CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

September 14, 2001

H5638

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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


Hon. J. Dennis Hastert,
The Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

Dear Mr. Speaker: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 2(b) 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 2:37 p.m.: That the Senate passed without amendment H.R. 2888.

With best wishes, I am
Sincerely,
J. Jeff Trandahl,
Clerk of the House.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

H.R. 233, 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 Supplementary 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 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 deemed to have been agreed to 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 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 international terrorism against the United States: Now, therefore, be it

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

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

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

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

(b) WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REQUIREMENTS.—

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

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

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

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

GENERAL LEAVE

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

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

There was no objection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

These are the times that try men's souls. On September 11, we lost thousands of people, with thousands more injured, and with our 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
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 danger.

Those who 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 the demon of divisiveness 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 convinced 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 necessary 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, and 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 States and the American people in exercising these powers.

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 prepared to take a lead in this war on terrorism? 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 flew 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 United States, and my fellow Americans and the entire world from international fascism and, later, from international communism. Today, I proudly reaffirm my allegiance and reenlist in the 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 words that rang from the bell tower of San Francisco Cathedral on September 11th: we are America, we are resilient 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 real. 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 we must cast this courageous vote.

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

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentle Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the 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. We are clare war against a group that is not a country makes the clear declaration of war more complex.

The best tool the framers of the Constitution provided under these circumstances was the power of Congress to grant a blank check to the President to use any 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. This is 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 identify and act on terrorist. We need 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 rally our 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 pass on 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 not.

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.
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. Their determination, 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 the pain of terror 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. 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 what needed 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 actions that we take 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 the actions that we take by them 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 we 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 own emotion in the wake. 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. Those cowards who 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 judicialness, 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 tonight. 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.
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. We have 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 gentleman from California (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 word: freedom. Two 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 those who did any of those things, paid such an incredible price that they would not be willing to disrupt the freedom of the United States of America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must wage a war against all of the well-organized, well-financed terrorist groups that 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 and with 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.

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

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the authorization for the use of military force. There are no words to describe the anguish we and all Americans feel. Our national spirit has been dampened but not extinguished by the despicable acts of September 11. President Bush has reassured Americans that 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 resolve 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 ½ 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 moral principles and 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 fur- 
ther 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 war without it. However, this does not mean that the use of re- 
sistance is not necessary. 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 implica-
tions 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 beau-
tiful 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 am privileged today in strong support of this resolution to use force.

Earlier this week, war was declared on America. Out of the horror and car-
nage, America has risen united, re-
solved to bring justice to all those re-
sponsible for this evil act. The resolu-
tion before us today authorizes the use of force against those who planned, au-
thorized, committed or aided the dead-
liest attack ever on U.S. soil.

While I strongly support today’s res-
olution in response to the specific at-
tacks that occurred on September 11, I believe that we will have to take addi-
tional action to address future threats. This must only be the beginning of a 
comprehensive war on terrorism.

In a 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 to-
gether 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 gentle-
woman from California (Mrs. NAPOLITANO), a distinguished member of the Com-
mittee on International Relations.

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding time, and I join my colleagues in sup-
port 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 Pen-
tagon, and in Pennsylvania, and they demand strong, decisive and deliber-
ate action. Anything less is an abrogation of our responsibility as con-
gressional leaders and would be inter-
preted by those who have utter disdain for our country, for our institutions, and for our people as a failure of re-
solve and the ultimate sign of weak-
ness.

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 jus-
tice.

Inaction is capitulation. Of one thing I am certain, we as Americans will 
ever capitulate to terrorism or to any 
interest that looks to destroy our Na-
tion. There comes a time when action 
and force become an absolute neces-
sity. The families of those who died in 
this unspeakable horror, mothers, fa-
thers, children, old and young, deserve 
love to know that they did not die in vain. 
From this day forward we are a wiser, 
stronger, and 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 gentle-
man from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON).

Mr. ISAKSON. I thank the distin-
guished 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 
hatred, unbelief 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 sup-
port of a resolution to give our Presi-
dent the full authority to respond and 
act to this thing that must be stopped.

Mr. Speaker, the last thing I did be-
fore 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 gen-
eration, America’s greatest generation, 
fought and defeated the evil of the 1940s, what we have is the freedom and 
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 1 1/2 minutes to the gentle-
man from California (Mr. BERMAN), a 
valued senior member of the Com-
mittee on International Relations.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. There are 
many facets of it, but I would like to focus on one. I know the hijackers 
had ties to Osama bin Laden and his al 
Qaeda organization. We must do what-
ever 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 ter-
rorism, including Hezbollah, Hamas, Is-
lamic Jihad. To win the war against 
terrorism, we must eliminate the en-
tire infrastructure of these organizations. This will involve getting tough with governments that aid and 
harbor terrorists.

Syria allows Hezbollah to operate freely in southern Lebanon. Iran re-
tinely provides arms and ammuni-
tion 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 funda-
mental choice: Will they continue to 
support those responsible for taking 
of thousands of innocent men, 
women, and children? Or will they real-
ize the error of their ways and end 
their financing, the facilitating, the 
harbouring of terrorists and their orga-
izational infrastructures and their 
financing of such 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 effort to assemble an international coalition 
to fight terrorism. We have a real op-
portunity 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. TAU-
ZIN).

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, this is the second time in my tenure in this body 
that we are called upon to vote to com-
mit the sons and daughters in the uni-
verse to 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 Cham-
ber.

We should ask ourselves carefully why we do this. Do we do it just in 
anger, just for revenge? No greater au-
thority than St. Thomas Aquinas 
taught me as a young lad the meaning and the understanding, the definition of self-defense. Our greatest duty under 
this Constitution is to protect and de-
fend 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 al-
lowed 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 offens-
ive.

Today, we go on the offensive. And we commit the sons and daughters to 
this hazardous career. This summit, a re-
porter 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 this 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.

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 to bring 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 right of the United States Armed Forces. In this, we are in unchartered territory. While we have fought great aggression before, our means of authorizing action today fit only imperfectly.

When Congress responded to Franklin Roosevelt’s call in 1941 by declaring war against the Japanese Empire, it could do so with full knowledge. We knew who had attacked us. We knew 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 will 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. We stand with 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 all possibilities. After Tuesday, we know we must think about them strategically and thoroughly.

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

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

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

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

Our community has been devastated. Families in each and every town, village and borough in northern New Jersey are in pain. We pray for them and promise that we will do all in our power to find the villains who perpetrate this crime, to punish 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."

Mr. Speaker, 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 and 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 unprecedented in 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 way of life.

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 must be victorious. To all those who cherish freedom and democracy around the world, there is no doubt: your liberty, 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 act of aggression 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 to death without guilt, 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, 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; 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 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 this September 11, 2001, what 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 foremost is equally determined, and those responsible for these depraved attacks have every reason to fear it.
Under the authority granted by Article I of the Constitution, Congress has declared war only 11 times. We do not make a formal declaration of war today. However, in fulfillment of our constitutional duty and as contemplated under the War Powers Resolution, Congress does today authorize the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations or persons who planned, authorized, committed or aided these horrific attacks.

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

A generation ago, one of this Nation's greatest friends, whose mother was an American herself, rallied free association to action 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 strength, and the unbending 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 the United States to use the Armed Forces against those nations and organizations responsible for Tuesday's destruction. Mr. Speaker, it is our responsibility, our duty, to empower our President to act and act decisively.

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

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution to approve the use of American military force in response to one 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 reminded us 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 the 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 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 war we must win.

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, to terrify 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 all else in their lives."

So true of America. Little do these petty tyrants and murderers know the spirit of the American people or the tough fiber of the New Yorkers, our defense workers, or the civilians who 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 pernicious 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 bring to knowledge here and all over the world which will grow long after all traces of the confagrasions he has caused have been removed."

What these petty tyrants do not understand and have never understood is that for all of our highs-and-tumults of public discourse, we are one people, under one President, and capable of greater single-mindedness of purpose than any repressive regime.
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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 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 destroy 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 California (Mr. DREIER), the chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, it now appears that Tuesday’s attacks will have taken over 5,000 of our friends, family, and neighbors, innocent Americans 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 American soldiers 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.

As the President has said, this 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 this 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 distinguished gentleman from California (Mrs. CAPPs), my distinguished colleague.

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

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

In the aftermath of this terrible assault on our Nation there are 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 test to our security and to our way of life.

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

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

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

We are here today to authorize President Bush to take such powers and use such force 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 was enacted right after the com
dflagration 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 sup
tport the passage of this resolution to
time.

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

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, we must pass this resolution and give the Presi
dent all the power he needs to stop the slaughter of innocent Americans from hap
pening again. The evil men who or
chestrated 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 chem
ical, 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 de
struction.

But it is not a war against Muslims or against Arabs. Many of our Arab and Muslim Americans came to the United States and left the very same type of extremists as those who at
tacked our country. In the past few days, my office has received an out
pouring 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 ter
rorists, not against our fellow Arab and Muslim Americans 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 distin
guished 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 the Presi
dent and our Commanders in Chief, firmly united in our resolve to identify and punish all nations who harbor ha
tred to our country.

Mr. Speaker, that is our highest duty. This can be our finest hour. This after
noon this House took a major step toward winning this war when it unani
mously passed the $40 billion emer
gency 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 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, Mr. Speaker. We are ready.

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 gi
gantic 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 sup
port this resolution because it affirms the President’s authority to firmly di
rect America as we identify, isolate, and eliminate the networks of ter
orism. 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 en
emies. We must equip our Armed Forces with the certain knowledge that a united America marches behind them, and we must convince our en
emies that America will ultimately vindicate freedom, no matter how de
praved, twisted, or evil our enemy’s ideology may be.

We do not walk an easy road. Our Na
tion faces a long and demanding con
flict with forces of determined evil, but the fiber of our 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 sus
tained campaign. They should under
stand that this war will be measured in years, not months. They should pre
pare themselves for additional assaults at home. They should expect casualties as we fight this war to our enemies.

But they should take pride and draw confidence from the giant reservoir of American patriotism and resolve. We are made of stern things than our en
emies know. We will show the world that we retain the qualities that made this Nation the beacon 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 and often uses it standing right beside him. Mr. Speaker, this resolution ral
lies 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 distin
guished gentleman from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN).

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

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation ex	ending 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 com
plies with Congress’ constitutional and statutory authority in authorizing the use of force in the defense of the Na
tion. 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 em
ploying the full resources of the Nation to both respond and ensure that our ad
versaries 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 sig
nal to these ruthless forces that the United States is fully committed and in no way without compromising our Constitution, laws or ideals. While Sep

tember 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 democ
racy.

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 gentlewoman from Minnesota (Mrs. KEN
NEDY).

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

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

Freedom again is challenged. We owe it to our sons, Charles, and all our chil
dren 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 wel
come it.

It is my hope that, again quoting JFK, “The energy, the faith, the devo
tion 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. 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 quick 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 praying with me and with you that we temper our anger with resolve with wisdom.

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.

Our common cause and against our common foe. We should not take lightly the great effort that we set in motion here today. Indeed, each of us must give pause in our hearts as we start the men and women of our Armed Forces down this path.

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

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

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

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

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Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute and 10 seconds to my distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).
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. LAUENTOS. 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 this basic, 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, one of a three and grandmother of two from my district; Rhonda Sue Rasmussen, who lost her life at the Pentagon; Navy Yeoman Second Class Melissa Rose Barnes, who remains unaccounted for at the Pentagon; and 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.

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. BERLETER. 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 disrupt 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. “Without a vision the people perish.” As President Reagan said, “Great men and nations will not be conquered by some new dangers that we have to face, 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.

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

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

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

What this means for the coming battle is that we must target terrorists and the state-structures that support them, not the citizens of nations who, in many cases, are already suffering under the terrorists’ 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 has no ordinary, nor the least Americans have for freedom and for another one 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 monumental tragedy. We have been 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.

In the immediate future our task is clear: we will rise as one Nation and fight this battle to bring to justice 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 stand up to our future challenges.

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, I will 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 heinous crime 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 our American way of life.

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

Mr. GOODLATTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in 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 thisッreat attack. 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 stand 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 my distinguished colleague from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND).

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND).

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I too rise in support of this resolution. But of all...
the important votes I have had to cast, this one scares me the most because we do not ultimately know the true magnitude of this challenge or its true cost.

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

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

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

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

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

□ 1945

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

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

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

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, the senseless human tragedy caused by the craven terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 weigh heavily on our minds and will last 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. But we have not lost our innocence.

Mr. ORTIZ. 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 such a unified, 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 civilan 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, and I support it.

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 world, 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.

Let us 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. BERGEUTER. 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, on 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 crossroad 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 victory. 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. BERGEUTER. 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. When this resolution to our 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. Mr. Speaker, I stand in support of this resolution and to the destruction of evil wherever it resides in this world.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield ½ 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 declare war on 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
Mr. TANNER. The Chair advises Members that all remarks should be addressed to the Chair.

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

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

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

The SPEAKER. The Chair advises the Gentleman from the District of Columbia (Mr. WOLF) that the time has expired.

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

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. JONES).

Mrs. JONES of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JONES).

Mrs. JONES. 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. BEREUTER. My challenge to 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.

The truth is that 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 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. And 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 by 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 send 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. SMITH of Texas, 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 happen.

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 11th.

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 mark of our surge that will 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 use his authority to pursue those responsible. This resolution should have authorized the President to attack, apprehend, and punish terrorists wherever 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 win 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 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 allow the executive branch become the exclusive branch. Our approval must represent not the end but the beginning of congressional involvement. Today, we pledge to re-double 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 rooting 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 managing 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.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we need to take heed from the ageless wisdom in Psalm 37, where David writes: 'The one who plots evil 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 contemplated 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 buildings 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. BERREUTER. 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 in 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.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute 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 must set the rules for the rule of law. Perpetrators of crimes, no matter their size or scope, are afforded a trial through a judicial process. That means no targeted assassinations and no death squads. In the aftermath of this horrendous act, let us not forget that real security and real peace come through justice.

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

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

Mr. BERREUTER. 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 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.

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I am 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 into their hands. This is not the responsibility of 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 coparticipants in this endeavor, cooperation 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 actions, 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 most difficult 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 our 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. SCHROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. BOYD).

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

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 patient.

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 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 Edward Gurney and Warren Morse did, the right to vote against funding if the President is not careful and does not plan carefully.

Mr. BERGUTER. 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 one 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 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. BOYD).

Mr. BOYD. Mr. Speaker, I ask 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.

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God bless America.
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 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. That 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 and the Congress together 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. It will 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 we come 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 direct domestic affairs, to deal with domestic crises, to present legislation, all the things that he deems necessary; and also he 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 sweep 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), a member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. REYES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman 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 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.

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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 America.

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 Nation.

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 to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up what is planted; a time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up; a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance; a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing; a time to seek, and a time to give; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak; a time to be silent, and a time to speak."

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 Appropriations.

Mr. WEXLER. 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 empower our Commander in Chief to wage war 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 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 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.

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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 distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. Crowley). We all feel anguish, but none as powerful 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 defiant 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 have been 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 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 is the unyielding 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, and in the Senate, and in the Congress of the United States, is united as one 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 not a people who 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 carelessly 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 these 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 again exhibited 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. GALLEGO. 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 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. GEPPERT), who has led us through this crisis with grace and dignity and wisdom.

(Mr. GEPPERT 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. It is a sadness for 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 talked on 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. 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.

Workers 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 is 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.

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 rise to 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 promise you will continue 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 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 horridous 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 counted, and we will never be surprised by the enemy of our friends. 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 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 of 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 response 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 am committed to working together to build an effective anti-terrorism policy which will make our country and our world safer so that we will never have a recurrence of the nightmare we experienced last Tuesday again.

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

Mr. REGULA 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 invasion, and to make all laws which are necessary and appropriate to carry out these actions. The rule of law; and that in this resolution, 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 rose from the 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 patriots. There is no difference between Democrats and Republicans, between the Congress and the President. We are speaking with one voice.

This resolution which is 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the same time, we are discussing a resolution on the use of force to bring the cowardly terrorists to justice and to make sure that they have to suffer this horror again. To this end, I support this resolution because it clearly states that nothing in this resolution supersedes the requirements of the War Powers Act.

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

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

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

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

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

Those terrorists who now challenge the will and values of this generation of Americans will soon find out that the awesome power of our military might well be matched only by our te

naciously unified in defending Americans’ life and liberty.

In this vote and in our prayers, we in Congress speak for the American family, in strong support of our Com

mander in Chief and say, yes, we too will “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship,” and “oppose any foe” to protect our land of liberty.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I re

serve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution before us to give our Commander in Chief and President the authority to use military action against these cowards who made such an unprecedented evil attack against the United States of America.

We must respond to terrorism and re

spond swiftly, not only to the terror-

ists, but as the President so accurately said, we would harbor terror-

ists anywhere in the world, whether they be countries or individuals.

As a member of the Committee on

Armed Services, I have confidence in the men and women who serve this country in uniform. They are the smartest, the brightest, the most well equipped and well trained fighting force in the world. I have confidence in the Commander in Chief and the national security team to make sure that we are successful in this effort. But we must be patient and understand that we need a broad and sustained cam-

paign in order to win the battle on ter-

rorism.

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

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

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Mr. Speaker, today is a day I hoped I would never have to face, a day on which I would not use the force of the United States military.

I am sure that all of my colleagues agree that when we took the oath of of-

cince to honor and defend our country, we hoped and prayed we, as Members of Congress, would not have to use force to defend this Nation.

On Tuesday morning, however, we all knew that the only response that would be understood by the evil force that undertook these treacherous ac-

tions would be the powerful response of the greatest military force in the world, the United States military.

However, our resolve must be based on the rule of law and reflect the les-
sions learned from history. The use of force is not something that we as Americans take lightly. America is a peace-loving Nation. Our involvement in World War II is the strongest exam-

ple of America’s peace-loving ways. We waged war on ruthless Nazism that threatened the very concept of human-

ity and the lives of entire races of peo-

ple.

Today we face another global threat, terrorism, which once again threatens the foundation of all peace-loving na-

tions. Today the world looks to Amer-

rica for leadership. The very clear and unmistakable message that we as a Nation will not tolerate people and organizations to operate in opposi-
tion to the very foundation that every society is based upon: the sanctity of human life.

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I pray for our President.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we shall over-

come some of these resolve.

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

(Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia asked

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

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of S.J. Res. 23. With the passage of this joint resolution, Congress stands united with the President and the brave men and women in uniform ready to wage war on global terrorism. Al-

though S.J. Res. 23 is not a formal dec-

laration of war, the resolution gives the President full authority to use force against these terrorists and is similar to the use of force resolution authorizing military operations during the Persian Gulf conflict in 1991.

Of course, a key to making this work is the continued willingness of the ex-
cutive to continue to consult with leg-

islators. I am confident the President will do that. To make no mistake, failure to act in unison at home and abroad will be interpreted by our en-

emies as weakness and an invitation to commit further atrocities. We have to put aside our differences, quiet our rhetoric and act decisively now.

Mr. Speaker, today I read Leonard Pitts’ column in the Miami Herald. Ad-

dressing his words to the faceless cow-


dards responsible for Tuesday’s attacks he wrote:

“I ocurrs to me that maybe you just wanted us to know the depths of your hatred. If that’s the case, consider the message received. And take this mes-


gage in exchange: You don’t know my people. You don’t know what we’re capable of. You don’t know what you just started. But you’re about to learn.”

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

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

Ms. DeLAURO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation. This week America suffered the worst at-

tack in our Nation’s history. It was an assault on the American people and a threat to the fundamental freedom that is the strength and the spirit of our strong Nation. There is no reason-

able justification for the vicious attack. We have taken such a toll on the Amer-

ican people.

Each day our intelligence officials obtain more information of the facts sur-

ounding the events of September 11, 2001. It is clear that this was a care-

fully crafted plan for worldwide de-

struction. The criminals wanted to cre-

ate a constant state of fear in Amer-

ican citizens across our great country. But the American people will not be bullied. They will not be cowed. Mr. Speaker, our citizens are joined to-

gether in prayer, giving of their time, their love, their resources. There has never been a greater demonstration of unity.

With this resolution, our government also takes a stand. It reaffirms Con-

gress’ support for the President. It pro-

ects the authority of the Congress. Our Commander in Chief and the Con-

gress will work together to bring to justice and to punish those responsible for trying to bring the United States to its knees.

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my distin-

guished friend and colleague, the gen-
tleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS).

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

On one side, we place our commit-

ment to spare no effort in eradicating terrorism and punishing those respon-

sible for these deplorable crimes. On the other, we balance the responsi-

bility to hold true to our Nation’s prin-
ciples, to be cognizant of innocent life, and to use military force only when necessary. This is a difficult scale to balance, but I believe that we have a duty to reach the appropriate equi-

librium that justice requires.

I strongly support the will of this President, Congress, and our citizenry to defend ourselves against our en-

emies with unrelenting force. It is my only hope that such force will be bal-

anced and guaranteed the justice we all deserve.

May God bless America.

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

sylvania (Mr. SHERWOOD).

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

tagon. We owe it to those New Yorkers.
that have had their world brought down around their ears.
This resolution is good. It sets out what we are about to do, and I am in strong support of it. We owe it to the world to show the world that democracy will stand and that an isolated terrorist cannot hurt America permanently.
Mr. Speaker, we will send that message. We will send it with overwhelming blessing America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maybe our children don't understand, but the United Nations wasn't there to let our forefathers conduct a plebiscite on whether the 13 colonies should remain part of England. And while our forefathers conducted a plebiscite on whether to remain under English rule or to be tabs on African Americans we forgot there wasn't any multi-national force willing to die by the tens of thousands to free their ancestors from slavery. And maybe we've grown so used to violence as entertainment the gravy train Pearl Harbor is anything more—now we need a Hollywood movie to convey the importance of a national tragedy.

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

As much as I disdain the notion that taking human life is a decision for politicians to make, tonight we find ourselves in a position where, as previous members of this body have done before, we must ask our fellow citizens to once again fight those who seek to destroy us.

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

If we are going to send Americans to foreign soil to stop those who seek our terror and horror against our Nation, then let us do everything in our power to ensure they have the resources to achieve a total victory.

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

Let us pledge tonight that veterans of this and every war are treated as first-class citizens, as well as the millions of Americans who
served our nation without having to fire a shot in anger. No longer should they have to wait weeks for medical treatment. No longer should they be homeless on our streets or go without psychological treatment if needed. No longer should our retirees see their pensions hijacked to help pay for this war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, today I also join the President of the United States and Democrats and Republicans from this House in a place of war and a place of hope. In the wreckage of the World Trade Center, we saw the signs of war, twisted steel, shattered windows, smoking debris. But, Mr. Speaker, amidst the devastation we saw the signs of America: small flags planted in the rescue workers’ helmets, people weary from digging to save lives, yet still able to raise their hands high over their heads and chant “USA, USA” when our President arrived.

I met with Long Islanders, my constituents, one from East Islip, the other from Huntington Station, who had been on duty tirelessly since this calamity in a heroic effort to save lives and rebuild our city. I salute them and all of our unsung heroes who continue the efforts to provide comfort in a time of tragedy and save lives in a time of war.

Mr. Speaker, we did not choose this fight, it chose us; and now we have no choice but to strike back in the defense of our lives, to defend our way of life, and to remember throughout the ordeal to come what this fight is about, the lives that were lost and the freedoms and liberties that we preserve.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, our people have borne the deep pain and sorrow of this ruthless attack. We are beginning our recovery; and, by this legislation, for the deep pain and sorrow of this monstrous and inhumanous acts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acts of war have been committed against innocent men, women, and children going about the daily business and routines that are American life. After a decade of peace, we are reminded in the harshest way that the United States is a country, not by cowardly enemies—that while the cold war is over, the world is a more dangerous place.

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, this is a defining moment for our nation. After consoling the families who have not loved ones and after healing the wounded, our duty as a free people is to support, with all the resources available to us, the many men and women waging the war against terrorism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But upon our discovery of the culprits of these heinous acts, our response must be deliberate and firm. The actions we take today set us upon a new course in history. Not unlike what the Founding Fathers faced against an unfathomable enemy and an inconceivable challenge. This Congress, like those brave patriots before us, pledges its sacred honor and stands at the precipice of this new world unafraid. We will overcome this terrible period in the history of our country and we will overcome.
Mr. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for this resolution. Nearly every Member of Congress this week has said this: on Tuesday, September 11, our country was brutally attacked. It was an act of war. It demands responsibility.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, the United States is united in its commitment to bringing to justice those who perpetrated this assault on our people. But make no mistake, this campaign may be long and it may be difficult. As we speak this evening, let us pray for the men and women of our armed services as they undertake this assignment for our Nation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, when I swore my oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, I neverimagined that this country or I would be where we are today. We each swear our allegiance to one another and to our country, yet the magnitude of our oath is only understood when we face situations like we face today. During trying times such as these, the American spirit shines most brightly and we find within ourselves the ability to overcome challenges once thought unthinkables and unimag imaginable.

The cowardly terrorists perpetrating these unspeakable acts may think they have won, but they better think again, because they have united us. A united America will overcome this evil. A united America will continue to be a beacon for freedom-loving people, and a united America will prevail in the end. Mr. Speaker, I urge support of this resolution.

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

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

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

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

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

Our enemy does not understand our national commitment to the American family even deeper than it has now, but it is worth it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, if there was ever a time when decisive and immediate decisive military action would be required as soon as certain information becomes known, it is in the wake of Tuesday’s unprompted and unwarranted attack in which innocent lives were snuffed out, for no apparent purpose save that of general hatred which innocent lives were snuffed out, for no apparent purpose save that of general hatred.
The Bible tells us many things: It teaches that we should "not render evil for evil," but it also tells us "if one lives by the sword, one will die by the sword." The perpetrator of Tuesday’s attacks and other attacks surely planned, used and will yet use the sword of violence against those who stop them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. America stands at a threshold. Behold us lies our sense of security, now shattered by an incomprehensible act of war. Before us lies our solemn obligation. Our steps over this threshold must be deliberate, they must be firm, and they must be brave.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mrs. DAVIS of California. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Government Reform, I hardly expected to have to take this extraordinary step, but I do it with the grave seriousness with which it is intended.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No nation state, no matter how much they hate America as the world’s most conspicuous example of freedom, will find it in their nation’s interest to attempt to surreptitiously support them.

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, we were all shocked, horrified, disgusted, and sorrowed at the tragic events that transpired September 11, 2001, a day that changed the course of life. My thoughts and prayers are with the families. There is no doubt, all of our own lives hold more value to
us than before, and we have been forever changed as individuals and as a nation by experiencing such a devastating loss.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are facing a different kind of war requiring a different kind of response. We will need more vigilance at home and abroad, and we will do everything we can to bring about justice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I am told that in some instances, with some of these people, they hate our nation. Who do not understand gather together and give respect for one another in our religious beliefs. We try to do that for others, and I believe as a Nation we do it well. Not perfect, but well. And we work so hard at doing that for others we require that it be the same for us.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, the World Trade Center is in my district, and I just this moment returned from traveling in the district with the President, walking through the ruins of the World Trade Center, where there are thousands of bodies buried. I have spent much of my career speaking out against the use of military force when I believed it was unwarranted. In many ways, my political awakening began with my active opposition to the war in Vietnam. But, Mr. Speaker, those of my colleagues who are rightly skeptical of the use of force who recognize how very reluctant we must be when sending our young men and women into harm’s way, must understand the threat and the stakes if we fail to act.

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I, too, have just come back from New York with the President, and I must say that I still have the mud all over me. Being a New Yorker, born and bred, I was not prepared for what I saw at ground zero. Ten years ago, Mr. Speaker, I stood in the well and was one of the Democrats who crossed party lines to support the first President Bush in the Persian Gulf War to do what he needed to do as our commander in chief, and I now do the same 10 years later with President Bush.

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

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

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

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. I, too, came back from ground zero in New York, the site of so much wreck-age and destruction. And for those who say that this was done by cowardly, faceless villains, yes, they were cowardly; but the face that we see is the face of evil and hatred in our world today.

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

There was so much noise and machinery. There was a firefighter in the back who yelled, "Mr. President, we can't hear you." And the President responded with, "But I can hear you, and all of America can hear you. And for those who took down these buildings, they are going to hear from us." Tonight, this opportunity represents our opportunity to make sure that they do hear from us. Tonight, we have an opportunity to stop this evil. We do not seek revenge; we seek justice. We know that this is not going to be a short-term project. We need to hear down and have perseverance for the long haul. We will root out those who were responsible for that massacre, and America will stare down the face of evil and hatred.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must not waiver in defending those principles. We must not weaken in our determina-tion to maintain our Constitution and democ-acy. And we must not surrender our rights to the basic freedoms and the rights of all Ameri-cans—because, if we do any of those things we will have lost the struggle, whatever the re-sults of the use of force authorized by this res-olution.

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

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

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

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

All moral communities are structured by reli-gious values. Thus our revolution against Brit-ish authority was premised upon the basic freedoms and the rights of all Ameri-cans. The American way of life is the very principles that have made America what it is and so have made us hated by those who hate those principles.

We contrasted that evil with the hope and the determination and the courage of the firefighters and police officers and rescue squad personnel working with the glimmer of hope of finding additional survivors. For these individuals who have worked in the trench for these 3 days, it was incredible to see their faces light up with words of encouragement from our President.
from religion, but to practice their faith by example rather than coercion; to be moral without moralizing. Likewise, governance was intended to be rooted in law and due process and the resolution we are now debating is intended to underscore the role of our legislators in making foreign policy decisions.

Here, it demands stressing that for a community founded as “one nation, under God,” a critical basis for making judgments of the nature thrust today before Congress is the Ten Commandments, the essence of the ethical teachings of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. As Smith and others have pointed out, the essence of the ethical thrust today before Congress is the Ten Commandments that Hebraic morality has made its greatest impact upon the world. Taken over by Christianity and Islam, the Ten Commandments constitute the moral foundation of half the world’s population.

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

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

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

The distinction that matters is not nuanced differences between the Old and New Testaments and the Koran, but between committed individuals of faith and fanatics. The former are concerned principally with improving their own lives; the latter with imposing their beliefs on others. Yet it is impressive how closely St. Paul’s admonition about modesty of judgment—that we all see through a glass darkly—parallels Mohamed’s directive “follow not that of which you have not the knowledge . . . do not go about in the land exultingly, for you cannot cut through the earth nor reach the mountains in height.” These parallels are important in this discussion because as we contemplate the use of force, we the representatives of the American people have an obligation to emphasize the commonality of our values. We respect Islam and Islamic nations. The only brief we hold is that we deplore.

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

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

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

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart, one that is filled with sorrow for the families and loved ones who were killed and injured in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Only the most foolish or callous would understand the grief that has gripped the American people and millions across the world.

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

September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am convinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States.

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

We are not dealing with a conventional war. We cannot respond in a conventional manner. I do not want to see this spiral out of control.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Terrorists use fear as a weapon. But we will not surrender to fear. Because they are not
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just facing the best-trained and best-equipped military the world has ever known; they are facing the fierce determination and the quiet anger of the American people. The attacks on Tuesday were designed to bring chaos to the United States, but it has done just the opposite. We will stand together as one nation. We understand there will be challenges ahead. And we know what must be done. And that is why we are here tonight and authorizing the President to use all necessary force to destroy these terrorist organizations. September 11th is a day we will always remember, and I believe it is a day the enemies of freedom will live to regret.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we join with the President to undertake such acts as are necessary to prevent any future acts of terrorism against our citizens. Today, and for many days ahead, we hurt, we mourn, and we honor the memory of those whose lives were taken by the terrorist attacks, and those whose lives were lost in courageous rescue efforts. Many of our citizens are not only against our values, our freedoms, our way of life. They touched all of us; and we must seek justice, honor our fellow citizens, and prevent further terrorist acts.

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and anyone or any country who assisted them. This is no easy task, but our troops are ready, and our government stands united, Democrats and Republicans alike, in our resolve to end terrorism in the United States.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I was in this House a decade ago when we debated a resolution to support our President, George Bush, when he went to war against Saddam Hussein. I hoped never to have to speak to a military challenge of that magnitude again. But on September 11, America was attacked at home by an enemy that hides in shadow and kills with bullets.

By authorizing the use of all necessary and appropriate force against those responsible for terrorist attacks, this Congress shows that it and the American people stands behind our President, George W. Bush, and civilized soci-eties will not accept the terrorist's declaration of war, for all practical purposes the United States is at war with those who want to harm our people, disrupt our economy, shatter our security, and destroy our democratic values.

All nations in the world who profess the values and principles the American spirit should be with America on this defining mission.

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

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

We will overcome this tremendous challenge with honor, dignity, and justice.

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

However the vote we are poised to take today is one of my most significant votes in my congressional career and the most important type of vote that Congress ever takes.

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

But the action we take tonight is absolutely necessary. Our Nation was violated, our people slaughtered, our democracy threatened. Justice must serve it and the American people demand it. This resolution will demonstrate to the world—and most importantly those who committed these horrendous crimes—that the United States will respond. And when she does, it will be with the full weight and support of the President, this Congress, and the American people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The perpetrators of these heinous acts will be found, their terrorist networks will be eradicated, and justice will be served. This will not happen overnight. Every American should be prepared for a long campaign. But we will succeed. When America’s spirit is moved, it is unbound by conventional limits. When America’s freedom is threatened, it responds decisively.

The terrorists who committed these atroc- ities will never understand the power of American freedom, and they will always underesti- mate American resolve. That is because they are always moving our ideals forward in the cause of freedom, democracy and equality. While terrorists plot behind closed doors to destroy human lives, compassionate and courageous Americans risk their lives to save lives—as our firefighters and other rescuers heroically demon- strated in the past few days.

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

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

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

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

First, it is too narrow. We need a compre- hensive anti-terrorist approach. This legis- lation does not represent such a comprehen- sive strategy and war against terrorism around the world. We need to eliminate terrorism as associated with the events surrounding Sep- tember 11, 2001. This legislation looks back- ward, not forward. This legislation fails to de- velop a strategy to combat and prevent poten- tial or future acts of terrorism.

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

Earlier today I voted to support $40 billion in supplemental spending for a fight against ter- rorism and public social spending for New York’s recovery. I would have preferred to support a vote to reaffirm the author- ity of the President under the War Powers Act, which gives the President all the authority he currently needs to fight terrorism and protect the citizens of the United States. This would pave the way for the President to develop a strategy for the future.

I support the President’s commitment to in- vestigate, capture, and punish all of those re- sponsible for this horrible and inhumane deed. This was not only an assault on our nation and our people, but an indiscriminate attack on civilian life. Thus, I also support and ap- prove the President’s efforts to develop regimes of terrorists. I urge all governments to unite to investigate this crime, to prevent its recurrence, and to bring to justice those who are responsible. I support doing whatever is constitutionally lawful and necessary to isolate and neutralize those who sponsor and harbor terror- ists. But I am not voting to give the President new authority—in the words of Deputy Sec- retary of Defense Paul D. Wolfowitz—‘to end states who sponsor terrorism.’ We need to operate within traditional constitutional con- straints.

I would have preferred to have voted to re- affirm the War Powers Act because it, after 60 or 90 days of the President launching a mili- tary response to these terrorist attacks, the Administration had to provide more information on why it did this and how it might be prepared to vote $100 billion to fight ter- rorism. And if, after 60 or 90 days, President Bush returned with a request and a rationale for new and expanded presidential authority, I might have been willing to vote to grant him that as well—but not now.

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

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

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

We must not become like those who believe that justifies the methods in the strug- gle against terrorism. That is the logic of the terrorists. We must respond to this outrage, but we must not validate this logic. We must re- spond to this outrage effectively—by eliminating the underlying grievances that is motivating them. And we begin by first phase. What we must do is affirm the principles that came under at- tack on September 11—respect for innocent life and international law. That was how to rob the terrorists of victory.

Recently, President Bush said the United States “will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbored them.” But we must make dis- tinctions. In the words of Human Rights
Watch, we must distinguish “between the guilty and the innocent; between those who commit atrocities and those who may simply share their religious beliefs, ethnicity, or national origin. People committed to justice and law and human rights must never descend to the level of the perpetrators of such acts. That is the distinction of all.”

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

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

Other Members expressed a concern that if we are embarking on a “cause” and sustained war against terrorism that eliminates terrorists and terrorism root and branch that we must give Americans an understanding of where we are many people in the world who hate us. We must explore and learn why people are willing to give their lives to the hating and why their supporters dance and celebrate in the streets when these terrorists inhumane succeed to destroying American lives and our symbols of economic power and military might. I have raised the concern that we need more time to explain to the American people that this is a new kind of protracted war. This is not the kind of war former President Bush fought in the Persian Gulf that ended in just over a month. This is a war that will be fought in public places on our shores and within our borders—in our crowded public buildings, in our subways, in our airports, in our train stations, in our colleges and universities, at our sporting events, and possibly with chemical and biological weapons. The War Powers Act would have allowed us at least 60 to 90 days to better understand and inform the American people about the nature of the war that today they are so anxious to fight.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, the United States suffered perhaps the darkest day in its history. Yesterday, this body approved legislation to aid the families of the victims and those that gave their lives trying to save them. Today, we turn our attention to the pursuit of the terrorists that carried out this horrific act. I strongly support the resolution to authorize the President to use the necessary force to find and punish those responsible.

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

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

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

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

Moreover, as we cannot rule out future attacks on U.S. soil or to American interests overseas, we must take a comprehensive approach to this challenge. Appropriately, we will utilize the first rate capabilities of our Armed Forces to ensure the personal security of each and every one of us, and abroad.

To that end, we commit ourselves by the resolution before us, to root out terrorism wherever it is found around the world.

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

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

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

I strongly urge passage of the resolution. Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution authorizing the President to use military force against the nations,
To the children and parents and spouses and families and friends of the lost, we offer the deepest sympathy of the nation. And I assure you, you are not alone. Just three days removed from these events, Americans do not yet have the distance of historical perspective to understand how the history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.

War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit, and we will not be taken by surprise again. Our purpose as a nation is firm, yet our prayers of private suffering, whether in our homes or in this great cathedral, are known and heard and understood. There are prayers that help us last through the day or endure the night. There are prayers of friendship that give us strength for the journey, and there are prayers that yield our will to a will greater than our own. This world He created is of moral design. Grief and tragedy and hatred are only for a time. Goodness, remembrance and love have no end, and the Lord of life holds all who die and all who mourn.

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

We see our national character in rescuers working past exhaustion, in long lines of blood donors, in thousands of citizens who have asked to work and serve in any way possible. And we have seen our national character in eloquent acts of sacrifice. Inside the World Trade Center, one man who could have saved himself stayed until the end and at the site of today’s terrorist attack a beloved priest died giving the last rites to a firefighter. Two office workers, finding a disabled stranger, carried her down 68 floors to safety. A group of men drove through the night from Dallas to Washington to bring skin grafts for burned victims. In these acts and deeds, we recognize who we are as a people.

Our purpose as a nation is firm, yet our wounds as a people are recent and uneven. We face the tough task of mourning this week, there’s a searching and an honesty. At St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York, on Tuesday, a woman said, “I pray to God to give me strength.” One is left to wonder how anyone can be strong.

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we feel what Franklin Roosevelt called, “the warm courage of national unity.” This is a unity of every faith and every background. This has joined together political parties and both houses of Congress. It is evident in services of prayer and candlelight vigils and American flags, which are displayed in pride and waved in defiance. Our unity is a kinship of grief and a steadfast resolve to prevail against our enemies. And this unity against terror is now extending across the world. America is a nation full of good fortune, with so much to be grateful for, but we are not spared from suffering. In every generation, the world has produced enemies of human freedom. We will not spare America because we are freedom’s home and defender, and the commitment of our fathers is now the calling of our time. On this national day of prayer and remembrance, we ask Almighty God to watch over our nation and grant us patience and resolve in all that is to come. We pray that He will comfort and console those who now walk in sorrow. We thank Him for every life we now must mourn, and the promise of a life to come.

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

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

God bless America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our country is unified. We can respond effectively to the horror of September 11th. We
can break the links between terrorists. We can contribute to a world that is not only secure from the threat of terrorism, but also free of the poverty and oppression that are its breeding ground. We must exercise the political will to make this happen.

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, the President has been forceful and direct—freedom and democracy are under attack by a determined enemy. This battle will not be easy or resolve, he stated, but we will win. In our effort to root out the evil that is terrorism, we will once again call upon the dedicated men and women who voluntarily serve our country in uniform. It is their greatness that gives us confidence in our ultimate victory.

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

Passage of this resolution will send that signal.

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

Mr. BALDACCI. Mr. Speaker, America was changed forever on Tuesday morning. Every one of us has been deeply affected by the terror attack on our Nation. Virtually all of us know someone or know of someone who was directly impacted.

Yesterday, I visited the Pentagon and saw first-hand the destruction that was inflicted on that building and its occupants. I am not able to find words to adequately convey just how chilling a scene it was, and I will never forget those gruesome images.

Law enforcement officials are moving swiftly to identify those who were responsible for this heinous crime. Soon it will be clear who committed these unspeakable acts, and those who supported and protected them. And once it is clear the United States will respond.

We respond not simply out of revenge. We act because war has been declared upon America. And because our world must be rid of terrorists who think nothing of destroying innocent lives. We act in the name of thousands of innocent victims.

This was not just an attack on four planes, or two buildings, or one nation. Rather, it was an attack on democracy and freedom around the globe. America and our allies will rise to the occasion and fight this scourge just as we have risen to defeat past threats to civilization and democracy.

To that end today I will vote to authorize President Bush to use all necessary and appropriate force to respond to the terror attacks on our nation. This resolution conveys the resolve of the Congress and the American people that those responsible for this heinous crime will be brought to justice.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of President George W. Bush, by agreeing to grant him the authorization to use the resources of the United States to eradicate the evil forces that perpetuate terrorism, through the enactment of H.J. Res. 64.

The barbaric, heinous attacks launched against the civilian and military population of this great nation on September 11, 2001 must not, and will not be tolerated, nor go unpunished.

I ask the people of this great nation, and our allies around the world, to stand with President Bush and support him with their voices, their continued heroic deeds and volunteerism, and most importantly, with their prayers.

I ask the people of this Nation to pray for freedom and democracy for this country that has become so widespread and which has contributed to the fragmentation of religious thought.

I ask the people of this nation to thank God for the many blessings which have been so generously bestowed upon this nation.

God be with those who have paid the ultimate price for liberty and freedom, and with those who will do so in the future in the effort to restore security and peace for all of us.

God bless this great land, the United States of America.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. We must ensure that our Commander in Chief can bring the full power of the United States Armed Forces to bear against the villains who struck us. In the cruelly monologues of September 11th, we act not out of wrath, but out of peaceful determination.

God be with those who have paid the ultimate price for liberty and freedom, and with those who will do so in the future in the effort to restore security and peace for all of us.

God bless this great land, the United States of America.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution granting authority to the President to use force to respond to the attack on the United States on September 11, 2001.

Our country was the target of an unprecedented, cowardly and vicious attack on Tuesday morning. This act of war committed against our country must not go unanswered and I urge the President to use the authority we are about to give him in an appropriate manner to defeat our enemy and we must be willing to use the force necessary to achieve total victory.

At this dramatic moment in our history, as we grieve for the loss of thousands of innocent lives and begin to bury our dead, we must not lose sight that this was not just an attack on our government or on our nation. This must be seen as a monstrous attack aimed at the security and way of life of freedom-loving people throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately describe my feelings or the feelings of Americans of all races and creeds. I urge the President to use the authority we are about to give him in an appropriate manner to defeat our enemy and we must be willing to use the force necessary to achieve total victory.
by the forces of terror and death. America is a great and a good country. We are also now a united people with a common purpose—to seek out and crush the terrorists and their supporters.

I urge support for this resolution, for our President and for the people of the United States.

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. Our nation was viciously attacked on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, leaving children without fathers and mothers without parents mourning their missing children, families experiencing terrible emptiness and loss. All Americans feel the horror, shock, fear, and anger.

The country has been attacked, and as Commander-in-Chief, the President has the power to act to defend the United States of America. Congress recognized this nearly thirty years ago in the War Powers Resolution.

Yet by recognizing the authority our President already possesses under the War Power Resolution, we send a strong statement of national resolve, approving this resolution today, we stand united, as one nation, stating clearly to the perpetrators of this crime, and those who would attack our country in the future, that we will protect our citizens and ensure the guilty are punished.

The terrible event is also an opportunity. It is an opportunity for the United States to once again demonstrate to the world the sources of its strength and greatness. I am not speaking of our military might, although it is powerful. We will demonstrate our greatness by the way we seek justice and the way we promote freedom.

We must also determine with certainty who is culpable and punish them and those who aid them, rather than let our rage lash out indiscriminately.

Community leaders in my district have produced a statement expressing their outrage and sorrow. Wisely they noted that the victims of this attack reflect the diversity of America. They wrote in fact that: "the backgrounds of its innocent victims are representative of the world's diversity, from Africa to the Americas, Europe to Asia, the Middle East, and beyond."

As we move forward in seeking justice for the many victims, we must direct our punishment only upon the guilty.

The American people stand behind this quest for justice. With our many friends around the world, we will fight to end the scourge of terrorism. As we rise to this challenge, we must do so relying on America's strengths without sacrificing our cherished principles. Our constitutional liberties stand as an example to the world of what freedom means. We must never forget that we pursue justice with liberty.

Mr. BONILLA. Mr. Speaker, Evil. It is a word we use too lightly. A word we use when horrible, distasteful, or bad would be more appropriate. It is a word which should be reserved for only the most monstrous and inhuman of circumstances. My colleagues, we have witnessed evil this week. This week, in New York and Washington, the massacre of innocents, must never happen again. Today, with this legislation, we are sending the world a message. We are stating that America does not recoil in the face of evil. On the contrary, America rises up.

In the last century we faced down the evils of Nazism and Communism. Today, we will face down the evils of terrorism. This evil although a phantom will not be able to hide. The basic goodness that we have seen demonstrated by the firemen, police, military, and civilians at the rescue scenes reflects the basic goodness of America. The selflessness, determination and patience tell us that freedom will be preserved and triumph over this threat.

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

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Joint Resolution 64, which will authorize the use of force in responding to the terrorist threat that violated the shores of the United States on September 11, 2001. I do not take this action lightly. I fully recognize that this single resolution, though brief in text, it is a word which should be reserved for only the most monstrous and inhuman of crimes. It is a word which should be reserved for enshrined in every breast is a record of those also have the whole earth for their tomb; . . . a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe." We must use the gifts that have been showered upon America from the heavens to save the world from tyranny once again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I do not view this as an open-ended authorization for this or any future President to wage war on any one at any time. It is, instead, in the words of the resolution, an authority to use force against "those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons."
All Americans stand behind our President, his advisers, and the brave men and women of our Armed Forces who will be asked to carry out this mission. Our thoughts and our prayers will be with them in the days and months ahead.

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

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

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

But our eyes also turn to the future with three critical questions, each of which calls for thorough congressional hearings. First, how should we punish those guilty of these dastardly acts? Clearly the United States must change. We must face the reality that we are in a national emergency. We now know the terrible price paid for our liberties, for our back on our most treasured freedoms. Such an emergency triggers other, less severe statutes that not only criminalize interference with troops and recruitment but also authorize the President to apprehend alien enemies.

By not declaring war, the resolution prevents the President from using military force. Not only does Congress have the constitutional duty to oversee the President’s use of our men and women in uniform, it has every expectation of revisiting the President’s need of the Armed Forces during his pursuit of the terrorists. Should Congress later determine that the President needs more or less authority than he has been given, we will act accordingly.

Finally, this resolution implicitly requires that the President comply with section 4(a) of the War Powers Resolution. That section requires the President to report to Congress whenever U.S. Armed Forces are introduced into hostilities, into foreign territories while equipped for combat, or into foreign territories to substantially enlarge an existing force. These reports will allow Congress to ensure that the needs of the President and the Armed Forces are being met during this on-going crisis.

Mr. Speaker, let us grieve for the victims. Let us restore the destruction. But let us also reevaluate ourselves to preserving those very principles that have been the ultimate source of America’s strength and to exercise the necessary leadership. I have also introduced a sense of the Congress resolution condemning these hate crimes.
to becoming the youngest mayor in the history of Detroit. Yet, my joy has been destroyed by the hands that inflicted the worst attack against the United States since Pearl Harbor. I share the pain of Tuesday’s attack with millions of Americans who have witnessed the subsides that carried away our sorrow for retribution; yet my head tells me that while we must be resolute, we must also be deliberate and circumspect.

For now, as a nation, we stand at the edge of the abyss poised to make the leap that our nation has rarely been called on to make; yet when called to do so, we have leaped with everything that we have. We are poised today to leap into the abyss of war and we cannot do so timidly. Our determination to triumph over terror must be resolute and undeterred. It is with a heavy heart that I stand before the American people prepared to tip my hand in favor of using military force. War intrinsically means the loss of lives. And I know that, in addition to the blood that has already been shed, our actions today will sanction further bloodshed of our sons and daughters. However, there are times when circumstance leaves us no choice. Tuesday’s attack has left no doubt that our enemies seek to bring America under siege. We have no choice but to act—against ourselves, and I have no choice but to support this joint resolution authorizing the President to respond militarily against our enemies.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution, which authorizes the use of force against those responsible for planning and carrying out Tuesday’s horrific terrorist attacks. I don’t take this lightly. Authorization of the use of our military is one of the most awesome responsibilities we have as members of this body at this moment we have no choice. We know the hijackers had ties to Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organization, which also bombed our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and attacked the U.S.S. Cole.

The American people will no longer tolerate these barbaric acts. We must do whatever it takes, including the use of military force, to tract down bin Laden and destroy his organization. And yet these precious, unspeakable moments we have no choice. We know the hijackers had ties to Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organization, which also bombed our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and attacked the U.S.S. Cole.

The American people will no longer tolerate these barbaric acts. We must do whatever it takes, including the use of military force, to tract down bin Laden and destroy his organization. But this isn’t just about bin Laden. There are other radical groups that engage in international terrorism, including Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. To win the war against terrorism, we must eliminate the entire infrastructure that sustains these organizations.

This will involve getting tough with governments that aid and harbor terrorists. Syria allows Hezbollah to operate freely in Southern Lebanon. Iran recently hosted a terrorist “summit,” and routinely provides arms and other assistance to Hezbollah and other radical groups that are “guests” of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The suicide bombers of Islamic Jihad and Hamas are nurtured by the Palestinian Authority.

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

I applaud the administration’s efforts to assemble an international coalition to fight terrorism. Working with our allies and other nations concerned about this scourge, we have a real opportunity to make the world safer for freedom and democracy.

Ms. SPEAT. Mr. Speaker, I, will miss the rollcall vote on H.J. Res. 64, which will formally authorize the use of military force against the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001.

I have scheduled very important meetings in California this week Monday with district employers and employees to discuss the defense budget and other matters of national security. These meetings have been scheduled for some time, and cannot be easily reconfigured. Therefore, during the vote I will be unavoidably detained. The events of September 11 were horrific, and I request that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reflect that had I been present and voting, I would have cast my vote in favor of the resolution authorizing the use of military force.

Mr. OSE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give the President the authorization and support he needs to respond to the acts of terror committed this week against the American people. When I was elected to this House, I took an oath to “support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.” Today I reaffirm that oath by giving the President the authority to prosecute the battle against our enemies wherever they may hide.

The armed forces of the United States are the best in the world. And the men and women serving in them are ready to act and know our cause to be just.

There is no justification for these despicable actions. There is no justification for providing support or assistance to those who would wage war against innocent men, women and children. There is no place to hide from our coming actions.

In the words of another great President who led this nation in a time of turmoil, Abraham Lincoln, “Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.”

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution and in doing so, I stand in support of the President, the men and women of our Armed Forces, and Americans everywhere.

This egregious crime has struck the heart and soul of America but we will not falter or fail in our ideals and values; we will recover. This process is underway in the rescue, recovery and investigative efforts happening in Pennsylvania, New York, and the Washington DC area.

Last night both bodies of Congress passed a supplemental aid package to assist the President in providing necessary aid and support in the wake of these tragedies. Now, Congress should give the President the authority to find and punish those responsible for these crimes against America.

If the goal of these attacks was to demoralize or scare America and other peace loving nations, let me be clear in saying that these terrorists failed their mission. I say to them, your ungodly actions will be punished. We are a strong and united America.

The deplorable events that occurred on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, were undeniably an act of war. There is no other way to classify the murder of defenseless, innocent civilians. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this resolution, giving the President our support to reinforce that the use of terror as a weapon will never be tolerated.

The SPEAKER. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the joint resolution is considered as having been read for amendment and the previous question is ordered. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

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

MOTION TO RECOMMEND OFFERED BY MR. TIERNEY

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit. The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution? Mr. TIERNEY. I am, in its current form, Mr. Speaker. The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit. The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TIERNEY moves to recommit the joint resolution H.J. Res. 64 to the Committee on International Relations with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Add at the end the following new section:

SEC. 3. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; CONSULTATION.

(a) Reports.—At least once every 60 days after the date of the enactment of this resolution, the President shall submit to Congress a summary on the status of efforts made to carry out this resolution.

(b) Sense of Congress.—It is the sense of Congress that, in addition to complying with subsection (a), the President should comply with all other reporting and consultation requirements under applicable provisions of law, including sections 3 and 4 of the War Powers Resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. TIERNEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I join all of our colleagues and all Americans in our sorrow for Tuesday’s victims and in our outrage for the despicable acts of cowardice which have so changed our lives. Tonight, we show our unity; and by so doing we serve notice that we, as a Nation, are resolved to hold accountable those responsible for Tuesday’s terrorism.

As we go forward, I do not think this Congress wants to purposely abdicate its constitutional obligations and responsibilities. It seems unlikely that this Congress would knowingly deny itself the information that may well be necessary in the future in order to intelligently carry out its work with the President in meeting their shared responsibilities in the area of national security. Yet if we pass the resolution tonight, without first adding the language of this motion to recommit, I am concerned that that is precisely what might occur.

As written, the joint resolution refers to the War Powers Resolution but...