

First, I agree on the need to bring up an energy package, have a sound and full debate, and pass a sensible energy package. We need it. I disagree with him on the need to continue the environmentally sound development of natural resources and petroleum products out of ANWR.

I have been on the North Slope, a frozen desert which is not harmed by drilling there now. The 2,000 acres that would be involved out of ANWR's 1.9 million acres will do nothing but provide a sounder base for the caribou that live there—I disagree on that, but I strongly agree with him on the need to bring up S. 1499.

If a Senator has a problem with it, air it on the floor. We have 55 cosponsors; 18 out of the 19 members of the Senate Small Business Committee said it is time to do something for small business.

It had become apparent to all Members that in 2000 we had an economic slowdown. Officially, we are in a recession. As we know, as banks tighten credit standards, and as access to credit drops, small business slows down. In the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks, there were significant weaknesses in the small business sector. We proposed a reasonable, bipartisan measure that can go a long way toward helping small business get the restart it needs to provide jobs and spur economic activity in this country.

Very briefly, the American Small Business Emergency Relief and Recovery Act would make economic injury disaster loans available to all small businesses directly impacted by terrorist attacks. Businesses that shut down, such as airport shutdowns and general aviation shutdowns, and airport suppliers, would be allowed a repayment of principal and interest deferral for 2 years and interest could be forgiven.

The SBA current disaster loan program was not designed to meet the extraordinary circumstances that came about as a result of the terrorist activities. It could be a year or more before many of the small businesses in New York City can open their doors. They could not repay the loans right away, so we allow them to defer.

Small businesses throughout the United States have shut down. When general aviation was grounded, flight schools were closed, and other small businesses, depending on aircraft, were hurt. Our bill allows these small businesses to defer for 2 years repayment of principal and interest on their SBA disaster loans. Other small businesses experiencing economic problems that need help with their cashflow, working capital, or investments to continue their operation or hire more people would be available for special loan programs with a lower interest prime, with a 90 percent guarantee of the loan, and with a deferral of principal and payments for up to a year.

Small businesses are already hurt. We need to give them a stimulus to get

them moving again. There would be other breaks: No guarantee fees to be paid by small businesses. The amount that the SBA could guarantee would increase from 80 to 90 percent for loans up to \$150,000 and from 75 to 85 percent for loans greater than \$150,000. The participating bank fees would be removed on 504 certified development company loans.

That is what we propose. That is what the Small Business Committee says makes sense. Right now we are talking about coming forward with a \$70 to \$80 to \$90 to \$100 billion stimulus package because we know the economy needs a jump-start. That is \$70 to \$80 to \$90 billion that would mostly be paid out in the hopes that people would use that money to buy and get business started again.

We are in a business recession. The beauty of this program is no money is spent unless small business borrows money to put to work. We want small businesses to get back to work. This program doesn't cost a thing unless some small business goes out and borrows the money and puts it to work, buys equipment, uses it for working capital, uses it to pay employees.

When we talk about credit scoring in the credit subsidy rates, people's eyes always glaze over. They say the total cost of the bill for 1 year is \$815 million. That means they make \$17 billion worth of loans, and somewhere around half a percent of those or \$800 million may go bad. We are talking million. The rest is paid back. There are other minor losses on fees. Total cost to the Government is \$816 million.

I am almost embarrassed to come out here and talk about a stimulus package in terms of millions of dollars because anybody on this floor worth their salt can get up and talk about billions and billions and billions of dollars they would like to see in stimulus. We can get small business investing, growing, hiring more people, paying wages, buying equipment, being good customers for other businesses, for \$816 million.

I think this bill makes sense. We have a majority of the Senate cosponsoring it. Let's get on with this bill. If we are not able to bring it up as a separate bill, I have this warm feeling that it will be offered as an amendment at some point and we will have an opportunity for that full debate at that time.

I agree with my colleague from Massachusetts; I expect as usual when we are talking about helping small business, some 80 to 90 Members of this body will go along with us.

I strongly urge my colleagues to let us know what their problems are with the bill, talk it out, get it done, and pass it. We are going to have an opportunity to vote on it at some point.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mrs. CLINTON. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent I be given up to 15 minutes as in morning business.

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

REMEMBER NEW YORK

Mrs. CLINTON. Madam President, exactly 11 weeks ago today, we as a nation suffered the most horrific and tragic attack in our long history on our shores. It is almost impossible to reconstruct the feelings, the emotions, the reactions that have swept through our Nation in the wake of the events of September 11. Certainly our Nation has responded both abroad, under the President's leadership, through the extraordinary efforts of our men and women in uniform, to root out the terrorists responsible for this attack. Here at home we have faced continuing challenges in the aftermath of September 11, including the use of anthrax to bring about death and injury and create an atmosphere of fear. But I want to bring our attention back to that part of our Nation that suffered the most grievous attack. That was in New York City in Lower Manhattan.

I don't think it was any accident that the terrorists chose this particular place in America to launch their attack. New York City is the global city, not only the capital of global finance but of global media, of entertainment, of intellectual ferment. It is a beacon, a magnet for immigrants from throughout the world. So the attack was well planned, not only to destroy buildings and kill innocent people but to send a signal to America that the terrorists were aiming to undermine our way of life.

Clearly, we have responded with such strength and resolution that the effort undertaken by those who thought they would destroy us has clearly been repudiated. We are, I believe, stronger and more unified today than we were on September 10. For that I am grateful. But I do not want our country, as we turn our television sets and our eyes toward Afghanistan, as we worry about tracking down whoever sent anthrax-laden envelopes to innocent people, including our colleagues, I do not want anyone to forget what happened on September 11 in New York City.

This is an aerial view of Lower Manhattan. It gives you some sense of the destruction—acres and acres of destroyed buildings, fires that are still burning below ground. Looking at this today brings back the memories that I will always have of flying over this site on September 12 and looking down and not only seeing that the towers and neighboring buildings were gone but looking into what appeared to be the jaws of hell.

But beyond this picture of destruction there are so many lives that have been impacted forever, not only those who are no longer with us but their family members, their colleagues, their friends, and their neighbors have been affected, not only those who lost their lives but so many whose livelihoods were turned upside down.

In New York City alone, as a result of the World Trade Center attacks, we lost over 3,500 innocent people. We are still reading their profiles and learning a little bit about each one because of the extraordinary series that the New York Times runs every day. For that I thank the Times.

Some 20,000 families who called Lower Manhattan home were rendered homeless. Think of it; 20,000 families couldn't go home, not only because of the destruction but because of the air quality. It was reported yesterday that 8,000 have still not returned home.

Madam President, 15 or 20 million square feet of office space was damaged or destroyed resulting in the loss of nearly 125,000 jobs. And because the scene—not just the immediate area of destruction known as Ground Zero but reaching far beyond—is a crime scene, and because the removal of the debris ties up streets, we have an area that is called the frozen zone. That makes it very difficult for businesses and residents to be able to resume anything resembling normal life.

The New York City Partnership estimates we lost nearly 125,000 jobs, and that a total of 270,000 are at risk. The Partnership expects over 50,000 small businesses to close their doors during the first quarter of the coming year. In the 45 days following the attack, 3,400 small businesses rendered inaccessible because of the damage and the crime scene designation lost an estimated \$795 million in revenues.

We know the specific cases of the losses are not just in the private sector, because the public sector was also impacted in a way from which it will take years to recover. The Metropolitan Transportation Authority and the Port Authority of New York suffered millions of dollars to subway stations, to the PATH train station and infrastructure that ran underground, under the river, bringing thousands and thousands of people to work every day.

Hundreds of thousands of residents and businesses lost electricity and telephone capacity. Many remain without telephones all these weeks later.

Verizon, which provides our phone service, and serves 300,000 voice lines and 3.5 million data circuits out of its building at 140 West Street, was severely impacted because the building was destroyed.

Con Ed lost two substations that supplied power for nearly 400,000 homes and businesses and suffered destruction of 11,000 feet of gas distribution lines. Con Ed continues to provide electricity through what are effectively 35 miles of extension cords. I have seen these big extension cords lying on top of the streets, and I know this is something that needs to be tended to so they are cared for and covered up before the winter comes.

Many of New York's hospitals which cleared their beds in order to be ready for the injured, many of whom never came because they lost their lives instead, suffered millions of dollars in losses.

The estimates for the economic loss, for the cost of debris removal, for infrastructure repair and rebuilding, are in the range of \$100 billion.

During those days after the attacks we received a tremendous amount of support. Indeed, many people, many of my colleagues as well as colleagues in the House, made the trip to Ground Zero because they understood what our Constitution says, which is that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion. When we were invaded by those hijacked airplanes on September 11, our country responded, not only out of the goodness of our hearts, out of a sense of empathy and sympathy, but because as a United States that is what is called for in our Constitution.

Many who came, including the President with whom I went to Ground Zero, made a clear commitment. As the President said in the joint session of Congress on September 21: We will rebuild New York City.

The Speaker of the House made a wonderful commitment to see New York "rise from the ashes that we saw today."

Our leaders, Senator DASCHLE, Senator LOTT, Congressman GEPHARDT, all made that commitment. And OMB Director Mitch Daniels said the President's pledge of \$20 billion is an absolute guarantee and it is likely to be more. Of course, it will be more because the damage is so much more.

In those first days we had tremendous support, not only from our majority leader but from the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Senator BYRD. Senator SCHUMER and I went to Senator DASCHLE and Senator BYRD and to the President, told them what we had seen, made clear we were going to face tremendous needs that we could not carry on our own, and secured a commitment for \$20 billion to address those needs.

We all acknowledge that that \$20 billion was a first installment. With the invoices beginning to come in, it is quite clear that the cost will be considerably higher. That is not something new for our Nation. In natural disasters, and in terrorist attacks in the past, the Federal Government, which represents all of us, has stepped up to the plate to take care of Americans.

The charts here illustrate the loss of life and damage from just a sampling of past disasters—Hurricane Hugo in 1989, the Northridge earthquake in California in 1994, the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, and the World Trade Center attack. If you look at the loss of life in this first chart, you can see how the World Trade Center compares—the terrible, terrible commentary, to think that with all of the natural disasters to which we are subject in our Nation that take the lives of innocent people caught in a hurricane, or a tornado, or caught in an earthquake, or a flood, what happened

at the World Trade Center is so much greater. The enormity of it, even today with the count at 3,553, is almost impossible for us to take in.

If you look at the estimated economic impact from major disasters—again looking at Hurricane Hugo, Northridge, Oklahoma City, World Trade Center—Hurricane Hugo resulted in losses exceeding \$10 billion; the Northridge earthquake had a total cost of \$25 billion; in Oklahoma City, the cost totaled \$650 million; and, again, if we look at the World Trade Center with costs in excess of \$100 billion, it is so much greater than any tragedy, natural or man-caused tragedy, that we have ever encountered.

The Federal Government has always come to our rescue. If you look at these examples—we could have taken others, but these are representative—the return to the impacted area, the city or the State, has always been in the range of 30 percent to 40 percent of economic loss.

With the money so far allocated by the White House from the \$40 billion emergency package enacted following the attacks, combined with amounts earmarked for New York in the House appropriations bill, the financial capital of the world, a place that has so much meaning in our Nation's history and the home of 8 million fellow Americans, is receiving just 11 percent of the estimated losses suffered. Hurricane Hugo received 38 percent; the Northridge earthquake in California, 39 percent; Oklahoma City, 41 percent; and, so far, even including the House appropriations, 11 percent for what New York has suffered. Even with the full \$20 billion committed by the President following the attacks, the Federal response would only be in the 20-percent range.

Sadly, while I, along with many of my colleagues, acknowledge that this \$20 billion would be just a first installment, even that money has been slow to come.

If we look at where we stand with respect to the summaries of loss of life, the economic impact, and the estimated percentage of Federal response, we can see that New York is not getting the help that we not only should expect but must count on.

New York needs that \$20 billion which has been promised—not next year but this year. The resources allocated thus far by the White House and the House appropriations bill leave so many immediate needs unmet.

If you look at what has already been provided, we are grateful indeed for this help because already provided is \$2 billion through FEMA for emergency response and debris removal; \$500 million for SBA loans, medical services, and dislocated worker assistance; \$700 million to go into a community development block grant; the House added to the money that the administration had already provided an additional \$8 billion desperately needed, to increase the amount for debris removal by \$4.4

billion; to increase the amount for the community development block grant by \$1.8 billion; to put some money into workers compensation, which is desperately needed, of \$175 million; and then creating an emergency employment clearinghouse to help all of the dislocated workers who have, through no fault of their own, lost their jobs in the aftermath of September 11.

The total is \$11.2 billion, far short of the \$20 billion that New York was promised and that many of my colleagues and colleagues in the House and people in the administration certainly committed.

Let's look at what is left out. New York City agency costs, MTA infrastructure damages, Port Authority costs, the utilities and exchange costs, hospital costs, university facilities that were impacted, unemployment assistance, health care coverage for our displaced residents and businesses—all of those are zero.

If you look at where New York's \$20 billion should be for ground zero, unfortunately, too many of our needs are on zero ground. All of these needs that have been specified are not being taken into account by either the administration or the House appropriations process.

I commend my House colleagues from New York who fought hard, especially the five members of the Appropriations Committee. They waged a valiant battle, which actually resulted in increasing what the administration was going to give us this year by \$8 billion. It was against a tremendous amount of pressure that was placed on them.

There was lobbying against New York getting this necessary money from the highest places in the administration, which I just for the life of me don't understand. I do not recall there being any argument for any lobbying against the needs of our residents and citizens who were impacted by Oklahoma City or by the Northridge earthquake or by the hurricanes or floods or tornados that we have suffered. Yet the damage here is so much greater.

People say, well, you know you can't use that money right now. That is just not true. We have specific requests that have been backed up by each of these particular items. We know we can sure use the unemployment assistance and the COBRA premium assistance because of all of our unemployed workers. We know the utilities have already spent over \$1 billion getting telephone service and electricity reconnected. We could go down each of these.

We are particularly concerned about our hospitals because so many of them spent millions and millions of dollars and turned away revenues in order to be ready for injured victims who never came.

The Senate will begin its work on the appropriations for New York as well as the stimulus package which includes some incentives that will help us to

keep businesses and provide some assistance for residents so they will go back downtown despite the fact that the fires are still burning. The air quality is subject to question. We will be able to provide some additional help to our hospitals, we hope, as well as to businesses to stay in Manhattan and New York City.

The Senate is about to begin our process. But I wanted to take a few minutes on this day of commemoration as to what happened to New York and America 11 weeks ago to remind all of us about the cost of these attacks. New York City is a place noted for resilience. I think the country and the world have certainly seen that. It is a place that bounces back and keeps going. But one only has to be reminded of the tremendous damage that was inflicted to know we need some help. We are more than willing to pick ourselves up and rebuild and do what needs to be done to make this an even greater city in the 21st century than it has been for 400 years, but now New York needs America's help. For decade after decade after decade, New York has sent billions and billions and billions of dollars right here to Washington. We run a balance of payment deficit between New York and Washington that is \$15 to \$18 billion a year. But New York has a lot of wealthy people. Fifteen percent of the State's revenues came right out of Ground Zero. So we have paid for a lot of what needed to be paid for in our country that did not directly affect New York.

We pay for commodities support systems so we have a good, safe food supply, and our farmers are well prepared to produce the food we need. We pay for our military even though we only have one major base left in our State. We pay for so many of the needs that people have all over America. So as far as we are concerned, that is one of the prices we pay for being so successful.

But now New York needs America's help. After having done so much for so long to make sure our country was strong and prepared for the future, we need some help to put New York back into business so that it will continue as the capital of the global markets, as the capital of the global entertainment and media world.

And so, Madam President, I ask that the administration reconsider its position and be willing to provide us with the additional money that so many of our people need and so many of our agencies require to get back on their feet. I hope that everyone will remember that disparity of damage and economic cost compared to the amount that has been provided for us and make good on the President's promise of \$20 billion. That was one of the most emotional moments that I can certainly remember. To have such a quick, open response from the President to meet the needs of New York was a shot in the arm and a great confidence booster when we needed to hear it. What a shame it would be if that promise isn't

fulfilled and if it isn't fulfilled in a timely manner this year so people can put that money to work to rebuild their lives, to reclaim their jobs, to keep their businesses going, to repair the infrastructure, and to make clear that New York is back and better than ever.

I appreciate the opportunity to take a few minutes to talk about where we are 11 weeks after this attack and to remind all of us that it was an attack on America, and New York is counting on America's help.

Thank you very much.

Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

MR. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

MORNING BUSINESS

MR. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate now proceed to a period of morning business with Senators allowed to speak therein for a period not to exceed 10 minutes each.

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

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

MR. THURMOND. Madam President, in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, our Armed Forces have again been called upon to preserve our National Security. The Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff previously assured us that the military was ready for this latest endeavor. As demonstrated by the ongoing actions in Afghanistan, they were right on target. As the senior member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and a retired Major General, I heartily concur that the world has never seen a finer fighting force. However, as President Bush cautioned in his September 20 address to Congress, "Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen."

International terrorism is an enemy different than any we have faced before. President Bush has made it clear that ridding the world of this evil is of the utmost importance. He stated "terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments." As we continue to wage "civilization's fight" we must ensure our National Security structure is prepared for an unpredictable future.

Providing for our Nation's security is the most important responsibility of the United States Congress. The Constitution instructs the Congress "To