

can add Lawrence Welk's home to this measure, and so forth. We know what the rules of the Senate are. But it is going to be embarrassing if we leave for the weekend having agreed on money, but not on security. We should have put airline security ahead of money to bailout the airlines. But the K Street lawyers overwhelmed us. They were down here and we got billions to keep the airlines afloat. But, by gosh, we can't agree on taking up this airline security measure so that we can keep them in business. So we intentionally put them out of business by delaying implementation of a meaningful security measure.

We are not having votes on Friday; we are not having votes on Monday. Unless we can get this thing up this afternoon it is not likely to pass before the weekend. Someone commented that when we considered this matter in the Commerce Committee, we started at 9 o'clock and we got through at quarter to 7 that evening with only a half hour out. We had a full day's hearing and unanimously voted this bill out of committee. The bill is flexible. It was mentioned that the Secretary of Transportation is coming over with views from the White House. We are willing to go along with any reasonable compromise from the administration. What we are trying to do is get security. We are not trying to pass your bill in spite of our bill, or whatever.

We are going to meet at 3 o'clock. I hope the two Senate leaders will try to get together and work out this dispute. Senator MCCAIN has been a leader on this. We have agreed on the details. There are a few little differences. But let's get together with the leadership and get this measure up so that we can go home this weekend at least having taken care of security, and then we can move to counterterrorism and unemployment benefits later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. DASCHLE. I still retain the floor for purposes of making a motion, but I yield to the Senator from Arizona first.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I thank Senator LOTT and Senator DASCHLE for the efforts they are making to try to bring this measure forward. I especially thank Senator HOLLINGS. He has agreed, along with me, that we would oppose any nonrelevant amendments to this legislation. That is an important commitment on the part of Senator HOLLINGS. I know how he feels about Amtrak and about seaport security and a number of other issues. I thank Senator HOLLINGS for that.

Briefly, if we now wait, as Senator HOLLINGS said, until cloture is voted on Friday, and we surely can't act until Monday, and we are not going to be in on Monday, we are well into next week. Last week, we passed legislation to keep the airlines afloat financially. Millions of Americans still will not fly on airliners because they don't believe they are safe. That is a fact.

When Americans know that the Congress of the United States has acted in

a bipartisan fashion, with the support of the President of the United States, to take measures to ensure their security, that will be the major step in restoring the financial viability not only of the airlines but of America because we are dependent on the air transportation system in order to have an economy that is viable.

I am happy to say that the airlines are totally supportive of this legislation. They want it enacted right away. They believe it is vital for their future viability.

Finally, the fact that it didn't go through the Commerce Committee, the chairman and I are not too concerned about that. I think we are fairly well known to be conscious of that. As far as the screening issue is concerned, that is why we have debate and amendments. We will let the majority rule. That is relevant to the bill. Again, about provisions being added, I don't think any Member of this body is going to try to add an amendment that would be perceived as blocking airline security, including the Senator from Massachusetts, who is very concerned about the issue of Amtrak.

I hope the two leaders will continue working together. We will meet with Secretary Mineta and hear for the first time the views of the administration on this issue. I hope that by the time that meeting is over, we will have an agreement so we can move forward.

Lots of Members are involved in this issue. Lots of Members want to talk about it. Lots of Members are involved in it, so we are going to have to have a lot of discussion on this issue. The sooner we move forward, the sooner we are going to get it done. As Senator HOLLINGS said, we can get this bill passed by tomorrow afternoon if we all work at it, but if we wait over the weekend, I do not think it is the right signal to send. I yield the floor.

Mrs. BOXER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader has the floor.

Mr. DASCHLE. I yield briefly to the Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I believe as strongly about railroad security and airport security as I do airline security, but we need to move on this particular bill. To put it in personal terms, every one of those jets that were hijacked were headed to my State with light loads and heavy fuel, and those passengers were sacrificed.

We need to move forward. We need the air marshals. We need the funds to pay for them. We need the screeners and everybody else. Even though the bill did not officially go through the committee, I praise Chairman HOLLINGS and ranking member MCCAIN because, in fact, they led that committee through some amazing hearings. I think this bill is a terrific first step. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

AVIATION SECURITY ACT—MOTION TO PROCEED

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to the consideration of S. 1447 and send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close the debate on the motion to proceed to Calendar No. 166, S. 1447, a bill to improve aviation security:

Blanche Lincoln, Harry Reid, Ron Wyden, Ernest Hollings, Herb Kohl, Jeff Bingaman, Jack Reed, Hillary Clinton, Patrick Leahy, Joseph Lieberman, Jean Carnahan, Debbie Stabenow, Byron Dorgan, John Kerry, Thomas Carper, Russ Feingold.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, let me go right to the heart of airport security. I had the most unique experience earlier today with El Al officials who came to the Committee on Commerce and reviewed in detail their security provisions for Israel's airline. They have not had a hijacking in the last 20 to 25 years.

I do not want to necessarily single them out other than to say that the officials present included, the regional director for the North America and Central America Israeli Security Agency and the head of the Israeli Security Agency of the Aviation Department. We also had the chief of security for El Al Airlines, and the top captain of El Al Airlines visit with us.

The four gentlemen went through in detail the Israeli airport security program. It was an eye opener for me. I have been working on this issue since the eighties when Pan Am Flight 103 went down over Lockerbie, Scotland. I was insisting then that we have federalization of security at our airports and on our airplanes. I was in the minority.

With respect to TWA Flight 800, in 1996 it was the same, and we had bill upon bill and measure upon measure and study upon study, more training, more this, more that, a particular officer in charge, the Vice President Gore study. None of this made a difference. Of course, the hijackers still flew the planes into buildings in America and killed 6,000 people.

I borrowed this diagram from the Israeli delegation. This particular diagram is entitled "Onion Rings Security Structure." The security in Israel and El Al Airlines brings into sharp focus that security is not a partial operation. Security is not part private contract and part governmental. As has been said for years, the primary function of the State government—and a former

distinguished Governor is occupying the Chair—is public education, and the primary function of the National Government is national defense. We have gone now from, in a sense, international defense to national defense, homeland security. That is our primary function.

There is no difference in safety and security. We would not think for a second of privatizing the air traffic controllers. I agreed with President Reagan. He said: You are not striking; you are staying on the job. We are going to have, in a sense, security and safe flights.

This diagram starts with the outer rim of intelligence. The second rim is in the airport. The third rim is the check-in area. The fourth rim is the departure gate. The fifth ring is cargo, and the next two rings are the airport area and the aircraft itself.

They Israeli officials were asked: How about somebody who vacuum cleans the aircraft aisles and in between the seats? They have 100-percent security checks. Point: There is no such thing as a low-skilled job in security. As a matter of fact, they periodically rotate security officers to different postings. They found out, like we found out with the Capitol Police that rotations make a difference in the effectiveness of our security personnel. We do not have the Capitol Police sit in the same spot from early morning until their 8 hours are up just looking at the screen as the tourists come into the Nation's Capitol. The officer does that for about 4 hours, and then they swap him off to another post.

The Israeli security officials keep their airport personnel alert, they keep them well paid, they keep them well trained, and they keep them well tested.

The El Al folks were telling me that they make 150 annual security checks at Israel's airports. They try to sneak vicious items through security like a knife or a metallic object resembling a bomb. Of course, it is not a real bomb. The airports are not given a check in January and then they wait until the next January to check again. They have intermittent checks throughout the entire year.

By way of emphasis, in that check-in area they confer with intelligence. Intelligence confers with them. Intelligence will tell them, for example, if you have ever been down to Tijuana, they have certain entities down in Mexico that can really plagiarize, copy, an immigration pass. They know when they come from certain areas what passes to look at. In fact, they have them on a board there because I have been down there and checked with the Immigration Service, in a similar fashion.

Intelligence can say: Wait a minute, if they come from this area, we found out now they have counterfeit measures over there and they are almost perfect and here is what we have to look for, and everything else of that

kind. So that is why they take them into a side room, give them a separate check, fingerprint and everything else they have, take a picture.

You have absolute security and therefore absolute trust in the flights on El Al.

You cannot have anything other than that for the U.S. travelers. Specifically, we cannot have the Capitol policemen, who give us security, be private contractors, nor can the Secret Service that gives the President security be private contractors. To put it another way, I am not going to agree to any kind of contract or partial contract or partial supervision over airline security and airport security until they privatize the Secret Service or the Capitol Police, or excuse me, the 33,000 that we have in Immigration and Border Patrol. They are all civil servants. Nobody says privatize the civilian workers, 666,000 civilian civil service workers in the Department of Defense.

I am told that the OMB called over there earlier this year and said we want to start contracting. There is a fetish about contracting out and privatizing and downsizing. That helps us get elected. I am going to get elected. I am going to Washington. I am going to downsize the Government. Just like private industry has proven its profitability in downsizing, so I am for downsizing. Those political ideologies have to be dispensed with. As the President has to get a coalition of foreign countries, he has to get a coalition of political interests in-country, get us on the right road for the war against terrorism.

They wanted to privatize over at the Defense Department and they said: You are not privatizing anything over here. We are engaged in security.

They cannot be made contract employees. They come in, they are incidental to all the information and goings on, and everything else like that. We have to have total security checks, audit them from time to time and everything else. That is the same thing with the airports.

We have made a provision for the smaller airports. They are going to have to have the same kind of security, but they can be hired. There is flexibility given in this particular bill. With that flexibility, we know we can work this out right across the hall when we meet momentarily with the Department of Transportation.

Incidentally, the Deputy Secretary of Transportation in charge of security will not only have this particular security for airlines and airports but for rail transportation, the tunnels, the stations, and for the seaports. That is the way it is in Israel. The Israeli Security Agency intermittently changes around and does different tasks, and everything else like that. So they keep them alert. They keep them well paid, and there is none of this 400-percent turnover like we have down at Hartsfield Airport in Atlanta, the busiest airport in the world. There is a 400-

percent turnover in security personnel down there. It is between \$5.50 and \$7.25, the minimum wage. So that has to stop.

We have to have, as has been provided in this particular bill, the marshals. We expand the marshals group, I can say that. I have talked about the airport and the interims, and everything else of that kind.

There was one question I asked when I first met with El Al security. I said: Do any of you all contract? They were just amazed.

They asked: What does he mean by contract?

I said: Private employment or whatever it is.

You would not let controllers quit on you. You cannot let the security people strike on you. They are like the FBI. Do you think we can have the FBI strike or the Senators go on strike?

I have 4 more years. Should I sit down and strike? You cannot have a strike of your public employees. That has been cleared in Israel, and everything else of that kind.

The second question I asked, I said it seemed to me once you secured the cockpit, separated it from the cabin and the passengers, once you secured that cockpit and they are never permitted to open that door in flight, then what you really have is the end of hijacking because you get a better opportunity of killing a greater number of people or taking them off or something or beating on them and everything else of that kind, you cannot take the plane.

The rule of the game was otherwise. Heretofore, until September 11, the rule of the game was for the pilots to say: You want to go to Havana, Cuba? I wanted to go there, too. Let us all fly to Havana. And you ask the other hijacker: You want to go to Rio? As soon as we land in Cuba and get some fuel, we will go to Rio. They will go anywhere they want to accommodate the hijacker and get the plane on the ground at whatever place he wants to go and let law enforcement take over.

It is totally changed. We have the marshals. That door is never opened. The El Al executive told me—actually, it was the pilot I was talking to—he said, if my wife was being assaulted in that cabin in the passenger's section, I do not open the door. I land it and let the security take over, the FBI or the local security or wherever it is.

So that is the end of the opportunity to take over and take a plane wherever you want it to go. We have not just relied on that, of course. We have the marshals.

I said about these hijackers, suppose they grab the stewardess and say: Identify who the marshal is. They said the marshal is trained as soon as he sees that happening, he takes the hijacker out. He does not wait around. He is watching. He is trained. He is skilled and they do not dilly around, and everything else of that kind.

Instead, even in a disaster of that kind, they still cannot get into the

cabin and hijack the plane. Of course, they know immediately. They have communications and signals. They know immediately in the cockpit that is what is going on and they land the plane.

I could go on and on. I think what everyone should know is this overwhelming bipartisan majority is ready to pass this bill no later than tomorrow night sometime. We are not having votes on Friday so we cannot get votes on cloture Friday. We are not having votes on Monday, so you cannot get cloture. You have to wait until Tuesday morning. It will be a public embarrassment that we worked patiently with the leadership, and I have commended them both. They have worked around the clock to try to get us together on what we could get together on rather than bringing in all of these amendments. We do not want to send over a bill with all kinds of amendments and then go into a long conference if we can clear, generally speaking, a barebones bill for security so that we can get the flying public back on the planes.

If we can do that by late tomorrow night, working with the White House and the House leadership who is also in this particular meeting, then more power to us. Otherwise, shame on us if we cannot do that. We are behind schedule.

I tried my best to get this particular security measure up before the money bill came up. Everybody was saying we could not put any amendments, we could not even consider security along with the money. We had to wait, although we had a unanimous consent. We did not have that particular consideration.

I thank the distinguished Chair. I thank the leadership for their diligence in trying to work this out so we can proceed to it. There is no question that we can get cloture.

If we could forgo the cloture motion and agree that nongermane amendments are not allowed, just germane amendments on the bill, we could consider them, vote them, we would be here late this evening and late tomorrow night and get it done.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I compliment the chairman and ranking member of the Commerce Committee for work on airline safety. I know my friend from South Carolina feels strongly about port safety and rail safety as well.

However, I say to my colleague, who happens to be presiding today and was a former board member of Amtrak, I am, as the saying goes, tired of getting stiffed around here. I have been a Senator for 28½ years. I have tried over that 28½ years to put Amtrak in a position where it can run safely, securely, and efficiently. I have gotten promise after promise after promise of support and cooperation, and always proce-

durally I end up being in a position where Amtrak gets left out.

Let's talk about security for a moment. The Senator from Delaware and I don't have a major airport; we have a large airport but no major commercial airport in our State. We fly commercially in and out of Philadelphia or Baltimore, sometimes. We know how important air safety is. We know how important to our economy it is. I note, by the way, with all the difficulty, understandably, of the airlines—there is apprehension on behalf of the American people to get on an airplane, with the necessary cancellations of flights because they don't have enough people flying—there has been standing room only on Amtrak trains, we are putting more and more trains in the northeast corridor, and there is standing room only on most of them.

I ask my friends, parenthetically, what would have happened to our economic system if, in fact, we had had no rail passenger service since September 11? You think you have a problem now? You "ain't" seen nothing yet.

I, along with my colleague from Delaware, and others, went to Amtrak and asked: Have you reviewed your safety needs? They said: Yes, we have. I said: Put together a package for us that lays out in some detail the concerns you have relative to safety, security, and terrorism.

I note parenthetically, I served on the Intelligence Committee for 10 years. I have been chairman of the Judiciary Committee for the better part of a decade. I have been on a terrorism committee or subcommittee since I arrived in the Senate in the 1970s. I will say something presumptuous: No one here knows more about terrorism than I do. I don't know it all, but I have worked my entire career trying to understand the dilemma. I now chair the Foreign Relations Committee. I made a speech literally the day before this happened at the National Press Club, saying our greatest priority was dealing with terrorism, and laid out in detail what might happen. I am not the only one.

I will make an outrageous statement: My bona fides in knowing as much about what terrorists are doing, are likely to do, and being informed are equal to anyone's on this floor, or who has ever served in the Senate, or who is now serving. I may not know more, but I don't know anybody who knows more than I do. I am saying what will happen next is not going to be another airliner into a building. It will be an Amtrak train. It will be in the Baltimore Tunnel which was built before the Civil War.

Do you realize—my colleague knows this—if you have a Metroliner and an "Am fleet" in that tunnel at one time, you have more people in there than in five packed 747s? Guess what. There is no ventilation in there. None. There is no lighting. There are no fire hoses. I can go on and on and on. In New York City, the Amtrak Penn Station, do you

know how many people go through those tunnels, which also have no ventilation, that are underground, and have little or no security? Three hundred and fifty thousand people a day—three hundred and fifty thousand people a day.

As one of my colleagues said in an earlier meeting I had downstairs with those concerned about Amtrak, not the least of whom is my colleague presiding—he said what we are doing on airport security and airline security is acting after the horse is out of the barn. We are. And we have to. And we should. And I will. But God forbid the horse gets out of another barn.

We have a chance now—now, not after there is some catastrophe on our passenger rail system—to do something. I remind my colleagues, the First Street tunnel in D.C. runs under the Supreme Court of the United States and runs under the Rayburn Building. It was built in 1910. There is only one way out: Walk out. No ventilation. Not sufficient lighting, signals, security.

I said in that Press Club speech the day before the airline crashed into the trade towers and brought them down, it is much more likely someone will walk into a subway with a vial of sarin gas than someone sending an ICBM our way. I will repeat that: It is much more likely. Do you think these guys are stupid? Obviously, they are not stupid. They figured out if they added enough jet fuel to two of the most magnificent buildings man ever created, they could create enough heat to melt the beams and crush the building. Do you think these same folks have not sat down and figured out our vulnerabilities?

Everybody is worried about our water system, a legitimate thing to worry about. We can monitor the water system before it gets to your tap. What do you monitor in tunnels, 6 of them, that have 350,000 people a day going through them, in little cars, with no way to get out, underground?

My heart bleeds for my friends who tell me to be concerned about their airports. I am concerned about them. When are people going to be concerned? We have 500 people, as my colleagues knows, on an Am-fleet train. I think that is about two 757s. I don't know that for a fact. That is one train.

A lot of our colleagues rode up to New York City on Amtrak, because they couldn't fly, to observe the devastation. I hope they observed, while sitting in the tunnel, that in one case, over 141 years old, there was more than one train in that tunnel. Two of these tunnels run under the Baltimore harbor.

So last night our staffs got together. By the way, all those concerned about Amtrak safety are equally concerned about airline safety, and, I might add, port safety. Do you know how many cargo containers come into the port of Philadelphia or even the little port of Wilmington? Probably the only man who knows that is my colleague presiding, the former Governor.

My Lord. So we sat down last night. We thought we had a reasonable discussion, all those parties interested. We got a commitment. OK, we will bring up port safety and Amtrak safety measures and we will guarantee, to use the Senate jargon, a vehicle. In other words, we will vote for it on something we know is not going to get killed, like they kill everything else that has to do with Amtrak.

So I said OK, I will not introduce this amendment on the airline bill. I will not do it.

By the way, I want to make it clear I got full support from the chairman of the committee. He supports our effort.

So I came in this morning, about to go out, take my committee down to meet with the Secretary of State for a 2-hour lunch to go over these terrorist issues—not about Amtrak but about Afghanistan and the surrounding area—and as I am leaving I find out through my staff member who handles this issue: Guess what. We really have no deal.

So I call the leadership. The leadership says: JOE, we can't guarantee you can get this up.

Now I gather up the Members of the Senate who have a great concern about the safety issues relating to Amtrak and some say: JOE, will you dare hold up the airline bill? Would you dare do that?

My response is: Would they dare not to take on our amendment? Would they dare not take on our amendment, after being told—which I will be telling my colleagues about for the next several hours, although I am not going to speak that long now, I say to my friend from Missouri, so he can speak—would they dare take the chance of not helping us? Will they dare? Will my colleagues dare to take the chance that they are going to let another horse out of the barn this time? Will they dare?

This is serious business. This is business as serious as I have ever been engaged in as a U.S. Senator. If I act as if I am angry, it is because I am. Not only angry, I am really disappointed. I would have thought in this moment when we are embracing each other in the sense that we are helping each of our regions deal with their serious problems—I was so, so, so overjoyed; having been here for the bailout of New York City in the 1970s, I was so gratified to see my friends from the South and the Midwest and the Northwest come to New York's aid instantaneously. I said, my God, this is really a change. It is really a change in attitude because America has been struck.

We come to the floor with an amendment that does two things: One, provides for more police, more lighting, more fencing, more cameras, et cetera, and provides for us to take equipment out of storage and refurbish it so we can handle all those passengers who are not flying, and what is the response? Either "No" or "Another day, Senator." I have had it up to here with another day.

As I said, and I will have a lot more to say about this in the next couple of days, there are six tunnels in New York, 350,000 people per day locked inside a steel case called a car, going through those tunnels. Those tunnels have insufficient lighting. They were built decades ago. They do not have the proper signaling for emergencies. They do not have the proper ventilation. They do not have the proper safety in terms of guards.

You are talking about air marshals on an airplane with as few as 50 people on it. I am for that. And you are telling me you are not going to give me the equivalent of an air marshal at either end of a tunnel that has 350,000 people a day go through it? Where is your shame?

The Baltimore tunnel was built in 1870, just after—I said "before" and I misspoke—just after the Civil War. By the way, you would not be able to build these tunnels today. I want to make sure that is clear to everybody. Under EPA construction standards, you could not build these tunnels. They would not allow it to be done just for normal safety reasons.

I have been crying about this for the last 15 years, about just normal safety problems—not terrorists, just a fire in the tunnel as you had in Baltimore.

All of you who live, love, and work in Washington, there is a tunnel that Amtrak trains, MARC trains and other trains come through in DC. It is called the First Street tunnel in DC. It was built in 1910. All you need is one Amfleet train in there and one Metroliner in there—and there are more than two at a time—and you have over 800 people locked in a steel canister in a tunnel that was built in 1910, that sits directly underneath the Supreme Court of the United States of America and the Rayburn Building.

I am not suggesting I know his position, but I suspect his reaction if I told my friend from Missouri, St. Louis: Guess what. I am not going to spend Delaware money making sure there are guards or added security at the St. Louis Airport. I am not going to do it. You are on your own, Sucker. I am not going to do that. I am not going to beef up security.

We can get on an Amtrak train with a bomb. No one checks. There are no detectors to go through to get on a train. There are no security measures. We do not even have enough Amtrak police for the cars.

If I said to my friends in St. Louis and Philadelphia and Seattle and Atlanta and Miami—we use the same standard for the airlines. Under ordinary circumstances, you might be able to say to me: JOE, it is too expensive. You just have to take your chances.

We have the Attorney General saying to people that there is more to come. How many of my colleagues out here have said: "It is not only if but when the next biological or chemical attack takes place"?

If you are going to have a biological or chemical attack, in case you haven't

figured it out, the more confined the space, the more devastating the damage.

Like I said, I will come back to speak to this. What we are asking for is lighting, fencing, access controls for tunnels, bridges and other facilities, satellite communications on trains, remote engine turnoff, and hiring of police and security officers. That adds up to \$515 million, and it doesn't even do it all. Tunnel safety, rehabilitating existing tunnels in Baltimore and Washington and completing the entire life safety system of New York tunnels, that is \$998 million.

The total security all by itself is \$1.513 billion. That does not deal with the capacity on bridges and tracks to account for the 20 percent increase in ridership because the airlines aren't moving, or the equipment capacity to be able to carry these people safely—just the safety of the cars themselves.

I tell you what. We all stood up here and we bailed out the airlines and their executives the other day to the tune of—I forget the number—\$15 billion, and we did it in a heartbeat or, as they say, in a New York minute. And we cannot even now come along and deal in this bill with the workers of the airlines. But that is another fight.

Here we are with this simple, straightforward request. This isn't a 1-year undertaking. This is a permanent investment.

Unless all of you are so sure that there is no more terrorist activity underway, unless all of you are so sure that in case it is—by the way, we carry in the Northeast more passengers than every single plane that lands on the east coast in a day. Have you got that? This is not fair. This is not smart. It is not right to block our ability to have a guarantee that the Nation and the Congress speak on this issue.

As I said, it is a little like preaching to the choir. I know my colleague from Delaware, as the old saying goes, has forgotten more about the details of Amtrak, having been a board member, than even I know, having used it for 28 years. But I sincerely hope there is a change of heart. I don't want to slow up the passing of the airplane safety bill. I just want the people of my State to know that the people of my region are going to be treated as fairly as everybody else. Give them a basic shot at security—just a basic shot at security.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I thank you very much. I appreciate the kindness of my colleague from Delaware for yielding the floor.

This subject is at the top of everyone's mind—the impact of terrorism and the threat of future terrorism. We are going to be talking about security and security in all forms of transportation.

I want to mention the economic recovery that is absolutely essential because we know that terrorists cannot

win. Even though they committed a dastardly act and killed over 6,000 people and destroyed major economic and military landmarks, they cannot win if they do not destroy our economy and cripple us psychologically.

Today I introduced a measure to help in the economic recovery for the small businesses in the United States, a bill called the Small Business Leads to Economic Recovery Act of 2001. It is a comprehensive economic stimulus package for the Nation's small businesses and self-employed entrepreneurs.

The Small Business Administration tells us that some 14,000 small businesses are in the disaster area in New York alone. They have been directly affected by this tragedy. But the economic impact doesn't stop with those businesses. For months, small enterprises and self-employed individuals have been struggling with the slowing economy. The dastardly terrorist attacks make their situation even more dire.

As ranking member on the Small Business Committee, on a daily basis I hear pleas for help from small businesses in my State of Missouri and across the Nation. Small restaurants have lost much of their business because of a fall-off in business travel. Local flight schools have been grounded as a result of the response to the terrorist attacks. Main street retailers are struggling to survive.

I think we should act and act soon. That is why I introduced this bill to increase access to capital, to provide tax relief and investment incentives, and to assure that when the Federal Government goes shopping for badly needed services, they will shop with small business in America.

The SBA existing Disaster Loan Program was not designed to meet the extraordinary obstacles facing small businesses following the September 11 attacks. It could be a year or more before they can reopen. Small businesses throughout the United States have shut down as a result of security concerns. General aviation aircraft remain grounded, closing flight schools and other small businesses depending on aircraft.

My bill would allow these small businesses to defer for 2 years the repayment of principal and interest on these SBA disaster relief loans, and accrued interest will be forgiven. Many small businesses are experiencing serious economic problems because their businesses have been in a sharp decline since September 11. We need to help these businesses with cashflow or working capital so their businesses can return to normal.

We would establish a special loan program for allowing small businesses to cope by lowering the interest to prime plus 1, with no upfront guarantee fee. The SBA will guarantee 95 percent of the loan.

Banks would be able to defer principal payments up to 1 year.

For general economic recovery, small businesses would benefit from an enhancement of the existing 7(a) Guaranteed Business Loan Program to make those loans more affordable.

No guaranteed fees would be paid by small business. The SBA guarantees would be increased from 80 percent to 90 percent for loans up to \$150,000 and from 75 percent to 85 percent for loans greater than \$150,000.

I will be cosponsoring with Senator KERRY, the chairman of the committee, a measure that will help deal with these key ingredients for assuring access to capital for small business.

In addition, under the Debenture Small Business Investment Company Program, pension funds cannot invest in small business investment companies without incurring unrelated business taxable income.

Most pension funds can't invest—eliminating 60 percent of private capital potential. My bill corrects this problem by excluding Government-guaranteed capital borrowed by debenture SBICs from debt for the Unrelated Business Tax Income rules.

On small business tax relief, we would increase the amount of new equipment that small business could expense to \$100,000 per year, allowing small businesses that do not qualify for expensing to depreciate computer equipment and software over 2 years.

These will be significant enhancements to cashflow.

We increase the depreciation limitation on business vehicles to ease cashflow problems for small businesses and help stimulate automotive industry recovery.

We raise the deduction for business meals back up to 100 percent to get people to take lunches at restaurants which are struggling. The restaurant industry lost 60,000 jobs in September. We need to get restaurants back on their feet.

We would repeal the alternative minimum tax on individuals and expand the AMT exemption for small corporations to leave more earnings in the pockets of small businesses to reinvest for long-term growth and job creation.

These items will give a significant boost to small business, which has been and is the driving force in our economy.

Finally, when the Federal Government goes out shopping, we want to make sure it shops with the small businesses in America. Currently the Brooks Act prohibits small business set-asides for architectural and engineering contracts above \$85,000, a figure set in 1982. My bill would raise that ceiling to \$300,000.

The policy of the Federal Government that contracts valued at less than \$100,000 be reserved for small businesses would be adopted for the General Services Administration. For contracts not on the Federal Supply Schedule, they would be reserved for and limited to small businesses registered with the SBA.

My bill would remove the ceiling on sole-sourcing contracting under the HUBZone and 8(a) Programs to permit larger contracts to be awarded quickly to small businesses capable of providing postdisaster goods and services.

These changes I think would help get small businesses' engines—the engine that drives our economy that will help lead us out of the economic stagnation we face as a result of these dastardly terrorist attacks.

I invite my colleagues to join with me to contact my small business staff and let me know if they have questions. I urge them to join with me in sponsoring this badly needed stimulus package for small business.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

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

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

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 10 minutes.

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

The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, it is a bit disappointing that this afternoon we had to file a cloture motion in order for the Senate to consider a piece of legislation dealing with airport and airline security in this country.

All Americans understand that on September 11, when hijackers hijacked four commercial airlines and used fully loaded 767s to run into buildings and kill thousands of Americans using those commercial airliners as guided missiles—bombs, with substantial amounts of fuel to kill thousands of innocent Americans—everyone understands that from that moment forward, when the airlines were shut down—all of them were grounded, and then, following that grounding, the airlines began to ramp back up and provide some additional passenger service once again—that the American people are concerned, and have been concerned about safety.

So the Congress began working on this question of, How do we prevent this from ever happening again? How do we promote and develop the safety and security that the American public wants with respect to air travel? How do we give the American people the confidence that getting on an airplane and using that commercial airliner for travel around the country is safe and secure for them?

We do that in the following ways: The Congress writes a piece of legislation, as we have done in the Senate in

the Commerce Committee—and that piece of legislation deals with the range of security issues that the American people are concerned about—and then you bring it to the floor of the Senate, you debate it, and have a vote on it. Regrettably, today we are not able to do that because we have people objecting to its consideration.

But let me go through the elements of this legislation and explain how important it is. First of all, from the broader standpoint, it is critically important that a country such as ours, with an economy such as ours, have a system of commercial air travel that is vibrant and available to the American people, to move people and commerce around this country. A strong economy cannot exist in this country without a network of commercial air services that are available around the country. So we have to take steps very quickly to repair this and deal with the damage caused by the September 11 tragedies.

Going into September 11, we had a very soft economy in this country. The leading economic indicators in America—our airlines, for example: When things begin to go soft, the first thing people cut back—both families and businesses—would be air travel. You do not take the trip you were going to take because the economy is softer. You do not know what the future is going to hold. Airlines are the first to be hurt in a soft economy. So going into September 11, we had all of our major carriers in this country hemorrhaging in red ink, showing very substantial losses.

September 11 was a tragedy unlike any this country has ever seen. That tragedy occurred with the hijacking of commercial airliners. And, of course, all airlines were grounded in America immediately on that day. Each day thereafter, when those airlines were grounded, of course, the airlines continued to lose a massive quantity of money. No one, at all, criticized the grounding. That had to be done. But that industry suffered massive losses at a time when post-September 11 no airplanes were flying anywhere.

When the airlines began flying again, with the permission of the FAA and the Department of Transportation, it appeared very quickly that people were not quickly coming back, or easily coming back, to use commercial air services. They were concerned. They were nervous. They wondered whether it was safe and secure.

This Congress then believed it had a responsibility—and it does—to do the things necessary to say to the American people, we are taking steps to prevent this from happening again. What are those steps?

My colleague, Senator HOLLINGS, the chairman of the Commerce Committee, along with Senator MCCAIN and Senator KERRY, Senator BOXER, myself, and many others, have proposed a piece of legislation that but for the objections would be on the floor of the Senate at this moment for debate, a piece

of legislation that takes the steps necessary to give the American people confidence that this system of air travel is safe and secure.

Here is what we do: We change the screening at airports, the baggage screening process at airports, change it in a very significant way. Federal standards: In the largest airports, Federal workers; in the smaller airports, law enforcement, repaid by the Federal Government; but Federal standards with respect to all baggage screening; law enforcement capabilities with Federal standards with respect to guarding the perimeter of airports; sky marshals that will be used extensively on airplane flights all across this country; the hardening of cockpits so potential skyjackers cannot get through the cockpit doors.

All of these issues—screening, sky marshals, perimeter security, baggage screening security—all of these, and more, including an Assistant Secretary of Transportation, whose sole responsibility will be to make sure that we take the measures necessary to assure safety on America's commercial airline services, all of these are designed to say to the American people: You can have confidence in America's air service. What happened on September 11 is not going to happen again. These security measures are designed to prevent hijackings because they are designed to prevent hijackers from ever boarding an airplane again in this country.

Those things are necessary to give the American people confidence about the safety and security of air travel. And it is necessary to do them not later, not 2 weeks from now, or a month from now, or next year—it is necessary to take this action now.

This Senate ought to take action now on this issue of airport security. We ought not have to file cloture on a bill like this, not a bill that is so important to this country. A piece of legislation this important ought not have to have a cloture motion filed on it. This ought to be where the good will of both sides comes together to say: Let's do this. We know it needs to be done. We know it is important for America. Let's do it.

It doesn't mean there aren't better ideas that can come to bear on this legislation. But we ought to have it on the floor and debate it, have people offer amendments, if they choose—if they can improve it with amendments, good for them—but it is very disappointing to me that cloture had to be filed on something this important and this timely.

Let me say, on a couple of the issues people are concerned about—I understand some, perhaps, would object because they object to linking some sort of extended unemployment compensation to this legislation or they object to doing unemployment compensation or extended benefits for unemployed people, especially those who have been laid off by the airlines, and other related industries—they object to doing that at some time certain.

Well, look, I supported the piece of legislation about 2 weeks ago that addressed the critical financial needs of the airlines themselves. But we cannot ignore those who have been laid off. It is only reasonable, in my judgment, that if we are going to help the companies, that we also ought to be responsible enough to help the people. The people make up those companies.

When 120,000 of those people find their jobs are lost, we ought to be willing to say: We are willing to help you as well. Unemployment compensation and extended benefits is not radical, it is the right thing for this Congress to do.

With respect to the other issue—that is Amtrak—I would say to those who support Amtrak, you do not support it more than I do. I really believe Amtrak is important to this country. Passenger rail service is something this country needs, and it has been ignored far too long.

I do not agree with those in the Senate who say: It is awful that we have subsidized passenger rail service. Of course we have subsidized it, but we have subsidized every other form of commercial transportation service in this country as well. In fact, we have subsidized them more than we have subsidized Amtrak.

I happen to think this country ought to be proud of commercial rail passenger service. We ought to invest in it. We ought to provide a security bill for it because there are real security issues, as evidenced by the comments just addressed to the Senate by my colleague from Delaware—real security issues. But even more than that, more than the security issues—or at least as important as the security issues—we need to make the investment in Amtrak so that all across this country, and especially in the Eastern corridor, we have first-class rail service up and down that corridor that will allow us to take a substantial quantity—up to 30 or 40 percent—of those commuter flights off the Eastern corridor out of the air, and move those people by rail. It makes much more sense to do that. Yet we have people in this Chamber who somehow do not want to continue rail passenger service in our country.

Rail passenger service is important. I do not believe, however, those who support it, which includes myself—I do not believe we ought to hold up the airport security bill because of our concern about Amtrak. I say, do this bill—do it now—and next week let's come back and do that Amtrak security bill. I believe we can do that.

I believe there will be 60 votes in support of the motion to proceed. If we have to break a filibuster, I believe we will have 60 votes to do that with respect to Amtrak. And, as I said, I do not take a back seat to anyone in my support of rail passenger service in this country. I think it is important, critically important, and we ought to manifest that importance in what we do in the Senate. We ought not be afraid of a

vote. Let's fight that issue, but let's not do it by holding up an airport security bill. That is not the right thing to do and it is not the fair thing for the American people.

There is one other thing we have to do. We ought to do airport security now. Yes, let's provide extended unemployment compensation for those people who have lost their jobs as a result of direct Federal intervention in their industry. That list is an extended list. But there is nothing wrong with this country saying: During tough times, we are here to help.

Incidentally, when we have an economy that has been as soft as ours has been and has taken the kind of hit our economy took, we better be prepared to take some bold action to help companies and people, to help them up and say: We want to give you some lift.

With respect to that last point, we also not only need to do the issue of airport security, extended unemployment, and Amtrak, we also need to do an economic stimulus package. I want to talk about that for a moment.

If we are going to make a mistake in this country with respect to this economy, I want us to make a mistake of doing something rather than doing nothing. I don't want us to sit around with our hands in our suspenders and talk about what would have or should have been. I want us to take aggressive action to say: We understand this economy is in peril. We have watched the Asian economies. We have seen the Japanese economy stall for 10 years.

This country had a vibrant, growing economy. And going into September 11, it had fallen off a shelf of some type early, about a year ago, maybe 9 months ago. We were in very serious difficulty.

The Federal Reserve Board was cutting interest rates furiously to try to recover and provide lift to this economy. That has not provided the lift—at least not the lift they certainly would have wanted. The September 11 event cuts a huge hole in this economy. What to do next?

First of all, let's all admit we don't understand this economy. It is a new, different, and global economy. It is a fact that we have economic stabilizers that we have not previously had. In the last 20 and 30 years we have put in economic stabilizers that provide more stability with respect to movements up and down.

It is also true that the stabilizers have not and could not repeal the business cycle, the cycle of inevitable contraction and expansion in the economy. We were on the contraction side of that cycle going into September 11. And then we saw a huge hole torn into this country's economy by the tragic events committed by terrorists.

What to do now? First, let's try to understand what the consequences of this might be. Almost all of us understand the consequences are dire for our economy. We must restore confidence in the American people about their economic future.

How do we do that? The only remedy that we understand and know is a remedy in which we try to stimulate the economy with fiscal policy to complement what the Fed is doing in monetary policy.

Senator DASCHLE and I, in my role as chairman of Democratic Policy Committee, wrote to 11 of the leading economic thinkers in America—some in the private sector, some in the public sector—Nobel laureates, among others. We asked them the following questions last Wednesday: Do you believe there should be an economic stimulus package? If not, why not? And if you do, what should that stimulus package be?

These leading economists were good enough to turn around a paper, in most cases two pages of their analysis, within a matter of 4 or 5 days. I have compiled and given to every Member of the Senate a special report from the Democratic Policy Committee regarding eleven leading economic thinkers on whether Congress should pass a stimulus package. I hope all of my colleagues will read this.

Every single one, with one exception, of the leading economists in this country have written an analysis for us telling us they believe we must pass some kind of economic stimulus package. Most of them say it ought to be temporary. Most of them say we should be somewhat cautious that we not do the wrong thing here. But they have recommendations on how they believe we should enact a stimulus package that tries to provide lift and opportunity to the American economy.

The easiest thing in the world for the Congress to do at this point would be just to sit around and ruminate, which we do really well, and muse and debate and talk and end up not doing anything. Why? Because we have all kinds of fiscal issues. We have an economy that has slowed down. We don't have the revenue coming in. We have huge bills piling up.

What is the solution to that? Just swallow your tobacco and sit around and do nothing? It was Will Rogers who once said this about tobacco: When there is no place left to spit, you either have to swallow your tobacco juice or change with the times. Well, we don't have anyplace left at this moment. We have to decide that we are going to take action and we are going to have to change with the times.

The times changed for this country on September 11. This country took a huge hit to its economy. In addition to that, of course, the tragedy is immeasurable in terms of the cost of human life. But as we now try to pick up the pieces, one of the wonderful things about the American spirit is, we are doers. We are a country of action.

If you look at a couple hundred years of economic history in America—I have studied some, and I have taught some economics—you see a country that is intent on creating an economy that is in its own image, in its own desire, by taking action rather than waiting for

things to happen. It is not a market system that needs no nurturing. It is a market system that from time to time needs some help to move along.

If ever this economy needs some help from this Congress and from the Federal Reserve Board, it is now. Let us not make the mistake of omission. Let us not make the mistake of doing nothing. If we do the wrong thing, if we make a mistake, let's make that mistake by having taken action. I would much sooner do that than to decide to sit around at this time and in this place and not be bold.

I am hoping my colleagues will take a look at this special report that has some of the best analysis in it that we can find. It is very unusual to be able to write Nobel laureates and top economists in this country, from Goldman Sachs and Brookings and Princeton, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Yale, people who we know and have studied for years, the great thinkers in this country about our economy. It is an opportunity that is extraordinary to be able to come here and to offer this analysis to the Senators who are interested in fiscal policy.

That is where we are. We find ourselves at the moment unable to move on airport security. That is a profound disappointment. Apparently, we have filed a cloture petition. I hope we will rethink that today.

We must, in addition to getting airport security as quick as we can, then also do something with respect to extended unemployment benefits. I believe next week we also ought to go to the Amtrak issue. I am fully supportive of that. We ought to decide very quickly to join with the President and Members of Congress and enact a stimulus package that will provide lift and some assistance to the American economy.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, I second the remarks of the distinguished Senator from North Dakota. I thank him for his insight into the economy and for his desire to get this legislative body moving.

I will quote from a distinguished author, Charles Dickens, who said:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times. It was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness. It was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity. It was the season of light, it was the season of darkness. It was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair.

That introduction to "A Tale of Two Cities" written by Dickens is apropos of the time we have at hand. Dickens' words speak to us today as we try to

make sense of the events of September 11 because, though the darkness and despair were all too readily apparent, I believe we can actually see wisdom and light and hope as this great Nation moves forward in unity and resolve.

It is a sad but nonetheless true fact that our country is no more vulnerable to terrorist assault now than it was on September 10. It just feels that way. With the heightened attention to this threat, I would contend that the vulnerability is less now than it was actually before, but that is certainly no guarantee against future attacks.

While the September 11 acts of terror demonstrate all too vividly the depth of inhumanity that some human beings are capable of, the response in the United States and around the world has conclusively proved that for most people, it is, in Lincoln's words, "the better angels of our nature" which ultimately prevail.

When in our lifetimes have we seen the selfless men and women who serve as police and firefighters extolled above athletes and rock stars? When have we seen cynicism and apathy largely vanish from our public airwaves? When have we seen such sustained bipartisanship at home and unity of purpose in the international community? Not in my lifetime, Mr. President.

The current challenge facing our country and the entire civilized world is indeed a crisis, but I contend that it is a crisis in the way the Chinese understand the word—one word, one phrase, one character, meaning danger; but the other character meaning opportunity. The Chinese write the word "crisis" in two characters, Mr. President, not one: danger and opportunity. We have before us both.

For some time, I have been planning to come to the Senate floor to mark the first anniversary of the completion of an effort I undertook last year with my distinguished friend and colleague, the distinguished Senator from Kansas, PAT ROBERTS. Over the course of last year—completed on October 3—Senator ROBERTS and I conducted a series of bipartisan dialogs on the global role of the United States in the post-cold-war era. That sounds somewhat esoteric in light of the attacks on our country on September 11, but our purpose then was to draw attention to this important topic and to help begin the process of building a bipartisan consensus on national security, which both of us felt was needed and indispensable to protecting our national interests.

Over the course of our discussions last year, we came to mutual agreement on a set of general principles which we felt should undergird America's security policy in the 21st century. These included that we, as a nation, need to engage in a national dialog to define our national interests, differentiate the level of interest involved, and spell out what we should be prepared to do in defense of those interests and build a bipartisan con-

sensus in support of the resulting interests and policies.

The President and the Congress need to, among other things, find more and better ways to increase communications with the American people on the realities of our international interests and the costs of securing them. We need to find more and better ways to increase the exchange of experiences and ideas between the Government and the military to avoid the broadening lack of military experience among the political elite and find more and better ways of ensuring that both the executive and legislative branches fulfill their constitutional responsibilities in national security policy, especially concerning military operations other than declared wars.

We are in such a situation now. We have a war on terrorism. It is actually undeclared legally, but it has been declared publicly. The President and the Congress need to urgently address the mismatch between our foreign policy ends and means, and between commitments and our forces, by determining the most appropriate instrument—diplomatic, military, et cetera—for securing policy objectives; reviewing carefully current American commitments—especially those involving troop deployment to ensure clarity of objectives, and the presence of an exit strategy. That is something we ought to keep in mind in this war, too. Increasing the relatively small amount of resources devoted to the key instruments for securing national interests, including our Armed Forces, which need to be reformed to meet the requirements of the 21st century, diplomatic forces, foreign assistance, United Nations peacekeeping operations, which also need to be reformed to become much more effective, and key regional organizations.

We are the only global superpower, and in order to avoid stimulating the creation of a hostile coalition of other nations against us, the United States should and can afford to forego unilateralist actions, except where our vital interests are involved. One of the things I am encouraged about now, is our unilateralist tendencies have been swept up in an agreement among civilized nations to support us in our war on terrorism. That is a very comforting thought.

One of the things that helps us along these lines is that the United States should pay its international debts, and we agreed to do so. We also must continue to respect and honor our international commitments and not abdicate our global leadership role. Finally, the United States must avoid unilateral economic and trade sanctions. I think in the wake of the attack on our country, we have lifted some of these sanctions, especially against India and Pakistan.

With respect to multilateral organizations, the United States should more carefully consider NATO's new Strategic Concept and the future direction of this, our most important inter-

national commitment. We need to press for reform of the peacekeeping operations and decisionmaking processes of the U.N. and Security Council. We need to fully strengthen the capabilities of regional organizations, such as the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the OAS, the Organization for African Unity, and the Organization of Southeast Asian Nations, and so on, to deal with threats to regional security. We need to promote a thorough debate at the U.N. and elsewhere on proposed standards for interventions within sovereign states.

In the post-cold-war world, the United States should adopt a policy of realistic restraint with respect to the use of U.S. military forces in situations other than those involving the defense of vital national interests.

We crossed that threshold on September 11. Responding to the terrorist attack is in our vital national interests, and we ought to use military force to do that. As a matter of fact, this Congress authorized the President to use all necessary force to go after those who came after us on September 11.

In all other situations, we must insist on well-defined political objectives. As a matter of fact, it is not a bad idea in this particular war either. We must determine whether non-military means will be effective and, if so, try them prior to any recourse to military force. I think we are doing that in so many ways in tightening the noose around the terrorists' necks. We should ascertain whether military means can achieve the political objectives. Sometimes military means cannot attain a political objective. We ought to be aware of that. We need to determine whether the benefits outweigh the costs—in other words, whether the cost of military engagement is worth the cost. We need to determine the "last step" we are prepared to take before we get involved militarily. That was the advice of Clausewitz, the great German theoretician, on war two centuries ago. We must insist that we have a clear, concise exit strategy when we involve ourselves in military affairs around the world, and we must insist on congressional approval of all deployments other than those involving responses to emergency situations.

The United States can and must continue to exercise international leadership, while following a policy of realistic restraint in the use of military force. We must pursue policies that promote a strong and growing economy, which is actually, as we now see, the essential underpinning of any nation's strength.

We must maintain superior, ready, and mobile Armed Forces capable of rapidly responding to threats to our national interest. My goodness, do we ever see the need for that since September 11. We must strengthen the nonmilitary tools as well. We must

make a long-term commitment to promoting democracy abroad via a comprehensive, sustained program which makes a realistic assessment of the capabilities of such a program.

Obviously, much has changed since Senator ROBERTS and I submitted our list last year, but I think the fundamentals remain the same. If anything, the events of September 11 have underscored several of the points we were trying to make.

First, foreign policy matters. American leadership and engagement in the world make a real difference to our security here at home.

I remember having lunch with Tom Friedman, the great author of "The Lexus and The Olive Tree," a best-selling book. He said, "Without America on duty, there would be no America on line."

We forget that our first line of defense in so many ways is America on duty. So foreign policy matters.

Secretary of State Powell has done an awesome job, along with the President, and Secretary Rumsfeld, in arraying the international community against terrorism, including the key countries bordering Afghanistan, in the effort to bring the terrorists and collaborators to justice. It is very clear now, if it was doubted before, that these efforts could not succeed without this multinational cooperation.

One of the things that has also been reinforced is that when we move to protect our national interests, we need to make use of the whole range of instruments available to us. The instruments we have available are not only and not necessarily primarily our military forces, but our diplomatic, economic, intelligence, and law enforcement assets as well, all of which are engaged today, even as I speak, in the fight against the forces of terrorism.

Third, Senator ROBERTS and I were anxious to have our country take a good hard look at its multitudinous overseas military engagements and commitments, with an eye toward focusing on the vital and essential deployments while deemphasizing other engagements which can divert both resources and attention from our most crucial national interests, of which homeland defense must be at the top of the list.

In so many ways, as someone who has traveled to the Balkans, Kosovo, and South Korea, it is a strange feeling to know that our country in our defensive effort guards Kosovo and protects South Korea almost better than it does New York City and Washington.

In short, I believe we can and must be prepared to commit all available American resources, including military forces, in defense of truly vital national interests, the most important of which is our homeland defense. In other cases, I believe we must impose a much higher bar before we put American service men and women in harm's way.

Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Henry Shelton put it very well

in an address to the Kennedy School at Harvard University. He said:

The military is the hammer in America's foreign policy toolbox . . . and it is a very powerful hammer. But not every problem we face is a nail. We may find that sorting out the good guys from the bad guys is not as easy as it seems. We also may find that getting in is much easier than getting out.

It reminds me of a good line by Napoleon that wars are easy to get into but hard to get out of.

General Shelton went on to conclude:

These are the issues we need to confront when we make the decision to commit our military forces—

Even as we commit them today.

And that is as it should be because, when we use our military forces, we lay our prestige, our word, our leadership, and—most importantly—the lives of our young Americans on the line.

Let me be very clear that the events of September 11 did, indeed, touch upon our vital interests, and we can and will use our military "hammer" to capture or kill those responsible. This body voted unanimously to confer that authority on President Bush and to stand firmly behind our service men and women who, as the President said so well, are ready to "make us proud" once again. Certainly this Senator does. I stand behind our forces, our troops, and our President in this resolve to accomplish this goal.

Finally, as I said before, Senator ROBERTS and I began our process over a year ago, convinced of the need to bring greater attention to national security and foreign policy, as well as to forge a durable bipartisan consensus on the major elements of such a policy. Frankly, we saw little evidence that either greater attention or more bipartisanship was likely anytime soon. This is where the opportunity I spoke of earlier comes in. At least for now, we have an attentive Congress and public and a bipartisan foreign policy. We have come a long way. The challenge is to sustain that in the months and years ahead.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DAYTON). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, we are trying to move to the bill that will upgrade aviation security in our country. I hope we can work out an agreement that will allow us to start debating the aviation security bill.

What we are all trying to do is get a bill that is just on aviation security. There are a lot of other issues people want to bring up that are quite legitimate issues, but I do not think we should put them on a bill dealing with aviation security because this issue is the one we need to address right now.

It is a separate issue, and it should be kept separate.

If we can assure the flying public that everything that can be done is being done to upgrade aviation security, that will mitigate the damage we are seeing to our economy as a result of a smaller number of flights and smaller number of people traveling. We want to bring back the aviation industry. We want people to go on vacations, to travel for business, just as they did before September 11. We want people to stay in the hotels and rent the cars so the economy does not experience a domino effect from airlines not flying and people being afraid to get on with their daily lives.

We understand why people are concerned. I have been flying every weekend since September 11. I know their concerns. We need to address the security issue so people will know they can fly and this, in effect, will begin to rebuild our economy.

What we are trying to put forward in a bipartisan bill is sky marshals so that we can begin the recruitment and training to beef up the Sky Marshal Program.

We want to make our cockpits more secure. We want to make sure our pilots are protected and they are able to give their full attention to flying the airplane.

We are trying to upgrade the screening of carry-on baggage.

We have only had 3 weeks to determine the changes that need to be made. I know the administration and Members of Congress are looking at all options for closing the loopholes in aviation security, but we can take some major steps forward, even as we are studying other ways in which we can do better, by upgrading the training and the education requirements for the screeners, to make sure they have enough training to recognize an illegal item.

We want to make sure there is armed supervision of those screeners, Federal marshals. Right now we have Guardsmen from the States and we have detailees from other agencies that are overseeing screeners in many airports. We want to make that more permanent so that people will know it is not business as usual at the airports and that is why it is safer to fly.

I hope we will be able to move to this bill today. It is important that we finish the bill this week. We will have differences on some of the details of the bill. We can have amendments and up-or-down votes. If you win, you win; if you lose, you lose.

The basic agreement we have on the key components of the bill is solid and bipartisan, and the components are also, I believe, agreed to by the administration. There are a couple of sticking points. We need to work those out, but we do not need to hold the bill up to work out the differences. We need to go to the bill.

If we can get an aviation security bill passed in the Senate, send it to the

House, and send it to the President, the American people will begin to see that there is a heightened awareness of the need for security, and they will see the beginning of the implementation of the plans to do more at our airports.

I want to thank all of those who are working on it, Senator MCCAIN and I on our side, Senator HOLLINGS and Senator ROCKEFELLER on the Democratic side. We are working very well together. We had a meeting with the Secretary of Transportation, talking about the areas where we agree, which is 90 percent of the bill we would have before us.

I think we need to go to the bill. Let Congress work its will. Other Members have some very good ideas. We need to start talking about them. I do not think we should waste this valuable time.

The President has said, and Congress has agreed, there are certain things we must do quickly. We certainly took quick action for trying to shore up and stabilize the airlines. We have done that. We now need to give our law enforcement agencies the ability to gather intelligence.

Our FBI is doing an incredible job of finding all of the tentacles of these terrorist cells, but we need to give them the tools they need to continue that investigation and to find out where these people are in our country or in other countries that would affect our own security.

We need to act quickly on that antiterrorism bill. We need to act quickly on the aviation security bill. These are the priorities the President has set, and we need to go forward and address those. We are wasting time by not going to this bill, and I urge my colleagues to work out the differences. Do not require us to have extraneous amendments. Let us get on the bill. Let us have amendments that are germane to the bill and go forward in the way we have always done, having our votes, getting the final passage. Let us do the important business that will increase our capability to keep our country going, to keep our economy strong, to keep our people safe. That is our responsibility, and that is what we should be doing right now.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I want to talk about something that is very familiar to the Presiding Officer: the meetings that the Senator and I have had with airline employees back home. The most recent meeting was a rally at the Capital. We have made the commitment to these workers that we want to help the industry. We want the

industry to get back on its feet. That is critically important and what everybody wants.

We also believe the help has to be there for the employees. By the way, Mr. Richard Anderson, the CEO of Northwest Airlines, dropped by the other day and left me a letter of support. He has come out as CEO of Northwest firmly, squarely, behind getting assistance to the employees.

Maybe this has been said on the floor. I have been at briefings today, one of which was superb, with Secretary of State Powell, about whom I cannot say enough good things in terms of his wisdom and his hopes for how we proceed now in the aftermath of September 11. I cannot believe some of my colleagues are opposing moving to the floor with this airline safety bill in part because they are not committed to this package of benefits for employees. They don't want to see it happen. I will get people angry at me, and later we will have debate. I will be pleased to debate people later. To me, it is heartless. When people are flat on their backs, you help them. That is part of what government is for.

I say to the Presiding Officer, Senator DAYTON, I felt on Sunday, beyond speaking at a rally, you sometimes get the sense that people are reaching out to you. It is not so much to shake your hand, it is not to beg you, but to reach out for help. The handshake was more, in our State, a reaching out for help. It is frightening to be out of work and to not know how you will support your family.

We have this package to extend the unemployment benefits up to a year, and actually improve the U.I. with more benefits, and calling on States to increase what they will pay out, with the Federal Government providing the money. And in this nightmare situation, which we don't have to deal with, Senators, but if we did, if we were out of work, we would sure want the help.

When you lose your job and then in a couple of months you lose your health care benefits, you cannot afford what is called the COBRA program. The idea was to help families provide for health care, to be able to afford the coverage and not be without any coverage.

For God's sake, how much longer do Senators think we should wait?

I am not going to go after the industry, I don't think they were crying uncle. Frankly, as someone who has been a severe critic of Northwest Airlines—I never been able to get along with them—I give Mr. Anderson credit. I have had some of the employees say: He might care about us. I give him a lot of credit. Several flight attendants on a flight said that to me.

The truth of the matter is, they were ready, they had their array of lobbyists, et al, up here. We put the package through, and we were told: If you don't indemnify us—several carriers said—we will shut down Monday, a week ago. We didn't want that to happen.

But now we have employees out of work, what is it, 4,500 in our State, or

thereabouts. We have Senators who do not want this bill coming to the floor. First, we have to take the steps on airline safety—no question about it—now. But it is absolutely appropriate to also, in the same legislation, talk about Amtrak. It is part of the transportation system. It is related.

But the other part of it is the employees. I say to the Presiding Officer, I don't know if I will feel empty, depressed, or just furious and angry, to go back home this weekend and see some of those same employees who are going to be saying: Why? Why? Why the delay? Why can't you help us?

That is what I say to some of my colleagues. What is going on here? In all due respect, this should be a no-brainer. We should have the airline safety bill out. We have amendments; people can vote for or against the amendments. But it is not business as usual. This is not a business-as-usual time. This is not a typical time in our country.

I say to Senators, I know if you are thinking: In all due respect, PAUL, don't be gratuitous; it is not like anyone needs to tell us that, given what happened to our country on September 11 and the murder of so many people.

I get the impression that maybe on the economic hard times and what has happened to people in their own lives here on the economic security part, there are a number of Senators who I don't think get it. They don't get it.

I have not had a chance to talk to the majority leader. I assume we will file cloture, have a vote, and force this issue. If people don't want to vote for assistance for the aviation employees, let them vote no. I think it would be pretty hard to sleep if you were to cast such a vote.

I say to the Presiding Officer, I remember 4 or 5 days after September 11, I was coming back here and talking to some of the employees and saying, hello, how are you, to a woman while checking in; the woman said: All right; I'm hanging in there.

I realized what she was talking about was not September 11. She was talking about herself because she knew they would be out of work. My first reaction was: Why wouldn't you be focused on September 11 and the slaughter of people in the country? Then I said to Sheila: Wait a minute; she was not wrong to react that way. She had to be concerned about what would happen to her and her family. She knew she would be out of work.

These workers are asking us for help. I would like to smoke out Senators, have Senators over the next 2 days come out here and debate and tell us why they don't want to support an amendment, if that is the case.

I have to make this distinction. I can see some Senators saying: Well, of all people, PAUL, over the years, it is not like you haven't come out here and slowed things up and used your leverage.

I understand that. Frankly, I don't know what the cause is here. Maybe I

am just being self-righteous. I don't, frankly, know what the cause is. If the cause is, as I suspect, there are some Senators who don't want to see this package go through, then I say, just come on out here and "have at it," make your arguments, and let's vote.

We have a lot going on in terms of unity and Members of both parties feeling so strongly about what happened. All of us, I think, have a lot of concerns. It is hard not to every day worry about, What next not to worry about? What kind of action are we going to take? What kind of military action? What will be the reaction? Will we be successful? Will we be able to hold the people who committed this act of murder accountable? Can we minimize the loss of life of helpless civilians? I pray so. What will happen in Pakistan? What about other Middle East countries? What about our own country? Will there be other attacks? Will our people be protected? What is happening to the economy?

The truth is, we should, by tonight, be near getting this bill done, and then we have to put together another economic stimulus package. I do not know, but I think maybe our party, I say to the Presiding Officer, is a little bit too timid. I think we have to put together a significant stimulus package. I think part of it can be tax rebates, especially for the people who pay the Social Security tax who did not get any help. Let's put some money in the hands of people who are going to go out and spend it—do it. We should be extending the unemployment insurance, the health care benefits as well, and definitely help small business. There is no doubt in my mind that a lot of small businesses are really taking it on the chin.

There are child care expenses. There is affordable housing. There are some things we can do that are like a marriage. Let's put some money in affordable housing. I have my own ideas. I will not go through specifics today. I think I will tomorrow. Rebuilding crumbling schools—all of it has immense potential. And, frankly, we have to get onto that as well.

There is a whole lot we need to do, and the sooner the better. I guess I think the unity can apply to a lot of the challenges ahead. But I just find this refusing to proceed—maybe I am just coming on one of these weeks where Monday we were supposed to deal with the mental health bill, not an unimportant piece of legislation. I am not going to try to mix agendas. I will just say again the mental health equitable treatment legislation is bipartisan. I have been fortunate enough to be joined on this effort with Senator DOMENICI. There are 65 supporting Senators. We could have done it in several hours with debate on amendments. It was blocked.

By the way, there are going to be huge mental health issues, lots of struggles for families. Nobody should doubt that.

I have done a lot of work with Vietnam vets with PTSD. I have seen it. There is going to be so much of that. And the fact is, once you say you have to provide the same coverage for people dealing with this illness as with that, then you have the care following the money. Then you get some good care out of this. That was blocked.

I have been trying to get to some legislation that passed the House unanimously. It seems small. But there is not anything I care more about. It is for families dealing with a disease called Duchenne's disease. Senator COCHRAN has been helping on it. It is muscular dystrophy for children, little boys, a problem with a recessive gene. It is Lou Gehrig's disease, and for these little children there is no hope; there is no future. It is a very cruel disease, if you know Lou Gehrig's disease. It takes everything away from these children and then they die.

These families, they are so young when you meet them and the children are so young and they are just trying to get some focus in the Centers for Disease Control, NIH, some centers for excellence. We have bipartisan support. My understanding is, again, some Senators do not want to let that go through on unanimous consent.

There are things we can do that are good things for people that should not be that controversial, that we should be able to do. Maybe part of what I am doing today is just expressing my overall frustration. But I will say again, there is no more important piece of legislation than this aviation safety bill.

I think the Presiding Officer, his suggestions about having the Guard involved and giving some people reassurance—the President is taking that up. I am proud of the Senator from Minnesota. Thank you for getting that idea out there. I think it will be adopted. It is part of what we will do in this transition period.

And then there are a lot of other proposals that make a whole lot of sense: federalizing the workforce, having highly trained people. I was talking with Senator HOLLINGS and he said a lot of people who now do the security work, they should really have first priority to get the job training. It is not as if we just bash people and say: You are gone. Some are very qualified—with the training. Others may not be able to do the work.

There are other features as well. But the other part of it is I never dreamed we would have such a hard time getting help to the workers, to the employees. Maybe there is something wrong with the way my mind works. I am sure there are other colleagues who think so. But to me it is like 2 plus 2 equals 4. Yes, you help out the industry. Yes, we had to do it under emergency conditions. Yes, the next step is to make sure the employees, all the people who have been part of this industry, get help. They are out of work. And there is opposition to this. It is obvious.

I guess we are basically at a point where we are going to file for cloture, have a vote on it, and I suppose this will go over to next week. If so, fine. But as far as I am concerned—I have heard the Presiding Officer say this—I am getting to the point now where I think we are going to have to be here quite a long time this fall. We have a lot of work to do. If it is going to be delayed, things are going to have to extend on.

There is an education bill—the same kind of interesting issue where for some reason there is a lot of opposition to providing the resources to which I think we made a commitment to schools. I would say to Senator DAYTON, the Presiding Officer, my guess is—and I think we should do this—this Monday we are going to have the hearing together and focus on the terrorist attack, the recession, and their effect on the Minnesota population.

I think there will come a time where we probably should just focus on education. Just imagine what is going to happen with the State budgets that are going to contract, whether there will be the resources for the schools. Imagine the number of kids who will be eligible soon for the free- and reduced-cost lunch program. Imagine the struggling families are going to have.

By the way, we could help these families if we could get some of these benefits out there to them.

I think that ties in to another issue the Presiding Officer has worked on and been very outspoken on, directly correlated to whether or not we are going to keep the IDEA program mandatory funding and fund it or get the money for title 1. There are things we can do now, colleagues, that will help people.

I will finish this way: The two things that have most inspired me, if that word can be used, given what we have been through as a nation, is, A, the wisdom of people in Minnesota and around the country who were not—I said this to Secretary of State Powell, and I think everybody would agree—the people are not impatient. They are not bellicose. They are not saying "Bombs away." People are very well aware of how difficult this will be. They want to have it done in the right way. They want it to be consistent with our values. They do not want to see the kind of military action that will lead to massive loss of innocent civilians.

They want to deal with the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. They don't want people to be starving to death, people who have nothing to do with the Taliban and nothing to do with terrorism. And the other thing is I think a lot of what I would call "people values" have come out. I don't know if I can remember another time in my adult life where I have seen people so involved in helping other people. Part of it, of course, is to help all the people who have lost loved ones in New York and those lost on the plane that

went down in Pennsylvania and the Pentagon and D.C. and Virginia and surrounding areas.

But I think it goes beyond that. If there is one good thing you can point to, it is that I think people really are thinking more about ways in which they can help other people. Call it a sense of community or whatever you want to call it. I can't for the life of me figure out why that hasn't yet reached the Senate.

Where are the people values? How can we continue to delay helping these employees who are out of work in the aviation industry? How can we delay putting together a package? We call it economic stimulus, but the truth of the matter is, the best thing you can do in an economic stimulus package is also get help to people flat on their back who can use the money to consume because they have tried to make ends meet.

I have amendments. We have all worked together on the Carnahan package. I thank the Senator from Missouri for her fine work. We want to see that passed. I think some of us have other amendments. We want to get to an economic stimulus package.

There is a lot of work to do here: Education, and appropriations bills. I hope the whole question of prescription drug costs for elderly people doesn't just get completely put off. Frankly, those problems are no less compelling. I don't think I am exaggerating the point if I say that it is not going to be easy on a lot of working families if they have to end up with hard times and continue to have to help their parents and grandparents with prescription drug costs. It all gets tied in together.

It is all about communities. It is all about families. It is all about our being a family. It is all about how to help people. There were a lot of people who campaigned on this issue. Senator DAYTON of Minnesota probably campaigned as effectively on this issue as anybody in the country.

It is not as if these issues go away. It is all a part of what we need to do in the country. If I wanted to be kind of "Mr. Economist," I would say: My God, elderly people are paying half their monthly budget on prescription drug costs. Help them out so it is affordable, so they can have some money to consume with.

There are lots of things we can do that sort of represent a good marriage of helping people, which also will enable people to consume, and which will also help our economy. We need to do it now. We should do it for humanitarian reasons. We should do it out of a sense that we are our brothers' and sisters' keepers. We should do it with a sense of "there, but for the grace of God, go I." We should do it for economic reasons and national security reasons.

Here I am at 5 minutes to 5 on the floor of the Senate, and no one is here because moving to the airline safety bill has been blocked. Outrageous.

I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON of Florida). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I want to make some brief remarks about our progress, or lack of progress, on airport security, which is a very important and vital issue.

We had a good meeting with the Secretary of Transportation, Norman Mineta, and I think we are defining some of our differences, as well as areas of agreement. I am hopeful that we can negotiate out those differences. We need to move forward with this legislation. It is now 5:25 in the afternoon and we have not had a single amendment debated or proposed. We have not moved to the bill. We need to move to this legislation.

Last week, with a degree of bipartisanship that was very gratifying, this body passed legislation to take care of the financial difficulties that airlines are experiencing and have experienced as a result of the terrorist attacks. Now we need to restore the confidence of the American people in their ability to fly from one place to another with a sense of safety and security, which they do not have today.

It is inappropriate for us not to act before we go out of session tomorrow. Already, there are only a few amendments that would need to be considered. As I mentioned earlier, Senator HOLLINGS, the chairman, and I have committed to opposing nonrelevant amendments no matter what their virtues may be. So I intend, tomorrow, if we are unable, for whatever reason, to come down and ask unanimous consent that this legislation be the pending business. I think it is very important.

I see the Senator from Nevada on the floor. I thank him for his efforts in trying to see this bill brought up and addressed before we go out of session for the week.

I don't think we should allow any peripheral issues to prevent us from moving forward. I have had good will statements made from strong supporters of Amtrak that they would not have those provisions on this bill. For those who are worried about the unemployed and others who have suffered because of the airline shutdown, those people have also said we can move forward. There is no reason we should not. I hope we will, and I hope we will not have to employ any parliamentary procedures in order to do what we all know is necessary, which is to protect the flying safety of our air transportation system.

By the way, the Air Transport Association is strongly in support of this legislation. I have been visited by air-

line executives who have urged that we act as quickly as possible to restore the confidence of the American people. I hope we will listen to them as well and not get hung up on some rather unimportant—when you look at the importance of this bill—side issues.

So I hope we will act tomorrow, and, if not, I will try to come down to the floor and force action in whatever parliamentary fashion I can.

I yield the floor.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, I am offering an amendment to the Aviation Security Act that would ensure that results-oriented management is a key component of whatever changes are ultimately made to our airport security system. We can not afford more business as usual. We have to insist that the traveling public is safe from those who would perpetrate evil deeds like those of September 11.

First, my amendment requires the Federal Government to set and enforce goals for aviation security. It requires the head of aviation security, within 60 days of enactment, to establish acceptable levels of performance and provide Congress with an action plan to achieve that performance. Over the long-term, the head of aviation security must establish a process for performance planning and reporting that informs Congress and the American people about how the government is meeting its goals. By creating this process, we will be constantly assessing the threats we face and ensuring that we have the means to measure our progress in preparing for those threats. This is a new, detailed method for ensuring that performance management is in place specifically in the government's aviation security programs.

I firmly believe that good people, well managed, can substantially improve our aviation security. So this amendment gives those responsible for aviation security enhanced tools to regain the confidence of America's flying public. We employ a good mix of carrots and sticks to drive performance. For instance: Managers and employees would be eligible for bonuses for good performance. The head of aviation security may have a term of 3 to 5 years, which can be extended if he or she meets performance standards set forth in an annual performance agreement. This amendment establishes an annual staff performance management system that includes setting individual, group, and organizational performance goals consistent with an annual performance plan. The amendment allows FAA management to hold employees—whether public, private, or a mix thereof, strictly accountable for meeting performance standards. Those who fail to meet the performance measures that have agreed to could be terminated, be they managers, supervisors, or screeners.

These provisions are not new. Agencies like IRS, the Patent and Trademark Office, and the Office of Student and Financial Assistance, already have many of these flexibilities. This

amendment targets these flexibilities specifically to the area of aviation security so that we can immediately begin the process of ensuring the public's safety.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Before the Senator leaves the floor, we would like to report to him that I finished speaking with Senator HOLLINGS. Senator HOLLINGS and Senator MCCAIN have worked together in the Commerce Committee for many years now. I think the cooperation the two of them have shown during this difficult time of the past 3 weeks is exemplary. I personally appreciate the work the two of them have done, setting aside partisan differences and moving through difficult issues. I, too, hope we can figure out a way to move on to complete the work we have before us.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I join my colleague from Nevada in complimenting my friend from Arizona. It is also very much my hope and desire that we can bring up the airport security bill and complete it tomorrow. I heard my colleague from Arizona say that both he and Senator HOLLINGS are willing to object to amendments that are not relevant to the underlying package. That is a concern of a lot of people. That will help streamline and finish the bill.

I hope and believe we will have the bipartisan leadership in agreement with that so that we can keep non-germane amendments off this package and we can pass the airport security bill. Then we can work on other issues together as well. I hope that is the case. We have had good progress in working in a bipartisan way on a lot of issues. I would like to see that the case on this package as well. Then we can take up the antiterrorism package next week and finish it as well.

I thank my friend.

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. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. REID). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. NELSON of Florida. I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

RECOGNIZING AMBASSADOR DOUGLAS P. PETERSON

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the

Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Senate Resolution 167, submitted earlier today by Senators MCCAIN, KERRY, GRAMM, and myself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 167) recognizing Ambassador Douglas "Pete" Peterson for his service to the United States as the first American ambassador to Vietnam since the Vietnam War.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, on behalf of the other Senators—and I know they are in various negotiations on other legislation; in Senator MCCAIN's case, the Airline Security Act, and in the case of Senator GRAMM, he is involved in the Intelligence Committee right now—I say on behalf of all of them, and for me, what a great privilege it is to recognize a public servant, Ambassador Pete Peterson, who served as a Member of Congress prior to being named by President Clinton as the first United States Ambassador to Vietnam.

We bring forth this resolution commending Ambassador Peterson because of his extraordinary leadership in helping bring about the Vietnam Trade Act, which this Senate passed earlier today. What is so poignant about this story of Douglas Pete Peterson is the fact that when he first went to Vietnam during the Vietnam war as an Air Force pilot, he was shot down and captured and held in captivity for over 6 years. He was able to return to that country as Ambassador and has won the hearts of the people of Vietnam.

I remember reading a story that absolutely gripped me about a few days before Pete Peterson departed as Ambassador to Vietnam, he had a reunion with one of his captors. This was a captor who, at a time of great stress, after Pete had been beat over and over again to the point of unconsciousness, and he did not know if he was going to live or die at that particular point, in his stupor of coming in and out of consciousness, he motioned to one of his captors that he was thirsty, and his captor brought him a cup of tea.

A couple of days before Pete was to depart as the first Ambassador from America to Vietnam, and a very successful Ambassador, he had a reunion with that captor, and that Vietnamese gentleman offered him a cup of tea again.

How times had changed and what a great leader for us to have representing America where he held no grudge; he did not want revenge. He offered the best of America showing that we are a forgiving people. After serving six distinguished years as a Member of Congress from the State of Florida, for Pete, a Vietnam POW, to return to that country that had held him captive the longest as one of the POWs, then to come back extending the hand of

friendship with no malice in his heart, was to win the hearts of the Vietnamese people. In the process, he negotiated and tweaked and nurtured the Vietnam trade bill, which we passed earlier today.

It is with a great deal of humility that I speak on behalf of so many others, including Senator MCCAIN. Although he was not in the same POW camp with Ambassador Peterson, he clearly knew of him and thinks the highest of him. My words are inadequate to express the thoughts of all these other Senators.

I want to say one thing in closing about Pete Peterson. He is not only a hero to so many in his public and professional life—his professional life as a military officer, as a Member of Congress, and as our first Ambassador to Vietnam—but he is also a role model as a human being. After he returned from Vietnam, he suffered through the years of a long and torturous process of cancer with his first wife, finally claiming her life, but Pete Peterson was right there with her the whole way. He had the joy in Vietnam of meeting an Australian diplomat's daughter of Vietnamese descent, his present wife Vi. They make an engaging and attractive couple.

Mr. President, I offer these comments of appreciation as we pass this resolution.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, four years ago, I rose in this body to encourage my colleagues to confirm the nomination of my friend Pete Peterson to serve as the American ambassador to Vietnam, the first since the end of the Vietnam War. When we confirmed Pete for this important assignment in 1997, many of us could not have foreseen his success in building a normal relationship between our two countries.

Indeed, the best measure of Pete's success is the fact that it seems quite normal today for the United States to have an ambassador resident in Hanoi to advance our array of interests in Vietnam, which range from accounting for our missing service personnel to improving human rights to cooperating on drugs and crime to addressing regional challenges together. That normalcy is due largely to the superb job Pete did as our ambassador to Vietnam.

As a former fighter pilot shot down and held captive for six and a half years, some would have assumed it was not Pete's destiny to go back to Vietnam to restore a relationship that had been frozen in enmity for decades. Indeed, there was a time in Pete's life when the prospect of voluntarily residing in Hanoi would have been unthinkable. Much time has passed since then. Our relationship with Vietnam has changed in once unthinkable ways.

Pete rose to the occasion and helped us to build the new relationship we enjoy today. Pete's willingness, after having already rendered many years of noble service to his country, to answer