

flights—the vast majority of them—came from our State.

So to all of those who currently await word or those who know because of the nature of the flights, we extend our deepest condolences and we grieve together as citizens of Massachusetts and of this great country.

I thank the Chair.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until the hour of 1:45.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:54 p.m., recessed until 1:44 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Ms. STABENOW).

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the recess originally scheduled to end at 3 o'clock be extended to the hour of 3:30 today.

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

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. REID. Madam President, the order now before the Senate is that when the vote is completed, we will go into recess until 3:30 today.

Prior to the recess before the noon luncheon, there were two Democrats who had spoken, so now the Republicans have the opportunity to speak twice. Two Republicans would like to do that prior to the recess beginning.

If there is no objection, I ask unanimous consent that two Republicans be allowed to speak for up to 10 minutes each prior to the recess beginning.

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

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—Continued

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I ask that all Senators take their desks and that we vote from our desks on this resolution. I appreciate the cooperation from both sides.

I yield the floor.

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the joint resolution pass? The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 100, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 277 Leg.]

YEAS—100

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

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 22) was passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. For the information of all Senators, this will be the only vote cast today. We will stand in recess until 3:30 this afternoon to accommodate the briefing that begins—now at 2:30, not 2 o'clock, in room 407.

Tomorrow is my hope to renew the deliberations and hopefully complete our work on the Commerce-Justice-State appropriations bill. That will be tomorrow.

After 3:30 this afternoon, we invite Senators to come back to the floor to express themselves if they have not yet had the opportunity to do so.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. THOMPSON. Madam President, was it the intention to recess immediately or will there be an opportunity to make a short statement with regard

to yesterday's matters? May I ask the leader?

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, if I may respond, under the previous unanimous consent request, two of our Republican colleagues had sought recognition and we had locked in time for those two speakers prior to the time we recess. That will still be the order.

Mr. THOMPSON. I thank the leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. THOMPSON. Madam President, we meet here today to express our outrage even though words cannot express the sorrow and anger that fills our hearts. But we must express these feelings—on behalf of the family and friends of thousands of innocent victims, many whose identities we do not yet know—and on behalf of our entire nation.

Our young people must wonder why the United States who they are taught is the beacon of hope and liberty for the world—why we of all countries—should be the world's main target of such savagery.

I suggest it is because those teachings to our young people are true. It is because our history and the principles on which our country was founded go against the trend of thousands of years of human history. Thousands of years of "might makes right," of rulers and dictatorships of all shapes and forms, of religious intolerance and subjugation. We have shown the world that it doesn't have to be that way. And today's tyrants and would-be tyrants cannot afford to let that example stand.

But stand it will. If this giant, America, has been sleeping as some say, it has been awakened once again and will not rest until an example is made of those who would murder our innocent citizens and tear at the very fabric of our national existence. Part of a great nation's responsibility for keeping peace in the world is the threat it must pose to those who would upset that peace. Therefore, we must act as a deterrent to outrageous activity when our interests are involved.

And America's response in this matter should set a lasting example of what happens to those who unleash bloody attacks especially on our own soil.

The time for carefully measured pinprick responses to terrorists activities has passed.

But we in this body and in the House do not have the luxury of simply expressing our outrage demanding retribution. We, along with the President, set policy and we must quickly reconcile ourselves to some of things that we must do.

Since our victory in the cold war, we have become somewhat complacent in the notion that the most significant danger to our nation has passed. We see it in our military budget and we hear it in our rhetoric. We see it in our debates over which threat to our country is most probable even though yesterday's events should remind us once

again how faulty such predictions can be. We attempt to decide with precision what the chances are of a missile attack by a rogue nation or by terrorists versus a suitcase bomb versus a biological attack versus a cyber attack. Surely, we must now realize that as the world's number one target, we must protect our citizens from all of these possibilities. While protection can never be complete, who is going to decide which window of vulnerability we are going to allow to remain open. The old Soviet threat has been replaced by new ones that are in many ways more dangerous and more insidious. We have been warned about this repeatedly—by the Hart-Rudman Commission, the Gilmore Commission, by the Bremer Commission, and by experts in numerous committee hearings. Surely, now we will listen. Surely now we will resist the temptation to continue to squeeze out more “peace dividends” from the cold war which place our defense requirements in a secondary position to our domestic wish list.

And surely, we will reanalyze the wisdom of America contributing to the proliferation of militarily useful technology simply because we want the sales. It is my belief that this is what we did as late as last week with the passage of the Export Administration Act.

If we place short term considerations, our desire for profit, or our desire to maintain record high surpluses above our national security, we will become much more vulnerable to the potential of experiencing other days like yesterday.

Historians tell us of another democracy which, after major military success, cut its military budget, turned inward, and failed to react to provocation in hopes of maintaining peace—a nation of leaders who followed the popular demand for more butter and fewer guns and who felt that if worse came to worse technology could bail them out and that treaties with dictators would substitute for defenses. That country was England after World War I and those policies contributed to causing the biggest war in the history of the world. We must not make a similar mistake.

We cannot alter the past. But we can affect the future. I sincerely urge that we keep these things in mind as we consider our appropriations bills and especially as we consider what monies are necessary to keep this country safe. It is not only the right and necessary thing to do. It is the real tribute we can pay to our citizens who have so recently paid such a dear price simply for being Americans.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Madam President, as some of my colleagues here today and so many Americans across our country, I rise to express great sorrow, and send our prayers to those who lost loved ones and who have been injured. Unfortunately, in my own community right

next door, the copilot of the American Airlines Flight 11, Tom McGuinness, came from Portsmouth and leaves behind a 14-year-old son and a 16-year-old daughter. One of the fire chiefs who went into the building to save lives, Jack Fanning, testified before our committee on the issue of terrorism just a few weeks ago. This touches all of us in extraordinarily personal ways, and it touches our Nation dramatically.

We wish to also congratulate and express great appreciation to those people who are risking their lives to rescue the injured and the harmed—firefighters, policemen, the citizenry who are stepping forward during this time of crisis.

There has been significant harm to our Nation. But we are a resilient people and a resilient country, and we shall not allow these doers of evil, these perpetrators of such huge criminal activity to fundamentally harm our society.

The fact that we meet today and the fact that our Nation goes forward is a reflection of our strength and our commitment to maintaining the openness and freedom that comes with the greatest democracy in the world.

We stand here united and resolute that we shall not allow this democracy to be undermined by such horrific and criminal acts.

We as a Congress have recognized for a fair amount of time that terrorism is the threat which we as a nation see as most imminent. Clearly, since the end of the cold war that has been true. We have attempted to address that threat. Obviously, in this instance we were not successful. But I think it is important that we review where we are and what we need to do as we move forward because this is not the end, regrettably, of the issue. This is simply a sign of what our times are going to bring. We need to prepare, and we need to plan the battle lines.

The issue of terrorism and the confrontation of it basically divides itself into three categories. The first is maintaining adequate intelligence capability. The second is apprehension of people who would commit terrorist acts. And the third is dealing with the events should they occur, as they regrettably have in New York and here in Washington.

In hearing after hearing, we have heard regrettably that we were not ready but that we were moving in the right direction. Unfortunately, it was predicted that there would be a major terrorist event in this Nation. In fact, at three different hearings that I know of when I was chairman of the appropriations subcommittee that has jurisdiction over the Justice and State Departments, it was clearly stated by our intelligence community that they anticipated a significant terrorist act sometime in the future. No one was specific as to when. We now know when. It has occurred.

How do we prepare so it does not occur again or so we can mitigate the damage?

First, our commitment to intelligence must be dramatically increased. During the 1980s and into the 1990s, we allowed our intelligence community to basically atrophy in the area of human intelligence—people on the ground.

We have electronic intelligence of immense capability. It needs to be improved, especially in the area of encryption. But specifically, we need more people involved in intelligence efforts. We have to, as a nation, recognize that this is, for all intents and purposes, a war, and that it is going to take soldiers, and that some of those soldiers are going to have to participate in counterintelligence activities that are covert and personal, something from which we have shied away as a society. We are going to need to commit significant resources to this.

In the area of apprehension, we need to get more coordination between our Nation and those other nations that should be helping us so that when individuals whom we know are threatening us or some other democratic government are on the move, when those individuals are planning, we have the capacity to apprehend them. This means significantly increasing the efforts of the FBI in reaching across international boundaries, something our committee has tried to do, something to which former Director Freeh made a major commitment: the expansion basically of the overseas activities of our premier and key law enforcement agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Most importantly, we need to get coordination within our own house, not only in the area of apprehension but, even more importantly, in the area of response. We have watched what has happened in New York. We congratulate the city of New York, the State of New York, and the Federal people who are on the ground. An extraordinary effort and a heroic and courageous effort has been undertaken.

The fact is that within our own Federal agencies we have considerable overlap, inconsistency, and lack of command and control.

Our committee has suggested, on innumerable occasions, that we centralize control over counter terrorism activity and, specifically, response activity and consequence management, both in FEMA and in the Attorney General's office. We have to have budgetary line-item operational personnel control. There are 46 agencies in this Government today that have some level of responsibility to counter terrorism. The overlapping confusion of purpose is dramatic.

As the hearings showed—which I chaired, along with Senator STEVENS and Senator WARNER and Senator SHELBY from the Intelligence Committee; the first tripartite hearing of that nature, where we had every major

agency come before us to discuss their role—we saw that unquestionably there is confusion.

This has to be sorted out. One way to sort it out we will have a chance to vote on tomorrow in the Commerce-State-Justice bill when we approve a Deputy Attorney General whose sole purpose will be the coordination of counterterrorism activity across agency lines. That must be done.

We were not fortunate, of course, but the fact that this occurred in New York, a city that is extraordinarily well prepared, I am sure, saved many lives. The next event we do not know where it will occur, and we need to be ready.

The last issue we must address is, who do we respond against? It is very obvious that we are dealing with people who are fundamentally evil. We have, as a nation, confronted such people in the past, but they have been sponsored by a nation, whether it was Adolf Hitler or the forces of Japan during World War II. But today there is an amorphousness to the threat which is hard to identify. The people who have committed this act are, for most purposes, religious fanatics, it would appear. They are driven by a cause for which they are willing to give their life and take innocent lives in order to make their point. That is a threat that is extraordinarily difficult to overcome.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent for an additional minute.

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

Mr. GREGG. But we must be careful, as a nation, as we hunt these people down—and we have to do that—and as we seek retribution against anyone who will have supported them, that we not cast our net so wide that we catch nations which do not threaten us and people who are not our enemies.

We must be careful to use the rule of law so that we do not abandon what has made us great in order to confront this type of evil. We are a nation which is built on openness and law, and it would be a mistake if we abandon it as we attempt to pursue these individuals.

No rock must be left unturned to find them; it is clear they live under rocks. But in that process, let us not paint with a brush that causes us to create enemies that do not exist today. Let us also not act in a way that creates martyrs of those people who would also act in this way.

This is a time that will test America. America has been tested before and we have met it. We shall certainly be resilient in the face of this test.

I appreciate the courtesy of the Chair and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. AKAKA). The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we be allowed to proceed—the two of us—for 2 minutes each.

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

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, through our rage at the terrorist attacks on our people and our free institutions shines

a focused determination to recover our loved ones and friends who are still lost, and to assist their loved ones to cope with the devastating void into which they have been plunged.

Our fury at those who attack innocence is matched by our united determination to protect our citizens from more terror and by our resolve to track down, to root out, and to relentlessly pursue terrorists and those who would shelter or harbor them.

Last night, at the Pentagon, I joined Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, Senator WARNER, and General Shelton in sharing that determination with the American people. That resolve is reflected by the fact that the Pentagon is functioning and the men and women who work there are assisting the heroic recovery efforts, although a few feet away loved ones and friends are still missing or presumed to have been killed, and while the smoke of the savagery is still permeating the Pentagon.

The President, last night, spoke for all Americans and all civilized people everywhere about his commitment to recover, to deter, and then to root out and destroy the terrorists.

Debate is an inherent part of democracy. And while our democratic institutions are stronger than any terrorist effort to shake them, in one regard we operate differently in times of national emergency. We set aside our differences to join forces together, with decent people everywhere, to seek out and defeat a common enemy of the civilized world.

Our unity is unshakable, and, God willing, we will persevere and prevail.

I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 3:30 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 2:29 p.m., recessed until 3:29 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. REID).

TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Oklahoma, the assistant Republican leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I thank my colleague. Yesterday was a tragic day in U.S. history. It is a tragic day for people who love freedom, who cherish freedom. Some may claim it was a victory for terrorism. I don't think so.

This act of terrorism has brought our country together in a way that we haven't been able to do among ourselves. Yesterday I was with Democrats and Republicans who said: We are going to be united against this type of senseless violence. We are going to stand together and say it will not stand. It will not be successful.

I compliment President Bush and his Cabinet, not only for his speech last

night but also for the Cabinet he has assembled. He has assembled a Cabinet of unequalled reputation, quality, who have proven themselves to meet the challenge in the past, whether we are talking about Vice President DICK CHENEY, Secretary of State Colin Powell or Secretary of Defense Don Rumsfeld.

In witnessing the events yesterday, it took me back to the tragedy we suffered 6 years ago in Oklahoma City where 168 people lost their lives to another act of terrorism. The most deadly act of terrorism in U.S. history happened in Oklahoma City that year on April 19. Until we saw it replaced by an even more horrendous act, an act that certainly was designed by people who wanted to do the maximum amount of deadly operations they could against the United States.

They will not be successful in any way, shape, or form. The United States, under the leadership of President Bush and his administration and a united Congress, Democrats and Republicans, will stand up and say that type of violence will not stand. It will be punished.

Our condolences go to the families, to the victims of this terror. It comes home to all of us in different ways. The thousands of people who were injured or lost their lives in the World Trade Center, the many people in the Pentagon, the hundreds of people who were on the airplanes, those were husbands, mothers, fathers, wives, children, grandparents. They disrupted thousands of lives. Those were friends.

I happen to have a friend who was on one of the planes: Barbara Olson. She worked for me for 2 or 3 years in the Senate as my general counsel. Many people in the Senate got to know Barbara Olson. I got to know her very well. I got to admire her, to respect her. She was an outstanding staff member and friend, a frequent visitor on the television shows. I think many Americans, when they saw her face on CNN yesterday, realized this has an impact. This brings the real tragedy home.

My prayers and condolences go to her husband and also my very dear friend, Ted Olson, who happens to be Solicitor General of the United States. What a tragic loss, the loss of life for Barbara Olson and the countless others, thousands of people whose lives were destroyed or families who were broken as a result of this terrorist activity.

We must act together. I am confident that we will. I am confident that Congress will act and give the administration the tools necessary, both legal and financial, to rebuild, to assist in fixing the damage. Through FEMA and the capable leadership of Joe Allbaugh, I think we will do that. I know that was important in my State of Oklahoma. I am sure we will do that both with the Pentagon and the World Trade Center.

It is also important that we stand together and confront terrorism. It is important that we combat terrorism. In