

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

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

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

VOTE ON S.J. RES. 23

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

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

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

The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

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

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

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

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

[Rollcall Vote No. 281 Leg.]

YEAS—98

| | | |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| Akaka | Cleland | Frist |
| Allard | Clinton | Graham |
| Allen | Cochran | Gramm |
| Baucus | Collins | Grassley |
| Bayh | Conrad | Gregg |
| Bennett | Corzine | Hagel |
| Biden | Crapo | Harkin |
| Bingaman | Daschle | Hatch |
| Bond | Dayton | Hollings |
| Boxer | DeWine | Hutchinson |
| Breaux | Dodd | Hutchison |
| Brownback | Domenici | Inhofe |
| Bunning | Dorgan | Inouye |
| Burns | Durbin | Jeffords |
| Byrd | Edwards | Johnson |
| Campbell | Ensign | Kennedy |
| Cantwell | Enzi | Kerry |
| Carnahan | Feingold | Kohl |
| Carper | Feinstein | Kyl |
| Chafee | Fitzgerald | Landrieu |

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|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Leahy | Nelson (NE) | Snowe |
| Levin | Nickles | Specter |
| Lieberman | Reed | Stabenow |
| Lincoln | Reid | Stevens |
| Lott | Roberts | Thomas |
| Lugar | Rockefeller | Thompson |
| McCain | Santorum | Thurmond |
| McConnell | Sarbanes | Torricelli |
| Mikulski | Schumer | Voinovich |
| Miller | Sessions | Warner |
| Murkowski | Shelby | Wellstone |
| Murray | Smith (NH) | Wyden |
| Nelson (FL) | Smith (OR) | |

NOT VOTING—2

| | |
|-------|-------|
| Craig | Helms |
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The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 23) was passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

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

S.J. RES. 23

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

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

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

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

(b) WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REQUIREMENTS.—

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

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

THREE IN 29 YEARS

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

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

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

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

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

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

MORNING BUSINESS

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

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

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

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

The Senator from Texas.

(Mr. STEVENS assumed the chair.)

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

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

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

have 5 minutes and then perhaps take his 10 minutes?

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

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

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That has not been ordered.

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

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

The Senator from Texas is recognized.

A UNITED RESPONSE

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is freedom that is the foundation of the democracy and our way of life.

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

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

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

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

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

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

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

In all our anger, all our frustration, all our feelings, very bluntly, of hatred that exists now for those who perpetrated the act against us, we did not pell-mell just say: Go do anything,

anytime, anyplace, Mr. President; you have to just go. We operated as our Founders, who were not naive people, intended us to operate. We operated under the rule of law.

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

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

That is remarkable. I suspect not many people know, other than my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Texas, a former professor, one of the brightest guys with whom I ever worked, unfortunately leaving the Senate at the end of his term; what the leading scholar in the Senate, Senator BYRD, knows and what the experienced Senator from Alaska knows. My friend from Oklahoma is the only one in this place who can fully understand, I suspect, along with his Oklahoma colleague, what our friends from New Jersey, New York, Virginia, the District, and Maryland are going through. He understands it. He has internalized it. He knows it.

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

The resolution provides the President clear authority "to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons that he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons." In short, the President is authorized to go after those responsible for the barbaric acts of September 11, 2001 to ensure that those same actors do not engage in additional acts of international terrorism against the United States.

The authority permits the President wide latitude to use force against the broad range of actors who were responsible for the September 11 attacks. If any nation harbored the terrorists while they were in training, that nation may be subject to American military power. If a nation or organization financed the operation, they may be subject to American military power. It does not limit the amount of time that the President may prosecute this action against the parties guilty for the