation on the United States of America and escape unscathed. To these blights on humanity, let me say this: This Nation will hunt you down and we will find you, and when we do, we will hit you once and, if we have to, again, and a third time. We make this oath to you today with a saddened heart, but with firm resolve. We will be victorious. Nothing less than our freedom depends on it.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), the chairman of the Committee on Rules.

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, it now appears that Tuesday's attacks will have taken over 5,000 of our friends, family, and neighbors. Five thousand innocents murdered because they were Americans. If this does not call for an American military action of some sort, then I do not know what does. We are talking about nearly double the number of people who were killed in Pearl Harbor and, clearly, the largest military attack on American civilians in our Nation's history.

A well-funded international terrorist organization has declared war on us, and we can do no less than fight this enemy as we would any Nation that had committed the same atrocities. Whether it is tomorrow, next week, or next month, we know that the only message that these butchers will understand is a timely decisive show of American might. Our decision to take action will not be made in haste. We will pinpoint those responsible and make our judgment swift and effective.

This is not about revenge, Mr. Speaker. It is a means of ensuring that those who would wreak acts of terror upon the United States know the price of their barbarity. America is the world's symbol of freedom, of prosperity. The idea that is America has been savagely attacked, and we have an obligation to the world to defend the values we embody.

Nations across the world have offered their condolences, their prayers, and pledges of logistical support should we choose to take military action. They know that the next attack may not be New York or Washington, but Brussels or London. We have the responsibility and the power to bring these terrorists to justice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 1915

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

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

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

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

What they are about to learn is that America's fighting men are the most powerful warriors in the history of the world. Tonight I will solemnly and with deep humility vote to give our President the power to use all necessary and appropriate force to vanquish the enemies of our peace. May God have mercy on their souls, because the United States of America will not.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I served in the Congress during the heated debates about Presidential powers during the war in Vietnam. As a consequence of the differing opinions that were so heatedly fought on this floor, the War Powers Act was enacted. It clarified specifically what the Presidential powers were, and to what extent the responsibility of the Congress was to review those actions taken by the President.

We are here today to authorize President Bush to take such powers and such actions as may be necessary in order to find a way to punish, to retaliate against those who caused all this damage on the soil of America, and we

join the President in our eagerness to give him that authority.

But I want to make sure that I understand this resolution. I have read it a dozen times over, because I want to make sure that the War Powers Act that we enacted right after the conflagration in Vietnam is not in any way jeopardized.

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

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

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

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

As our great Nation pulls together, let us be careful not to turn to hate or stereotyping. Justice must and will be carried out, but it will be against those who deserve it, the savage radical terrorists, not against our fellow Arab and Muslim citizens and friends here and around the world.

In that spirit, I urge my colleagues to pass this resolution unanimously.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK).

(Mrs. MEEK of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the joint resolution. By passing this resolution we say, never again. We stand shoulder to shoulder with President Bush, our Commander in Chief, firmly united in our resolve to identify and punish all nations who harbor hatred to our country.

Mr. Speaker, that is our highest duty. This can be our finest hour. This afternoon this House took a major step toward winning this war when it unanimously passed the \$40 billion emergency supplemental. Now we take the

next necessary step, authorizing the President to use all necessary force to prevent any further acts.

Mr. Speaker, as I noted yesterday, Americans have always known that freedom is not free. It often comes with a tremendous cost, and often imposes a tremendous responsibility. Throughout our history, Pearl Harbor, Gettysburg, from the founding of our constitutional democracy, our citizens have always been willing to pay that price. We are ready to pay that price, Mr. Speaker. We will never forget the sacrifices of all the victims of terror. We will honor their sacrifices by waging and winning the war against terrorism.

Sixty years ago, after he learned of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Winston Churchill quoted a remark made to him: "The United States is like a gigantic boiler. Once the fire is lighted under it, there is no limit to the power we can generate. It will be generated."

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the majority whip.

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

Mr. Speaker, Members should support this resolution because it affirms the President's authority to firmly direct America as we identify, isolate, and eliminate the networks of terrorism. This international network of terror is a cancer growing on the heart of every free Nation.

We must hand President Bush the tools that he needs to defeat our enemies. We must fortify our Armed Forces with the certain knowledge that a united America marches behind them, and we must convince our enemies that America will ultimately vindicate freedom, no matter how depraved, twisted, or evil our enemy's ideology may be.

We do not walk an easy road. Our Nation faces a long and demanding conflict with forces of determined evil, but the fiber of our American spirit and the strength of our faith will sustain us as we do what needs to be done to protect freedom and secure victory.

Every American should anticipate and prepare for a prolonged and sustained campaign. They should understand that this war will be measured in years, not months. They should prepare themselves for additional assaults at home. They should expect casualties as we take the battle to our enemies.

But they should take pride and draw confidence from the great reservoir of American patriotism and resolve. We are made of sterner things than our enemies know. We will show the world that we retain the qualities that made us the leader of the free world. We will do it by holding firm to our mission. Deeds, not words, will save America and the free world.

When the President draws that sword of American justice, he needs to do it with all of us standing right beside him. Mr. Speaker, this resolution rallies our Nation behind the President, and I ask the Members to support it.

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

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

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation extending to the President the authority to take the steps necessary to respond against those persons, organizations or nations responsible for the attacks against America last Tuesday.

I believe this authority fully complies with Congress' constitutional and statutory authority in authorizing the use of force in the defense of the Nation. It is necessary, I believe, to send a message loud and clear that the President and the Congress of the United States are committed to employing the full resources of the Nation to both respond and ensure that our adversaries who undertook and/or aided in the attacks of September 11, 2001, will be held responsible and prevented from future atrocities against America.

Passage of this bill tonight will signal to these ruthless forces that the United States is fully committed and has done so without compromising our Constitution, laws or ideals. While September 11, 2001, has caused great pain and agony for the Nation, it has not and will not defeat our resolve or our commitment to freedom and democracy.

The fight may be long, it may be tough and costly, but we will know from tonight forward that it will be right.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. KENNEDY).

Mr. KENNEDY of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this bill. President Kennedy once said in his inaugural address that: "In the long history of the world, only a few generations of Americans have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shirk from that responsibility. I welcome it."

We are once again called upon to defend freedom in an hour of maximum danger. My son, Charles, in a recent college application essay, noted that Americans have always risen to the challenge, from settling this rugged land and gaining independence until today.

Freedom again is challenged. We owe it to my son, Charles, and all our children to rise to this challenge so that they can live in a land where freedom is safe.

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. BROWN).

(Ms. BROWN of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. I would like to do so with caution. This is a resolution that comes with a tremendous amount of responsibility. I support the President, but we are treading on new grounds here today. As my favorite scripture says, "To whom God has given much, much is expected." Let me repeat that. "To whom God has given much, much is expected."

On September 11, for the first time in 175 years, the capital of the world's greatest military power was attacked. This was a well-thought-out and organized attack, and it demands a well-organized and powerful response.

Members of this group that designed this attack cannot go unpunished. Nor can the Nations that trained, supported or gave them shelter. The United States must deliver a swift and immediate response to this horrible act against the people of this great Nation. God bless America.

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

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

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

By enacting this resolution, we speak with one voice. We are united behind our common cause and against our common foe. We should not take lightly the great effort that we set in motion here today. Indeed, each of us must give pause in our hearts as we start the men and women of our Armed Forces down this path.

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

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

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

(Ms. WOOLSEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

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

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

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

□ 1930

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. BONO).

Mrs. BONO. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of this resolution. As sons and daughters of what has been called the "Greatest Generation," many of us grew up in awe of those giants of the 20th century, common citizens who performed uncommon deeds of valor and gallantry that secured our Nation and the world's freedom. We thought bravery of this kind was found only in our history books and in the memories of our veterans. This week, our generation confronts our own challenge, and it is a challenge of enormous consequence. Now our generation will be given the chance to rise to the occasion and make the "Greatest Generation" proud.

We confront an enemy that is a threat to the civilized people of our times. Once our Nation rose to stave off tyranny. Now we must employ all our resources to stave off terror and fanaticism. We will answer this duty, and we will not go quietly and softly into the good night.

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

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, in a strict sense, this resolution is not necessary, because the Constitution makes the President commander in chief; and as such, he has the power to strike back when our country is struck, as it was struck on September 11, and the War Powers Act confirms that power.

Even though the President can retaliate without this resolution, he is far stronger with it. This is our way of saying that we are together in this cause. We approve the mission. We are one in our resolve. By this resolution, we say that unmistakably to the whole world, friends and foe alike.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and we are patient and we are in this for the long haul.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I urge support of this resolution. God bless America.

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

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

Mr. LARGENT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. In the immediate future our task is clear: we must wipe out terrorism and all those who support it. Under the U.S. Constitution, this body's overriding responsibility is to protect the security of American citizens. We must go to whatever lengths are necessary to hunt down and destroy those responsible for these attacks.

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

fertile grounds for the development of future terrorists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must develop a vision for American involvement in the 21st century, for "without a vision the people perish." Without question or wealth and power make us the leader of the free world, but we must also lead the free world.

As President Reagan said, "Great nations have responsibilities to lead, and we should always be cautious of those who would lower our profile, because they might just wind up lowering our flag."

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

What this means for the coming battle is that we must target terrorists and the structures that support them, not the citizens of nations who, in many cases, are already suffering under repressive regimes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOODLATTE).

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution authorizing the use of force. The recent attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon leave our Nation horrified and angry. Our hearts grieve for the victims and for families who have lost loved ones to these acts of terrorism. But through this tragedy, we will see America at her finest.

The wave of patriotism rising across the Nation exposes a fierce determination that we will not back down in the face of cowardly attacks. These attacks are solemn reminders that there are people who begrudge America for her stands for democracy and freedom.

I fully support President Bush in his pledge to hunt down those responsible for these despicable actions and hold them accountable, and we must hold no distinction for these despicable terrorists and the countries that protect them.

Mr. Speaker, may God bless America.

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

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

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I too rise in support of this resolution. But of all

the important votes I have had to cast, this one scares me the most because we do not ultimately know the true magnitude of this challenge or its true cost.

This is the beginning of a prolonged and lengthy fight against terrorism. I am confident that we will win most of these battles, but we should anticipate losing some as well, as we did last Tuesday. This resolution is not about retaliation or revenge, this is a matter of self-defense.

Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday, our ship of state was hit. And while we will not sink, we were bloodied on our own soil. Now it is time for all hands to be on deck, not just here in the United States but amongst all the civilized nations in the world as we band together to defend ourselves against international terrorism.

Our President has requested this authority, and he will get it. And may God bless those men and women in uniform who will be asked to carry out this task.

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

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

□ 1945

Sometimes, as now, in the short term a terrible swift sword is also necessary. America now recalls the words of Franklin Roosevelt 60 years ago when he said, "This generation has a rendezvous with destiny."

We defeated evil then. We will defeat evil now. Our generation has accepted a rendezvous with this destiny; and that is to rid the world of these plagues.

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

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

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

America is based on a Constitution and our laws. Under Section 2(c)(3) of the War Powers Act, the President already has the ability to use the military to respond to an attack upon our

country and our Armed Forces. Nothing in the resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Act. The President has authority to respond against those who perpetrated the acts on September 11.

Under the resolution of force pending today, Congress will reserve the right to review the President's plans and actions. But make no mistake, this Congress will stand behind our young men and women in uniform who may be put in harm's way and we will stand with President Bush as Commander in Chief. I hope and pray the President will use the awesome force of the United States with great deliberation and wisdom.

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

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

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

Today we undoubtedly will approve the mobilization of our Nation's sons and daughters to combat, to injury, pain, sacrifice and death. There is no glory in our vote this evening, only duty.

We have a solemn duty to protect our shores, our countrymen, and our liberties. We step away from the rhetoric this dark September night to commit ourselves to a national sacrifice with this vote to a sustained commitment of lives, liberties, and provisions necessary to preserve those things we here subscribe.

Many of the men and women in the service of our Nation are in the springtime of their lives. But to many in my generation, Pearl Harbor was an exam question, Korea a backdrop for a TV rerun, and Vietnam a blurry scene cobbled together by Hollywood and an oldies radio station. To many Americans, the Gulf War seemed like a sustained video game writ large in ticker tape parades, precision bombs, and talk of future bloodless wars.

Mr. Speaker, the future is here and this war is bloody indeed. Our Nation is ready. Our forces are prepared. The public is supportive and Congress stands together as one. Godspeed to the President and God bless America.

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

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

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I stand in strong support of this resolution.

There is no question that we are strongly united. I have been in this House for almost 20 years, and I have not seen so much unity, not only among the House Members, but throughout this great country.

We have to realize that 2 days ago, the dreams and hopes of many young

men and women and people of this country were destroyed by the acts of these terrorists.

I had a chance to go visit the Pentagon yesterday. I could see the civilian agencies locally, nationally, our military working and singing from the same page. It is distressing to see that many families lost their fathers, mothers, uncles and many families.

The best thing I can say to those terrorists is do not mess with the U.S.A.

God bless America.

I rise in support of the resolution, the first step this Congress will take to exact retribution for the act of war committed upon this nation, striking at the heart of our financial and military centers and taking dead aim at our political center.

Let Congress' message ring very loud to those responsible for this act of war: we recognize it as such—and the people's representatives respond in kind.

We have been hit hard, and we have lost family, friends, children, mothers, fathers, and many dreams died.

We lost our innocence to a large degree; and the number of people we lost exceeds the casualties of Pearl Harbor.

This resolution respects the Constitutional power to declare war, the most awesome responsibility given to Congress.

Since we have yet to discover definitive proof of all those responsible—including nations which gave Osama bin Laden safe harbor—we must give the administration the authority to pursue these international criminals until we have the information we need to declare war.

I have seen the morale of the emergency workers at the Pentagon and seen the looks of grim determination on the faces of those who work there every day.

They are now helping clean up the mess and recover the bodies of their comrades in arms.

Their morale is very high

The morale of the nation is very high.

This is a hard decision for Congress to make—usually.

Today the decision is not so difficult.

These terrorists brought their destruction to bear inside our borders.

As the Ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Readiness Subcommittee, let me offer my advice to my colleagues.

We must not telegraph our punches.

Here's what that means: we don't tell the enemy how we will conduct our campaign, nor what kind of force to expect.

It will be swift, overwhelming and deadly, but let that be all we tell bin Laden and his bunch.

Let us give our military the money they need and send them to do what they do best: fight and win wars.

Our armed services have some of the most talented people in the nation, capable of doing whatever mission we need done.

Most importantly, let them utilize the element of surprise, which, as we all know is a brutally effective part of the arsenal.

Finally, a word to the people who perpetrated this act of war.

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

We are a nation of laws, not people.



It is our ideas and our commitment to liberties and democracy that bind us together under our Constitution.

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

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

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

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

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

Your power is in hate and wealth.

We will win.

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

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

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

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

Mr. ENGLISH. Mr. Speaker, Psalm 71 says, "Bring to a shameful end those who attack me. Cover with contempt and scorn those who seek my ruin."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Will we scurry back to where we came, or will we hold our heads high

and proud and march forward to battle those who threaten our way of life? With this resolution, we have answered the question.

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

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS) with whom I share pride in having been an officer in the United States Army in the past.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Mr. PRICE of North Carolina asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

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

In responding as swiftly and surely as our military might permits, we must do our utmost to protect innocent civilians, a principle that stands in stark contrast to the practice of our brutal adversaries. We must carry out mili-

tary action within the parameters of the Constitution and the War Powers Act, as this resolution provides. We must punish those heinous acts of Tuesday, acts as close to absolute evil as any of us will ever witness, and we must prevent anything like this from ever happening again—rooting out terrorism even as we renew our Nation's commitment to alleviating the world's suffering and injustice and serving as a beacon of hope to all humankind.

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

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

(Ms. WATERS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. President, with this power, the decisions you will make will determine the future of this Nation and perhaps the world. May God bless you with restraint and compassion to make wise

decisions, and may God have mercy on your soul if you do not understand the awesome power that you have been afforded by the Members of Congress who are placing our trust in you on behalf of the American people.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are filled with grief, yet buoyed by pride. Like all Americans, I want to right this wrong and to avenge these cold, calculated killings. While this might seem a forgone conclusion to the overwhelming majority of those home and abroad watching and awaiting our decision, this is the single most difficult obligation for a Member of this House to fulfill. In approving

this measure, one is reaffirming one's support for our nation, our President, our military leadership, and expressing our collective outrage and defiance on behalf of the thousands of American families that have been torn apart. In this respect, this is an easy decision. But, as Members of Congress, we do not have the luxury of reacting solely on emotion.

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

Moreover, tonight each Member has the additional burden of knowing that in approving this measure we are not only responding to this action, but we will be embracing a monumental change in U.S. policy. With this resolution, we declare that we will no longer draw any distinctions, limiting our response to those individuals who materially participate in an act of hatred and cowardice against the United States and its citizens. We are clearly at a point of demarcation in U.S. foreign policy. From this point forward, we say to the world, choose sides. Either you join us in the singular purpose of rooting out and destroying these merchants of fear and networks of hate, or we will regard you as a co-conspirator and, as such, you will be subject to the same fate as the perpetrators.

Again, this seemingly simple adjustment is no insignificant matter. This is a major policy shift which presents numerous challenges. This resolution will change the tone and tenor forever. This was an attack on civility and as such it will require a monumental effort. It will require us to have the fortitude and strength of resolve to see it through to its conclusion, without regard for the unavoidable unpleasantities. We must stay the course. To deviate or to shy away would surely risk exposing our nation, our citizens and life as we know it to far greater dangers.

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

This was not just an attack on New York City, the Pentagon or even America, but rather an attack on civilization, itself. It marks an escalation which cannot be ignored. We must join the other nations in an all out fight against these enemies of society. I applaud President Bush and Secretary Powell's efforts to reach

out and build international support. We must spare no efforts to seek the full support and cooperation of allies, as well as friend and foe in the Arab world. This effort will certainly require an unprecedented level of diplomatic cohesion and demonstration of political sensitivity. Failure to gain the support and cooperation of the international community will surely limit our effectiveness and expose this nation to grave dangers. We can ill afford to become isolated in this pursuit.

As a nation, America has slumbered in the naive belief inherent in our decisive military might, superior technology and the safe labor provided by the great expanse of open ocean. Heretofore, we have been afforded the luxury of remaining unsoiled by the dirty business of hatred so common in a majority of the world today. On Tuesday, we were rudely awakened, our naive sense of security shattered by the ugly realities of terror.

We did not choose this course of our own volition, but having seen evil's face we must be resolved to join the fight with everything we can muster.

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

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

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Nebraska for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I support this resolution. I support this legislation. However, we ought to be here this evening debating a declaration of war. Somebody once said that if it walks like a duck, if it quacks like a duck, if it looks like a duck, then it is a duck.

This is war. The President has said it is war. The Secretary of State has said it is war. The Secretary of Defense has said it is war. Former government officials have said it is war. The American people know it is war. There is one way and one way only, Mr. Speaker, to respond to acts of war, and that is to declare war. Give the President the tools, the absolute flexibility he needs under international law and The Hague Convention to ferret these people out wherever they are, however he finds them, and get it done as quickly as possible. We need a declaration of war.

I urge my colleagues to keep that in mind and to support a declaration of war above and beyond this power that we will give the President this evening.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, it was our friend, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. SAM JOHNSON, who served about 6 years in Hanoi as a prisoner of war. He states that on his cell wall he had a little statement that said, "Freedom has

a taste to it to those who fought and almost died that the protected will never understand."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A formal authorization to pursue the criminals and their cohorts who committed these inhumane and incomprehensible acts is our collective statement about our national will. It is a will that reflects a national crusade that will inevitably prevail. I have no doubt about that. But we should be mindful that our national will should not be displayed with anger; it should be pursued in the name of justice. We do not take this step in the name of vengeance. We take it in the full confidence that we are a special people, called upon to safeguard freedom and democracy here and abroad.

It is a mark of our strength that we do not use military strength lightly. It is a mark of our democracy that we take this step now and in the future together with the President. It is a mark of our people that we marshal the resources, the courage and the wisdom to prevail, not to assuage our anger but to make the world safe for everyone.

Support the resolution. Support the President. Support our men and women who are working around the clock to defend us all.

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

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend from Nebraska for yielding me time.

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

Terrorism is not confined to a single organization or a single group or a specific sect. All terrorists, even those not directly connected to this week's attacks, are a deadly threat and must be neutralized. We cannot win the war against international terrorism unless we fight on all fronts. This resolution, while helpful in some ways, ties the President's hands and allows only the pursuit of one individual and his followers and supporters. I am disappointed that this limited resolution does not respond adequately to the need to protect the lives of freedom-loving people around the world.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to my good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, this time of great peril has brought forth the best in our people, from those who rescue and heal and protect at ground zero, to those who across America raise flags, collect donations and give blood. But times of peril can also cause our well-justified anger and desire for immediate action to overwhelm democratic safeguards erected over the last 2 centuries. The tension that we face tonight is to provide the President with enough authority to eradicate wrongdoing without wronging the carefully crafted systems of checks and balances so essential to our democracy. Neither should this body lightly yield the power of the purse by granting unlimited access to the public treasury to the executive.

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

the distinguished vice chairman of the Committee on International Relations. Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker. I thank my good friend for yielding time.

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

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

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

Today, it is all too clear that our initiatives have fallen short. And now, Mr. Speaker, the task of mitigating and ultimately ending the terrorist threat requires the strongest medicine of all. It is time to take the gloves off. This resolution urges the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those who were in any way responsible for or who aided the terrorists and to prevent further acts of terrorism against the United States.

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

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Finally, Mr. Speaker, we need to take heed from the ageless wisdom in Psalm 37, where David writes:

"For evil men will be cut off, but those who hope in the Lord will inherit the land. . . . The wicked plot against the righteous and gnash their teeth at them; but the Lord laughs at the wicked, for he knows their day is coming. The wicked draw the sword and bend the bow to bring down the poor and needy, to slay those who are upright. But their swords will pierce their own hearts, and the bows will be broken. . . . for the power of the wicked will be broken."

The days of the blameless are known to the Lord. . . . In times of disaster

they will not wither. . . . but the wicked will perish. I have seen a wicked and ruthless man flourishing like a green tree in its native soil, but he soon passed away and was no more; though I looked for him, he could not be found.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paraphrasing Winston Churchill: let us brace ourselves for our duties, and with justice, with firmness, with patience and fairness. Some day they may say this was their finest hour.

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

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

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

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

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

It is the duty of all of us to honor the victims of this tragedy by using this international spirit to do everything possible to stop the scourge of terrorism.

Our President has shown leadership, prudence, wisdom, and courage in his response to the crisis. This resolution empowers our President and our men and women in uniform to win this war against terrorism and ensure freedom for our country and the world.

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I was proud of my President and our President, George Bush, today in New York; I was proud of him in the National Cathedral; and I am proud of our country. The terrorists may have

taken a bite out of the Big Apple on Tuesday, but they are the ones that are rotten to the core.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yesterday I had the grim task of going to the Pentagon and looking at the rubble and seeing the grave, the unexpected grave, of almost 200 of our citizens buried beneath all the bricks and mortar and concrete. In this collection of dust, one of the workers who had been there for some time asked me, he said, "Tell me, we have been iso-

lated here, we have been on premises, we don't have access to TV and radio; what are the American people saying, what are they thinking, what are you folks, members of Congress, hearing from back home?"

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

This legislation gives us that opportunity. It is essential.

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

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from the State of Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT).

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

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, there is an old Arab adage, "Vengeance is best served cold." The procedure we are dealing with here is red hot.

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

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

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

Think about it for a minute. Watch who kills the most prey, the bull or the lion. Because the lion is quiet and watching, does not mean he is asleep.

I will support this, but I will also reserve the right as Gaylord Nelson and Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse did, the right to vote against funding if the President is not careful and does not plan carefully.

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

Mr. SCHROCK. Mr. Speaker, as the representative of our Nation's largest naval installation and home of the Nation's highest concentration of active duty and retired military, I stand today in support of this resolution. The decision to use force against any and all terrorists will require that many families in the district I represent will sacrifice time away from their loved ones. In some cases, even the lives of their loved ones may be lost in pursuit of our goal to rid the world of terrorists, their supporters and those who harbor them.

This is very humbling to me; but terrorists declared war against our Nation, and, as they have for more than 2 centuries, the people of Hampton Roads, Virginia, stand ready to defend our country, to seek out terrorists and ensure they pay the ultimate penalty for their acts of evil.

We are a peaceful, freedom-loving Nation; but we have the right to self-defense. We will defend and protect our country and its allies by eradicating our planet of this evil.

God bless America.

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

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

Mr. BOYD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. I come here today in a sobering mood.

□ 2030

This is a somber and solemn moment for our Nation. We are about to take an action which will put our Nation's finest in harm's way, but we know what we have to do to prevent additional loss of life and to protect our freedoms.

Mr. Speaker, when I was carrying a rifle in the jungles of Vietnam, I prayed every day that never again would American young people have to go to a foreign soil to fight in combat. But we know what we must do to prevent additional loss of life and to protect our freedoms.

Mr. Speaker, we are angry, but we must not react in anger. We must be calm. We must be patient. Our reaction must be measured, it must be calculated and responsible, and it will be effective.

In our 225-year history, Mr. Speaker, thousands of Americans have given their lives to defend freedom. Each generation has learned that freedom is not free. There is something about America that these thugs do not understand, but they will understand when we complete our mission. May God grant wisdom to the President of the United States and may he grant his protection and blessing to the young, great Americans that have to carry out this mission.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, during the dawning days of this great Republic, one of our founding architects uttered these words:

That these were the days that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink in the service of their country, but he that stands it now deserves the love and the thanks of every man and every woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered, yet in that we have this consolation: and that consolation is that the more difficult the battle, the more glorious the triumph. Those things which we obtain too easily we esteem too lightly. So it would seem strange, indeed, Mr. Speaker, if so celestial an article as freedom were not highly prized.

Mr. Speaker, I offer that tonight as it be as applicable on this resolution as it was on the resolution that Thomas Paine wrote it for.

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

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.J. Res. 64. Today, as Members of Congress, we use words as our weapons. Tomorrow these words must be followed through. The hard work begins.

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I have never been prouder to be an American. God bless America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, today we are authorizing the use of the U.S. military against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against us. We are simply at war. We did not seek this war; but make no mistake, we will respond. We will finish the conflict on our terms, but only after we determine that our enemies have been defeated.

The coming days, weeks and months will continue to test us. We will hear heart-breaking stories, see tragic images. We will continue to say good-bye to American troops as they head off to defend us against terror and those who hate America, those who hate everything that America stands for: freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of democracy.

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

God bless our great country.

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

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

I rise in support of this resolution authorizing our Commander in Chief to bring the full weight and fury of our armed services against the evil parties responsible for the heinous attacks against our citizens.

Just off the rotunda here in the Capitol Building stands a statue, a fellow Pennsylvanian by the name of John

Muhlenberg. In January 1776, this 29-year-old Lutheran minister gave a sermon about the fight for independence in which he quoted Ecclesiastes: "There is an appointed time for everything. And there is a time for every event under heaven: a time for war and a time for peace." Pastor Muhlenberg then concluded his sermon by casting off his clerical robes to reveal the uniform of a Continental Army officer.

Mr. Speaker, as in the founding days of our great Nation, the time for war is upon us. God bless our Nation, and God watch over our citizens who will be going into harm's way.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. WEXLER), a member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. WEXLER. Mr. Speaker, when I put my 8-year-old son to sleep on Tuesday night, he told me his whole body felt like crying. Today, the whole body of America is crying.

As we internalize the depth of the pain and horror inflicted on our people, we cherish life, we cherish freedom, we cherish America. And that is why we must authorize military force to rid the world of the insidious scourge of terrorism, no matter what the cost, no matter how long it takes. I beg God to sustain us and permit us to be the worthy defenders of peace and freedom.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. SUNUNU), a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 2045

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

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

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

Tonight we consider another measure, this one to enable the President, our Commander in Chief, to use whatever means required to bring this crime to justice. For the memory of those who served and the memory of those innocent lives taken so very prematurely, it is the very least we can do. Americans by nature are not a vengeful people, but we need to respond to these attacks so as to ensure that they never happen again.

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

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must destroy their will to fight, not out of revenge, but as a matter of

self-defense. Because terrorists do not defend territory or populations, they cannot be confronted or defeated using traditional means. We cannot expect easy or quick solutions. We must be prepared for a protracted effort to eradicate these cowardly terrorists.

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

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker. I thank my friend, my colleague, and my congressional neighbor, the ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in full support of this resolution. I do it with a heavy heart because of what has been imposed on our Nation. We did not seek this, but we must act.

I do not believe that we act, and I know that I do not, in taking this vote, out of vengeance, because the American people are good and they are decent. They are loving, and they have once again exhibited this face and this character this week in one of the most tragic and challenging moments in our Nation's history.

I believe that this resolution is consistent with the War Powers Act, and that it reiterates the President's authority under the Constitution to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States of America.

I know that this will be long and difficult. I pledge my allegiance to the magnificent people of our country, and I say to the constituents of my magnificent congressional district that we will move ahead united and do what we must in the name of those that gave their lives this week.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, first, I thank you and your colleagues for working so hard with all of us to present a completely united front to our foes and to the world in this time of grave emergency in our country.

I rise to address my colleagues, though today we all know we are more than that. Today, we are all American brothers and sisters, because the family of America has been attacked, and we have gathered together to begin the process of healing and then defending our American family, our beloved Nation.

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

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

The act of terror and inhumanity has produced American heroism that few people have witnessed in their lifetimes. Before our very eyes in the last 3 days we have seen another generation rise to the moral challenge of our time.

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

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

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

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

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

New Yorkers line streets in Manhattan holding signs and flags in celebration of our rescue workers going off to rescue other Americans. Americans descended on emergency centers, set up

by workers from the Red Cross, stood for hours in line so they could give their blood so life could be pumped into the lives of the wounded.

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

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

Congress debates this historic resolution in their spirit and with them for our inspiration and as our guide. We literally and figuratively tonight are following the lead of the American people. Humanity at its best.

Alexis de Tocqueville in the 19th century observed about our country and its people, he said America is great because she is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.

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

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

□ 2100

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

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

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

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

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New

York (Mr. BOEHLERT), the chairman of the Committee on Science.

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

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

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

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

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

(Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I stand committed to working together to build an effective anti-terrorism policy which will make our country and our world safer so that we

will never have a recurrence of the nightmare we experienced last Tuesday again.

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

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

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

The Constitution says that the Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes and to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, to declare war, to provide calling forth the militia to repel invasions. That is what we are doing. But it also provides that the President shall be commander in chief of the forces of this Nation.

I think this resolution says eloquently that we are a Nation of laws; that we respond in a measured way, as provided in the Constitution of the United States; and that we can take pride in our response along with the people in their response to the events of this week.

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

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

In times of tragedy, America pulls together and America gets stronger. We defeated the forces of evil in World War II, we turned economic crisis into economic opportunities and beat the Great Depression, and we can and will defeat these forces too.

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

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

In times of tragedy, America pulls together and America gets stronger.

That is what we are here to do today: to stand united, to say to the world there are no partisans here, only patriarchs. There is no difference between Democrats and Republicans, between the Congress and the President. We are speaking with one voice.

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

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

I just came back from the site of the tragedy in New York City with my colleagues. I saw the horrendous results of the terrorists' unspeakable deeds. And as I stood at ground zero, I was reminded of the scenes of devastation and bombings from World War II. But what cannot be seen in that rubble are the broken families and the fatherless and motherless children left in its wake. We will not let this stand, because to let this stand would be to let civilization itself perish. To let it stand would be to let evil prevail. To let this stand would be to lay down our values of liberty, justice, and freedom.

It has been said that in the long history of the world only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. Tonight, we do not shrink from this responsibility, we embrace it, and in doing so we send a beacon of light to the rest of the world.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. DEAL).

Mr. DEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, by the adoption of this resolution tonight, let us send one very clear message to the world: we are the United States of America. We are the United States. We are united.

□ 2115

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TURNER), the ranking Democrat on the terrorism panel of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution authorizing the President to use all necessary and appropriate force to seek and destroy those who are responsible for the deadly acts of terrorism committed against the American people.

Tonight, every Member of this House and every American stand united.

We want to thank the President for his leadership in this time of national tragedy and national testing of our