On the question of pornography and child pornography, and those questions, people can go either way. The Supreme Court has sort of spurned a lot of different ways. These forms of speech and press are quasi-speech. Depictions or acts of burning a flag were never what our Founding Fathers were fundamentally concerned about. They were concerned in early America about political speech, the right to speak out on public policy issues and say what you wanted to say.

James Madison, the father of our Constitution, whose birth we celebrated earlier in the month, the 250th anniversary of his birth, in talking about our goal in America as to free elections and people you chose could be elected, said: The value and efficacy of this right to elect and vote for people for office depends on the knowledge of the candidate and democracy, so that if the candidates for public trust, and on the equal freedom, consequently, of examining and discussing these merits and demerits of the candidate's respectively.

That suggests this is what America was founded about, to have a full debate about candidates and their position on issues. When do you do that? You do that during the election time. Not 2 years before an election.

I believe the contributing of money to promote and broadcast or amplify speech is covered by the first amendment. I do not think that is a matter of serious debate. Some have suggested otherwise. They said money is just an inanimate object. But if you want to be able to speak out and you cannot get on television, or you cannot get on radio, or you cannot afford to publish newspapers or pamphlets, then you are constrained in your ability to speak out. That is a thunderous power we were saying here, that we were going to empower State legislatures and the U.S. Congress to put limits on contributions and expenditures by candidates and groups in support of and in opposition to candidates for office. Just as they outlined in Buckley.

That is a thunderous power we were saying here, that we were going to empower State legislatures and the U.S. Congress to put limits on how much a person and group could spend in support or in opposition to a candidate. Think about that. Where are our civil libertarian groups? I have to give the ACLU credit, they have been consistent on this issue. When they saw a bill that was like this, or bad, and they have said so. But too many of our other groups—I don’t know whether they are worried about the politics of it or what, but they have not grasped the danger to free speech and full debate we are having here.

It seems to me we are almost losing perspective and respect for the first amendment that protects us all. In this debate we have focused on what the courts have held with regard to the first amendment and campaign finance. I remain confident that significant portions of the legislation as it is now pending before us will be struck down by Federal courts.

We ought not to vote for something that is unconstitutional. We swore to uphold the Constitution. If we believe a bill is unconstitutional, we should not be passing it on the expectation that someday a court may strike it down, even if we like the goal. If it violates the Constitution, each of us has a duty, I believe, to vote no. The idea that we can pass a law that would say that within 60 days of an election a group of union people, a group of citizens, cannot get together and run an ad to say that JEFF SESSIONS is a no-good skunk and ought not be elected to office, offends me. Why doesn’t that go to the heart of freedom in America?

I believe this bill is not good, that the elimination of the corrupt aspects we are trying to deal with will not ultimately be achieved. At the same time, I believe we will have taken a historic step backwards, perhaps the most significant retrenchment of free speech and the right to assemble, and free speech, that has occurred in my lifetime that I can recall. This is a major bit of legislation that undermines our free speech.

I know we have talked about all the details and all the little things. There are some things in this bill I like. I wish we could make them law. But as a whole, we ought not pass a piece of legislation that would restrict a group of people in America from coming together to raise money and speak out during an election cycle, 60 days, 90 days, 10 days, 5 days, on election day—they ought not be restricted in that effort. In doing so, we would have betrayed and undermined our commitment to free speech and free debate that has made this country so great.

Mr. President, I will proceed to see if I can close us out for the night.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE CONGRESSMAN NORMAN SISISKY

March 29, 2001

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I am joined by my colleague, Senator Allen. We would like to address the Senate for a period not to exceed 10 minutes.

Mr. President, today, just hours ago, Senator Allen and I were informed of the loss of one of our Members of Congress from the State of Virginia, Norman Sisisky. It has been my privilege to have served with him in Congress throughout his career. Our particular responsibilities related to the men and
women of the Armed Forces—I serving on the Senate Committee on Armed Forces, the other on the House National Security Committee.

Our Nation has lost a great patriot in this wonderful man who started his public service career in 1945 as a young sailor in the U.S. Navy. In total, he served some 30 years, including his Naval service, service in the Virginia General Assembly, and in the service of the Congress of the United States.

The men and women of the Armed Forces owe this patriot a great deal, for he carried forth his earliest training in the Navy until the last breath he drew this morning. They were always, next to his family, foremost in his mind.

Throughout his legislative career in the Congress, many pieces of legislation bore his imprint and his wisdom on behalf of the men and women in the Armed Forces.

Mr. President, it is a great loss to the Commonwealth of Virginia, this distinguished public servant. It is a great loss to scores of friends, a devoted friend. My heart and my prayers go to his widow—a marriage of some 50 years—and to his family.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I just thank my two colleagues for bringing this information to the Senate. I came into the House of Representatives with NORM SISISKY. What a terrific person he was to work with. He had a wonderful sense of humor, was very dedicated, as my friend pointed out, to his country. He was very patriotic, and he was a real fighter for his district.

I want to associate myself with the eloquent words of Senator WARNER and Senator ALLEN.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I echo the words of the senior Senator from Virginia, JOHN WARNER. NORM SISISKY was a man who was loved all across Virginia. As the Senator said, he started his career in the Depression and served in the armed services. He also was a very successful businessman in the private sector. While he was a strong advocate for the armed services and the strength of our Nation, he also brought forth commonsense business principles of logistics and efficiency, whether it was in the assembly or in his many years of service in the U.S. House of Representatives.

He clearly was one of the leaders to whom people on both sides of the aisle would look. When there was a need for getting good, bipartisan support, obviously, folks would go to Senator WARNER. On the Democrat side, they looked to NORM SISISKY. NORM SISISKY cared a great deal, as Senator WARNER said, about the men and women who wear the uniform. He wanted to make sure they had the most advanced equipment, the most technologically advanced armaments for their safety when protecting our interests and freedoms abroad.

He was true hero to many Virginians, not just in his district but all across the Commonwealth of Virginia, always bridging the partisan divides, trying to figure out what is the best thing for the people of America and also freedom-loving people around the world.

I will always remember NORM SISISKY as a person. I will always remember that smiling face, and he had that deep voice and that deep laugh, hardly laugh.

He was one who was always exuberant, always passionate, no matter what the effort, what the cause. You could be standing on the corner waiting for the light to change, and NORM would be carrying on with great passion and vigor about whatever the issue was. He had that smile, that smile. Here is the way we will maneuver through the bureaucracy to get this idea done.

He truly was a wonderful individual. Everyone here speaks of him as a fellow Member of the House of Representatives.

When I was Governor, this man went beyond the call of duty. We were trying to get the department of military affairs to move from Richmond to Fort Pickett to transform that base which had been closed.

NORM SISISKY spent weeks talking with members on the other side of the aisle in the Virginia General Assembly, beyond the call of duty, to make sure we could move the headquarters to Fort Pickett and that the environmental aspects were cleaned up at no expense to the taxpayers, keep the facility open, and transform it to commercial use to benefit the entire Blackstone community.

The people in Southside Virginia will be forever grateful for what NORM SISISKY did in making sure Fort Pickett is there as a military facility for guard units in the Army, as well as private enterprise efforts and helping protect the jobs and people of that community.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLEN. I will yield shortly.

Congressman NORM SISISKY was a great Virginian. He was a great American. I know our thoughts and prayers are there for his wife Rhoda. I know at least two of his sons very well, Mark and Terry, as well as Richard and Stuart.

Our prayers and thoughts go out to them. We tell them: Please realize Norm still lives on in you, in your blood, and also his spirit.

We also share our grief with his very dedicated and loyal staff who shared his passion for the people of Virginia and the people of America.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, if I may address what my distinguished colleague said, we shall work together to see whether or not an appropriate portion of Port Pickett—he just loved that base—can appropriately bear his name.

It would mean a great deal to the men and women of the armed forces. We will try for that.

Mr. ALLEN. That is a great idea.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator from Virginia yield?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, as with Senator BOXER, I came to the House of Representatives in 1982. One of the freshman House Members was NORM SISISKY. Like Senator ALLEN, I can see that smile. He had an infectious smile. He was a friend. I enjoyed my service with that class of 1982. Part of my memories will always be NORM Sisisky.

I join in the comments made by my friends from Virginia and the Senator from California in recognizing a great public servant in NORM SISISKY.

Mr. WARNER. We thank our colleagues for his remarks.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Will the Senator from Virginia yield?

Mr. WARNER. Yes.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I say to the Senators, oh, the good old days of life so short so quickly for such a great servant of the State of Virginia and of the United States of America with whom I had the privilege of serving in the House. He never met a man he did not like, and he was passionate about Government service. I thank my colleagues for calling this sad news to our attention and for the opportunity to respond.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, we thank our colleague.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, briefly, I do not claim a close relationship with NORM SISISKY, but I have had the great privilege of serving on the Armed Services Committee with Senator WARNER for the last 18 years, and I can remember every year when we would go into conference with the House of Representatives, NORM would be there. He would be championing the positions he felt strongly about and that were important to the people of Virginia. I also mourn his loss and recognize the important loss it is to Virginia and to this Congress.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, we thank our colleague.

TRIBUTE TO PUNCH GREEN

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, the great Oliver Wendell Holmes once said, “To live fully is to be engaged in the passions of one’s time.” Few Oregonians—and few Americans—have lived a life as full as Alan “Punch” Green’s. Alan Green was known to us who loved him as “Punch.” I say that few have lived a life as full as Punch’s because we read about him in such a positive manner in the passions of our time.

Punch passed away last Friday at the age of 75. And as his many friends—myself included—struggle to get used to