

every vote, Members would rush out the door to get before a camera and explain their votes. Members would not later be able to easily change their minds and their votes upon more careful thought, upon more considered reflection.

So there are those today who would hem and haw and holler: Oh, we must not do this. We cannot do this. The people are entitled to hear everything we say.

Well, those Framers were very wise men. It was they who wrote this Constitution which I hold in my hand. Of course, there have been some amendments added later, but those men were wise men. And, remember, they were placing their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor on the barrelhead.

Of course, we had fought a war, but many of them were among those who voted on the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

The constitutional plan then went for review to a committee consisting of one member from every State represented at the Convention. The committee removed the full Supreme Court from the process. The report, influenced by the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, stated, "The Senate of the U.S. shall have power to try all impeachments [by the House of Representatives]"—naturally—"but no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present." Ah, there you have it now. Alexander Hamilton later explained this decision noting that no other institution would be sufficiently dignified—no other institution would be sufficiently dignified—or independent to handle the proceedings. The Framers debated the clause on September 8 and despite Madison's objection that the executive would become dependent on the legislature, the Convention, thank God, passed the final measure by a vote of eight States to two.

Mr. President, there are, of course, other provisions in the Constitution that guide the operations of the Senate. But, those that I have just discussed serve to stoke our appreciation for this extraordinary charter of government that we are talking about. In closing, let us consider the words of James Wilson, one of Pennsylvania's eight delegates to the Convention. Here is what James Wilson told a meeting of Philadelphia citizens several weeks after September 17, 1787:

Perhaps there never was a charge made with less reason, than that which predicts the institution of a baneful aristocracy in the federal Senate. This body branches into two characters, the one legislative, and the other executive. In its legislative character, it can effect no purpose without the co-operation of the house of representatives: and in its executive character, it can accomplish no object, without the concurrence of the president. Thus fettered, I do not know any act which the Senate can of itself perform: and such dependence necessarily precludes every idea of influence and superiority. But I will confess, that in the organization of this

body, a comprise between contending interests is discernible: and when we reflect how various are the laws, commerce, habits, population, and extent of the confederated States, this evidence of mutual concession and accommodation ought rather to command a generous applause, than to excite jealousy and reproach. For my part, my admiration can only be equaled by my astonishment, in beholding so perfect a system formed from such heterogeneous materials.

What a Constitution!

I have often thought that the Creator of heaven and earth also had his hand in the creation of the Constitution of the United States. Whenever, wherever did such another illustrious gathering of men ever occur? And why at this particular time? Had it been 5 years earlier, the Framers may have lacked the experience that they ultimately had gained under the Articles of Confederation which enabled them to add provisions that would avoid some of the problems with which they had been confronted under the Articles.

The country, such as it was at that time, the citizenry might not have yet had enough time—I say this particularly with reference to the leaders of the Convention and the other members—to so convincingly move them to the idea that mere amendments to the Articles of Confederation would not really be enough. There had to be a new start, a new beginning. They went outside the parameters of their authority to initiate that new beginning.

Had it been 5 years later, it might have been impossible, because by then we were seeing the excesses of the French Revolution, with men and women being hauled to the guillotine. And so perhaps that is where God had His hand. It happened at the right time. It brought together the right men, learned men, wise men, experienced men.

I thank Providence for this Constitution and for the men who had the foresight and the vision, the courage, the ability to listen to others and to change their minds. We can be thankful. But we should also be fully aware of our responsibilities to preserve that great document and to amend it only with great care and after great deliberation.

At this perplexing time in this year of our Lord 2001, we must be ever more on guard that we, as the elected Representatives of a great people, as we go forth, hold in our hands, as it were, the Constitution of the United States; that we resist any temptation because of the demands of the moment, the exigencies of the day, we resist the temptation to put that Constitution aside in order to avoid debate and expedite the business before the Senate. Let's not hesitate to ask questions. Let's look before we leap.

I yield the floor.

TREASURY AND GENERAL GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2002—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON of Nebraska). The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, is there an amendment pending?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is not.

AMENDMENT NO. 1573

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of myself and Senator BURNS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. McCONNELL], for himself and Mr. BURNS, proposes an amendment numbered 1573.

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

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to issue War Bonds in support of recovery and response efforts relating to the September 11, 2001, hijackings and attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center)

At the end of title VI, insert the following:

SEC. . (a) From funds made available by this or any other Act, the Secretary of the Treasury may provide for the administrative costs for the issuance of bonds, to be known as 'War Bonds', under section 3102 of title 31, United States Code, in response to the acts of terrorism perpetrated against the United States on September 11, 2001.

(b) If bonds described in subsection (a) are issued, such bonds shall be in such form and denominations, and shall be subject to such terms and conditions of issue, conversion, redemption, maturation, payment, and rate of interest as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I rise today to offer an amendment which would authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to use such funds as he deems appropriate to establish and make available war bonds for purchase.

I am proud that along with a bill that Senator BURNS and I have offered which is pending as this amendment, there are at least four other measures which have been offered that would create a new investment vehicle for Americans who are anxious to contribute to the war on terrorism. Clearly, the Congress and the American people are anxious to establish such a program.

Each of the bills which have been introduced are similar. In fact, two of them adapt the language Senator BURNS and I originally introduced almost verbatim. It is safe to assume that the goal of each of the sponsors is identical. That goal is to develop a way for patriotic Americans to contribute directly to the effort to rebuild the broken and retaliate against the enemy of international terrorism.

How many times have we heard over the last few days from our constituents: What can I do to help? The war bond is a way to help.

There has been a great deal of wonderful and soaring rhetoric on display since the terrible attacks of September 11, 2001. These words have helped our Nation steel its resolve and recognize

the imperative of rooting out terrorism wherever it may lurk. As a result, the public is unified in its desire to take decisive action. The legislation that Senator Burns and I are offering today would allow the Secretary of Treasury to channel and sustain American compassion and unity.

Specifically, we propose allowing the Secretary to establish a new form of U.S. savings bond that would be designated war bonds. The war bonds would be in such form and denominations and be subject to such terms and conditions that the Secretary deemed most appropriate.

Some have pointed out that current economic conditions may argue against the need for war bonds to be used as a tool for funding the war on terrorism. I argue that view misses the most important point. There is no question that America is the most powerful nation economically and militarily on earth. However, what is less certain is the very nature of this effort, and a war bond campaign could be an invaluable tool for the government to explain the complex nature of the threats we face and rally all Americans to help provide necessary responses.

If the Government chooses to engage in this effort, I envision a war bond drive similar to those that were so successful during World War II. Influential Americans could be engaged to lead the education effort across the country, and all Americans would have the ability to participate in what is going to be a lengthy and complicated challenge. Success would be measured less by how much revenue is raised than by the Government's ability to maintain overwhelming approval of the actions it must undertake as we seek to eradicate the threat of terrorism.

Additionally some may argue that our use of the term "war bonds" is incendiary or inappropriate. Again, I would differ with this view. There is no question that the attacks of last Tuesday were acts of war. And, there is equally little doubt that America now finds itself in a state of war against the perpetrators of those vile and evil acts. Additionally, the phrase "war bonds" evokes the successful efforts which were undertaken during World War II. And if there is any doubt about how war bonds resonate with the American people, one need only look at the overwhelming response my office has received since introducing this legislation last week. In fact, I have even been contacted by one patriotic American who has reserved the domain name www.warbands.gov as well as a toll free number for a war bonds drive.

In closing, I ask my colleagues to join me in supporting this amendment which would allow the Secretary to establish war bonds and continue a long and proud tradition of American citizen involvement in our Nation's most important causes.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, today, I proudly join my dear friend and colleague, Senator MITCH McCONNELL, in

offering an amendment to the Treasury, General Government Bill introducing the War Bond Amendment of 2001.

This legislation is in response to the many constituents in my state and indeed, Americans from all over this country, looking for a tangible opportunity to do something positive in reaction to the despicable acts of cowardice perpetrated upon this nation and its citizens by gutless and faceless cowards.

The act will create an opportunity for ordinary citizens to participate in this country's recovery and response to those acts and to support the President and our nation in the rebuilding efforts as well as bringing to justice those responsible for the horrific death and destruction of Tuesday, September 11th, 2001.

Throughout this nation's history, bonds have been used as a vehicle for our citizens to come to the aid of this nation and now, as much as ever in our nation's history, the combined support of our people is needed. By investing in these bonds, Americans are given a way to feel a part of the solution rather than feeling helpless in the face of these terrible events of last week.

Americans are not only demanding action, they are looking for an opportunity to be of service themselves, to demonstrate their commitment to this country and to do it in a meaningful, tangible way. This bill is one answer to that demand and that opportunity.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SESSIONS. I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for up to 15 minutes.

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

THE STARK REALITY OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACKS

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, in the midst of the disaster we saw in New York, we had a number of images all of us will remember. One that will stick in my mind was as one of those great buildings was collapsing and the smoke and the dust and debris were barreling down the streets and people were running away, one of those people who was running was a fireman. As he got to a certain point, he slowed down, took off his hat and threw it as hard as he possibly could.

That courageous professional at that moment knew hundreds, perhaps thousands, were dying in that building and he could not save them, that many of his friends and brother firemen had been there at the scene closer than he,

inside the building, and that they would not make it out.

It was a very poignant scene for me, and having been involved in some of these issues on the Judiciary Committee and as a Member of the Senate, I think it is important for each one of us to remember that in any terrorist attack, any really serious national disaster we have in this country, it will not be the Federal Government that is first on the scene. It will be our police officers and firemen, hundreds of whom we lost in New York City, doing what they were paid to do—respond to the scene, to give aid to those in distress, at the risk of their lives. Certainly the Biblical reference that "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," applies to those people.

We as a nation know we have problems with terrorism. We as a nation have heard people talk for days on television that we could be facing a chemical or biological attack or even a nuclear attack.

We need to ask ourselves, and we have been asking ourselves in this Senate for some time, and I have been actively involved in this, how are we training those first responders who are there to react to that event. Each event is different. This event is different from a biological attack, a chemical poison gas attack would be different from a biological attack, and a nuclear attack would be different. And who knows what else could be conjured up in the minds of these diabolical people.

It is important for this Nation to fulfill our obligation to those people we will be sending out to respond to these events, that they have the very best in equipment and the very best knowledge and training on how to handle each and every one of these events, each being different from the other.

We have begun to make progress on that. I congratulate Senator BYRD, Senator JUDD GREGG who chairs the relevant subcommittee, Senator RICHARD SHELBY of Alabama, a member of the Appropriations Committee, and others who have over the past few years taken steps to establish programs to train those first responders, those firemen, those policemen, those emergency medical technicians.

I am particularly interested in the Center for Domestic Preparedness at Anniston, AL, a center developed around 1997, 1998, where they are training 5,000 first responders from all over the country. That center is in the old Fort McClellan, the military base that was a chemical training school for the U.S. Army that had a cadre of people with expertise in chemical and biological issues, and it had live agent training forces for them. They had the barracks from the closed military base, places to stay, exercise rooms, and classrooms available. It was the perfect location to establish this center. It has done well.

Just a few weeks before this tragedy occurred, I was very pleased to see we