

direct spending in political campaigns. I was troubled at the time and remain troubled today that in that case, the Supreme Court extended to corporations the same First Amendment rights in the political process that are guaranteed by the Constitution to individual Americans.

Corporations are not the same as individual Americans. Corporations do not have the same rights, the same morals or the same interests. Corporations cannot vote in our democracy. They are artificial legal constructs meant to facilitate business. The Founders understood this. Americans across the country have long understood this. A narrow majority on the Supreme Court apparently did not.

When I cosponsored the first DISCLOSE Act after the Supreme Court's decision in 2010, I hoped Republicans would join with Democrats to mitigate the impact of the Citizens United decision. I hoped that Senate Republicans who had once championed the bipartisan McCain-Feingold campaign finance law would work with us to help ensure that corporations could not abuse their newfound constitutional rights.

Regrettably, Senate Republicans filibustered that DISCLOSE Act, preventing the Senate from even debating the measure, let alone having an up-or-down vote in the Senate. By preventing even debate on the DISCLOSE Act, Senate Republicans ensured the ability of wealthy corporations to dominate all mediums of advertising and to drown out the voices of individuals, as we have seen and will continue to see in our elections.

By blocking the DISCLOSE Act, Senate Republicans ensured that the flood of corporate money flowing into campaigns from undisclosed and unaccountable sources since the Citizens United decision would continue. The risks we feared at the time of the decision, the risks that drove Congress to pass bipartisan laws based on longstanding precedent, have been apparent in the elections since. The American people have seen the sudden and dramatic effects in the Republican primary elections this year and in the 2010 mid-term elections. Instead of hearing the voices of voters, we see a barrage of negative advertisements from so-called Super PAC's. This comes as no surprise to the many of us in Congress and around the country who worried at the time of the Citizens United decision that it turns the idea of government of, by and for the people on its head. We worried that the decision created new rights for Wall Street at the expense of the people on Main Street. We worried that powerful corporate megaphones would drown out the voices and interests of individual Americans. It is clear those concerns were justified.

By reintroducing the DISCLOSE Act, we continue to try to fight the effects of corporate influence unleashed by Citizens United. The DISCLOSE Act of 2012 is focused on restoring trans-

parency and accountability to campaign finance laws by ensuring that all Americans know who is paying for campaign ads. This is a critical step toward restoring the ability of American voters to be able to speak, be heard and to hear competing voices, and not be overwhelmed by corporate influence and driven out of the governing process. I hope that Republicans who have seen the impact of waves of unaccountable corporate campaign spending will not renew their obstruction of this important legislation. Even Senator MCCAIN, a lead co-author of the McCain-Feingold Act, has conceded that Super PAC's are "disgraceful."

Vermont is a small state. It is easy to imagine the wave of corporate money that has been spent on elections around the country lead to corporate interests flooding the airwaves with election ads, and transforming even local elections there or in other small States. It would not take more than a tiny fraction of corporate money to outspend all of our local candidates combined. If a local city council or zoning board is considering an issue of corporate interest, why would those corporate interests not try to drown out the views of Vermont's hard-working citizens? I know that the people of Vermont, like all Americans, take seriously their civic duty to choose wisely on Election Day. Like all Vermonters, I cherish the voters' role in the democratic process and am a staunch believer in the First Amendment. Vermont refused to ratify the Constitution until the adoption of the Bill of Rights in 1791. The rights of Vermonters and all Americans to speak to each other and to be heard should not be undercut by corporate spending. I hope all Senators, Republican or Democratic, will support the DISCLOSE Act of 2012 and help us take an important step to ensure the ability of every American to be heard and participate in free and fair elections.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 401—EX-PRESSING APPRECIATION FOR FOREIGN SERVICE AND CIVIL SERVICE PROFESSIONALS WHO REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES AROUND THE GLOBE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE (for himself and Mr. KERRY) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 401

Whereas the United States Foreign Service was established by Congress in 1924 to professionalize the country's diplomatic and consular services and advance freedom, democracy, and security for the benefit of the people of the United States and the international community;

Whereas the United States Agency for International Development was established in 1961 to support the foreign policy goals of the United States through economic, development, and humanitarian assistance;

Whereas the Department of State and the United States Agency for International Development together employ more than 27,000 United States nationals in the Foreign Service and Civil Service dedicated to promoting United States interests around the world;

Whereas Foreign Service personnel deploy to Asia, Africa, the Americas, Australia, Europe, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia on a permanent, rotating basis to defend and promote United States priorities abroad;

Whereas many Foreign Service employees spend months or years away from families and loved ones on assignment to dangerous or inhospitable posts where family members are not permitted;

Whereas numerous Department of State and United States Agency for International Development employees have lost their lives while serving abroad;

Whereas strong and purposeful United States diplomacy and development, carried out by a diverse, professionally educated, and well-trained force of Foreign Service and Civil Service professionals, are the most cost-effective means to protect and advance United States interests abroad;

Whereas the promotion of commercial engagement by United States businesses in foreign markets and targeted international development projects support economic prosperity, job creation, and opportunities for United States business and industry;

Whereas United States diplomats are often the first line of defense against international conflict and transnational security threats;

Whereas Foreign Service and Civil Service professionals have worked to support the members of the United States Armed Forces involved in critical national security missions and military engagements in dangerous and unstable regions;

Whereas Foreign Service and Civil Service professionals administer emergency assistance in crisis situations; and

Whereas the contributions of Foreign Service and Civil Service professionals to the global advancement of international understanding, American ideals, and the promotion of freedom and democracy around the world should be commended: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) recognizes and gives special appreciation to the Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel of the Department of State, the United States Agency for International Development, and other United States Government agencies that promote and protect United States priorities abroad; and

(2) owes a debt of gratitude to these individuals, and their families, who put public service and pride in their country ahead of comfort, convenience, and even safety in service to the United States and the global community.

SENATE RESOLUTION 402—CON-DEMNING JOSEPH KONY AND THE LORD'S RESISTANCE ARMY FOR COMMITTING CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND MASS ATROCITIES, AND SUPPORTING ONGOING EFFORTS BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENTS IN CENTRAL AFRICA TO REMOVE JOSEPH KONY AND LORD'S RESISTANCE ARMY COMMANDERS FROM THE BATTLEFIELD

Mr. COONS (for himself, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. HATCH, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. AKAKA, Mrs. MURRAY,

Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. TESTER, Mr. NELSON of Nebraska, Mr. FRANKEN, Ms. LANDRIEU, Mr. REED of Rhode Island, Mr. MORAN, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. LEVIN, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. ISAKSON, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. BEGICH, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. WICKER, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. COATS, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. CORNYN, and Mr. BLUNT) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 402

Whereas the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) wreaked havoc in northern Uganda for two decades, during which time the World Bank estimates that they abducted some 66,000 youth of all ages and sexes and forced them to serve as child soldiers and sex slaves and commit terrible acts;

Whereas, under increasing pressure, Joseph Kony ordered the Lord's Resistance Army in 2005 and 2006 to withdraw from Uganda and to move west into the border region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, and what would become South Sudan;

Whereas, since September 2008, Joseph Kony has directed the Lord's Resistance Army to commit systematic, large-scale attacks against innocent civilians in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic, and the Republic of South Sudan that have destabilized the region and resulted in the deliberate killing of at least 2,400 civilians from the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic, and the Republic of South Sudan, many of whom were targeted in schools and churches; the rape and brutal mutilation of an unknown number of men, women, and children; the abduction of over 3,400 civilians, including at least 1,500 children, many of them forced to become child soldiers or sex slaves; and the displacement of more than 465,000 civilians from their homes, many of whom do not have access to essential humanitarian assistance;

Whereas insecurity caused by the Lord's Resistance Army has undermined efforts by the governments in the region, with the assistance of the United States and the international community, to consolidate peace and stability in each of the countries affected, particularly the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of South Sudan;

Whereas, since December 2001, the Department of State has included the Lord's Resistance Army on its "Terrorist Exclusion List" and in August 2008, Lord's Resistance Army leader Joseph Kony was designated a "Specially Designated Global Terrorist" by President George W. Bush pursuant to Executive Order 13224;

Whereas, on October 6, 2005, the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants against Joseph Kony and four of his top commanders for war crimes and crimes against humanity, yet they remain at large;

Whereas, in May 2010, Congress passed and President Barack Obama signed into law the Lord's Resistance Army Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009 (Public Law 111-172), which made it the policy of the United States to work with regional governments toward a comprehensive and lasting resolution to the conflict in northern Uganda and other affected areas by providing political, economic, military, and intelligence support for viable multilateral efforts to protect civilians from the Lord's Resistance Army, to apprehend or remove Joseph Kony and his top commanders from the battlefield, and to disarm and demobilize the remaining Lord's Resistance Army fighters;

Whereas, on November 24, 2010, as mandated by the Lord's Resistance Army Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009, President Obama issued the Strategy to Support the Disarmament of the Lord's Resistance Army, which provides a comprehensive strategy for supporting regional efforts to mitigate and eliminate the threat to civilians and regional stability posed by the Lord's Resistance Army;

Whereas, on October 14, 2011, President Obama notified Congress that he had authorized approximately 100 combat-equipped members of the Armed Forces to deploy to central Africa to provide assistance to regional forces that are working toward the removal of Joseph Kony and senior leadership of the Lord's Resistance Army from the battlefield;

Whereas the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012 (Public Law 112-81) authorized the Secretary of Defense, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, to provide logistic support, supplies, and services for foreign forces participating in operations to mitigate and eliminate the threat of the Lord's Resistance Army;

Whereas the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2012 (Public Law 112-74) directed the President to support increased peace and security efforts in areas affected by the Lord's Resistance Army, including programs to improve physical access, telecommunications infrastructure, and early-warning mechanisms and to support the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former Lord's Resistance Army combatants, especially child soldiers;

Whereas the United Nations and African Union, acting with encouragement and support from the United States Government, have renewed their efforts to help governments in the region address the threat posed by the Lord's Resistance Army, and on November 22, 2011, the African Union designated the Lord's Resistance Army as a terrorist group and authorized a new initiative to help strengthen the coordination among the affected governments in the fight against the Lord's Resistance Army; and

Whereas targeted United States assistance and leadership can help prevent further mass atrocities and curtail humanitarian suffering in central Africa: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) condemns Joseph Kony and the Lord's Resistance Army for committing crimes against humanity and mass atrocities, and supports ongoing efforts by the United States and countries in central Africa to remove Joseph Kony and Lord's Resistance Army commanders from the battlefield;

(2) commends continued efforts by the Governments of Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of South Sudan, the Central African Republic, and other countries in the region, as well as the African Union and United Nations, to end the threat posed by the Lord's Resistance Army;

(3) welcomes the ongoing efforts of the United States Government to implement a comprehensive strategy to counter the Lord's Resistance Army, pursuant to the Lord's Resistance Army Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009, and to assist governments in the region to bring Joseph Kony to justice and end atrocities perpetuated by the Lord's Resistance Army;

(4) calls on the President to keep Congress fully informed of the efforts of the United States Government and to work closely with Congress to identify and address critical gaps and enhance United States support for the regional effort to counter the Lord's Resistance Army;

(5) commends the Department of Defense, United States Africa Command (U.S. AFRICOM), and members of the United

States Armed Forces currently deployed to serve as advisors to the national militaries in the region seeking to protect local communities and pursuing Joseph Kony and top Lord's Resistance Army commanders;

(6) supports continued efforts by the Secretary of State and representatives of the United States to work with partner nations and the international community—

(A) to strengthen the capabilities of regional military forces deployed to protect civilians and pursue commanders of the Lord's Resistance Army;

(B) to enhance cooperation and cross-border coordination among regional governments;

(C) to promote increased contributions from donor nations for regional security and civilian efforts to address the Lord's Resistance Army; and

(D) to enhance overall efforts to increase civilian protection and provide assistance to populations affected by the Lord's Resistance Army;

(7) calls on the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, and the heads of other government agencies to utilize existing funds for ongoing programs—

(A) to enhance mobility, intelligence, and logistical capabilities for partner forces engaged in efforts to protect civilians and apprehend or remove Joseph Kony and his top commanders from the battlefield;

(B) to expand physical access and telecommunications infrastructure to facilitate the timely flow of information and access for humanitarian and protection actors;

(C) to support programs to encourage and help non-indicted Lord's Resistance Army commanders, fighters, abductees, and associated noncombatants to safely defect from the group, including through radio and community programs; and

(D) to rehabilitate children and youth affected by war, which are tailored to address the specific trauma and physical and mental abuse they may face as a result of indoctrination by the Lord's Resistance Army, and serve to reconnect these children and youth with their families and communities;

(8) calls for the President to place restrictions on any individuals or governments found to be providing training, supplies, financing, or support of any kind to Joseph Kony or the Lord's Resistance Army;

(9) urges that civilian protection continue to be prioritized in areas affected by the Lord's Resistance Army and that steps be taken to inform potentially vulnerable communities about known Lord's Resistance Army movements and threats;

(10) welcomes the recent defections of men, women, and children from the ranks of the Lord's Resistance Army, and calls on governments in the region and the international community to continue to support safe return, demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration efforts; and

(11) urges the Governments of Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of South Sudan, the Republic of Sudan, and the Central African Republic to work together to address the ongoing threat posed by the Lord's Resistance Army.

SENATE RESOLUTION 403—TO AUTHORIZE TESTIMONY, DOCUMENT PRODUCTION, AND LEGAL REPRESENTATION IN UNITED STATES V. RICHARD F. “DICKIE” SCRUGGS

Mr. REID of Nevada (for himself and Mr. McCONNELL) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 403

Whereas, in the case of United States vs. Richard F. “Dickie” Scruggs, Case No. 3:09-CR-00002-GHD-SAA, pending in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Mississippi, the defense has served a subpoena for testimony on Hugh Gamble, a former employee of Senator Trent Lott, and a subpoena for testimony and document production on Brad Davis, an employee of Senator Thad Cochran;

Whereas, pursuant to sections 703(a) and 704(a)(2) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, 2 U.S.C. §§288b(a) and 288c(a)(2), the Senate may direct its counsel to represent employees of the Senate with respect to any subpoena, order, or request for testimony relating to their official responsibilities;

Whereas, by the privileges of the Senate of the United States and Rule XI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, no evidence under the control or in the possession of the Senate may, by the judicial or administrative process, be taken from such control or possession but by permission of the Senate;

Whereas, when it appears that evidence under the control or in the possession of the Senate may promote the administration of justice, the Senate will take such action as will promote the ends of justice consistent with the privileges of the Senate: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Hugh Gamble, Brad Davis, and any other employee from whom testimony may be necessary are authorized to testify, and Brad Davis is authorized to produce documents, in the case of United States vs. Richard F. “Dickie” Scruggs, except concerning matters for which a privilege should be asserted.

SEC. 2. The Senate Legal Counsel is authorized to represent Hugh Gamble, Brad Davis, and any other employee of the Senate from whom evidence may be sought, in connection with the testimony and document production authorized in section one of this resolution.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 1945. Mr. LEAHY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 2038, to prohibit Members of Congress and employees of Congress from using nonpublic information derived from their official positions for personal benefit, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table.

TEXT OF AMENDMENTS

SA 1945. Mr. LEAHY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 2038, to prohibit Members of Congress and employees of Congress from using nonpublic information derived from their official positions for personal benefit, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of the House amendment, add the following:

TITLE II—PUBLIC CORRUPTION PROSECUTION IMPROVEMENTS

SEC. 201. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the “Public Corruption Prosecution Improvements Act of 2012”.

SEC. 202. VENUE FOR FEDERAL OFFENSES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The second undesignated paragraph of section 3237(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding before the period at the end the following: “or in any district in which an act in furtherance of the offense is committed”.

(b) SECTION HEADING.—The heading for section 3237 of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 3237. OFFENSE TAKING PLACE IN MORE THAN ONE DISTRICT.”

(c) TABLE OF SECTIONS.—The table of sections at the beginning of chapter 211 of title 18, United States Code, is amended so that the item relating to section 3237 reads as follows:

“Sec. 3237. Offense taking place in more than one district.”.

SEC. 203. THEFT OR BRIBERY CONCERNING PROGRAMS RECEIVING FEDERAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

Section 666(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking “10 years” and inserting “20 years”;

(2) by striking “\$5,000” the second place and the third place it appears and inserting “\$1,000”;

(3) by striking “anything of value” each place it appears and inserting “any thing or things of value”;

(4) in paragraph (1)(B), by inserting after “anything” the following: “or things”.

SEC. 204. PENALTY FOR SECTION 641 VIOLATIONS.

Section 641 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “ten years” and inserting “15 years”.

SEC. 205. BRIBERY AND GRAFT; CLARIFICATION OF DEFINITION OF “OFFICIAL ACT”; CLARIFICATION OF THE CRIME OF ILLEGAL GRATUITIES.

(a) DEFINITION.—Section 201(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) by amending paragraph (3) to read as follows:

“(3) the term ‘official act’—

“(A) means any act within the range of official duty, and any decision or action on any question, matter, cause, suit, proceeding, or controversy, which may at any time be pending, or which may by law be brought before any public official, in such public official’s official capacity or in such official’s place of trust or profit; and

“(B) may be a single act, more than one act, or a course of conduct; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(4) the term ‘rule or regulation’ means a Federal regulation or a rule of the House of Representatives or the Senate, including those rules and regulations governing the acceptance of gifts and campaign contributions.”.

(b) CLARIFICATION.—Section 201(c)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“(1) otherwise than as provided by law for the proper discharge of official duty, or by rule or regulation—

“(A) directly or indirectly gives, offers, or promises any thing or things of value to any public official, former public official, or person selected to be a public official for or because of any official act performed or to be performed by such public official, former public official, or person selected to be a public official;

“(B) directly or indirectly, knowingly gives, offers, or promises any thing or things of value with an aggregate value of not less than \$1000 to any public official, former public official, or person selected to be a public official for or because of the official’s or person’s official position;

“(C) being a public official, former public official, or person selected to be a public official, directly or indirectly, knowingly demands, seeks, receives, accepts, or agrees to receive or accept any thing or things of value with an aggregate value of not less than \$1000 personally for or because of the official’s or person’s official position; or

“(D) being a public official, former public official, or person selected to be a public official, directly or indirectly demands, seeks, receives, accepts, or agrees to receive or accept any thing or things of value personally for or because of any official act performed or to be performed by such official or person.”.

SEC. 206. AMENDMENT OF THE SENTENCING GUIDELINES RELATING TO CERTAIN CRIMES.

(a) DIRECTIVE TO SENTENCING COMMISSION.—Pursuant to its authority under section 994(p) of title 28, United States Code, and in accordance with this section, the United States Sentencing Commission forthwith shall review and, if appropriate, amend its guidelines and its policy statements applicable to persons convicted of an offense under section 201, 641, 1346A, or 666 of title 18, United States Code, in order to reflect the intent of Congress that such penalties meet the requirements in subsection (b) of this section.

(b) REQUIREMENTS.—In carrying out this subsection, the Commission shall—

(1) ensure that the sentencing guidelines and policy statements reflect Congress’s intent that the guidelines and policy statements reflect the serious nature of the offenses described in paragraph (1), the incidence of such offenses, and the need for an effective deterrent and appropriate punishment to prevent such offenses;

(2) consider the extent to which the guidelines may or may not appropriately account for—

(A) the potential and actual harm to the public and the amount of any loss resulting from the offense;

(B) the level of sophistication and planning involved in the offense;

(C) whether the offense was committed for purposes of commercial advantage or private financial benefit;

(D) whether the defendant acted with intent to cause either physical or property harm in committing the offense;

(E) the extent to which the offense represented an abuse of trust by the offender and was committed in a manner that undermined public confidence in the Federal, State, or local government; and

(F) whether the violation was intended to or had the effect of creating a threat to public health or safety, injury to any person or even death;

(3) assure reasonable consistency with other relevant directives and with other sentencing guidelines;

(4) account for any additional aggravating or mitigating circumstances that might justify exceptions to the generally applicable sentencing ranges;

(5) make any necessary conforming changes to the sentencing guidelines; and

(6) assure that the guidelines adequately meet the purposes of sentencing as set forth in section 3553(a)(2) of title 18, United States Code.