

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Unity Bonds Act of 2001".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress finds that—

(1) a national tragedy occurred on September 11, 2001, whereby certain individuals tried to steal America's freedom;

(2) Americans stand together to resist all attempts to steal their freedom;

(3) united, Americans will be victorious over their enemies, whether known or unknown; and

(4) Americans must respond to this tragedy in a spirit not of revenge, but of justice.

SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION FOR THE ISSUANCE OF UNITY BONDS.

Section 3102 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(f) ISSUANCE OF UNITY BONDS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall issue bonds under this section, to be known as ‘Unity Bonds’, in response to the acts of terrorism perpetrated against the United States on September 11, 2001.

“(2) USE OF PROCEEDS.—Proceeds from the issuance of Unity Bonds shall be used to raise funds to assist in recovery and relief operations following the terrorist acts referred to in paragraph (1), including humanitarian assistance, and to combat terrorism.

“(3) FORM.—The bonds authorized by paragraph (1) shall be in such form and denominations, and shall be subject to such terms and conditions of issue, conversion, redemption, maturation, payment, and rate of interest as the Secretary may prescribe.”.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I rise today to offer a bill to unite our citizens in this time of great crisis. As Americans, we feel many emotions, from anger to sadness, because of the tragedy of the terrorist attacks this past week.

The American people have responded with incredible acts of heroism, kindness, and generosity. The outpouring of volunteers, blood donors, and contributions of food and money demonstrates that America will unite to provide relief to the victims of these cowardly terrorist acts. This response is the true American spirit our country has always known.

So many of my constituents in South Dakota have called my office this week to ask what they can possibly do to help their fellow Americans who are suffering today. Many have given blood, others have donated to aid organizations, and most have offered prayers for the victims and their families. One woman asked whether she could buy the equivalent of the old war bonds that allowed our citizens to contribute to the war effort back in World War II.

Based on my constituent's idea, today I am introducing legislation that directs the United States Treasury to issue Unity Bonds. Americans who purchase these savings bonds will be contributing to disaster relief to the victims of Tuesday's attack and to our Nation's war against terrorism.

We will recover from this week's attacks. We will rebuild our Nation's in-

frastructure, and we will rebuild our Nation's spirit. But it will take a sustained, long-term effort to stamp out terrorism against the United States and all other liberty-loving nations.

Unity Bonds will allow Americans who want to show their support for this great country to participate in a meaningful way. I urge you to join me in helping to unite our citizens.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I think both of my colleagues, Senator McCONNELL and Senator JOHNSON, have offered constructive ideas. They come at it in a slightly different way, but their amendments are very similar. It is my hope that perhaps they can get together and bring their amendments together, and together offer it today as well.

I don't know whether we will finish this bill today. My hope is that we can find a way to actually finish this legislation today. I don't know that we have any requirement for a recorded vote on our side. I don't know whether they have a requirement on the Republican side.

But my hope is that perhaps if we can finish this bill today, we can have a vote and perhaps seek a rollcall vote on the conference when the conference report comes back. But that is up to the members of both caucuses. We will not make that request at this moment.

I hope that perhaps other people will consider that. We have a number of amendments that have been discussed. We are now in the process of trying to determine what the list of amendments will be, and we hope to have that at some point. I would like to believe that we can, if we work hard, deal with the amendments we know of on our side and the other side, and try to complete this bill pretty much this evening.

Mr. President, I will wait for a bit. I have a managers' amendment, a managers' package that I will send to the desk in a few minutes. It has been cleared by my colleague from Colorado. I know he is working on some other business relating to this bill off the Senate Chamber.

Let me, for a moment, while I am waiting for my colleague to come, and before I offer the managers' package, speak as in morning business, if I might, for 5 minutes. I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 5 minutes.

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

THE AGENDA OF THE SENATE

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me talk, just for a moment, about the agenda in the Senate. Part of that agenda is, of course, what we are doing in this Senate Chamber today; that is, as President Bush is indicating to the American people, we are getting back to work. It is what we want to have happen in this country.

What happened last week was an unspeakable horror visited upon us by terrorists. It took so many thousands of lives of innocent Americans. We grieve for them. But the President said: We must go back to work. And so we must, in the Senate as well.

Our work largely remains the appropriations bills that we must complete. We are required to complete them by October 1. It is almost certain we will not be able to do that with all the appropriations bills, but we need to work hard to make that happen.

Today we bring one appropriations bill to the floor of the Senate; and that is the Treasury, Post Office, general government bill. It is a very important piece of legislation because, as I indicated, it contains money for counterterrorism, it contains money for about one-half of the Federal law enforcement system, including the Customs Service, the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Secret Service, and so many other vital functions.

I think if we could pass this legislation today, or no later than Friday morning—but perhaps this afternoon—it would send a wonderful signal to the American people that when the President said, let's all get back to work, the Senate took that seriously, and we have gotten back to work, and we have moved a piece of legislation today that represents one very important subcommittee on the Senate Appropriations Committee.

I know my colleague, the chairman of the full committee, Senator BYRD, and the ranking member, Senator STEVENS, have worked very hard. I am so proud to serve with them on the Appropriations Committee. They work very hard to try to get these appropriations bills moving and get them through the Senate. If we can get this piece of legislation done today, I think it will be a great signal to send to the American people.

Part of the agenda, and the immediate part for us, is to pass appropriations bills. But there are, it seems to me, three significant issues that the Senate and the Congress and the American people must grapple with in a very serious way, with perhaps more determination than we have had for a long while as a nation.

One is the issue of terrorism. We now know that terror visits this land in a fashion that we have never before thought possible. The result is that we must not only recover from the acts of terrorism that occurred last week, we must work very hard to prevent those kinds of acts of terrorism from being committed in the future.

We know there are cells of terrorists that operate in this country. We know there are training camps for terrorists in other countries. We know there are people who very much would like to strike right at the heart of this country. So we must wage a war against

terrorism, as President Bush has indicated. We must do so thoughtfully, not recklessly. We must do so in a vigilant way, every day, in every way, to try to be sure, as an American people, that we retain our freedoms but, at the same time, we try to reduce the risk of terrorist acts.

It is going to cost some money to do so. If we are, for example, going to put sky marshals on commercial airplanes flying in the country, that takes manpower, it takes money, it takes resources, yet we do not have much of a choice. If we are going to beef up security at airports so that people who are flying on commercial airplanes in this country have a feeling of safety and that we have substantially tightened security, that is going to require some money, but we do not have much choice.

If we are going to give the opportunity to our intelligence community, and the FBI, the CIA, and the law enforcement community—if we are going to give them the tools they need to try to take down these terrorist cells, and to try to track down the terrorists who committed these acts, and to track down terrorists who might commit future acts and prevent those acts from occurring, it is going to require some money and some resources.

I think all of us in Congress have to be willing to do that. I know there are some recommendations that will be controversial with respect to this war that we wage on terrorism.

The Attorney General made a recommendation the other day that I know will be controversial, and yet I do not think we have much choice in this matter. He talked about the circumstance that now exists when you get a wiretap order from the Federal court that allows you to wiretap only with respect to one telephone instrument the conversations of a suspected terrorist.

It seems to me, as the Attorney General has suggested, that if you have someone who is a suspected terrorist, and you have been able to make that case to a Federal court and are able to get a Federal court order, it ought not just apply to one telephone, it ought to apply to the phone calls made by that suspected terrorist from whatever telephone that suspected terrorist uses.

That is an example of the kind of policy changes we are going to have to consider, some of which will be controversial, but we do not have much choice if we are going to protect this country.

I do not want America to have to give up a lot of civil liberties in order to meet these protections that we now need, but we also need to understand that we need, as Americans, to be vigilant—all of us. It is not just about law enforcement, it is about all of us being vigilant and understanding that if we see something that is unusual, if we see

something that we think should offer us concern, that it be reported.

So this war on terrorism is a very serious—a deadly serious—war that will be waged by all of us to try to prevent future terrorist acts in this country.

Even as we focus on that issue—terrorism, counterterrorism, rooting out the terrorists, finding out who did what was done last week with such madness in our country, and punishing them, and trying to prevent future acts—even as we do that, we have a couple of other things that are of paramount importance; and that is, we need to provide some additional vibrancy and restore life to this country's economy.

Even before the deadly acts last week, our economy was softening, and that softening of the American economy was causing significant problems. What happened last week has caused significant shock to the American economy. As a result of that shock, many of us worry a great deal that the confidence in this country's economy will suffer, the American people will lose confidence, and that we will see a further spiraling of economic difficulties.

So it is very important for all of us—the President and the Congress, Republicans and Democrats—to work to see if we can begin to pump some life into this economy. That means that almost certainly we will have to consider some kind of economic stimulus program, some kind of fiscal policy that matches what the Federal Reserve will do in monetary policy that provides some life and some buoyancy to an economy that has been in trouble.

The most important thing we can do is offer hope to the American people that in the long term the American economy is one to invest in; this is an economy of hope, optimism, and economic growth in the long term. We go through periods of upturns and downturns. There are inevitable contractions and expansions in the American economy. That will never change.

But we were going through a contraction at about the same time we were hit with these disasters last week, and that spells real trouble. All of us need to catch this economy very quickly and try to provide some new life and vibrancy to it. I think the President will find willing hands in Congress, wanting to help him lift the kinds of policies necessary to boost this economy.

Some are talking, I know, about, for example, tax cuts, a capital gains tax cut. Frankly, I do not think we ought to be talking about a tax cut that will persuade people to sell stock at the moment. If you substantially create more demand for selling stock at a time that the stock market is moving downward, you are creating exactly the wrong influences. So a capital gains reduction is not, in my judgment, the right medicine; at least it is the wrong medicine for this illness.

I think, for example, investment tax credits might be something that could provide some stimulus. There are a whole series of things you could put in a menu that you could conceive would provide stimulus to this economy. But I think we have to have that discussion. And we have to work with President Bush and the Congress to put something together that says to the American people: We understand this economy has some difficulty. We are going to move quickly and decisively to respond to it, to give you hope that this country's economy will have a bright future and this country's economy will continue to grow.

In addition to all of that, what happened in this country ought to remind all of us that there is, in fact, an urgency to write an energy policy for America.

Without energy, this country doesn't work. Without energy, we don't have an economy. Without energy, America's lights are off. America's machines are shut down. The American economic engine doesn't run. We are a country that consumes an enormous amount of energy with a set of energy policies that are very vulnerable to terrorists. We are far too dependent on foreign sources of energy, and we have a system of energy for our country that is far too vulnerable to potential terrorist attacks.

We need a new domestic energy policy, one that says, yes, we are going to produce more, more oil and more natural gas, not necessarily from the most fragile lands in the world. We don't need to do that. Yes, we are going to produce more. We are going to produce more coal, and we will do that using clean coal technology. We don't have to sacrifice our environment even as we use more coal.

Importantly, we are also going to begin to conserve. Conservation is a very important ingredient in an energy policy that works. We also need to begin to focus more of our resources and more of our determination to find renewable and limitless sources of energy. It makes good sense for us to take the energy from the wind. The new technology wind turbines are remarkable. Why not use that energy from the wind that is limitless and renewable?

It makes good sense to take a drop of alcohol from a kernel of corn. You extend America's energy supply with that alcohol, and you still have the protein feedstock left from the corn.

It makes good sense to do things in a different way. Yes, we need to produce more, more oil, more natural gas, and more coal. Yes, we need to do that while we pay attention to this country's environment. We can and must do that. But also we need conservation. We need more efficiency of appliances, and we need renewable and limitless sources of energy developed in a very significant way.

I say that because when we talk about these three elements of public policy that require an urgency on the part of Congress, dealing with counterterrorism, trying to provide lift to an economy that is in trouble, and writing an energy bill that makes us less vulnerable to terrorist attacks and the shutoff of the supply of oil from the Middle East, all of these represent an urgency that Congress must tackle.

We must do this in a way that makes sense. This can't be business as usual. It can't be, "The President believes this and we believe that. Let's have a fight for 5 or 6 months." It must be taking from the President and from Members of Congress the best of what all have to offer and from that developing a public policy that will strengthen our country, strengthen our country in the area of fighting terrorism, in trying to give our economy the lift it needs at this point and in making us less dependent on a source of energy that is vulnerable.

All of these represent an agenda that is critical to our country.

Could I talk about other things? Yes, there are plenty of other things yet to do. We know we need the kinds of things we were debating before the terrorist act last week. We were debating campaign finance reform, a Patients' Bill of Rights, the cost of prescription drugs. All of those things are important. None of them have lost their importance in the scheme of trying to do the people's business in the Congress. But there is an urgency to several of the elements of public policy that we must pay attention to first: terrorism, the economy, and energy.

I, for one, pledge to this President and my fellow Members of the Senate that we must come together in a way that we have never before done—at least in recent years—to grab these policy issues and try to find the best that everyone in the Chamber has to offer and work with the President to make the changes necessary to strengthen America.

I yield the floor and 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. 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.

TREASURY AND GENERAL GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2002—Continued

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, the pending amendment is the Johnson amendment; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Johnson amendment be set aside.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 1575

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I intend to send to the desk a managers' package that I have worked together with Senator CAMPBELL to construct. On behalf of Senator CAMPBELL and myself, I send a package to the desk that includes two technical amendments regarding the National Archives; a Campbell for Domenici technical correction of a provision in the fiscal year 2001 Treasury appropriations law regarding a road leading to the Columbus, NM, border crossing; a Dorgan for Nelson and Graham amendment transferring a parcel of land in Orlando, FL; an amendment making available certain funds for agency personnel training at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center at Glynco, GA; a Dorgan for Byrd technical amendment changing a reporting date for the U.S.-China Security Review Commission; a Dorgan amendment regarding HIDTA; a Dorgan-Campbell amendment regarding the directors of the Presidential libraries; a Dorgan-Campbell amendment for Feinstein regarding extending the printing date of the breast cancer awareness semipostal stamp; a Campbell amendment for Senator SHELBY regarding canine training.

I send the managers' package to the desk and I ask my colleague from Colorado to comment on it as well. I understand it is cleared.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARPER). The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, this amendment has been cleared by the minority.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. DORGAN], for himself and Mr. CAMPBELL, proposes an amendment numbered 1575.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted.")

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I yield the floor and 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. 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, am I correct the managers' amendment is pending?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The managers' amendment is pending.

Mr. DORGAN. I ask unanimous consent that the managers' amendment be agreed to.

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

The amendment (No. 1575) was agreed to.

Mr. DORGAN. I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, 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. STEVENS. 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. STEVENS. I ask unanimous consent that I be recognized as in morning business for the purpose of introducing a resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Alaska is recognized.

Mr. STEVENS. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. STEVENS pertaining to the submission of S. Con. Res. 66 are located in today's RECORD under "Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.")

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

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

NOMINATION OF ROBERT BONNER

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I rise to urge the Senate to act very swiftly to confirm the nomination of Robert Bonner to be Commissioner of Customs.

I remind my colleagues that Customs is one of the first lines of defense we have in our country. They inspect baggage and the goods of people coming into the United States. They help to assure that we are safe by inspecting any item that might threaten our national security and public welfare. They do a good job.

Last week's attacks demonstrate how important it is that Customs and all of our agencies have our full support. We must make sure that the agency is as robust as we possibly can.

What is the problem? The problem is that the Finance Committee has reported out Mr. Bonner to be Customs Commissioner, and someone on the Senate floor is holding him up. We cannot put him in place because there are