

we make the Nation available to all religions and respect all religions and an individual's right to practice the religion they choose.

We were honored this morning by having the Imam here at the opening of our session. He demonstrated to our Nation that we are a diverse nation, diverse in our heritage. We are all either children or grandchildren or great grandchildren of immigrants, certainly in my family, my mother and my wife, first-generation Americans, speaking in a different language than English until they learned English. But we are also so different in all our religions. Look across the Senate floor. There are a number of different religions represented right here. We have Mormons, Protestants, Jews, and Catholics. It is a wonderful example of the diversity of this Nation. So I was pleased to hear Senator REID's comments. I associate myself with them. I thank the Imam for opening our session.

Mr. REID. Is the Senator from Vermont aware that this is the first time in the history of our country that a Muslim has offered the invocation for the Senate?

Mr. LEAHY. I was not aware of that. I certainly hope it will not be the last. I hope this will happen often. I also know that the visiting Chaplain honors us, but I also hope he knows the Senate honors him. My wife's brother is a Catholic priest. One of his great moments in his priesthood was when he opened the Senate session. He reminded us of that often. This is something we should do often, and I applaud the Chaplain in using his prerogative to make this opportunity available to so many others.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in welcoming the opening prayer this morning and say how much all of us appreciate this very important expression and how we value the message that was given to all of us today. I thank our leadership for giving us the opportunity to listen to this voice of peace and restraint and wisdom. I am personally very grateful to the guest Chaplain for his presentation.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

SCHEDULE

Mr. REID. Mr. President, the Senate will resume consideration, under the direction of Chairman LEAHY and Ranking Member MCCONNELL, of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act. Rollcall votes on amendments to this bill are expected as the Senate works to complete action on this bill today. Hopefully by this afternoon sometime we can complete this most important piece of legislation.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, what is the parliamentary situation?

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate is prepared to lay down the bill. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of H.R. 2506, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2506) making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I thank both Senator LEAHY and Senator MCCONNELL for their work. I will have a number of amendments. Senator KENNEDY wants to speak briefly, and I ask my colleague from Illinois whether he also wants to speak.

Mr. DURBIN. Not at this point.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I follow Senator KENNEDY and be able to lay down the first amendment.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

THE ECONOMIC STIMULUS PACKAGE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, since September 11, the courageous acts of countless Americans have set a new standard for the Nation. As the whole world watched the horror on television, it also witnessed what is best in our country and our character. As buildings collapsed, the American spirit soared.

The indelible images of the first days will live on in all the days of our history. Firefighters and police risked their lives and gave their lives to save others, and hundreds of rescuers paid the ultimate price. The brave passengers of flight 93 fought and defied the terrorists, and in the face of their own inevitable death, they prevented the killing of so many others.

Construction and health workers went into the shadow of constant danger to search for the missing and help the survivors. The mayor of New York City went everywhere sustaining the city. New Yorkers lined up for blocks to give blood, and so did thousands more across the country. Hundreds of millions of dollars poured in for the families of the victims, as valiantly, tearfully, and quietly they said goodbye to a mother, father, son, daughter, or friend in funeral after funeral.

And through it all Americans have begun to think deeply about our coun-

try again. We have a new sense of the precious nature of our freedom which, in the years after the cold war, we have increasingly taken for granted. We have learned anew to prize the experiment called America—a nation based not on sameness, but on diversity—a nation of different races, backgrounds, and faiths, defined not by an accident of geography or history, but by the high aspirations for a better life and greater opportunity that brought so many millions to these shores from every continent and country on the Earth.

Now, we have seen, perhaps more clearly than ever before in our lives, how we are all in this together—how, if even one of us is hurting all of us hurt. Our first thoughts on September 11 were about others, not ourselves.

That spirit must now live on. It is the new standard by which we must measure everything we do.

Today, brave young Americans are on the front lines of the fight for freedom from fear. Here at home, we must stand together to face and defeat the terrorists who would poison our people, panic our society, and paralyze our democracy. An essential point of protecting our homefront is protecting our economy—because the state of our Union cannot be strong, if the state of our economy is weak.

We need to speak honestly and directly about the choices we face—and we need to do so in the same spirit which has rallied Americans since September 11. The standard is clear—to seek what is right for our country, and not just for ourselves; not to strive for private advantage in a time of national need. And that standard should be bipartisan—not the false bipartisanship of merely going along, but true bipartisanship, which is a two-way street, where we genuinely seek and respectfully debate what course is best for our economy, for rebuilding and restoring, and especially for all those who have been hurt in the downturn. As President Bush eloquently said when he spoke to the Congress. "We will come together to strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work." Now all of us, in both parties, in both Congress and the administration, must live up to that all important responsibility.

Fundamentally, this, too, is a question of national security. For a strong economy is the basis of a strong Nation. It assures opportunity for all. It is the foundation of a decent and free society at home, without which we cannot fight for decent and free societies abroad.

Before September 11, the Nation's economy was already weakening. The unemployment rate had been climbing for months. Relatively few new jobs were being created. Companies were announcing successive rounds of layoffs. Business investment was being drastically reduced, and profits were rapidly falling.

Many economists believed we were in a recession, or that a recession was inevitable. And then came September 11, which was an attack not just on our cities and citizens, but on the entire American economy. No one can truly weigh the loss of life. But the loss of property amounts to tens of billions of dollars. We can redress that, and we will. But the loss and the risk went far beyond Ground Zero—in New York or at the Pentagon.

Americans stopped flying and stopped buying. Corporations put investment decisions on hold. Hundreds of thousands lost their jobs in companies across the economy, from airlines and hotels, to restaurants, retailers, and manufacturers of high-technology equipment.

Never before has it been so clear how inter-connected our society is. Two buildings go down tragically in New York City, and the entire economy suffers across the land. Economic models do not account for this. The most important of all our resources, our national confidence, has been more damaged than anyone initially realized.

It is crucial to recognize that once underway, a recession has no clear bottom. Unless we respond, it can spiral downward out of control, raising unemployment to higher and higher levels, and sharply reducing the flow of revenues for both government and business.

Consider this: Americans on average were saving very little of their income before September 11. If they now increase their savings by only 1 percent because they are afraid to spend, they will withdraw more than \$100 billion from the economy. It is not enough just to tell people to go out and spend and live normal lives. This is an extraordinary time—and we cannot talk the economy out of recession. Congress must act.

This week, as the Senate and the House continue the very important debate on what must be done to revive our economy, there is at least one overriding principle on which Republicans and Democrats both agree: Urgent action is required.

We all know that cutting interest rates is the first line of defense in a downturn. But we also know that in this time of clear and present danger, lower interest rates alone cannot reverse the decline in confidence, consumer spending, and business investment. Consumers and companies will not buy more and invest more in a time of great uncertainty simply because borrowing costs are lower.

We need a direct and sizable injection of resources by government to stimulate the economy.

But if we do this in the wrong way, a stimulus package could actually harm the economy. Some would rely almost exclusively on permanent tax cuts that will do little or nothing to promote growth when we need it most—which is right now. Their proposals are neither fair nor will they work. They do not measure up to the new and honest

standard of this time. A true stimulus package cannot be a disguise for special interests.

Nor can it run the risk of imposing large new long-term deficits on the Federal budget. Permanent new tax cuts—on top of nearly \$2 trillion in tax cuts enacted earlier this year—would actually hurt the economy by increasing the cost of long-term borrowing. Such cuts would deter the kind of business investments we need most.

Instead, a true economic stimulus program for our time must meet three criteria:

First, it must have an immediate impact on the economy. Every dollar of the stimulus package must be spent in the economy as soon as possible. The best way to accomplish this goal is to target the dollars to the low- and moderate-income families who are most certain to spend, rather than save it. When it is spent, its impact will be multiplied as it flows from consumers to business and back to workers. In fact, every dollar given to unemployed workers in unemployment insurance payments expands the economy by \$2.15.

Second, all the tax cuts and spending provisions in the plan must be temporary. They must focus on the immediate need to generate economic activity. They must not impose substantial new long-term costs on the Federal budget.

Third, the package must be fair and compassionate. It must focus on those who need and deserve the help, who are suffering the most in these difficult days. It must reflect the renewed spirit of taking care of each other. Let us here in Congress set a standard for our work equal to that set by so many after September 11. Leave no American behind—no victim of the terrorist attack, and no victim of its economic aftershocks.

The House Republicans have proposed a stimulus package that fails all three of these criteria. Sadly, this House Ways and Means Committee proposal does not rise to the higher standard required in this time of national crisis. It fails the economy. It merely repackages old, partisan, unfair, permanent tax breaks, which were rejected by Congress last spring, under the new label of economic stimulus. The American people deserve better.

The long-term cost of the House plan is much too high. More than half of the dollars would not even reach the economy for more than a year. The stimulus is needed now—not in 2003, 2004, or later. The House package spends \$46 billion on permanent new tax breaks for multinational corporations and large businesses. It gives many large businesses a \$25 billion windfall, not only by permanently repealing the corporate minimum tax, but also by refunding the minimum taxes already paid by them over the past 15 years. It also permanently reduces the tax on capital gains. It provides \$60 billion in permanent new tax cuts for upper in-

come taxpayers—only a small percentage of which would even go into the economy in the next year.

The wealthy individuals and big businesses that would receive these tax breaks will not spend most of the windfall. They will save it. Corporations will not invest more unless business itself improves. We cannot afford to waste valuable Federal dollars in ways that will not have a full and immediate impact on economic growth.

The House package also runs a grave risk of frightening financial markets and driving long-term interest rates up, because investors will expect future federal deficits to rise as a result of additional, permanent and unaffordable tax cuts. Already, mortgage rates have stayed stubbornly high in response to the tax bill passed earlier this year.

The House proposal is plainly unfair. In contrast to more than \$115 billion in permanent new tax cuts for wealthy individuals and corporations, it provides less than \$14 billion in tax cuts for lower and moderate-income families. While the tax cuts for these corporations and wealthy individuals are permanent, the cuts for working families are limited to just one year.

After passing nearly \$2 trillion in tax cuts heavily slanted to the richest taxpayers 4 months ago, it is wrong to give the wealthy still more tax breaks when there is a better, more effective way to move the economy. It makes no sense to offer indiscriminate long-term tax breaks, when what is needed are realistic incentives to invest now. And, if this Congress chooses to violate that basic stimulus principle, it would be grossly irresponsible and grossly unfair not to include the fair increase in the minimum wage that has been delayed for too long already.

The new standard set by September 11 calls for a new course of action—one that places national need above personal interests, one that will truly stimulate our economy. We need a Government stimulus package of \$71 billion, a package of targeted and effective support for middle and lower income working families that would be immediate, temporary, and fair, and that should include the following essential steps:

We must immediately extend unemployment insurance coverage an additional 13 weeks. The unemployed are on the front line of the economic battle, and they will spend their money immediately.

We must also extend unemployment insurance coverage to part-time and low-wage workers, who often do not qualify for any benefits at all, and who can least afford to lose their wages.

We must raise unemployment benefits by 15 percent for all workers. An average payment of \$230 a week is not enough.

We must add \$2 billion to job training programs to help workers prepare for and find new jobs.

These changes will cost \$18 billion, but an economy returning to prosperity will more than repay the expense.

We must protect health insurance for working families by having the Federal Government cover 75 percent of the cost of insurance premiums for 12 months after a worker loses a job. We must also support coverage for workers who do not qualify for such a plan. We know that when workers lose their jobs, they lose their health insurance, too.

This program would provide an additional \$17 billion of stimulus that will help keep the health care sector strong while keeping our workers healthy.

These elements—unemployment insurance, job training and health coverage for workers between jobs—are essential to any economic stimulus plan, which is why Senator BAUCUS and I have come together to propose these key changes to help workers get their feet back on the ground.

In addition to the Baucus proposal, an economic stimulus plan must add \$5 billion to help our communities: \$2 billion to food stamps and WIC, \$1 billion to heating assistance for families, and additional funds for expanded community service and opportunities for voluntarism.

We must also invest more now in the public works that will expand employment and stimulate the economy. As we make public buildings, airports, and our water supply more secure, we must also build and modernize schools, rail lines, and infrastructure. I propose a new, \$10 billion investment for these vital national purposes: \$3 billion for highways and bridges; \$3 billion for drinking water and wastewater treatment systems; \$3 billion for school safety and construction; and \$1 billion for our railways and mass transit systems.

In addition, it will not do much good to spend more at the Federal level if there are significant cutbacks at the State and local level. We do not want State and local governments, most of which have annual balanced budget requirements, to be forced to either raise taxes or cut essential services. Any such steps would be counterproductive at this critical time.

We are seeing State cuts in Medicaid, child care, job training, education, and transportation. Tennessee officials have proposed cuts that could cause 180,000 people to lose health insurance. Florida is debating a reduction in coverage for its medically needy population under Medicaid. Mississippi, Ohio, and South Carolina have already cut spending across the board. Other States are convening special sessions of their legislatures to address the crisis in their State budgets.

All this is hurting the very people who need help the most today—working families, single parents, poor children. And such cutbacks will clearly undermine the effects of any stimulus package.

The answer is for the Federal Government to provide an additional \$7 billion in the stimulus package to help the States to continue their existing human services programs. The most timely and effective way to accomplish this goal is to temporarily increase the Federal contribution to programs where there is already a State-Federal partnership. The largest of these is Medicaid. In a recession, the number of families eligible for Medicaid increases substantially. In fact, some estimate that if unemployment rises 2 percent, the number of Medicaid recipients could increase by 2.5 million, dramatically increasing State costs.

We should temporarily enhance the Federal matching rate for Medicaid by 2 percentage points for States that agree to maintain their current eligibility standards and benefits. This would serve as an incentive for those States.

We should also help States temporarily by increasing the Federal Social Services Block Grant Program, which is used by States to pay for a variety of services to low-income families. It is important that State governments not be forced to curtail assistance when it is needed most—and, once again, these are dollars that will also go directly and quickly into the economy.

This spending will lift the economy in the short term; and strengthen it for the long-term.

A stimulus package must also include the right kind of temporary tax cuts that actually increase spending and growth. Seventy percent of Americans pay more in payroll taxes than in income taxes. Yet many of them received no tax rebate earlier this year. The rebate unfairly ignored these low- and moderate-income families. A one-time rebate of payroll taxes would immediately inject \$15 billion into the economy, placing the dollars into the hands of people who will spend it immediately.

I do not see how anyone can defend permanent tax cuts over the next 10 years that primarily benefit the wealthy who will save most of the money, when that same money can and should be used to cut taxes now for middle- and lower-income families who will spend the gains immediately.

In the days and weeks ahead, there will be debates and compromises. But surely we can fashion a comprehensive stimulus package that meets America's new high standard—injects needed funds into the faltering American economy as quickly as possible—and that is fair and just.

In this case, fairness is also the deepest practical wisdom—the way to get the economy back on its feet as soon as possible and without jeopardizing the foundations of our future prosperity.

It would be wrong in principle and wrong economically to pass a false stimulus package of unfair tax cuts that would go largely unspent, giving the largest benefits to the few, with limited benefits to consumption and

production, and long-term damage to fiscal and monetary stability. After September 11, we cannot afford businesses as usual, or the clever politics of repackaging previous goals as if they were a real response to the need for national renewal.

We need a real response and real results—now. But this stimulus is only a first step in a new and greater project—for our economy and our society.

Let us be frank. For a long time now, our first thoughts have too often been about ourselves, not others. In the process, we have neglected the future and some of our best ideals. It is time to change that, too.

Our wartime leaders have always understood that we cannot ask people to sacrifice and to fight abroad if we fail to fight for a more decent and more just society here at home.

Our leaders have always understood that the war front and the home front are really the same front. Never has this been more true than in this new kind of war against terrorism, fought both thousands of miles from our shores and in our own airports, our own mailrooms, and potentially in any American community.

In the late 1950s Dwight Eisenhower saw the relationship between our national security and education when he created the National Defense Act. He had the vision to invest in both—through support of local public schools, improvements in math, science and technical education as well as loans so that more people could go to college. President Eisenhower would have met the September 11 standard.

As he led the Nation through World War II, Franklin Roosevelt fought to make the home front stronger, too. He demanded progressive income taxes, defended unions, opposed discrimination, and created new partnerships with business. He would have met the September 11 standard.

Beyond the stimulus package, how can we meet that standard now?

America would not be the America it is today if our nation and our people had not dared again and again to reach higher across our history. Once more today, a new economy demands a new era of public purpose and progress.

The first priority is education. The information age requires an ever-more sophisticated work force. I commend President Bush for the new and effective attention he has given to higher standards in our schools. Now, we must get this bill. And this bill is only the beginning of our effort, not the end. We must do more and invest more to improve education and to secure for every person the chance to go as far as their talents can take them. Maximum opportunity for each is the only path to maximum prosperity for all, and maximum strength for America.

The next priority is health care. Before September 11, we needed a Patients' Bill of Rights to guarantee that medical decisions will be made by doctors, not accountants, and that people

will have access to the best treatments, not just the cheapest. Terrorism is no excuse for delay. We need a Patients' Bill of Rights just as much today as we did before September 11. I urge the Congress to pass it now, and the President to sign it. And I urge the President and Members of Congress to keep the promise we all have made to guarantee all our seniors access to affordable prescription drugs. They need that help now, just as much as they did before.

There is something we need now even more than we did then: We must strengthen our fragile public health infrastructure to deal with the clear and present dangers of chemical and biological attack. On Capitol Hill, we know the threat first hand; we must defeat it, and we will.

Today, Senators and Members of Congress have the best of the Nation's health care at our disposal. Imagine the millions who do not. Many Americans do not even know where to go to find a doctor's help immediately. We need an emergency health care system sufficient beyond doubt to meet the dangers we may face—not just tomorrow, but over the next decade.

The bioterrorist threat should remind us of an ideal too long denied in this country: Health care is a fundamental right, not just when a terrorist attacks, but when cancer or diabetes or any other disease strikes. We have made progress; we must keep moving forward; we must get there.

Finally, the new economy has produced vast new wealth and opportunities, and reduced poverty by 25 percent since 1993. But millions are still left behind, and working families have not gained their fair share of this new national wealth. So when prosperity returns, we must ensure that we can all advance together. We must open new doors for every American. We must help 21st century mothers and fathers cope with the stresses of choosing between the jobs they need and the children they love. We must make the workplace more flexible, so that workers cannot only provide for their families, but also care for them. We must also provide a more decent living to the Nation's caregivers, to teachers, nurses, and child care workers, who give so much, yet earn so little. We must make sure the new economy works for all Americans.

Some say we cannot fight for a safer society and a more just society at the same time. I say, we weaken ourselves abroad if we do not strengthen ourselves at home. We cannot defend democracy abroad unless we extend democracy at home. In America and Britain, World War II was accompanied and followed by a period of great reform and historic transformation in society. Now, in this time of crisis, we cannot settle for anything else.

The spirit of September 11 points the way. In that spirit, we must continue to care about each other, and fulfill the promise and opportunity of America for all our people.

This spirit of September 11 has compelled so many of our citizens to do more for our country, our communities and our fellow Americans. This time calls for active citizenship, whether by children getting involved in service learning programs at school or senior citizens signing up for the Retired Senior Volunteer Program. This Saturday is Make A Difference Day, sponsored by America's Promise and the Points of Light Foundation. All Americans should use this occasion to find new ways to make their own contribution.

We are one American community. September 11 proved that. Active citizenship will nourish that spirit and sustain us in the challenges ahead. So we must reject any attempt to misuse the terrorist threat as an excuse to deny or delay our obligations to teach our children well, to treat the sick, help the needy, and make the new economy a new foundation for a stronger family life and a higher standard of life for all our families.

We have heard such excuses for inaction in the past. We will hear them again in this crisis, that the war on terrorism will deplete our resources and delay our commitment to "a more perfect union." Always in the past, there were doubters in America. But always we kept faith with America's ideals, and came together to fight the hardest battles and respond to the greatest social needs. We mobilized our government and our whole Nation, wisely and well, to defeat our enemies and meet the demands of our best ideals.

It has never been more critical to do so than it is today.

Let us start with a stimulus package that truly lifts our economy. And then let us finish the great work we are in—which is not just to win a war, but to build a future of "liberty and justice for all."

So my message now is fundamental. We need not and we must not sacrifice the home front to the war front. They are one and the same. We are all in this together, as we always have been throughout our great history.

If we meet the new standard of September 11, no one will stand in our way, and many more will join us. And the heroes of that day will have left an undying legacy—a proud new chapter in annals of America's greatness.

Let us pledge our energies to this cause. Let us show, that as the battle goes on for a world free from fear, the work goes on to move America forward.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON of Florida). Under the previous order, the Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I honestly and sincerely say it is one of the best speeches I have heard on the floor of the Senate in the 11 years I have been here. It is very connected to values I hold dear. I think what Senator KENNEDY just said, especially if it

gets translated into our doing the work and passing this legislation, is so important. These times call on all of us to be our own best selves. I believe that is what the Senator's speech has called for us to do here, and for all Americans, we need each other as never before. We need each other as never before in relation to the physical security challenges, in relation to the uncertainty of the world, and we need each other as never before in terms of how we help one another to be strong in our own Nation.

I thank the Senator from Massachusetts for a marvelous speech.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. WELLSTONE. I yield.

Mr. REID. I agree with the Senator. It is one of the finest speeches I have heard on the Senate floor. It covers areas that needed to be covered. It was an elaborate speech, very substantive. I agree with the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, we have to make sure it translates into getting work done.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 1922

Mr. WELLSTONE. I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WELLSTONE], for himself and Mrs. BOXER, proposes an amendment numbered 1922.

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

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

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

(1) Afghanistan's neighbors should reopen their borders to allow for the safe passage of refugees, and the international community must be prepared to contribute to the economic costs incurred by the flight of desperate Afghan civilians;

(2) as the United States engages in military action in Afghanistan, it must work to deliver assistance, particularly through overland truck convoys, and safe humanitarian access to affected populations, in partnership with humanitarian agencies in quantities sufficient to alleviate a large scale humanitarian catastrophe; and

(3) the United States should contribute to efforts by the international community to provide long-term, sustainable reconstruction and development assistance for the people of Afghanistan, including efforts to protect the basic human rights of women and children.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I thank both my colleagues. I think there may be support for this amendment. I think there should be. I will not take a lot of time. Let me explain why I think it is so important the Senate go on record.

I will not spend a lot of time on statistics. There are 7.5 million people inside Afghanistan who are threatened