

We know women in Taliban-controlled areas of Afghanistan have been prohibited from being examined by male physicians while, at the same time, most female doctors and nurses have been prohibited from working. We know women have been brutally beaten and publicly flogged, even executed, and we have seen that on CNN on an incredible documentary called "From Beneath The Veil."

Senator BROWNBACK and I in this amendment say it is the sense of the Senate that Afghan women organizations must be included in planning for the future reconstruction of Afghanistan and that the goal of the new government should be equality for all.

That is all I have to say about this amendment. I ask it be laid aside, and I ask to call up my second amendment.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 1941

Mrs. BOXER. I send the amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from California [Mrs. BOXER] proposes an amendment numbered 1941.

(Purpose: Condemning suicide bombings as a terrorist act)

At the appropriate place, add the following:

SEC. . SENSE OF THE SENATE CONDEMNING SUICIDE BOMBINGS AS A TERRORIST ACT.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Senate finds that:

(1) Suicide bombings have killed and injured countless people throughout the world.

(2) Suicide bombings and the resulting death and injury demean the importance of human life.

(3) There are no circumstances under which suicide bombings can be justified, including considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature.

(4) Religious leaders, including the highest Muslim authority in Saudi Arabia, the Grand Mufti, have spoken out against suicide bombings.

(b) SENSE OF THE SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) Suicide bombings are a horrific form of terrorism that must be universally condemned.

(2) The United Nations should specifically condemn all suicide bombings by resolution.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I think this amendment is very clear. As far as we can tell, the United Nations has never passed a specific resolution condemning suicide bombings, nor has the Senate done it, as far as I can tell. This would be important. Religious leaders of all kinds have basically said there is never a political reason, a philosophical reason, an ideological reason, a racial, ethnic, or religious reason, no reason for someone to become a suicide bomber. It demeans life.

I am very hopeful the managers of the bill will accept this amendment. I have no need to speak any longer on it

except to say I am hopeful it will be passed.

I ask the Presiding Officer if it is appropriate because I want to make sure the amendment is disposed of—if it is appropriate to ask for the yeas and nays or simply to lay it aside at this time; what is appropriate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator can do either.

Mrs. BOXER. I ask this amendment be laid aside. In doing so, I have two amendments laid aside, one dealing with the Afghan women and one dealing with suicide bombings. I thank my colleagues for their forbearance. I am pleased to be on the Foreign Relations Committee where I have an opportunity to work on these matters.

I thank my Republican friend, and I ask unanimous consent that Senator ALLEN be added as the original cosponsor of the suicide bombing amendment. I thank him and Senator BROWNBACK for working with me on both issues.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendment is laid aside.

The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Before the Senator from California leaves, I wonder if she would put me on the two amendments, and I thank the Senator for recognizing I have been waiting. I do appreciate the brevity.

Mrs. BOXER. I thank my colleague. I am very proud to ask unanimous consent that Senator DOMENICI as an original cosponsor of both amendments.

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

WORKING TOGETHER

Mr. DOMENICI. Madam President, I come to the floor today to talk about history, but strangely enough, short history—the last 3½ to 4 weeks. Because so much has happened in that period of time, I am firmly of the opinion today that while we will return to some level of normalcy and we will all begin to understand what has changed in the world, we all found out in a short period of time what kind of people terrorists are and what they will do. Americans can hardly understand how somebody would organize people—having no country, no real habitat, with no concern except to wreak havoc on those they do not like. We live in that new bubble.

I rise today to urge that we continue one other important thing. I believe we have a long-time reputation of being the body wherein issues are argued, debates can even go on forever. What we did immediately after that New York disaster, when the terrorists showed their true light to the Americans, was we decided in the Congress we would not conduct business as usual. Something rather magnificent happened. The public perceives us completely differently. We, too, have changed in their

opinion because we lock arms on big issues, we work very hard behind the scenes with experts. We come to the floor and, with a minimum of debate, we pass important measures.

That has been one of the most significant signals to our own people and to the terrorists of the world, that we can adjust this great Republic to the modern problems, the problems we never, ever, anticipated, even 2 years ago, much less when our Constitution and Bill of Rights were written.

I think something is going awry, that maybe this unity is falling apart or breaking. I am hearing leadership offer their own proposals. Just yesterday I heard the majority leader, who I thought was doing a magnificent job joining with Republicans, introducing a reconciliation package. I thought we were going to work the big issues together.

I urge that we return to that mode and during the next 4 to 6 weeks, or however long we want to spend, we complete some very fundamental work and we get on with a few packages that will indicate we need to do something new and different. That way, we would not have either the tremendous buildup and pressure of not being able to get things done, nor would we have a cantankerous partisan debate over matters that could easily be resolved, as we resolved the first four or five bills of importance when New York was still on fire and the Pentagon was still steaming because we hadn't put out the fires deep inside the beaten-upon building that was a symbol of our strength.

I also want to say something else is happening which makes this a very difficult burden for our President, for us, and for the American people. First I commend the President. I think he has done a tremendous job. I believe he leads not only us but I think right-minded people everywhere, although they all have different political problems. They are seeing America, now, under his leadership, presenting a real opportunity for the world to get rid of terrorism. They are joining us, not one or two a day, but in flocks; the countries of the world are joining us.

Maybe from this will come a new world order. Who knows? I said that a few weeks ago. The father of this President came into office saying he wanted to work for a new world order. Things got out of hand. The new President did not claim that. But, because of the courage, tenacity, faith, he is leading the Nation to a whole new set of alliances, all of which I see as very positive.

It seems to me Russia and America may come out very differently as a result of this incident. It also seems to me that a number of countries that were not willing to join us are looking around and saying: We would like to help America.

Most of what I have just said indicates a desire to unite and work together. What a joy to see all Members, Democrat and Republican—mayor Republican, Governor Republican, Senators Democrat—go to New York City. There wasn't anybody there trying to get their way. They were trying to get together and get something going for the people of New York and for our country. Again, unity paid off in really big dividends.

We don't usually think of our leaders, under our evolved two-party system, in a way that says, if you will just unite, you will do the best thing you can for our people. But I think that is happening. That has taken a back seat because today we are talking about anthrax, and we are learning. I want to compliment all the professionals who worked on it. I really believe they did the very best they could under the circumstances. I compliment them all.

We are learning brand new things even about this particular microorganism. We are learning that maybe it is spread easier than we had learned in the textbooks and that the scientists said. Maybe you can aerosol it much easier than we thought. We thought that was a very difficult thing. We thought it required very efficient kinds of equipment and tremendous resources. It still may. We don't have the answer yet. But I don't believe we ought to start arguing among ourselves about this particular problem. I think we ought to also join together, listen to our experts, and if we need to do some more things quickly, let's do them. Let's not run to see who is going to get credit. Let's not try to put bill upon bill just to spend money.

I want to remind everyone we are down to about \$50 billion in surplus from \$176 billion just 5 or 6 weeks ago, and this is the surplus we didn't even want to touch. It is the accumulated surplus that was all going to go on the debt. We are down to \$50 billion or so, but we see the bills people are proposing under the rubric of stimulus plus expansion of social welfare programs. I trace our longer history, not just 3 weeks, and find we never did try to expand those programs in our serious recessions before. They were taken up in due course, not as a stimulus, not as an emergency. That has to do with COBRA and other programs at which we are looking.

But I think we have to face up to the reality that every night we are looking at Afghanistan on the television, trying to figure out how are we doing, whose side is winning, what is happening, and here at home we are engaging our best scientists in this dread illness. This illness comes from a product that is very common. I think the Senator in the chair knows that out west, where we have a lot of cows and pens for cows and the like, these spores are prevalent everywhere. In my State, in

northern New Mexico, there are many of them. We treat them properly, give them their proper respect, and they don't go anywhere because people either take antibiotics or take treatment, and we go on with our lives.

But the overhanging problem is the American economy. When it is flourishing, we can do almost anything. When it is coming down and in recession, it has a tendency to harm an awful lot of people. The cycle in American capitalism, which nobody has cured yet, when it starts coming down and unemployment goes up and the other things that we know about come about—obviously, productivity is not growing like it was, many people are put out of work, many businesses go bankrupt, many families have to ask the Government to help because, through no fault of their own, they can't be employed. We can't order them to be employed, if we want to use the great system that has built this country to its enormous material powerhouse status.

I want to say the third thing we have on our platter makes it a very big platter. Three big things sit there, straining America: There is a war that is different from any we had, and there is a human commitment by the American people, in spite of its difference, despite its ferocity, despite the risks we have to take—it is amazing, the American people, in excess of 90 percent, say stay with it; go get them. It is amazing that they say America is on the right path.

We always ask, are we on the right path or the wrong path? This is one time we have been united and they know we are on the right path when it comes to this war. Americans, given the facts, although they are a little more frightened than they have been in the past, will support an appropriate, righteous cause.

We are not without fault. But certainly we do not deserve, either from our own citizens or from people in the world, some of the things said about America. We are flourishing because we have a great system. And we have not destroyed our own system. We have lived with it, made it grow, and when things had to change, they changed peacefully and parties got new agendas for their candidates and we established new things to make America grow. When America grows, we can do much more for education, we can do more for all the things that we cherish, and we can give our taxpayers a little bit of the empathy they need so they can grow and prosper.

So far, as I look at it, it seems to me we are going to wake up in 3 or 4 weeks when we get some new economic numbers. I regret saying I think there will be a new headline. The headline will be: America In Recession. Those speaking about it are saying we don't know quite how to fix it. I have sensed that

for quite some time. I added my own economics that I do, having worked with a lot of these people, had conversations, and then we look for some big facts. I just want to share one that is very startling, and that has to do with a very important characteristic of our economy—industrial production.

The problem is that industrial production figures that were released just 1 week ago yesterday morning—we are down 1 percent in the month of September. This year alone, that great measure of our productivity, and of our production, will be down 6 percent. That is as much as it went down in the entire 1990–1991 recession.

Put another way: This is the 12th consecutive month of that kind of decline. This is the longest decline in industrial production since World War II. I understand it doesn't have all of the significance it had during this period since World War II. It has been pushed aside as a major indicator by some other things. But it is still a major one.

I believe our mission is simple: Get together on the appropriations bills, no excuses, unite, have our leaders unite, and let's get them done. Let's just say it ought not be an excuse big enough to deny our desire to work together in a unified way to get the ordinary business done. I think when we were beginning to move, our buildings were closed down. Who would have thought of that? Nonetheless, that is the case.

We are trying to find ways to work even though the buildings are not quite accommodating. We are getting there. We are forcing some accommodations so we can do our work.

In addition, we have to finish up the work of an appropriations bill that appropriates money which we put in, in the early days for New York and for defense. Remember that we passed that to send a signal and to appropriate the money, but we said it is subject to a new appropriations bill. That has to be done. That requires unity. That requires Senators and Congressmen to give up some things and get on with a package with consensus, and then unite together and say let's do it. Some say it was too big a package. We will have to add a lot. Let's just say that considering America's future and what we are, the worst thing would be for us to not do what we have promised to do. The second worst is to not continue on with evaluations and then pass laws and appropriations to fill some very serious holes we have—clearly in the medical area, biomedical, and chemical.

In terms of our country, we were at war in a sense, but we really didn't understand the significance of biological and chemical warfare. We weren't as well prepared. But whom do you want to blame for that? Some people are now beginning to ask. There have been Senators, House Members, and Presidents

who have spoken to terrorism. They have spoken to the issue of biological and chemical warfare. But I can tell you from our own experience on one bill. We passed a bill that is commonly known as Nunn-Lugar-Domenici which is now in 126 cities with \$670 million a year. It takes the first responders, fire, policemen, and medical teams; it organizes them so they move in harmony again, in unity.

It was very hard during the first 2 or 3 years to get cities to willingly participate. There is no criticism, but they did not like the idea because they did not want to let their people think they were subject to any real problems from outside. It took 3 years to get the program implemented. It took the U.S. Government's executive branch to divide it into three parts instead of in unity. It is implemented by three different Departments of our Government. Obviously, we learn about that now. We are in trouble. We are going to seek unity of purpose with reference thereto.

I also suggest that the economy needs an economic stimulus plan. I remind everyone, this economy is faltering. I don't believe we should be the first as Senators from different States that may have problems to run and say we need to pay for a new program. Every program and every tax proposal ought to be subject to that. Let's consider it. How does it help the economy grow? I think if it doesn't, it ought to be on another calendar. We don't know with precision, but we know pretty well that a bridge construction program that comes into effect 3 or 4 years from now may be a good program because we need bridges, but it is not an economic stimulus package. I think we have come to the conclusion that highway bridges and like programs, if we need them, are good programs, but for the most part they are not programs that will accelerate the growth in this economy. Instead of everybody going to the wall on that, that can be organized and talked about.

We can get on with doing what we don't do so well. But we have done marvelously well for the last 5 or 6 weeks to commit to the American people that until we finish our business, including a stimulus package, if we can do it, we are going to lock arms and finish on an upbeat note that says we are united to do what we can about this terrible new enemy. We are absolutely committed to give our President what he needs militarily, and we encourage him to follow them to their demise.

To the extent we have additional stimulus ideas, we ought to take a good look to see if we can do them together. If it is OK, we can then come in the next year. We don't have to do everything in the next 3 or 4 weeks. We will learn a lot about this problem in the next 5 or 6 weeks. Instead of passing bills, we will have some very re-

financed examinations and appraisals of our problems.

For instance, everybody always hears me talk about the laboratories that do our nuclear work. The people who visit them say they are crown jewels in terms of research capacity. I think it still shocks people to know that, for instance, in this area that has to do with this biological enemy that we are fighting now, those two laboratories combined in expertise, if not the paramount source of evidence, are the paramount source of definition about these spores. That happens to be a program they have in place, and they are being called upon now to be some of the experts to resolve some of these unknown issues. We have to help put all of those together to work in unison under our new manager of domestic problems, a wonderful former Governor, Governor Ridge.

I close by saying to the Senators from both sides of the aisle, House Members and those who are in close contact with our Members, let's get back to where we were and seek unity; let's try to lock arms and get our basic job done, the extraordinary work done, and do it in such a way that Americans can continue to feel what they feel about this Government. They totally support our President. They think we are better than we have ever been. I don't think we need to fight when we have an enemy that will just capitalize on anything going on in our country that is tearing at us. They think they are going to cause that. We ought to do just the opposite.

Thank you for the privilege of speaking today. I yield the floor.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS EXPORT FINANCING AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2002—Continued

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, is there an amendment pending?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are two amendments that have been set aside.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I know the distinguished Senator from Kentucky is off the floor. So I will not move any action while he is gone.

I wish to urge Senators who have amendments to come forward. There is no reason this bill cannot be finished. Even if we finish it fairly soon, I hope Members of the Senate will realize the importance of this bill.

I remember coming to the Senate at a time when so many would talk about foreign aid as some kind of a massive giveaway. People would ask, What have these countries done to help us? Why are we sending money there? Fortunately, at that time we had people such as Senator Mike Mansfield, a happy memory in the Senate, and people who preceded the Presiding Officer, Senator Jacob Javits on the Republican side

who knew how important these programs were.

Of course, you can argue that there are a whole number of reasons. We are the wealthiest, most powerful nation history has ever known. You could speak to the moral reasons we should be helping other countries. We could talk about what it does for our security interests. If we bring about stability in other parts of the world, we help democracy flourish. We would help the middle class build up in areas that otherwise were prone to overthrows of governments, instability, rebellions.

I think of some of the programs that Members of this body have proposed—not necessarily on this bill but others—the School Lunch Program for Africa that former Senator Dole and former Senator McGovern proposed.

I recall last year being down at the White House when they discussed this with President Clinton, and the interesting points brought out. They were talking about countries where families could not feed their children any way, not mentioning anything about educating them.

But if we help those countries have a school lunch program, something that costs us a tiny fraction of what we spend on foreign aid, then children could go to school and learn. But also in a lot of these countries where girls do not go to school, where only the boys go to school, some of the families said: Wait a minute. If we can feed our daughters as well as our sons, we will be able to do that.

Now, what has happened in doing that is we not only benefit those countries, but we can benefit the people there. We carry out the moral aspects of our foreign aid bill. But then we also have money in this bill for health care, not only the health care of the people in these other countries, but there is a provision which would allow us to build up the medical infrastructure of other nations to get rid of possibly another Ebola plague, to have an early warning system when one is existing so the country can act to stop it.

Now, this is not just altruism. There is no disease anywhere in the world that is more than an airplane trip or a postage stamp away from our own country. If we can help countries fight these diseases within their own borders, not only do they help those people but they help all the rest of us.

Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. STABENOW). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

AMENDMENTS NOS. 1942 THROUGH 1948, EN BLOC

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I have discussed this with Senator