


**Paul Wellstone**  
LATE A SENATOR FROM  
MINNESOTA



MEMORIAL ADDRESSES  
AND OTHER TRIBUTES

HON. PAUL WELLSTONE  1944–2002

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Paul Wellstone



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# Memorial Addresses and Other Tributes

HELD IN THE SENATE  
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE UNITED STATES  
TOGETHER WITH MEMORIAL SERVICES  
IN HONOR OF

## PAUL WELLSTONE

*Late a Senator from Minnesota*

One Hundred Seventh Congress  
Second Session



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## BIOGRAPHY

PAUL DAVID WELLSTONE, Minnesota's senior Senator, was born to Russian immigrants Leon and Minnie Wellstone on July 21, 1944, in Washington, DC.

PAUL was raised in Arlington, VA, and attended Wakefield and Yorktown High Schools. An accomplished student and athlete, he went on to the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill where he was a champion wrestler. In 1965 he earned his B.A., and 4 years later was awarded a Ph.D. in political science. He then accepted a teaching post at Carleton College in Northfield, MN, where he taught for 21 years. From 1983 to 1984 he was the director of the Minnesota Community Energy Program.

In 1990, underdog Senate candidate PAUL WELLSTONE rallied a dynamic volunteer force and traveled throughout Minnesota in his trademark green bus. He was the only Senate challenger that year to unseat an incumbent. U.S. Senator PAUL WELLSTONE's experience as a teacher and community organizer in Minnesota and his work representing Minnesotans in the Senate provided the framework for his progressive priorities and accomplishments.

During his first Senate term, Senator WELLSTONE led legislative battles to make health care more accessible and affordable and won workers' protection to take time from work to care for their families without losing their jobs. He helped raise the minimum wage, successfully fought to protect seniors' pension funds from corporate raiders, and authored historic ethics and lobbying reform measures that forever changed how the people's business is done on Capitol Hill. Senator WELLSTONE expanded health care coverage for those suffering from mental illness, worked with a bipartisan coalition to write a new farm bill, and blocked harsh bankruptcy reforms unfair to consumers as well as efforts to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling. He secured Federal resources for Minnesota schools and worked tirelessly on behalf of veterans, passing legislation to aid homeless veterans and securing compensation for "atomic veterans" suffering from cancers due to radiation exposure during their military service.

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He was also a leader in efforts to combat violence against women. In 2000, WELLSTONE joined with Senator Sam Brownback (R-KS) to pass historic bipartisan legislation to prevent international sex trafficking of women and girls, establishing first-ever penalties for those who enslave and traffic in persons.

PAUL WELLSTONE was one of a kind. He was a man of principle and conviction in a world that has too little of either. He was a passionate visionary who never gave up hope that we could make the world a better place for everyone; a committed fighter for social justice who gave a voice to the voiceless; a man with a huge heart who lit up a room—and the hearts of others when he walked in. He was a man who valued others for who they were not where they came from, or what they wore, or their position or social status. He was dedicated to helping the little guy in a business dominated by the big guys.

Senator WELLSTONE's life was tragically cut short when the plane he was traveling in crashed southeast of Eveleth, MN, leaving no survivors. On the plane with him were his wife, Sheila (Ison) Wellstone; daughter, Marcia Wellstone; campaign staff Will McLaughlin, Tom Lopic, and Mary McEvoy; and Captains Richard Conry and Michael Guess.

PAUL and Sheila are survived by two sons, David and Mark; and six grandchildren, Cari, Keith, Joshua, Acacia, Sydney, and Matt.

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Photograph by Tony Nelson

Sheila Wellstone



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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

AND

OTHER TRIBUTES

FOR

PAUL WELLSTONE



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## Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *October 28, 2002*

The Senate met at 10:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable Christopher J. Dodd, a Senator from the State of Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Today's prayer will be offered by our guest Chaplain, Father M. John Farrelly, a Benedictine monk from St. Anselm's Abbey in Washington, DC.  
Father Farrelly.

### PRAYER

Let us pray.

As we gather together at the beginning of this day may we, by Your grace, Lord, so live that we will stand before You confident in Your mercy, as we have shown mercy to those in need. Almighty and merciful God, we commend to You Senator PAUL WELLSTONE who was taken away, along with his wife and his daughter, so unexpectedly and suddenly from us, and who has left many colleagues and others stunned and deeply saddened by their loss of a highly valued coworker and friend.

May his legacy of voting according to his conscience and his concern for the ordinary citizen and the underprivileged endure in this Chamber. May the manner of his death remind all of us that the control we have of our lives is fragile and uncertain, and that our lives can be called from us at any moment.

May PAUL WELLSTONE dwell in Your house, Lord, forever and ever, and may You comfort his remaining family and the many friends, supporters, and the entire Senate family who are bereaved.

Amen.

DEATH OF PAUL WELLSTONE, A SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF  
MINNESOTA

The legislative clerk read as follows:

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A resolution (S. Res. 354) relative to the death of PAUL WELLSTONE, a Senator from the State of Minnesota:

S. RES. 354

Whereas the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE taught at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, for more than 20 years in the service of the youth of our Nation;

Whereas the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE served Minnesota in the U.S. Senate with devotion and distinction for more than a decade;

Whereas the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE worked tirelessly on behalf of America's Veterans and the less fortunate, particularly children and families living in poverty and those with mental illness;

Whereas the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE never wavered from the principles that guided his life and career;

Whereas his efforts on behalf of the people of Minnesota and all Americans earned him the esteem and high regard of his colleagues; and

Whereas his tragic and untimely death has deprived his State and Nation of an outstanding lawmaker: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate expresses profound sorrow and deep regret on the deaths of the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE, late a Senator from the State of Minnesota, his wife Sheila, their daughter Marcia, aides Mary McEvoy, Tom Lapic, and Will McLaughlin, and pilots Richard Conry and Michael Guess.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator, and the families of all the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate adjourns today, it adjourn as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator.

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate observe a moment of silence in tribute to Senator WELLSTONE and his family.

(Moment of silence.)

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, it is with a profoundly heavy heart that I rise today to present this resolution honoring my colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE. This is not the occasion in this brief session for eulogies. There will be other opportunities on the Senate floor for all of us to share our memories and our perspectives.

For myself, I cannot begin to do PAUL justice in a few minutes or even a few hours. He was such an extraordinary and remarkable man. He brought so much life, enthusiasm, passion and commitment to the public life he lived, and he touched so many thousands of Minnesotans and others across this country who mourn his loss as we do here today.

He died fearlessly, as he lived his life. In the resolution that was just read, the words "never wavered from the principles" will be words that I will always associate with PAUL WELLSTONE. He never ever blinked in the face of adversity.



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Courageous, difficult, perhaps at times unpopular positions were articles of faith for PAUL because he believed in them.

It was not about polls. It was not about pundits. It was about the conviction he had about what was right for people, for his fellow citizens.

He was unpretentious, unassuming, just himself. He was no different as a Senator than as a man, than as a political activist all in one, he was extraordinary and he will never be replaced. In the hearts and minds of Minnesotans, he will never be forgotten.

Yet, Mr. President, he loved this institution. He respected enormously the traditions, the men and women who served here. They came to respect him for the courage of his convictions. I could see in the course of the 2 years I have shared with him in the Senate that he was respected by people who did not agree with him because they knew he was speaking from his heart, that he was speaking from his soul, that he was speaking what he truly believed.

One could ask for no more, no less from any of us than the strength of our convictions and our willingness to speak out about them regardless of political cost.

PAUL and his wife, Sheila, at his side for 39 years, died last Friday together, as they would have wanted it to be, though not with their daughter Marcia who also was on that flight and three of their devoted aides and two pilots. It is an unspeakable tragedy and horror for all of us in Minnesota, but it will be the responsibility for all of us, on behalf of PAUL, to take a deep breath and carry on on behalf of our convictions and our causes—as he would want us to do.

I thank the Senate for this resolution on behalf of PAUL. And for his two surviving sons, David and Mark, and their families I know it will be of solace to them in their hours of terrible grief.

Mrs. BOXER. Senator Dayton, your remarks were beautiful and PAUL would have been so pleased to hear your tone and your spirit. And I can tell you, Senator Dayton, how much he loved you, how proud he was to have you here by his side.

Mr. President, I have flown in from California to be here on the Senate floor today to make just a few remarks about our dear friend and colleague, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. I want to start by reading two paragraphs written by his loyal and hard-working staff. After his plane went down, and they learned the worst, they wrote the following:

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PAUL WELLSTONE was one of a kind. He was a man of principle and conviction, in a world that has too little of either. He was dedicated to helping the little guy, in a business dominated by the big guys. We who had the privilege of working with him hope that he will be remembered as he lived every day: as a champion for people.

His family was the center of his life and it breaks our hearts that his wife of 39 years and his daughter Marcia were with him. Our prayers are with Mark and David and the grandchildren he and Sheila cherished so much.

That was posted on the WELLSTONE Web site by Senator WELLSTONE's staff.

Mr. President, Senator Dayton, for me, the loss of PAUL WELLSTONE cuts very deep. Kind, compassionate, self-deprecating, a passionate voice for those without a voice, enthusiastic, a bundle of energy—this was a unique man of the people.

When we learned that the tragedy of PAUL's death was magnified by the death of the two women he cherished so much—his wife Sheila and his daughter Marcia—the wounds in our hearts cut deeper still, plus the loss of three staffers—Tom Lopic, Will McLaughlin, and Mary McEvoy—and the two pilots—Captains Richard Conry and Michael Guess.

Mr. President, no words—no words—can possibly ease the pain of all the family members who were touched by this tragedy. No words can ease the pain of David and Mark, PAUL's two sons, and their families. All we can do is let them know that we pray that they have the strength to endure this time for the sake of the WELLSTONE grandchildren: Cari, Keith, Joshua, Acacia, Sydney, and Matt. Let the *Record* show that your grandchildren brought endless joy to you. And we say to the grandchildren, thank you for the joy that you gave to Grandma and Grandpa.

I want to say to the people of Minnesota, thank you, thank you for sending PAUL to us, for sharing PAUL with us these past 12 years. He loved the people of his State: the farmers, the workers, the children, the elderly, the sick, the disabled, the families. He fought for you all, so long and so hard, without stopping, in committees and subcommittees, in the Democratic Caucus meetings, when he would get up and say: Just give me 30 seconds—just 30 seconds—to make my point about the people of Minnesota. He stood up at press conferences. He would grab Senators, one by one, and fight for you, the people of Minnesota, who were always in his thoughts and on his mind. And I know he is now in your thoughts and on your minds.

In my own State of California—so many thousands of miles away from Minnesota—there are memorial services

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being set up for PAUL. You see, his compassionate voice reached thousands of miles, and many people in my State are sending me condolence notes and flowers because they know how much I will miss working with PAUL WELLSTONE, and so will all Senators on both sides of the aisle.

As Mark said, PAUL was never afraid to speak out when it might be unpopular, nor was he afraid to be on the losing side of a Senate vote. He had courage. And when you told him that, when you said: "PAUL, you have courage," he shrugged it off. He would say something like: "What else could I do? It's just not right!" He would say that—determined, brave.

You see, PAUL WELLSTONE could not vote against his conscience or for something he did not believe was in the best interest of the people he represented. He couldn't; he wouldn't—no matter what the consequences.

He cared about the underdog always. He cared about the victim always. He cared about peace always. And PAUL, blessed are the peacemakers.

PAUL was a humble man. When his longtime staffer, Mike Epstein, died—and many of us knew Mike—PAUL took to the Senate floor, and this is what he said, in part:

Mike, I know you will not like me saying this, but I'm going to say it anyway because it's true. I believe from the bottom of my heart that everything I've been able to do as a Senator that has been good for Minnesota and the country is because, Mike, you have been right by my side, 1 inch away from me.

And he said:

Mike was my tutor. He was my teacher. He was teaching me.

That was PAUL WELLSTONE. He never bragged about himself. He loved his family so much. He loved his staff. He took time for all the Senate employees: the young people who work with us, the officers who protect us, the food service people, the elevator operators—all the Senate family, no matter what their status.

Mr. President, he wanted to give everyone—everyone he touched—his sense of optimism, his energy, his strength.

When PAUL learned he had multiple sclerosis, I worried and I said to him: "Are you OK?" He said: "I probably had it for a long time. I'm just not going to think about it." And off he went in his usual rush. There was so much to do. Off he went to his desk in the Senate, his desk now incredibly shrouded in black.

PAUL loved that aisle desk. It gave him a bird's eye view of the Senate that he loved. And when he spoke from his

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desk, he could come out from behind it. He could leave his notes behind—arms gesturing, voice determined—and talk from his heart. He would say something like: I don't represent big business or big anything. He would say: I represent the people of Minnesota. And that he did every minute of his all-too-short life.

As our session wound down, PAUL wanted to finish our business and go home. He told us all: I want to be with my people. I need to touch them. I need to look them in the eye. I can't wait to get home.

PAUL was a powerful man. His power did not come from his physical stature. He was strong but he was slight of build. His power did not come from generations of family wealth. He was not a man of moneyed wealth. His parents were immigrants: Leon and Minnie Wellstone. His power did not come from political connections. His connections were with regular people.

Let me tell you from where his power came. It came from a fierce dedication to justice and truth and honesty and righteousness. He gave comfort and he gave hope to those he touched. And he gave them some of his power—the power to see the possibilities of their own lives. PAUL died on his way to give comfort and hope to those facing death. He was flying to a funeral service.

Today we say to PAUL: We will give comfort and hope to those you have left behind by doing all that we can to continue your legacy and your dream. Together, we can build an America of fairness, of justice, of prosperity, a world of tolerance and a world of peace. And, PAUL, may you and yours rest in peace forever.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Minnesota and the Senator from California for their words. I know and respect both the Senator from Minnesota, Senator Dayton, and the Senator from California, Senator Boxer. I know them well enough to know this was a very painful moment for both of them—just as it is for the distinguished presiding officer and as it is for the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. President, you and I have been here a long time in the Senate. With the Senator from Minnesota, who is now—not at his choice—the senior Senator from Minnesota, and the Senator from California, I think we can all say that there is no sadder sight than coming on the floor and seeing a black drape on a Senator's desk. The distinguished presiding officer and I have unfortunately seen that many times in our careers, for Senators on both sides of the aisle. In every in-

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stance when we have entered the Chamber and seen the black drape we know that there has been a death in the family.

We are privileged in this body, 100 men and women—now 99 men and women—to represent the greatest nation on Earth, a nation of a quarter of a billion people. But because there are only 100 of us, no matter our political differences, when one is lost we all feel it. When I heard the news in Vermont, I was at a restaurant in Burlington with my son, Kevin. It was a small restaurant. There was a television going but with no sound. My back was to it. I saw the look of shock on Kevin's face. He spun me around and I saw the news. We both left that restaurant in tears. The news spread quickly and as I walked down the street people—many of them I never met before—just came up and hugged me, because they, too, lost somebody.

PAUL WELLSTONE had come to Vermont and was greeted with great warmth. I vividly remember the evening he came to speak. Everybody came up to him. They didn't want him to leave. PAUL WELLSTONE, like one of his predecessors, my dear friend, Hubert Humphrey, was a happy warrior. If people wanted to talk with him he did not mind and would stay, the same way Hubert would have.

There is an affinity, I believe, between our State of Vermont and Minnesota. That is why there was a bond Vermonters felt with PAUL WELLSTONE. PAUL could sense it. And, we worked on many important issues as a team. During the recent farm bill debate he met with Vermont farmers and together we drafted a dairy provision that was beneficial to both of our States. I remember when he and Jim Jeffords and Bernie Sanders and I joined together to have a milk toast. We were joking around. PAUL was not a tall man. I playfully stood blocking him from the cameras. And he said: "Hey, remember, I'm a wrestler," at which point I quickly moved aside. Of course PAUL was far more than a wrestler—but it is easy to make the correlation to the way he wrestled with issues here on the floor. He wrestled them down. I thought to myself: What a man to have on your side. What a man to be a friend.

PAUL WELLSTONE served with powerful people but he was not intimidated by that. And, he never took on the airs of one who was powerful. He would introduce himself to people: "Hi, I'm PAUL WELLSTONE." And someone else would have to say: That's a U.S. Senator.

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I never went on an elevator with PAUL without him calling the elevator operator by name. He would talk with the pages and give them tutorials. He knew everybody in the Senate and they knew and loved him.

It is impossible to talk about our colleague PAUL WELLSTONE without mentioning Sheila Wellstone. They were inseparable. Whenever the Senate would have a late night session Sheila would be in the galleries, waiting for PAUL to leave.

Of all my memories of PAUL WELLSTONE, the one I may remember the most is the last time I saw the two of them. It was a late night session. You know these gorgeous halls we have, with the chandeliers and everything else, and here is this couple walking hand in hand down one of the halls about midnight—PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. I came around the corner and I said: “Hey, you teenagers,” and they laughed and hugged each other. I saw them go out, down the steps into the night, hand in hand.

Let us hope that they have gone hand and hand into the light and that they are now together.

Marcella and I also extend our thoughts and prayers to Marcia, PAUL and Sheila’s daughter, and her family. And, as the Senate noted in the resolution that was just passed a few moments ago, we all grieve for the WELLSTONE staff who were on board the plane: Tom Lopic, Mary McEvoy and Will McLaughlin. Our thoughts and prayer are with their families in these trying times. Our condolences also go to the families of the pilots on the plane, Richard Conry and Michael Guess.

Mr. DODD. Madam President, first let me express my thanks to our colleague from Minnesota, Senator Dayton, and express our sympathies to him and through him to the people of Minnesota and to the Wellstone family, the extended family, for all that they are suffering in this particular time, and to express my gratitude as well to my colleague from California, Senator Boxer, and my colleague from Vermont, Senator Leahy, for their very moving and emotional remarks. I think they captured to a large extent the sentiments of all of us.

This is a difficult time. I suppose the American people see we are in session and wonder why only a few of us are here. Obviously, with a week to go before the congressional elections, not many are here in Washington. But suffice it to say, were 96 or 97 other Senators here today, you would hear much the same sentiments that have been expressed already

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by the now-senior Senator from Minnesota, the Senator from California, and the Senator from Vermont.

So I join my colleagues, and all Americans, in mourning the very tragic and sudden loss of our dear friend and colleague, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, who will be forever remembered as a friend and patriot and true public servant, who fought each and every day of his public life—in fact, of his life—to improve the lives of average Americans. We got to know him here over the last 10 or 11 years as a Member of the U.S. Senate, but the people of Minnesota and the people of Carleton College, students who had him as a professor, people who knew him beforehand, they knew that PAUL WELLSTONE didn't just become a fighter when he arrived in the Senate of the United States. He dedicated his life to it. It is what his parents taught him. It is what he believed in passionately as an American. We became witnesses to that sense of passion and outrage about wrongs in this country and around the world as we served with our colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE, for the last decade.

So, like my colleagues, I was stunned and deeply saddened by the enormous scope and tragedy of this loss. Obviously, the entire Wellstone family has suffered an unfathomable loss, as have the families of the other victims of this horrendous accident. His wife Sheila—I join my colleagues in expressing our deep sense of loss. Sometimes, although we get to know Members, we don't get to know the spouses of our colleagues very well, but Sheila Wellstone really became a member of the Senate family aside from being a spouse. She was an unpaid volunteer in her husband's office.

If there are women today who are suffering less because of domestic violence—and there are many who are not, but many who are—you can thank some colleagues here. But I suspect one of the reasons they became so motivated about the issue was because there was a person by the name of Sheila Wellstone who arrived here a decade ago and wanted to make this a matter of the business of the U.S. Senate.

So they became partners, not just over the almost 40 years of love and affection for each other, but partners in their sense of idealism, sense of values, and sense of purpose.

Marcia I did not know very well, but certainly heard PAUL and Sheila talk about her with great admiration and affection. In the loss suffered by her family, with young children, it is difficult to even come up with the words to express the sense of grief that I feel. And obviously the staff: Will McLaughlin, Tom Lapic, and Mary McEvoy, along with the

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pilots who have been mentioned already: Richard Conry and Michael Guess, we didn't know, but I suspect on that flight up there they had gotten to know the Wellstone family and the staff. And so we want to express our deep sense of loss to their families.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the end of my remarks a wonderful editorial by David Rosenbaum in the *New York Times* on Saturday which I thought captured perfectly the image of PAUL WELLSTONE, who he was and what he tried to do, better than any words I could possibly express here today.

Madam President, William Shakespeare once wrote, "No legacy is so rich as honesty." I have never met, let alone worked with, a more honest or noble man than PAUL WELLSTONE.

His legacy will be that of an honest, passionate and tireless fighter on behalf of justice and fairness for all Americans, especially those less fortunate than himself.

PAUL suffered a lot. He had this bad back. He would hobble around. He had this gait that if you didn't know he was hurting was almost an affectionate gait. He sort of limped around at various times; he would stand a lot at times in meetings because sitting would be so painful for him as a result of injuries he suffered. He had MS which he sort of shrugged off, as my colleague from California said. He grew up in a situation where his family were immigrants who came from Russia. They grew up actually in Arlington, VA, a short distance from here. A former staff member of mine was a neighbor of theirs. He knew PAUL as a child growing up. They had their own burdens to bear aside from being immigrants, problems of those newly arriving, with the language barriers. Trying to get acclimated to a new society such as ours is not easy. So PAUL understood the issues of those who suffered more than in just an intellectual effort. This was something he deeply felt and had grown up with and appreciated immensely.

When he came to this body and we got to know him as someone who would fight tirelessly on behalf of those who did not have lawyers, lobbyists, and others to express their concerns, to bring their issues to the debate of the Senate, we found in this individual just a remarkable voice and a remarkable fight. Like many of my colleagues, I might be home or completed the evening and turned on the television and the Senate would still be in session, and there would be PAUL WELLSTONE, standing at that desk in the rear of this



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Chamber, speaking to an empty place except for the millions of Americans tuned in to C-SPAN who would hear someone talking about subjects that were affecting their lives.

Single moms, working families, children without health care, the homeless, international victims of torture—these were among Senator PAUL WELLSTONE’s core constituencies, and they could not have had a better spokesperson.

A lot of times we spend days here talking about issues that might seem terribly arcane to the average citizen in this country, matters that don’t seem terribly relevant to their daily lives, and yet PAUL WELLSTONE never let a day go by that he didn’t give voice to the concerns of average Americans or those who are, as Hubert Humphrey would talk about, in the shadows of life or the dawn of life or the dusk of life—PAUL WELLSTONE giving voice, that great Minnesota voice to those who needed to have their concerns raised in chambers such as this. And so for all of those people who are wondering today whether or not their concerns, their hopes, their fears will find expression, it is hard to find any silver lining with the passage of someone you care about so much, but I suspect as we reconvene here on November 12 and again with a new Congress coming in in January we will hear the words of PAUL WELLSTONE repeated quite frequently. We will hear the passion that he brought to the issues raised maybe more frequently than they otherwise might be. That’s because we will remember an individual we had the privilege and honor of serving with who reminded this institution of what its role ought to be, not just to those who are well heeled, those who can afford to acquire the access, but those who need to have their issues raised—that their concerns and their worries, their hopes, their dreams for this country and their own families will be once again a part of the mainstream of debate in the Senate.

PAUL WELLSTONE fought some awfully tough battles. He fought a tough battle to get here, a man who was told he could not possibly get elected to the Senate, who was being outspent by overwhelming odds.

I rode with him in that bus—I am sure my colleague from Minnesota, maybe my colleagues from California and Vermont remember—that rattly old green bus, in the freezing cold, bitter cold, cold months of Minnesota. I remember going with him to some big fair or festival that he was holding on behalf of poor farmers and family farmers in Minnesota. Just a few weeks ago, Madam President, I campaigned with him in Minnesota, with some of the medical device companies

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around Minneapolis and St. Paul. This was supposed to be about a 20-minute meeting we were going to have at one of these firms to talk about the medical devices that PAUL played a major role in working to see to it that they were going to become a reality for people who would use them. We were supposed to leave in 15 or 20 minutes but the room was packed; the people wanted to talk about other things. And PAUL WELLSTONE stayed for about 1½ hours just engaging with the people in this room. They went far beyond the medical device issues. The people in that room wanted to talk about health care; they wanted to talk about education; they wanted to talk about the environment; they wanted to talk about prescription drugs and the elderly; they wanted to talk about issues affecting Native Americans and minority groups; they wanted to talk about foreign policy. And he engaged, engaged and engaged for an hour and a half. He would have stayed longer. Staff had to almost drag him out of the room. But it was so reflective, standing in the back of the room watching PAUL WELLSTONE with great passion and clarity expressing where he stood.

He didn't sit there and try to figure out where the question was coming from based on the tilt of their rhetoric. He answered them how he felt as their Senator, their representative, so they would know where he stood.

Madam President, I apologize for sort of meandering here, but it is how I feel. I have a great sense of loss and also a sense of joy. PAUL WELLSTONE had a great sense of humor. He cared deeply about issues but he also had the wonderful ability to laugh at himself, to appreciate the humor that only this institution can provide in some of the more bizarre moments, a wonderful relationship with virtually everyone here. It didn't happen automatically or initially. PAUL came here determined to change the world; if not the world, change the United States; if not that, maybe his Minnesota. Along the way and in the process he probably rubbed some people the wrong way, but those very people became the people who cared most about him in many ways in the final analysis because they realized that everything he said and everything he did was not about himself but about the people he wanted to represent. And so I know there are Members who are not here today because of other obligations, but who, when the opportunity comes, will express their own thoughts and feelings, but don't be surprised—Madam President, I know you will not be, nor my colleagues from Minnesota or Vermont—that some of the heartfelt remarks

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about PAUL will come from people who disagreed with him vehemently on substantive matters, but appreciated immensely his sense of conviction, something we can do a lot more of in politics in America today.

Frederick Douglass once said, "The life of a nation is secure only while the nation is honest, truthful, and virtuous." For 58 years, PAUL WELLSTONE lived a life that was honest, truthful, and virtuous. For 12 years, he personally lent those characteristics to the heart of the U.S. Government.

America, Minnesota, and this institution have suffered a terrible loss at the death of PAUL WELLSTONE, but there is a silver lining in all of this; that as a result of his service this country is a better place, there are people who are living better lives; this world with all of its difficulties has been a better world because PAUL WELLSTONE was a part of it.

I am confident as I stand before you today, Madam President, that in the weeks, months, and years ahead, his memory and legacy will live on in the debates, the discussions, and actions we take in this body.

For that, PAUL WELLSTONE, you ought to know that your service continues and your words and your actions will have a legacy borne out by those who come after you in the service of your State and the thousands of young people you motivated.

Madam President, if you could only see, as many have, the hundreds of young people throughout Minnesota who PAUL WELLSTONE energized and brought to the public life of this country, people who otherwise would not have paid any attention. PAUL WELLSTONE said: You ought to be involved; there is a reason to be involved.

His ability to attract people to come to a cause and to fight for the good cause will live on. I suspect one day this Chamber will have people who will serve in it who cut their teeth in politics working on a WELLSTONE campaign.

PAUL, the campaign goes on. Your battles will go on, and we are going to miss you.

[From the *New York Times*, October 26, 2002]

**A Death in the Senate: Paul Wellstone, 58, Icon of Liberalism in the Senate**

(By David E. Rosenbaum)

Washington, Oct. 25.—PAUL WELLSTONE often seemed out of step. He called himself a liberal when many used that word as a slur. He voted against the Persian Gulf war in his first year in the Senate, and this month opposed using force against Iraq.

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Senator WELLSTONE, 58, who died in a plane crash today while campaigning for re-election, fought for bills favored by unions and advocates of family farmers and the poor, and against those favored by banks, agribusiness and large corporations. This year he was the principal opponent of legislation supported by large majorities of Democrats and Republicans that would make it more difficult for people to declare bankruptcy. He argued that the measure would enrich creditors at the expense of people "in brutal economic circumstances." He advocated causes like national health insurance that even many of his fellow liberals abandoned as futile.

Mr. WELLSTONE was a ruffled, unfailingly modest man who, unlike many of his colleagues, lived on his Senate salary. He was married to the former Sheila Ison for 39 years, having married at 19 when he was in college. His wife and their 33-year-old daughter, Marcia, also died today in the crash.

When Mr. WELLSTONE arrived in the Senate in 1991, he was a firebrand who thought little of breaking the Senate tradition of comity and personally attacking his colleagues. He told an interviewer soon after he was elected that Senator Jesse Helms, the conservative North Carolina Republican, "represents everything to me that is ugly and wrong and awful about politics."

But as the years passed, Mr. WELLSTONE moderated his personality if not his politics and became well liked by Republicans as well as Democrats. Bob Dole, the former Senate Republican leader who often tangled with Mr. WELLSTONE on legislation, choked up today when he told a television interviewer that Mr. WELLSTONE was "a decent, genuine guy who had a different philosophy from almost everyone else in the Senate."

Mr. WELLSTONE was also an accomplished campaigner. Though he had never held elected office, he pulled off a major upset in 1990 when, running on a shoestring budget, he defeated the incumbent Republican Senator, Rudy Boschwitz. He beat Mr. Boschwitz in a rematch in 1996. This year, he reneged on a promise to limit himself to two terms, ran for re-election and seemed in the most recent public polls to have pulled slightly ahead of his Republican challenger, former Mayor Norm Coleman of St. Paul.

His opponents always portrayed him as a left-wing extremist. Mr. Boschwitz's television commercials in 1996 called Mr. WELLSTONE "embarrassingly liberal and out of touch." This year, Mr. Coleman said the Senator was "so far out of the mainstream, so extreme, that he can't deliver for Minnesotans."

But on the campaign trail, Mr. WELLSTONE appeared to be so happy, so comfortable, so unthreatening that he was able to ward off the attacks.

For years, he had walked with a pronounced limp that he attributed to an old wrestling injury. In February, he announced at a news conference that he had learned he had multiple sclerosis, but he said the illness would not affect his campaigning or his ability to sit in the Senate. "I have a strong mind—although there are some that might disagree about that—I have a strong body, I have a strong heart, I have a strong soul," he told reporters.

PAUL DAVID WELLSTONE was born in Washington on July 21, 1944, and grew up in Arlington, Va. His father, Leon, left Russia as a child to escape the persecution of Jews, and worked as a writer for the United States Information Agency. His mother, Minnie, the daughter of immigrants from Russia, worked in a junior high school cafeteria.

Growing up, he was more interested in wrestling than politics, and he had some difficulty in school because of what he later found out was a learning

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disability. He scored lower than 800, out of a total of 1,600, on his College Boards, and this led him as a senator to oppose measures that emphasized standardized test scores. In an interview, he once said that even as an adult he had difficulty interpreting charts and graphs quickly but that he had learned to overcome his disability by studying harder and taking more time to absorb information.

Partly because of his wrestling ability—he was a conference champion at 126 pounds—he was admitted to the University of North Carolina and, galvanized by the civil rights movement, he turned from wrestling to politics. He graduated in 1965 and stayed in Chapel Hill for a doctorate in political science. He wrote his thesis on the roots of black militancy.

Married with children, he once said he did not have time to participate in the student uprisings in the 1960s. He is survived by two grown sons, David and Mark, of St. Paul, and six grandchildren.

But while he was not a student rebel, Mr. WELLSTONE did not fit in from the day in 1969 when he began teaching political science at Carleton College, a small liberal arts campus in rural Northfield, Minn.

He was more interested in leading his students in protests than he was in publishing in academic journals, and he was often at odds with his colleagues and Carleton administrators. He fought the college's investments in companies doing business in South Africa, battled local banks that foreclosed on farms, picketed with strikers at a meat-packing plant and taught classes off campus rather than cross a picket line when Carleton's custodians were on strike.

In 1974, the college told him his contract would not be renewed. But with strong support from students, the student newspaper and local activists, he appealed the dismissal, and it was reversed.

In 1982, Mr. WELLSTONE dipped his toe into the political waters for the first time and ran for state auditor. He lost. But he had made contacts in the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, and he stayed active in politics. In 1988, he was the state co-chairman of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign in the President primary, and in the general election, he was co-chairman of the campaign of Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic Presidential nominee.

Few thought he had a chance when he announced that he would run for the Senate against Mr. Boschwitz, Russell D. Feingold, now a like-minded liberal Democratic senator from Wisconsin, today had this recollection of dropping by to meet Mr. WELLSTONE in 1989:

"He opened the door, and there he was with his socks off, 15 books open that he was reading, and he was on the phone arguing with somebody about Cuba. He gave me coffee, and we laughed uproariously at the idea that either of us would ever be elected. But he pulled it off in 1990 and gave me the heart to do it in Wisconsin."

Mr. Feingold was elected in 1992, also with a tiny treasury.

Mr. Boschwitz spent \$7 million on his campaign, 7 times Mr. WELLSTONE's budget. To counteract the Boschwitz attacks, Mr. WELLSTONE ran witty, even endearing television commercials produced without charge by a group led by a former student. In one ad, the video and audio were speeded up, and Mr. WELLSTONE said he had to talk fast because "I don't have \$6 million to spend."

Mr. WELLSTONE toured the state in a battered green school bus, and in the end, he won 50.4 percent of the vote and was the only challenger in 1990 to defeat an incumbent senator.

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He arrived in Washington as something of a rube. On one of his first days in town before he was sworn in, he called a reporter for the name of a restaurant where he could get a cheap dinner. When the reporter replied that he knew a place where a good meal was only \$15, Mr. WELLSTONE said \$15 was many times what he was prepared to spend.

He also made what he later conceded were “rookie mistakes.” At one point, for instance, he used the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as a backdrop for a news conference to oppose the war against Iraq. Veterans’ groups denounced him, and he later apologized.

But he soon warmed to the ways of the Senate and became especially adept at the unusual custom of giving long speeches to an empty chamber. Probably no one in the Senate over the last dozen years gave more speeches at night after nearly all the other senators had gone home.

His strength was not in getting legislation enacted. One successful measure he sponsored in 1996 with Senator Pete V. Domenici, Republican of New Mexico, requires insurance companies in some circumstances to give coverage to people with mental illness, but he failed this year in an effort to strengthen the law.

In a book he published last year, “The Conscience of a Liberal” (Random House), Mr. WELLSTONE wrote, “I feel as if 80 percent of my work as a senator has been playing defense, cutting the extremist enthusiasms of the conservative agenda (much of which originates in the House) rather than moving forward on a progressive agenda.”

In a speech in the Senate this month explaining his opposition to the resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq, Mr. WELLSTONE stressed that Saddam Hussein was “a brutal, ruthless dictator who has repressed his own people.” But Mr. WELLSTONE went on to say: “Despite a desire to support our President, I believe many Americans still have profound questions about the wisdom of relying too heavily on a preemptive go-it-alone military approach. Acting now on our own might be a sign of our power. Acting sensibly and in a measured way, in concert with our allies with bipartisan Congressional support, would be a sign of our strength.”

Later, Mr. WELLSTONE told a reporter that he did not believe his stance would hurt him politically. “What would really hurt,” he said, “is if I was giving speeches and I didn’t even believe what I was saying. Probably what would hurt is if people thought I was doing something just for political reasons.”

Mr. WELLSTONE briefly considered running for President in 2000, but he called off the campaign because, he said, the doctors who had been treating him for a ruptured disk told him that his back could not stand the travel that would be required.

Often, Mr. WELLSTONE was the only senator voting against a measure, or one of only a few. He was, for instance, one of three senators in 1999 to support compromise missile defense legislation. He was the only one that year to vote against an education bill involving standardized tests, and the only Democrat who opposed his party’s version of lowering the estate tax.

Mr. WELLSTONE was one of the few senators who made the effort to meet and remember the names of elevator operators, waiters, police officers and other workers in the Capitol. James W. Ziglar, a Republican who was sergeant at arms of the Senate from 1998 to 2001 and who is now commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, remembered today “the evening when he came back to the Capitol well past midnight to visit with the cleaning staff and tell them how much he appreciated their efforts.”

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“Most of the staff had never seen a senator and certainly had never had one make such a meaningful effort to express his or her appreciation,” Mr. Ziglar said. “That was the measure of the man.”

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10:30 A.M., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31, 2002

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, and as a further mark of respect to PAUL WELLSTONE, the Senate stands adjourned in his memory until the hour of 10:30 a.m. on Thursday, October 31, 2002.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 11:11 a.m., adjourned until Thursday, October 31, 2002, at 10:30 a.m.

TUESDAY, *November 12, 2002*

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, let me reiterate our welcome to Senator Barkley, but no one needs to be reminded how it is he is here. I begin our remembrance of PAUL WELLSTONE with the recognition that at times such as this it is more important to celebrate a life than to mourn a death. I will do my utmost in the next couple of minutes to remember my own advice, the importance of celebrating a life.

We mourn the loss of PAUL WELLSTONE, his wife Sheila, their daughter Marcia, the staff, and the pilots who lost their lives. It has been a shock from which we have not yet fully recovered. Sometimes in these difficult moments, I turn to the Bible, sometimes I turn to expressions offered to me by others, and sometimes to poetry.

An old Irish text was found in a Carmelite monastery in Tallow County, Wicklow, Ireland. The text was entitled “Togetherness.” I find solace in the words of “Togetherness.”

Death is nothing at all—

I have only slipped away into the next room.

Whatever we were to each other, that we are still.

Call me by my old familiar name, speak to me in the easy way which we always used.

Laugh as we always laughed at the little jokes we enjoyed together.

Play, smile, think of me, pray for me.

Let my name be the household word it always was.

Let it be spoken without effort.

Life means all that it ever meant.

It is the same as it always was:

There is an absolute unbroken continuity.

Why would I be out of your mind because I am out of your sight?

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I am but waiting for you, for an interval, somewhere very near, just around the corner.

All is well. Nothing is passed, nothing is lost.  
One brief moment, and all will be as it was before—  
Only better, infinitely happier, and forever—  
We will all be one together . . .

PAUL was all of 5 foot 5. But I remember what someone once told me: someone certainly more than 5 foot 5. He said it is not the size of the man in the fight, it is the size of the fight in the man. PAUL WELLSTONE by that measurement was a giant. He fought. He spoke. He challenged us all. But he did so in a way that made him a friend, not an enemy, a friend with people on that side of the aisle and a friend, of course, with those on this side, too; he had friends.

While he walked in this Chamber small in stature, everyone recognized that if you measure a man and, in so doing, measure the true weight of his being, you don't measure his size, you measure his heart.

PAUL WELLSTONE inspired me. With his physical challenges—his back, his knees, his legs from wrestling injuries, and then later with MS—I never once heard him complain. Never once did he come to me saying, Tom, you have to give me an opportunity to recover, to rest. He had an energy, a dynamism, that overcame all of those ailments. He seemed more well than those who are well. He inspired all with his joy, with his passion, with his energy.

For those of us who believe in public service, there was no greater evidence of his deep sense of commitment to public service than his advocacy for mental health parity. Again, working across the aisle with Senator Domenici, that passion, that energy, that commitment, that determination, that persistence, all that was PAUL WELLSTONE, flowed right up there from that desk. We knew he cared about mental health parity. I can think of no better monument, no better memorial, no better way to honor him than by passing mental health parity soon.

We were all the beneficiaries. Perhaps those who will benefit most by his memory, his example, by his commitment, are our youth. I spoke to his staff on the Sunday following his passing. I reminded them that in the course of 5 years in my early life, I, too, lost heroes. Their names were John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King. While I recognize their physical being is no longer here, as our poem said, I recognize, too, that they only slipped into the next room, and their spirit was very much alive. And that burns within me with my understanding and my belief



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in our democracy in this commitment you must make to public service.

In remembering the WELLSTONES, we must also pay tribute to that remarkable woman, Sheila Wellstone, for her advocacy, her leadership, her commitment to abolishing domestic abuse. The commitment she made, the lives she saved, her willingness to be engaged, the extraordinary effort she made and the example she set, too, is something we will always remember and for which we will always be indebted.

On this new day, let us not think of sadness but of celebration. Let us celebrate the life of PAUL WELLSTONE as we acknowledge the loss of his physical being. Let us extend our heartfelt condolences to David, to Mark, and to Todd, to Cari, Keith, Joshua, Acacia, Sydney and Matt, his family. The hole in their hearts is large. The hole in their lives may never be fully filled.

To them I ask they, too, find solace in the words of "Togetherness."

Death is nothing at all—

I have only slipped away into the next room.

Whatever we were to each other, that we are still.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I will begin by thanking Senator Daschle for his remarks so well delivered just now and also for conversations that he and I experienced in the aftermath of this tragic loss.

I rise today also to pay tribute to the life and the service of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE of Minnesota. He had a real impact on this institution. He was a committed warrior to things he believed in. He did it not only with compassion but with sincerity and also generousness and geniality. He never failed to take the time to tell a story, to explain why he felt so strongly about these issues. He was unfailingly willing to be considerate of others, to seek an agreement as to how the process would work, even when it led to a battle of words and of votes. He also had an upbeat, optimistic view of that process, that battle, and the next one.

He would come over and say: "Good job, I'll get you next time," if he hadn't won. Even when he might be the single vote, or one of a couple of votes—just a few—he was undaunted. You cannot help but admire that approach to life and to the Senate. I not only understand when Senators take a different view, I appreciate it when they take that view—the way PAUL WELLSTONE did.

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I have learned over the years that the saying that seems trite is so true in life and in this institution: You can disagree without being disagreeable. He was the master at that.

I appreciated the friendship we developed. I loved to pick at him. I loved to go over and kid him about the little extra face hair that he had for a while, and I would tell him he was my man for the nomination for Presidency. When other potential candidates would come up, I would say: Oh, no, I am already committed to PAUL. He loved it, actually.

He was very kind to me. When I faced difficult tragedies—as with Paul Coverdell, when I stood here with tears rolling down my face, announcing the loss of that great Senator—he would always be one of the first to come over and engage me and say how he felt. Sometimes in difficult straits that the Senate has had to go through, when Senator Daschle and I had to make difficult decisions, he would be the only one who would come over and say: “It was tough, I know, but you did the right thing.” I remember that.

So I think the people of Minnesota have an awful lot to be proud of in their Senator. When I went there to pay my respects to the people of Minnesota and to the family and to his friends and supporters, Senator Kennedy was on the bus as we were leaving the airport. He said: “We appreciate the fact that you are here. I know you are here not just because you are the leader of the party, but because you wanted to pay proper respects.”

I said: “I am here because it is the right thing to do, but also because, if the tables had been reversed and this was for me, PAUL would have been there. I really believe that.”

So I take my hat off, I salute the Senator. He will be missed. The Senate will be different. But to the people and his family who are so heartbroken, to his friends and supporters and the people all over his State, our memory of him and his service will not be forgotten. He will go down in history as a truly unique Member of the Senate. I guess we all are in some respects but PAUL more so than others.

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, for more than 20 years PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE were my friends and my political allies, so it is with a heavy heart that I stand here today. For the last 2 years PAUL was my mentor and partner in the Senate, and I will miss him especially, as will Minnesota, as will America.

I thank my many colleagues in the Senate who came to Minnesota just a short time ago for the memorial service commemorating PAUL and Sheila, their daughter Marcia,

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their staff and friends, Mary McEvoy, the Democratic Party associate chair, Tom Lopic, and Will McLaughlin. Over half of the Senate attended that evening. Another dozen former Senators, a dozen or so Members of the House, President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Secretary Thompson, Reverend Jackson. PAUL and Sheila would have been honored.

I especially want to thank my Republican colleagues, Senator Lott, Senator Nickles, and the others who attended that evening. I was not aware until the next day that Senator Lott was treated discourteously by some in the Minnesota crowd. To him and anyone else who suffered that misfortune, I deeply apologize. PAUL and Sheila would have been horrified, as was I when I learned about it, as would the people of Minnesota. That is not the way we treat distinguished guests in Minnesota.

As for the rest of the evening, if the eulogists spoke sometimes a little long, they at times became impassioned, political, or even partisan—well, it was a service for PAUL WELLSTONE. The speakers were selected, but they weren't scripted. They were all family and close friends who were still in shock and in great emotional distress and in deep pain.

What was most extraordinary about that service that evening, what hopefully will be remembered now that the campaigns have concluded, is that over 20,000 people came to honor the lives and mourn the tragic deaths of PAUL and Sheila and Marcia WELLSTONE, Mary McEvoy, Tom Lopic, and Will McLaughlin—over 20,000 people. That was unprecedented in Minnesota.

Nothing in my lifetime or in my knowledge of the State was even in the same realm of that magnitude of love and gratitude and grief and sorrow. The service was held at the University of Minnesota Basketball Arena which seats over 15,000 people. It was filled an hour before the service was scheduled to begin. The fire marshals closed the doors. Another 6,000 or so arrivals filled an adjacent arena to watch the service on closed-circuit television. It, too, was overfilled by the time the service began. Police and university officials urged late arrivals to go home and watch the service on television, but hundreds, several hundred, remained clustered outside, standing around, wanting to be part of this unprecedented Minnesota congregation. That enormous outpouring of people and their emotions attested to the breadth and depth of PAUL WELLSTONE's political reach. He had touched so many people so deeply. He had helped them, comforted

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them, and reassured them. He had inspired so many people. He was their voice, their champion, their hero, their U.S. Senator. And then suddenly, tragically, cruelly, he was snatched away and gone forever.

It was a service to remember and in part regret. It was a service of remembrance and regret for eight exceptional people who lost their lives flying to a funeral service in north-eastern Minnesota.

I knew PAUL, but the first time I saw him in action was in June 1982 at the DFL State Convention. I was endorsed at that convention to run for the first time for the U.S. Senate, and the 1st day that 3-day convention opened, PAUL announced—much to everyone’s surprise—he was going to run for the endorsement for State auditor 2 days hence.

For the previous 8 months, a very earnest young man had been in every county and every district and political event in Minnesota in Democratic circles, explaining in numbing detail the functions of the office of State auditor and how he was the best qualified to fulfill them. Sunday came around, and the auditor’s endorsement was the last endorsement at the end of the 3d day. There were 1,300 Democratic delegates who were tired and worn out and ready to go home. PAUL appeared on the stage after his opponent’s one last excruciating explanation of the auditor’s position, and presented himself—most of the audience seeing him for the first time—and he gave a typical PAUL WELLSTONE speech: Nuclear freeze, save the environment, economic justice—nothing of much particular relevance to the office of State auditor. He was endorsed by acclamation of the delegates.

PAUL and I both lost our elections that November, but we spent the next 3 years campaigning together, working for the Governor of Minnesota, Rudy Perpich, in the Office of Energy and Economic Development. We spent many hours talking and traveling the State together. In 1990 we swapped our political aspirations, PAUL ran for the Senate and I for State auditor, and this time we won. PAUL’s victory in 1990 was one of the most memorable David-defeats-Goliath stories in America’s political history.

In the first published poll several months before the election, the incumbent was ahead by over 50 percent. PAUL was in single digits. He was given no chance to win, and almost no help by the political establishment. He was outspent in the campaign by over 7 to 1. Yet PAUL was the only Democratic challenger that year who ousted an incumbent. His campaign symbol, his signature and his icon, became the rat-

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ting, gas-guzzling, usually in-the-repair-shop green bus. But despite a brilliant campaign which captured the public attention, this distinctively different candidate walked fast and talked fast and actually rode a bus. His innovative ads won national awards that year, produced by a campaign that couldn't even afford to air them.

Despite 8 months of PAUL WELLSTONE and his best hyperdrive, that amazing energy and excitement, and organizing all over the State, he still entered that final weekend before the election, with most polls showing him being 6 to 8 points behind.

That Saturday, as our statewide DFL ticket boarded the bus—not PAUL's bus, which was once again in the repair shop, but another bus—for its final 2-day swing around the State, PAUL's opponent had just launched a vicious personal attack against him. The campaign had no money to produce or air a response. Those 2 days were agonizing for PAUL and Sheila and Marcia, who accompanied him, and for those of us who were sharing that experience with him. Then, like a miracle, the hero of the moment came forth, the former Senator and Vice President, Walter Mondale, whom fate was to bind to the conclusion of another WELLSTONE campaign 12 years later.

The Vice President publicly denounced the attack as a violation of Minnesota's standard of decency. The editorial board of the State's largest newspaper agreed the day before the election. And the majority of Minnesota voters agreed the following day.

It was the most stunning upset and astounding victory in Minnesota political history.

PAUL WELLSTONE was on the green bus headed to Washington, which, of course, was the bus that broke down on the way.

Despite PAUL's 20 years of political experience, he wasn't prepared for the Senate. The Senate may not have been prepared for PAUL. I know he later regretted some of his earlier decisions. He told me so after he sat down with me when I won my election 2 years ago, and he was counseling me to take a different approach.

But while he would have changed perhaps his early style, he would not have changed his substance. He would not have changed because he could not have changed his values or his ideals or his convictions. He could not alter his passion for social justice, his caring for people, or his outrage at their oppression or suffering. His values were the essence of who

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he was. They were the core of his beliefs, the cornerstone of his conscience. They were the hallowed ground of his political soul.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a hard-working political activist, a hard-nosed political organizer, and a smart, savvy politician. He wanted to win. He knew how to win. But he would not win if it meant losing his soul or forgetting his conscience or sacrificing his principles.

He was no Don Quixote out tilting at windmills. He was rather a Richard the Lionheart on a crusade, mindful of the risks, the pitfalls, and the odds, but undeterred by them.

Time after time during his 12 years in the Senate, he took his stand believing that he was right—well, maybe not right but correct. He voted his conscience. He voted his convictions, hoping that 50 or more of his colleagues would vote with him, but willing to stand alone if they did not.

Some people said that PAUL's dissenting votes reflected badly on him. Others said they reflected badly on the Senate. Some people believe the Senate would be a better place without PAUL WELLSTONE. Others of us believe the Senate would be a better place with 50 more like him.

Those who questioned his accomplishments overlooked the obvious. PAUL could work tirelessly, speak persuasively, and do everything effectively. But he could only vote once—1 out of 100, 1 out of 535.

PAUL had only 2 years out of his 12 years with a Democratic President, Senate, and House, as the Republicans will have again in January. For his other 10 years, PAUL served in divided government. He did not accomplish all he wanted to. He did not accomplish much that he wanted to. But he accomplished all he could. And he would have accomplished so much more if death had not intervened so suddenly and so cruelly.

There was so much life and so much politics left in PAUL WELLSTONE, and so much courage. His death echoes the words of Ernest Hemingway:

Few men are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer quality than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality of those who would seek to change a world which yields most painfully to change. If people bring so much courage to this world, the world has to kill them to break them, so of course it kills them. The world breaks everyone and afterwards many are strong at the broken places. But those that will not break, it kills. It kills the very good and the very gentle and the very brave impartially. If you are none of those, you can be sure that it will kill you too but there will be no special hurry.

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Those are the words of Ernest Hemingway.

PAUL WELLSTONE wasn't that fatalistic. At least, he didn't live or practice the politics of fatalism. PAUL was a social reformer and a crusader for social and economic reform. He believed in it. He dedicated his life to it. He gave his life for it. He knew the odds were stacked heavily against him, especially here in Washington. He knew how hard it was; how unusual the circumstances had to be for a PAUL WELLSTONE to make it to the Senate. He knew how hard it was for a PAUL WELLSTONE to stay here, to combat the powerful forces aligned against him and their enormous financial and political resources that would try to defeat him.

He detested political fundraising. He disliked the amounts of money he had to ask for, and he distrusted most of the people who could provide it. His loathing of fundraising was matched only by his hatred of flying in small airplanes—the principal reason he vowed his 1996 campaign would be his last. But when the time came, he could not turn his back on the crusade. He could not abandon the causes, and he could not leave the people—because it was the people PAUL loved. He loved being with people.

As long as he wasn't raising money from them, or flying with them, PAUL loved being with people—real people, farmers, iron rangers, educators, senior citizens, children, all classes, all races, all religions, all points of view. PAUL practiced the politics of diversity, and inclusion, and empowerment. He truly cared about people as individuals. He cared about their lives, their families, their well-being. He loved visiting veterans homes, nursing homes, and schools. He loved spending hours with people who couldn't vote or benefit him politically.

He cared about people because they needed him—not because he needed them. The poor, the unfortunate, the mentally ill, the disadvantaged and the distressed—he loved working for them, working to make their lives better, and working to give them a chance, a job, a farm, a home, a life.

I agree with the majority leader. If this Senate, if this Congress and this administration want to show their respect for PAUL WELLSTONE, if they want to honor his memory, we will pass and the President will sign into law the Wellstone-Domenici mental health parity bill before we adjourn this year. Nothing less would do him justice. Nothing else would make him happier.

PAUL came to love this institution of the Senate. For an organizer, it was the ultimate challenge. He genuinely liked

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most of his colleagues—even those he disagreed with most of the time. Yes, he got frustrated, discouraged, and impatient. But he respected the Senate. He loved being a Senator, and he was learning how to be a great one.

He was a great man. He was a great husband—with an even greater wife, Sheila. He was a great father and a great politician. He was an excellent U.S. Senator, and he was becoming a great one. But death denied him that opportunity. And it denied us him, and it denied the people of Minnesota the leader they elected to represent them.

He died on his way to a funeral, that of the father of a friend. He flew because he had to, despite what in hindsight seems more like a premonition than a fear. He willed himself to fly because he had to be the best U.S. Senator he could be.

And he never backed away from adversity. He got on a reliable plane with a reputable charter firm flown by two licensed pilots. They flew into what was reportedly occluded but not threatening weather, with low clouds and light, freezing precipitation—not ideal but not unusual for northern Minnesota in late fall.

And then, somehow, inexplicably, the plane landed in a desolate forest rather than a nearby airport. It burst into a huge conflagration and destroyed the lives of eight people, and damaged many more lives who lost their loved ones, and left many thousands—thousands—of people without their leaders, their allies, their heroes, and their friends.

But life goes on, as it must. Minnesota held an election, as it should. Senator-elect Norm Coleman conducted himself honorably in the aftermath of that great tragedy and won honorably and honestly in that election and has earned the right, through the expressed will of the people of Minnesota, to serve as a U.S. Senator for 6 years, beginning in January. And I pray that he will be our Senator for the next 6 years.

But former Vice President Mondale performed a great service to our DFL Party in Minnesota, to our State, and I believe to our democracy by stepping forward at the last moment when, in hindsight, the situation was impossible but seemed possible only because it was former Vice President Mondale.

Senator Dean Barkley is an excellent appointment made by Governor Ventura. He has earned this honor. He is knowledgeable. He is experienced. And he is committed to good government. He has proven that as commissioner of State planning. Through his own political pioneering he has



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forged an independent strength and spirit which has captured the political imagination of the people throughout our State and offers great promise in the years ahead, and he will have himself great promise in the years ahead. I am honored to be working with him during these next months, as I look forward to working with Senator-elect Coleman when he begins his term in January.

We have a special spirit in Minnesota. Our political spirit is testified to here today by Congressman Jim Ramstad and Congressman Mark Kennedy, who are witnessing these words of tribute to their colleague. Both worked closely with Senator WELLSTONE, especially Congressman Ramstad during his long years in the House with PAUL on many issues of which they shared concern and commitment. And PAUL's staff, who loved him and gave their lives of service with him, and who are suffering a loss that is also immeasurable, are here as well. And I pray that they, too, will find opportunities in the future. I know they will, but it just will not be with PAUL.

Years ago, then-President John Kennedy paraphrased a statement made by Theodore Roosevelt which seems like a fitting bipartisan note on which to end these remarks. He said in New York City, in a speech paraphrasing President Roosevelt:

The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who at best, if he wins, knows the thrills of high achievement, and, if he fails, at least fails daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat.

PAUL, you have won many battles, but now you can wipe the dust and sweat and blood off your face, and may you rest in eternal peace.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I stand to say a few words in honor of the late Senator PAUL WELLSTONE.

Over a decade ago, Minnesota sent one of its best to this Chamber. He followed in the special tradition of public service that our State knows well. From Ramsey to Stassen, from Olson to Humphrey, from Mondale to, yes, Ventura, our State has broken the mold more than once.

The man we sent here was PAUL WELLSTONE, and no one would dispute that Minnesota broke the mold again. PAUL was short in stature but, as it proved, enormous in energy and passion. He had a passion for principle, a passion for politics, and, most of all, a passion for people.

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PAUL was a fighter, and, much like Hubert Humphrey, a happy warrior. PAUL was the most effective kind of fighter there is: one that never gives up—never. And if there is one attribute that his colleagues and his constituents admired, it was this: his unrelenting energy to fight the fight.

I knew PAUL. I respected PAUL. We both have been like salmon in our own political rivers, swimming into the currents. Therefore, understanding his tireless energies in the cause of change, I am highly honored to speak to his memory today.

True, there is an empty desk here today, a shrouded reminder of a life cut short. But for the PAUL WELLSTONE I knew, the empty chair is more telling. Whether he was in this Chamber or at home in Minnesota, PAUL was on his feet, out of his chair, speaking his mind. Always moving—in thought, in language, in body—PAUL was, indeed, a man of motion and, more than that, a man of emotion. For if there is something that we all knew about PAUL, he not only believed in things, he felt them. This was why PAUL WELLSTONE was so formidable. For thought can be persuaded, changed, and abated. But a feeling? Never.

PAUL, his wife Sheila, and their daughter Marcia tragically perished in the northlands of our State. Their untimely fate was sadly shared by three loyal staff members—Tom Lopic, Will McLaughlin, and Mary McEvoy—as well as the two pilots—Captains Richard Conry and Michael Guess.

As an unexpected and new Member of this Chamber—but more, as a singular citizen of the State of Minnesota—allow me to take this moment to express my personal and heartfelt condolences to all of those families who lost their loved ones. I know I speak for all Minnesotans when I say to those families and friends: Your loss was our loss, and we are all crushingly sorry for it.

PAUL was unique, one of a kind. And yet, the essence of the man was no different from anyone in this Chamber. He wanted to make his State, and his Nation—our world—a better place. We all may differ about how to do so, and some may have disagreed with how PAUL saw it, but no one ever doubted his motives. A selfless champion for those who have no voice—the frail, the weak, the disenfranchised—PAUL's voice was their voice. And what a voice it was.

Typical of PAUL's self-deprecating sense of humor, he loved to relate his meeting with a distinguished senior Member of this body, Senator Fritz Hollings of South Carolina, who remarked to PAUL, "You know, Senator WELLSTONE, you re-

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mind me of another Minnesota Senator, Hubert H. Humphrey.” And as PAUL began to swell with pride at being in the company of this great champion of civil rights, the senior Senator burst his bubble, “Yes, sir, just like him, you talk too much.” PAUL loved this story, and he loved telling it on himself—so typical of the man.

Most of all, PAUL loved and adored his wife and his family, especially his grandchildren. He loved his friends. He loved Carleton College in Northfield, MN. He loved his students; and they knew it. Indeed, PAUL simply loved people. And he loved them simply, unabashedly.

PAUL loved Minnesota and all the people in it. From the known and recognized, to the unknown and uncared for, he loved them all—truly and deeply.

Finally, Mr. President, PAUL loved this distinguished institution. He loved and cherished the U.S. Senate, where today I, too, am honored to stand. PAUL loved his entire staff.

Let me take this opportunity to thank Senator WELLSTONE’s staff for your generous and gracious welcome and offer of support in the truly hectic days since Thursday when I arrived. That you could be so unselfish in your time of unspeakable loss and heartbreak is something I will never, ever forget. I sincerely thank you for the help you have given me.

I plan to continue the fight during my short time here on one of PAUL’s signature issues: mental health parity. And with Senator Dayton and Minnesota’s congressional delegation, we plan to introduce a bill to honor Sheila and PAUL WELLSTONE through a living legacy project. I hope that everyone in this Chamber will join us in this tribute.

There is a brief passage out of “Sonnets from the Portuguese,” by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, that I would like to share. Her words more perfectly express the thoughts that I am so inadequately attempting to convey about our dear, departed friend, PAUL WELLSTONE:

“Guess now who holds thee?”  
“—Death,” I said.  
But there the silver answer rang:  
“Not Death—but Love.”

Mr. REID. Mr. President, on October 25 the Senate and the people of Minnesota, the people of this country, and I personally suffered a terrible loss—the death of our colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE, who, as we know, died in a plane crash with his wife Sheila and daughter Marcia, three members of his staff, and the pilots.

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I am sure we will all reflect back on how we were notified, how we learned of this tragedy. I was speaking to Senator Daschle's chief of staff, Pete Rouse, asking him how things were going. We talked quite a bit during the last month of the campaign.

He said, "I have some bad news."

"What?"

He said, "Senator WELLSTONE's plane went down in Minnesota, and there is no hope that anyone survived that crash."

I will never forget that phone call. The passing of PAUL WELLSTONE is a loss for all of us, those who knew him and those who did not. This week, most of us are returning to Washington for the first time since the tragedy, so this is our opportunity, this is my opportunity, to speak about PAUL WELLSTONE with whom I lived here for 12 years, a long time, a lot of days. I certainly am not qualified to talk about all of his accomplishments. There are professors who will write about his accomplishments in years to come. But I can talk about him as a person, how I saw him.

He represented Minnesota well; there is no question about that. Although he did not grow up in Minnesota, moving there as an adult, he embraced the State and its people. And the people of Minnesota loved him dearly and deeply. He talked often of how much he enjoyed living in Minnesota and how proud he was to represent Minnesotans and be a part of the great political legacy of the State.

My father-in-law was born in Russia. But as a boy, he immigrated to Minnesota, and he grew up in Duluth, a tough town, where he and his friends all had nicknames. My mother-in-law grew up in Minneapolis. So when I got to meet a Senator from Minnesota, of course I was eager to share a lot of my personal reflections on my wife's family, and PAUL and I enjoyed talking about Minnesota.

The impact that PAUL WELLSTONE made and the admiration he received extended well beyond Minnesota. He and I were allies in many legislative battles, and I know many people in the State of Nevada—working families, veterans, retirees, teachers, students, health care professionals and their patients—also appreciated him. He was an articulate and compassionate public servant who fought fiercely for them. Many more Nevadans, like all Americans, are now better off because of PAUL WELLSTONE's work in the Senate, and they would be even better off had he been able to be elected to his third term, as he would have been.

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Of course, here among his colleagues in the Senate he was not only well liked but respected, as has been said here today on several occasions. People might not have always or even often agreed with PAUL, but they all had great respect for him. That is why I was so impressed to see a number of his Republican colleagues from Minnesota come and stand in silence at his desk today.

I was fortunate to serve with PAUL, to benefit from his advice and his judgment, and to enjoy his friendship. I smile because I am going to be lonelier here in the Senate without PAUL.

I don't know on how many occasions I said to PAUL WELLSTONE: "PAUL, do you have to do this?" And he always explained why he had to do it.

I am a better Senator and I know I am a better person for having known PAUL.

He used his voice to speak passionately and courageously on behalf of the voiceless. He gave hope to the hopeless and helpless. He was a kind and gentle person.

I used to see him often in the House gym. He would run from his home to the gym every morning. When because of illness, he couldn't run anymore, without a lot of fanfare and a lot of talk, he walked. Then he decided to work out other places. He went to the gymnasium where the police officers, the Capitol Police, work out. Those of us who knew and loved PAUL saw his physical deterioration, but it was something about which he never complained.

I remember one occasion when Sheila had gone home and he was here alone. He couldn't get dressed; he was in such pain. He came here. We helped him down to the physician's office. He never complained. He was in such pain, sweat coming off his head.

He was a tough person physically, a tough person. I can vouch for that. He was a champion wrestler, high school and college. I think probably the dedication that it takes to be a wrestler, losing weight, having to exert total energy for an extended period of time, the work ethic he developed, the things he did physically and mentally and emotionally, and his determination that made him so successful on the mat also prepared him well for the successes he had as an organizer and activist, campaigner, Senator, and a person.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a fighter who always remained true to his beliefs, stood up for his principles, served the interests of the people of Minnesota and the United States.

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There are many things about PAUL WELLSTONE that I remember and hold dear. I can say without any hesitation that he was my friend. I think he thought I was his friend.

I remember the first time I ever heard PAUL WELLSTONE speak. That was in 1990 when there was a public reception in Statuary Hall for the newly elected Senators. We were all there. He stood and gave a great speech. I wondered who is this guy? He said it so well. He said things I thought about, the importance of politics and government and being involved. He spoke of his grassroots campaign.

I remember the last speech I heard him give, right there. In the years I have been in the Senate, that seat has been the place of great speeches. PAUL WELLSTONE took over Dale Bumpers' seat. They both had a similar style in many respects. They both wandered around back there with that long cord.

The last speech I heard PAUL give, he said, among other things—and this is a quote—“You could call me a softie. I am a softie.”

And he was. He believed he could help people who were less fortunate than he was, who didn't have a Ph.D., who hadn't been a college professor or a U.S. Senator, who didn't have the fine loving family that he had. He could reach out to them. He felt he could do that. He was a softie.

Mr. President, I don't always go to the prayer breakfasts held every Wednesday, but I do go on occasion. I don't go every Wednesday. But I wanted to hear PAUL WELLSTONE at a Senate prayer breakfast, so I went to that prayer breakfast. It was a memorable experience for me to hear PAUL talk about his spirituality, which is something he didn't speak out about in public—except on this occasion. I will never forget that prayer breakfast, where PAUL WELLSTONE spoke of his faith, his deeply held principles. He was a man committed to ideas and ideals.

I also remember PAUL for the love he had for his wife Sheila. They were inseparable. In this campaign, there were a lot of comparisons made between his campaign and mine in 1986, where the opposing candidate switched parties; there were a lot of similarities. He said talk to Sheila about that, show her the ads that you ran. They were always together, never apart. Even now it is so. They had the love of their children, the surviving boys, Mark and David. One is involved in public housing and the other is a wrestling coach and teacher. Right here, a few feet in front of me, on one of those Fridays where we were trying to get everything done

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and get out of here, PAUL was so anxious to go. Why? Because he thought this was the time his son's wrestling team was going to be the State champions of Minnesota. PAUL WELLSTONE, Barbara Boxer and I were talking. I was trying to stall for time, and I asked, "How many wrestling matches have you had, PAUL?"

I also remember PAUL because of my dad. As I have said here on occasion, my father committed suicide. One reason I have been able to publicly talk about that is because of PAUL WELLSTONE. PAUL helped us to understand mental illness is not something to be ashamed of. Any time PAUL WELLSTONE publicly had a chance to talk about suicide, he talked about suicide prevention and talked about my efforts on this. He never tried to take credit for anything alone. He worked hard on the issue of mental health parity. Part of that is suicide. We have 31,000 people a year killing themselves. Because of PAUL, we are doing something about that. We passed a resolution in the Senate recognizing it as a national health problem. We have given money to research the problems of suicide, depression and mental illness. There are medical schools now studying why people kill themselves. So I will never forget PAUL WELLSTONE for a lot of reasons, not the least of which is my father.

I will also remember PAUL WELLSTONE for the things he did for the so-called little people—those who are often not noticed or are neglected. How many of us around here know the people who clean our offices? Not many of us. They come by late at night when we are gone, and when we come into the offices in the morning the trash cans are empty, the desks are cleaned off. It's easy to overlook the people who do that, who work hard to help us. PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE wanted to know who they were, so they waited and waited until somebody came to their office so they could thank them for cleaning the office. That also includes the elevator operators, doorkeepers, police officers, janitors, as I have already mentioned. He knew them by name, stopped to talk with them and listened to them.

To show the kind of guy he was with the Capitol Police, Mr. President, this man holds the record—he was suffering from multiple sclerosis and he holds the record—with all these big, physical, well-trained, young policemen—he holds the record for pushups and pullups. You can go and see who holds the record at the Capitol Police gymnasium. It is Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. He was a hell of a man, Mr. President.

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He stared disease in the face; he had multiple sclerosis. Did anybody ever hear PAUL whine, complain, or feel sorry for himself? No. He took it right on the jaw, like he did a lot of punches, and he went about doing his business. Those of us who worked with him for 12 years saw how his physical condition deteriorated. How long would it have been before he had to walk with a cane? I don't know. But he persevered. That is one reason I remember PAUL WELLSTONE.

Of course, Mr. President, we all remember PAUL WELLSTONE because he stood for something. No one could ever question PAUL WELLSTONE's sense of value. I still smile when I remember saying to PAUL, "Do you have to do this?" Well, I knew the answer before I asked the question. We who hold public office are judged on the difficult votes we are called on to make. To his credit, PAUL WELLSTONE relied on his conscience—not on consultants—in such moments. I admire him so much for that.

Before entering politics, PAUL was a gifted and popular college professor. To a great extent, he remained a teacher even after entering the Senate, educating his constituents about government, and encouraging colleagues to learn more about issues and to consider other perspectives, engaging us and challenging us. There are lots of times I can reflect back on when PAUL WELLSTONE, in his Socrates-like presentations, was trying to educate the Senate. He would say to me, "I am wasting my time; what good am I doing here?" I would proceed to tell him all the good he had done. He was educating me, getting me to reflect upon what he had done, just like I am sure he did at Carleton College with his students.

PAUL was a person with great compassion, who reminded us of our moral obligation to care for all human beings—I repeat, especially the most vulnerable, the hungry, the poor, the homeless, the ill, victims of abuse, and others who suffered.

PAUL WELLSTONE is irreplaceable. His life was cut short, and because of that, it is incumbent upon us in the Senate and throughout America to remember his message of hope and compassion and carry forward his efforts to secure economic and social justice for all in the best way we can. In that way, we honor the legacy of a great man, PAUL WELLSTONE.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Nevada for his very articulate statement on PAUL's life. We all shared experiences in working with PAUL.



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Every Sunday, the *Washington Post* “Style” section prints a column called “Life Is Short.” The column selects one individual and gives a snapshot of that individual’s life. If that column focused on Senator PAUL WELLSTONE’s life, the single snapshot would be a large photo album.

Senator Daschle has said PAUL WELLSTONE was the “soul of the Senate.” I believe PAUL tried to find the soul in all of us. He challenged us, on a daily basis, to remember that every man, woman, and child in this Nation should have access to quality education, a first-rate health care system that includes mental health and prescription drug coverage, and jobs that provide a decent minimum wage.

Three weeks ago, PAUL made his final appearance in the Chamber. PAUL gave a very passionate speech about the need to extend unemployment benefits and provide more help for our veterans. His closing comments were vintage PAUL. He said:

What are people who cannot find jobs, who are out of work, who are struggling to put food on the table, supposed to do? What in the world is going on? What has happened to our humanity?

Later that day, PAUL came back to the Senate floor to give his thoughts about the 2003 defense spending bill. He thanked Senators Inouye and Stevens for their inclusion of an amendment that addressed domestic violence and sexual assault which he had championed. As we all know, the issue is not only important to PAUL, it was especially important to his wife Sheila.

At the end of those remarks, PAUL said, in reference to his own provision that was not included in the final conference agreement: “I know my colleagues did their best. We will be back.”

That was PAUL—always gracious in both victory and defeat. Even more important, he never focused on defeat because he was constantly plotting his next move to better educate his colleagues and their staff on the issues—always the college professor.

I had the honor and the pleasure of working with PAUL on an array of issues—education, veterans, dairy, health care, and job training. These are not easy issues, but the difficulty of the issue never deterred PAUL. He always saw the glass half full rather than a glass half empty.

In 1997 and 1998, Senators Kennedy, DeWine, WELLSTONE and I worked together to pass the Workforce Investment Act, legislation that restructured our job training system. Throughout those 2 years, we had many long meetings. In

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every single meeting, PAUL told us about the impact various provisions would have on Minnesota. There was never a meeting, public or private, where PAUL did not mention the concerns and ideas that were on the minds of his constituents.

PAUL would also tell stories of his children. During many HELP Committee hearings on education, we would often hear about his two children who were teaching in the Minnesota public school system. He was so proud of all his children, his grandchildren, and, of course, Sheila.

PAUL was also very proud of his staff. He had great respect for their views and always remarked to his colleagues that he was very fortunate to have a very talented and devoted staff.

Three years ago at the funeral of Walter Payton, the outstanding Chicago Bears running back, who was also an extraordinary human being, the Rev. Jesse Jackson remarked that on a tombstone, there is a birthday, a small dash, and a date of passing. He said:

The dash between those two dates is the part you control. . . . The dash determines the height and depth of how you live your life.

PAUL WELLSTONE maximized the height and depth of his dash. I was so lucky to have known PAUL, to have had an opportunity to not only work with him but to learn from him and, most important, to have been able to call him a good friend.

I was en route to Minnesota to campaign for PAUL when I learned of his tragic death. I instead spent time with his wonderful sons, David and Mark. I brought them the pictures of their dad celebrating the dairy program victory with Senator Leahy and another recent victory for Minnesota as well as New England. It brought proud smiles to their faces. As I had expected, they were so much like their dad. I know they will continue on the path that PAUL and Sheila created for them.

PAUL, I will miss you, the Senate will miss you, and the country will miss you. May your commitment, energy, integrity, and passion always guide us to do our best at all times. Goodbye, PAUL.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, life gives no joy like that it takes away. As always, the poet said it best. All of us in the Senate were suddenly and tragically reminded of that on a Friday morning 2½ weeks ago—a cold, gray, dreary October day. I was in a van driving between Fargo and Grand Forks,

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ND, when I received a call saying that an airplane had crashed in northern Minnesota and that Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, his wife Sheila, staff, and others were on the plane. To say that I and others have been deeply saddened, in fact devastated, by the loss of one of our colleagues is perhaps to vastly understate it.

PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE died as they campaigned throughout Minnesota for another term in the Senate. It was a tough campaign, a close campaign, a hard-fought campaign. And yet PAUL WELLSTONE never complained about that. He seemed to relish it.

One of the last things he told me on the floor of the Senate several weeks ago about this campaign was, with a sparkle in his eye: We are going to win this campaign. He said: "Byron, I have 4,000 volunteers—4,000 volunteers—who are going to be working election day in Minnesota for me, getting people to the polls, driving people, calling people."

That was so typical of PAUL WELLSTONE. It was always about citizen action, about people rising to the passion of an idea. That was typical PAUL WELLSTONE.

PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE were wonderful friends to many of us in the Senate, and our thoughts and prayers go to the family, the families of the pilots who lost their lives, the families of PAUL's daughter and the three staff people who were on the plane as well.

As my colleague from Minnesota, Senator Dayton, said in what I thought was a wonderful tribute to his friend and colleague, all of us would be remiss if we did not say to PAUL's staff: PAUL would want first and foremost for us to recognize you today. PAUL attracted to his service in the Senate men and women with the burning in their soul to do good things, who cared about fairness and justice and who cared about public service.

All of us who work here know PAUL WELLSTONE had a wonderful staff, and they have been through some very difficult times, about as difficult as it can get for a Senate staff. Our thoughts and prayers go out to them and for strength as well.

Today let me for a moment remember PAUL and Sheila for their service to our country. This is a rather small community in the Senate—men and women who love this country, fellow travelers who want to make democracy work. What the American people see are some pitched battles during the day and the early evening hours in the middle of a debate in which there are different philosophies and ideas that

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clash on the Senate floor. What they do not see is we are colleagues and friends, first and foremost.

I think the entire Senate membership would say: We have, indeed, lost a couple of good friends, PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. Our country has lost two tireless fighters for justice. The Senate has lost its strongest voice for those who do not have it so good in this country. And American politics has lost the true champion for the little guy.

If ever a man and wife were a team, it was PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. They did everything together. Sheila's public service, as PAUL would be the first to tell you, was every bit as important as his. That public service was marked by a green bus, and that green bus meant in Minnesota and our part of the country citizen action, people empowerment, and something that was on the move, a mission, a campaign on the move.

It is true, as my colleague said, PAUL was different. He would not have been caught dead in Ferragamo shoes, even if he wanted them, and he did not. He was not a man to wear Brooks Brothers suits. He was short of stature and tall of ambition with a power and passion of ideas, as my colleague from Nevada just described, that would at the end stage of any debate leave him sitting at that chair with two more amendments to offer—the hour was late and patience was short. Imploring him made no difference. You could say: PAUL, PAUL, we are just out of time; can you just not offer one of these amendments? The answer was always the same: Absolutely not. I am here to offer this amendment. This amendment is important. I came here to do that work and there are people who depend on me to offer this amendment—people whose lives were changed because of this amendment.

With PAUL it was always “no.” And we always turned away understanding the passion that burned in his soul to do the right thing, to do the thing he felt was important for our country.

PAUL was different in a much more significant way as well. In today's modern politics, it is so often the case that politicians with a sophisticated network of pollsters and advisers are able to evaluate exactly which way the wind is blowing, to be able to set their sail to get maximum capability from that wind. It is a constant job of tacking for some into or with that wind to find out exactly where the maximum wind will be. PAUL was not interested in sailing or winds. PAUL was only interested in the rudder. He set the

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rudder and he did not care where the wind was: This is the direction I am going and it does not matter whether it is a favorable wind or an unfavorable wind. This is where we are headed and this is why—very unusual in modern politics but also very refreshing.

I found it interesting that those newspapers that were not very good to his ideas in life, in death gave PAUL great credit for raising ideas, for standing by his principles, for never wavering and never causing for a moment any constituent anyplace to wonder where he stood. You knew where PAUL WELLSTONE stood.

There are two things, of a great many, that stand out in my mind. One day I sent around a memorandum to Senators saying we were going to visit a youth detention center in Maryland and I wanted to know if anyone wanted to come along. PAUL WELLSTONE called me and said he would like to come.

The two of us, with some staff, went out to a youth detention center and spent the entire morning sitting in that youth detention center talking to kids, kids who had committed murder, kids who were drug addicted, kids who had been in the worst kind of trouble one could possibly imagine. Driving back to Capitol Hill after this visit, I once again got another glimpse of PAUL WELLSTONE's soul. He said: "If someone had cared about those kids early in their lives they would not be there today. Someone needed to help those kids at the right moment, and we can do that in the Senate."

To PAUL, that visit was how can we reach out to help people who need help at a time when they desperately need that help?

In the last couple of months, PAUL came up to me while we were in the well of the Senate, and he said: I was campaigning in Minnesota and I went to an independent auto repair shop, and the major automobile manufacturers would not give the computer codes to these independent auto repair shops. These small independents are telling me they cannot work on the new cars. They do not have the computer cards for the carburetors and all those things they have to have to work on those cars.

He said: That is unfair, and it is going to drive those folks out of business. This is going to kill the little guy.

He asked if I would hold a hearing on this in my Consumer Subcommittee. I said of course I will. We put together some information on it. The day of the hearing came and Senator WELLSTONE was to be the leadoff witness. That was

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not enough for Senator WELLSTONE. As was his want, in the way he did politics, the hearing room was packed. It was full of mechanics and independent repair shop owners from all across this country. I guess that hearing room holds probably 100 people, and there were 150 people there. PAUL had brought his people, the independent repair shop folks, to that hearing room as a demonstration of this problem, to say this problem ought to be fixed.

PAUL was the leadoff witness and as was typical with him, with great passion he made the case about the unfairness to the little guy, about the independent repair shops trying to make a living, and how what is happening is unfair to them.

About 3 weeks ago, right before we completed our work and left for the election, PAUL came up to me on the floor of the Senate during a vote. He was holding a sheet of paper. He was flashing this paper and saying: We won. His point was that the automobile manufacturers had reached an agreement with the independent repair shops, and that problem had gotten solved. For PAUL, it was about the little guy versus the big guy, about those who did not have the power and those who did.

It was always that he wanted to stand on the side of those who did not have the power, those who needed help. That was so much of PAUL WELLSTONE's life.

There is much to say, and my colleagues, I am sure, will say it when we talk about his service to our country. It is sufficient now to say that one of our Senate desks is empty. The Senate has lost a wonderful friend.

I conclude by quoting Thomas Moore, if I might, and relate it to PAUL's service:

Let fate do her worst; there are relics of joy,  
Bright dreams of the past, which she cannot destroy;  
Which come in the nighttime of sorrow and care,  
And bring back the features that joy used to wear.  
Long; long be my heart with such memories fill'd!  
Like the vase, in which roses have once been distill'd  
You may break, you may shatter the vase, if you will,  
But the scent of the roses will hang 'round it still.

PAUL WELLSTONE is no longer in the Senate, his desk is empty, but the passion of his ideas most surely will remain for years and years to come.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, today I reflect on the life of a friend and reflect on a political life. Politics is a fateful calling. The voters can end a political life in a few hours on any Tuesday. Promising public careers can be terminated

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abruptly. But like life itself, political life should be measured by its quality rather than its quantity. By that measure, PAUL WELLSTONE, a man small in stature, became a giant in this Senate.

This is not my desk in the Senate. My desk is the one directly in front of the desk where we honor the memory of PAUL WELLSTONE. So many times I had to leave my desk because when Senator PAUL WELLSTONE got wound up on an issue of great importance to him, you had better clear out. He had this famous desk with the long microphone cord, and he would roam all over this area, speaking with passion and commitment. I wanted to stand back a few steps to witness it because it was truly historic when he took to the Senate floor.

I do not think there were any routine WELLSTONE speeches. With all credit to his staff, I am sure he embellished them in the certain qualities that even the best staff person could not add. There was no routine nature about PAUL WELLSTONE in politics.

I remember when he first ran. People kind of laughed about the idea. This professor from a small college in Minnesota is going to run against an incumbent Senator?

We all know what that was about. This had to be a class project. He was going to go out and make his stand, make his speeches, and probably lose by an embarrassing margin. But then they started getting reports back from that early campaigning. This now famous green schoolbus, which I had a chance to see when I was in Minneapolis for the tribute to PAUL WELLSTONE, had a platform on the back where he would stand like Harry Truman and make his speeches.

I remember his television commercial which they replayed during tributes after he died in the plane crash. He said: "You will have to listen very closely because I don't have much time. I don't have much money and I have to tell you everything. This is my home; this is where I work."

It was a classic presentation of what he was all about in just a few seconds.

At the end of the campaign after he won and surprised everyone, there is a photo of PAUL, Sheila, and Marcia when PAUL agreed to finally retire the pair of shoes he wore throughout the campaign. What a sorry pair of shoes. He was no slave to fashion, to say the least.

In his campaign in the Senate, I can recall he was admonished by a colleague to go home and change his shirt because it did not look like a Senator's shirt. He did not think of

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those things. Those things were so inconsequential to his view.

He thought about the important things, the really important things. He reminded us time and again of how those things are overlooked. You draw together 100 Senators across the United States, you put the national political agenda in front of us, and PAUL WELLSTONE found it hard to believe that we could miss so many important things.

Sheila was the same way. His wife Sheila, the unpaid Senator to Minnesota at his side, worked on issues such as domestic abuse, inviting all of us to come to an art center she regularly had highlighting what victims were expressing through their art in terms of domestic abuse.

We used to talk about PAUL WELLSTONE's amendments on the floor. They were great amendments. Some of them did not get a great number of votes. We used to speak in the caucus about the so-called WELLSTONE amendments. We used to have competition to make sure that he got enough votes so it was not called a WELLSTONE amendment. And he said, I win some of these amendments. And he did. Without fail, every one of the amendments challenged every one of us to look at the national agenda and look at America from a different perspective.

We get caught up in the life of public service and forget the people that PAUL WELLSTONE never forgot. I think back to some of them. PAUL WELLSTONE did not make any bones about the fact that he opposed the Vietnam war. During the 1960s, when many of us were in college and that was a dominant issue of the time, he was opposed to that war. But you would find, as I did in his tribute in Minneapolis, the veterans groups coming out in large numbers to pay tribute to PAUL WELLSTONE. There was no separation between them. PAUL WELLSTONE opposed the war, but he did not oppose the warriors who came home. He became their champion in the Senate.

When people would bring up his own military record, or lack of it, or his own position on Vietnam, he would always be able to rally the veterans of Minnesota who would say, we are for PAUL WELLSTONE because he fought for us to make sure we were not forgotten when we came home. That is the kind of person he was.

I think of the debate on education in the Senate, the no child left behind bandwagon. I was on it. What a big bandwagon it was. It was the President, the leaders, the Democrats and the Republicans in the House and Senate, liberal



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and conservative alike. We would all be for no child left behind. But not PAUL WELLSTONE. PAUL WELLSTONE was the one voice saying, wait a minute, we may be going too far here. High-stakes testing for kids can destroy their lives in the future. Are we moving too fast without thinking about the children and what it could be doing to their lives? Again and again, PAUL WELLSTONE forced us all to slow down even as we were involved in some political movement that seemed to have great force behind us, to stop and think about the actual people affected, the children, the teachers, the families.

He was first and foremost a teacher himself, at Carleton College and in the Senate. Time and again, he taught us. He never taught us better than the lesson on mental health parity. PAUL WELLSTONE realized that our treatment of mental health in the United States of America in the 21st century is shameful. It is disgraceful. He told us over and over that we treat people with mental illness as if they are suffering from some curse rather than some illness. He begged us time and again to treat fairly people who suffer from mental illness.

I join with everyone here today, all the Members of the Senate who have given speeches and nice comments about PAUL WELLSTONE, all the members of our government, from the President on down, who said what a great man he was and great values he brought to public life. Members can prove it by passing this Wellstone-Domenici bill for mental health parity and do it on an expedited schedule. PAUL WELLSTONE, if he were here today, would say: Forget the speeches, forget the flowers; pass the bill, help some people. That is what government is supposed to be about. That is a challenge to us.

We ought to mark our calendar today. Here we are, November 12, thinking about the challenges this country is going to face. Instead, step back and say: Where will we be 2 or 3 months from now dealing with mental health parity? Will we have done enough? PAUL WELLSTONE led that fight in a way that was classic WELLSTONE.

In the debate he would know, many times, that the forces were against him, that he did not stand a chance. He would stand here with such passion and commitment and make these speeches, hour after hour, if necessary, always respectful of his opposition, always on the Senate floor, even for those who saw the world in completely different terms, but always committed to what he was fighting for.

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They tell us the politics of PAUL WELLSTONE are now out of fashion. I don't believe that for a second. You ought to know that since PAUL WELLSTONE passed away, many in the Senate have been trading phone calls late at night in their homes talking not only about PAUL and the great loss of Sheila and Marcia and the three campaign workers and the two pilots, but reflecting on ourselves and why we are here. PAUL would like that. PAUL would like that his passing would cause us all to think a little bit harder about who will carry on his fight.

I have heard a lot of us in these conversations, my colleagues and myself, talking about what we need to do to make sure that voice is not silenced in the Senate, to make certain that PAUL WELLSTONE's passion and commitment live on. That is the greatest tribute of all.

For 6 years, I served in the Senate with PAUL WELLSTONE. For 2 years, he was over my shoulder at this Senate desk.

For every Member of the Senate, PAUL WELLSTONE will always be over our shoulder keeping an eye on what we do, listening to our speeches, asking us in real human terms whether we are forgetting someone in the process.

The victims who cannot afford lobbyists in Washington, DC, the poor and dispossessed who may not even have the will to vote, let alone to participate in this process, the people without the resources to be heard, who is going to speak for them? PAUL WELLSTONE did. Those who stand in tribute to his memory should make certain that voice is never silenced.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I will also say a few words about PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. PAUL and Sheila were good friends of my wife Anne, my son John, and myself. We met shortly after they arrived in Washington for PAUL to take up his duties in the Senate. Our friendship grew over time. Friendship came easily to PAUL and to Sheila because they had a genuine interest in and a compassion for other people. So on a personal level, PAUL and Sheila will be greatly missed.

On a policy level, they will also be greatly missed in this Senate. PAUL believed strongly that government should and could help improve the lives of average people. He championed better education for our children, better access to health care, particularly mental health care, as my colleague from Illinois has described. He championed a decent wage for workers. Any issue that presented a choice between the pub-

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lic interest and a special interest, there was no question where PAUL stood.

Sheila was also a fierce advocate for policies in which she believed. Her focus for many years was on the problems of domestic violence, and she and PAUL helped spotlight that problem. They did much to put it on our national agenda. PAUL said what he believed. He voted his convictions, even when those convictions placed him in a small minority in the Senate. He was proud to proclaim himself a liberal in an age where most Americans have been persuaded that liberal is a pejorative term.

The truth is that his views, when not distorted by his opponents, were very much endorsed by the majority of the Americans. His core belief was that those who are less fortunate should be helped to obtain the tools with which to succeed. That belief is shared by most in this great country. His service in the Senate was an effort to implement that belief.

When serving here in the Senate, one is always aware that the imperative to do what is right sometimes conflicts with the desire to be reelected. PAUL always chose to do what he considered right and damn the consequences. He came to the Senate with a clear intent to make a difference in the history of his Nation, and he succeeded. The death of PAUL and Sheila and their daughter, their staff and pilots, was a great tragedy for our country. It was also a great tragedy for this Senate. The Senate will be a lesser place without PAUL WELLSTONE.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I rise today, along with my colleagues, to pay tribute to the memory of our tragically departed friend and colleague, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, and to remember his life partner Sheila, their daughter, and the others who lost their lives in the plane crash.

We send our condolences and our prayers to the families of all those who were involved.

Whenever Senator WELLSTONE came to the floor of the Senate to fight on behalf of our Nation's most vulnerable, to fight for economic fairness, for working men and women, to fight for quality public education and health care for all our children, can't you just hear his voice now—standing up over and over again to fight and to speak out on behalf of the people he represented—to protect our environment.

In thinking about Senator WELLSTONE, I thought of the words of Frederick Douglass in 1857 when he said:

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation want crops without plowing up the

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ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

PAUL WELLSTONE was ready to fight for progress. And he was unafraid of the war that followed. In fact, he embraced it.

PAUL WELLSTONE believed the status quo can never be a cause but, rather, must be the constant casualty of time in any nation dedicated to equality and justice and freedom.

Did he win every battle? No. But the very fight of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE ennobled the Senate and enlightened this Nation by giving voice to the challenges that confront us.

I would like to read from a speech that Senator WELLSTONE gave to graduating students at Swarthmore College. The passion of PAUL's words reminds us of the shame of passivity, the passivity of standing back and watching millions of families slide into poverty, and our Nation's future slip away from them.

Senator WELLSTONE asked:

How can it be that in the United States of America—today—at the peak of our economic performance—we are still being told that we cannot provide a good education for every child? We are still being told that we cannot provide good health care for every citizen.

We are still being told that people can't look forward to jobs that they can support themselves and their children on. We're still being told that we cannot achieve the goal of having every 5-year-old come to kindergarten ready to learn.

How can it be that we are being told that we cannot do this at the peak of our economic performance? I say to you today that it is not right. It is not acceptable. We can do much better, and if not now, when? If we don't do this now, when will we do it as a nation? That is a betrayal of our heritage. The impoverishment of so many children is our national disgrace.

Senator WELLSTONE did not pull any punches. Yet he was not a cynic either. He believed that by giving wings to the nobler angels of our Nation, we could place progress in the wind.

In the same speech I was quoting from, Senator WELLSTONE closed, urging people to get involved with politics and public service and become those nobler angels whose wings would give flight to change and to justice. He said:

I do not believe the future will belong to those who are content with the present.

I do not believe the future will belong to the cynics, or to those who stand on the sideline.

The future will belong to those who have passion, and to those who are willing to make the personal commitment to make our country better.

The future will belong to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams.

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We will miss PAUL WELLSTONE's leadership, his voice on this Senate floor. We will miss the beauty of his dreams of an America where the most vulnerable among us are valued, where all of our children are cherished, and where no one who gets up and goes to work in the morning goes to sleep at night in poverty.

But, PAUL, while we will miss you coming to the floor of the Senate to share those dreams, I promise you those dreams will not die.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I, too, would like to lend a few comments to one we fondly regarded as the "little giant," Senator PAUL WELLSTONE.

I, obviously, had an opportunity over the years to converse, discuss, debate, agree—occasionally disagree—with our friend who truly believed in his cause, a cause that was perhaps more liberal than my own, but a cause that was reflected on what makes the Senate so unique; that is, the cause of the balance that we have, more or less a mainstream of thought that prevails in the Senate. But in many cases it is brought about by those who have very active views, whether they be liberals or conservatives.

But PAUL WELLSTONE did represent, if you will, the pendulum in the Senate. His contribution was one of activism, of standing for the underdog, of reflecting on the needs of some we can never properly repay; specifically, the veterans of this Nation who have given so much so that we can live in the freedom of our democracy.

As I have reflected, along with Senator Stevens and Representative Young, because of the vast distances between our State of Alaska and Washington, DC, and the tribulations of long flights back and forth, and the ever-increasing pressures to make dates, particularly during campaigns, having just run a campaign myself, why, I can recall the unpleasant evening flights in bad weather, with a recognition that people expect you to be present at a given time. And it is the demands that are constant pressures to try to fulfill obligations that cause each Member of both the House and the Senate to live, perhaps, on the edge. Unfortunately, that edge results in additional exposure that is associated with accidents. And we have seen that in the passing of our good friend PAUL WELLSTONE, who, again, to me, is referred to as the "little giant": small in stature but significant in what he believed. And his contribution, again, I think is measurable

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in one sense by those who knew him but in another sense by the legacy he leaves in this body.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to our colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE.

As with the loss of anyone so vital, so full of energy, and so dear to us, it is hard to believe that PAUL is really gone. But as with a brother, or a father, or a great teacher, even if they have died, they leave a part of themselves with those who carry on. They are never really gone.

I first met PAUL before either of us had been elected to the Senate. I was meeting with different people as I considered a run for the Senate, and I heard about this professor in Minnesota who was planning to run in 1990. I had a chance to visit him at his home. When we met, we laughed at the idea that the two of us or either of us, would ever have been elected to the Senate.

But then PAUL went on to run a terrific campaign, without a lot of money, but with a whole lot of energy. When he won, he helped me and others to believe that we could do the same. I will always be grateful to him for that example, as I am sure are many others across the country who were inspired by PAUL and the exceptional life that he led.

So now we know that whenever a candidate runs a scrappy populist campaign, PAUL WELLSTONE will be there.

PAUL WELLSTONE believed in clean elections. PAUL was a strong, stalwart ally over the years that we served together in the Senate, working for campaign finance reform. He was an original cosponsor of the first McCain-Feingold bill—one of a handful of us, along with Senators Claiborne Pell and Fred Thompson, and he was there all the way. Some have said that the law that we enacted this year went too far. Characteristically, PAUL thought that it did not go far enough.

PAUL WELLSTONE wrote:

The way in which money has come to dominate politics is the foremost ethical issue of politics of our time. We need to invite ordinary citizens back into American politics to work for what is right for our Nation.

Whenever Americans reform our election campaigns, PAUL WELLSTONE will be there.

PAUL WELLSTONE said:

I don't represent the big oil companies. I don't represent the big pharmaceutical companies. I don't represent the Enrons of this world. But you know what, they already have great representation in Washington. It's the rest of the people that need it.

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That's what PAUL WELLSTONE said.

So, whenever there are voices standing up for the little guy, PAUL WELLSTONE's voice will be there.

There is a role that some Senators play of leading where not many follow because they know that it is right. PAUL WELLSTONE had the courage of his convictions. He was not afraid to stand alone. Now that he is gone, there may come more times when some of us will be counted as the only vote against something.

But whenever a Senator stands alone in the well of the Senate and casts a solitary vote because that's what he or she believes, that Senator won't really be alone because PAUL WELLSTONE will be there.

There is a role that some Senators play of reminding the rest of us of what is right, even when we don't necessarily like to hear it. It has been said many times, and it is nonetheless true, that like Paul Douglas, Phil Hart, and Paul Simon before him, PAUL WELLSTONE was the conscience of the Senate.

Whenever political expediency pulls us to vote one way, but our consciences pull us back the other, PAUL WELLSTONE will be there.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a dear, sweet man, and a good friend to those of us who knew him. Yes, he had a puckish grin and a ready sense of humor. His passing brings a tear to our eyes.

But whenever we think of that smile of his, PAUL WELLSTONE will be there.

The Bible says: "Justice, justice shall you pursue." PAUL didn't need to be told. That was who he was. PAUL WELLSTONE believed in justice with every fiber of his being.

PAUL fought for justice for children who didn't have enough to eat. He fought for environmental justice, even for the poor side of town. He fought for social justice when it came to access to health care. He fought for economic justice when it came to a fair minimum wage and the ability of working families to protect themselves under the bankruptcy law. And he fought for justice among nations, and for peace. PAUL WELLSTONE was the very embodiment of justice.

And so, PAUL WELLSTONE, here on the Senate floor, there is a hole in our hearts. We will miss you, dear friend.

But we will still look for you. For wherever it is on this Senate floor, at a political rally, or at a town hall meeting somewhere on a cold, windy day in the heartland of America

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whenever someone speaks for justice, PAUL WELLSTONE will be there.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, PAUL WELLSTONE was an extraordinary leader with a common touch. His dedication to the well-being of average Americans was unparalleled in Congress.

He believed all of our citizens, no matter how humble their beginnings, or difficult their plight, had an equal right to happy, healthy, and full lives. He always made the time to hear the real needs of the people, and he always took the time to speak up for them in the U.S. Senate.

For PAUL, core beliefs were not something to be compromised. He understood as well as anyone in this body the give-and-take of legislation. But we always knew his values were at the forefront of every battle, and the people of Minnesota could count on him to fight for them with every ounce of his considerable energy and ability.

PAUL and I were seatmates. His desk is right beside mine on the Senate floor. But we were more than neighbors. PAUL was our conscience, our guiding light. He turned overlooked needs and forgotten causes into real hopes for millions of Americans. For them, PAUL WELLSTONE was their champion, their Senator.

Earlier this year, Senator WELLSTONE chaired a hearing in the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee on an issue of great concern to American workers. A group of low-wage men and women were so excited by the prospect of the hearing that they took a day off from work, boarded buses, and headed for the hearing. When they arrived, they found the room full and the door barred. But Senator WELLSTONE heard about the workers who were waiting in the hallway, unable to get in. He invited them in and seated them on the dais among the Senators attending the hearing. For PAUL, this was the way it was intended to be. For him, there was no distance, no barrier between the people and their elected representatives.

Senator WELLSTONE did his homework. He knew the facts and he also knew the reality of everyday life for the people he cared for so deeply and served so well. When the Senate debated education policy, we knew PAUL understood the issues thoroughly. We also knew PAUL had spent more time visiting the public schools than any other Senator. He knew the challenges first-hand because he had taken the time to listen to parents, teachers, and schoolchildren so he could be a true voice for them in Washington.



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He taught us all by his example that Americans face challenges together. He was the embodiment of e pluribus unum, that out of many peoples in America, we are one Nation. He lived every moment of every day fighting to make our Nation even stronger, ever the beacon of opportunity for all of our citizens.

PAUL, we will miss you. You and Sheila and Marcia leave an extraordinary legacy for millions of Americans to honor, to cherish, and to carry on. Your outstanding contributions to the Senate, to Minnesota, and to the Nation will always be remembered.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, it is with a very heavy heart that all of us gather in the Chamber that will miss one of our own. It was with a very heavy heart we received the news on that snowy, icy day that we had lost, while flying in northern Minnesota, a wonderful companion and colleague and, along with him, his life's companion, and part of that family—his daughter.

This freshman Senator had observed this Senator from Minnesota who had such energy and, along with it, such happiness. I can still see PAUL WELLSTONE thrusting in the air those short, little jabs, while at the same time having that wry smile on his face, as he would teach us the way we should be as Senators—advocating for those who could not advocate for themselves, for those who could not hire with unlimited resources. He was there to stand and represent those folks.

I went to Minnesota in August to do what I could for PAUL WELLSTONE in a race that, interestingly, as November 5 approached—and PAUL was so concerned about what was going to be the effect of his vote on the Iraq resolution, the fact he voted his conscience, the fact he stood up as the little giant against what was otherwise considered the tide. The fact he did that resonated among his constituents in Minnesota. We saw the result of that in the polls, for PAUL had jumped up from an even race. He was up five, six, seven points before that fateful day his life was taken from us.

I think back to that time in August I had gone out there to campaign for PAUL. It was a time of mourning in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area because a lady police officer had just had her life snuffed out in an unusual kind of murder, where it was unsuspected. I went with PAUL and Sheila that night to several events, including back to the source of that crime, at a project where so many of the community leaders had turned out. I watched PAUL as he interacted with those

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grieving constituents, as they all came together in a resolve to heal the wounds in that community and bring the races together, instead of dividing them, as so often might have been the case in a very unfortunate circumstance where a police officer had lost her life.

I went to what was called the “national night out”—a remembrance of what communities can do in coming together.

I went to two or three such events on that evening I visited with PAUL and Sheila. I watched his interaction with Minnesotans. I saw that it was the same PAUL WELLSTONE that I saw interacting with Senators in this Chamber, in our caucuses, in our luncheon meetings, in the Cloakroom, and in the committee meetings. It was the same friendly, highly intelligent man, always offering that smile, getting from place to place with that limp in his gait as a result of an old wrestling injury. And he was so attractive. He was attractive to us as a friend and a colleague. He was attractive to the folks of Minnesota as their Senator.

I went to their home, a modest, very comfortable, very appropriately appointed duplex townhouse, close in so he could be where his constituents were. It was easy access for him, even though with that limp; it had a set of stairs, at least two, if not three stories. It was so comfortable as a retreat for him, made so by his lifelong companion Sheila, who was at his side throughout that campaign and who was at his side throughout his professional career, including his career in the Senate.

Then when I was in Minnesota, I talked to his kids. This is not his immediate family kids. This was the extension of PAUL WELLSTONE, the professor, the extension of PAUL WELLSTONE, the Senator, who had legions of young people, some in their middle years, who went door to door telling why those Minnesotans should vote and continue his time in the Senate.

I saw their conviction as I talked to them basically to share a number of stories I had as a Congressman going door to door. A lot of those experiences we shared were quite humorous, some of the unexpected experiences when one goes knocking on doors. I explained to them, with a bit of overstatement, that western civilization depended on what they were doing, going door to door. We all had a good laugh about that.

They were committed. They were committed to PAUL WELLSTONE. They were committed for the kind of person he represented, and they were doing the job and they were very

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effective. Their number had multiplied many times over so that as it came to that fateful day, there were legions of some 4,000 of those young people who were canvassing Minnesota.

That says a lot about the kind of person PAUL WELLSTONE was and how his memory will live; that young people believed enough in him that they would spend all day in a thankless job of going door to door.

I remember so well the PAUL WELLSTONE we loved around here. He was not afraid to take on any foe. He was not afraid to take on any subject where he felt he could offer something of substance to the discussion, and as far as this Senator is concerned, it often made the difference because it was done with dignity, it was done with passion, it was done with energy, and his orations were done with great conviction.

That is a great example. That is a great role model for all of us. We will miss him deeply.

I remember when I came to the Minnesota airport for that memorial service. Someone met me at the gate and escorted me to the place where we were all to huddle up and then board the buses. As I walked in to that waiting room, what stared me in the face was a simple poster that said: WELLSTONE for Senate. I remember almost having my breath taken away as I realized that he was not going to be with us in body anymore. But he certainly will continue with us in spirit.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, the Senate is greatly diminished with the passing of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. As we see the bouquet of flowers on his desk, we can see PAUL in action, speaking out, speaking up indefatigable on the issues of concern to him.

He undertook a very difficult campaign back in 1990 against the odds, against a popular incumbent Senator. He was able to mobilize students, activists, people who believed in what he believed in because he was always a man with a cause. All the time he had a point. He did not mind being a dissenter.

People who may be listening to this session of the Senate do not know, but there is a little card at the desk on each side, Republicans and Democrats. When the Senators come in and vote, there is a check. It is not easy, when, say, there are 50 members of the party and 49 checks are on one side, to vote against the 49, to have your name stand out in marked contrast as a dissenter, but PAUL WELLSTONE did not mind that a bit.

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I believe in the history of our country the dissenters are vitally important, sometimes more important than the majority. Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Supreme Court Justice, was a prime example. He did not mind speaking out in dissent. And then he got another Supreme Court Justice, Louis Brandeis, to join him. So then instead of 1 to 8, it was 2 to 7. The brainpower of the two was characteristically better than the seven. For that matter, the brainpower of that one, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, was greater than the eight on many occasions.

*Plessy v. Ferguson* was a decision establishing the principle of separate but equal, having segregation in America, in a decision shortly before the turn of the 20th century, I believe in 1896. John Marshall Harlan was the one dissenter. That dissent became a clarion call for *Brown v. Board of Education*. Similarly, I think the dissents that Senator WELLSTONE registered have the potential to become a majority point of view.

It was said earlier today, and I think with real meaning, that the legislation to establish parity for mental illness with physical illness would be an appropriate tribute for Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. That legislation came within a hair's breadth of being passed in spring 2001 on an appropriations bill.

Technically, we are not supposed to legislate on an appropriations bill, but that rule is honored and then breached very often, maybe not more often than it is observed but it is breached very frequently.

We had passed it through the Labor, Health, Human Services, and Education Subcommittee which I had chaired. It was a health bill. Senator Domenici was the principal champion on the Republican side, and Senator WELLSTONE was the principal champion on the Democratic side. I was long a cosponsor of the matter. In chairing the conference, we pushed very hard. It came within one vote on the House side—we had the Senate—of getting that legislation passed.

It ought to be passed as a tribute to Senator WELLSTONE. It also ought to be passed for the benefit of the people who suffer from mental illness, which is every bit as debilitating as physical illness.

On October 25, I was campaigning, as I think most people were. I had just come from a political rally in Reading, PA, where Vice President Cheney had spoken for Congressman Gekas who was running in a hotly contested election against Congressman Tim Holden, two incumbents pitted against

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one another. I turned on the radio at about 1:30 eastern time and was shocked to hear the news that Senator WELLSTONE's plane had gone down. It brought memories of the plane that went down on April 3, 1991, with Senator John Heinz, a vibrant, young Senator who had great potential, as did Senator PAUL WELLSTONE.

Flying small planes is an occupational hazard and everybody in this Chamber, all 100 of us, as well as the 435 Members in the other Chamber, and many other legislators and governmental officials, climb into small airplanes every other day. We all hold our breath as to whether we will be successful on the flight. Regrettably, we fly in bad weather, which sometimes we should not do but there is always a big crowd waiting and always some reason to finish.

It was a great tragedy. PAUL's wife Sheila was with him in the plane. One seldom saw PAUL in the Halls of Congress without Sheila. She was not on the floor of the Senate, but she was with him constantly, holding hands, a very devoted couple. Their daughter Marcia was with them, also devoted in the campaign, a brilliant young woman at the age of 33.

Senator WELLSTONE will be sorely missed in the Senate. There are many PAUL WELLSTONE stories. I will mention one. I was managing the appropriations bill for Labor, Health, Human Services, and Education. Senator WELLSTONE was in the Chamber bright and early. We started at 9:30. He had an amendment. Sometimes it is hard to get amendments up onto the floor. His amendment provided that no Member of Congress should have a health insurance policy at government expense that was superior to what every other American had available to him or her.

When that amendment was brought up, it was through the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota, who was smiling broadly. It was a very extraordinary amendment to make. It is pretty hard to make an amendment like that stick because it would have made President Clinton's national health insurance policy look entrepreneurial to the nth degree. It did not pass, even though the Democrats controlled the House and the Senate. Senator Mitchell, the majority leader in 1993, was a major proponent of health care, but the Clinton plan with its bureaucracy went down to defeat. To have a requirement that no Member of Congress could have a health plan that was superior in any way to what the government provided for every citizen was really an extraordinary idea, to characterize it very mildly.

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I did not have to debate Senator WELLSTONE for very long before there was an avalanche of Senators who came to the Chamber. He really struck a nerve, and he struck a nerve because many people think that Senators and Members of the House have health insurance which is paid for by the government, which is not true. We pay for the health service which we have, but we also have additional health service policies, Blue Cross and Blue Shield. To have legislation limiting what a Member could have to that which every other citizen would have at government expense would be a great inducement to pass a widespread health insurance benefit, and perhaps we ought to do that. That was Senator WELLSTONE's idea. He debated it with fervor and intensity. It was an extraordinary debate. I do not think he got too many votes for his plan, but that did not diminish it in any way. That is the great quality of a dissenter. This Chamber will not be the same without Senator WELLSTONE.

Mr. DeWINE. Mr. President, let me begin by thanking all of our colleagues who have already spoken here on the Senate floor this afternoon in tribute to our dear friend, PAUL WELLSTONE. I join in the sentiments and would like to extend my sympathy and my prayers to the entire WELLSTONE family and the families and friends of the crew and staff members who also lost their loved ones just a few short weeks ago.

PAUL WELLSTONE, his wife Sheila, and their daughter Marcia, left quite a legacy. These are family who were working so closely together to help PAUL in his reelection bid. So as we pay tribute to PAUL today we must also, I believe, remember the dedication and the love of his wife and his daughter—his entire family. Each one of us understands our elections are many times a family effort. We see our spouses, we see our daughters and sons go out and campaign and spend time with us and spend time in other parts of our States. So I think we all can relate to this. In a sense, it makes this tragedy even harder for all of us to bear, to think this was not just a loss of PAUL, but also of his wife and his daughter.

The great English poet Alfred Tennyson wrote of a dear friend who died suddenly: "God's finger touched him, and he slept."

Recently God's hand touched our friend PAUL WELLSTONE. Now he sleeps and now we mourn. The Senate will really never be the same without PAUL WELLSTONE. Not only did we lose a colleague, but we also lost a friend, a good man,

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an ethical man, a leader, a true champion—a champion of the causes and the issues he believed in so passionately.

As many of my colleagues have expressed already, PAUL had a kind of drive and passion and spirit that was really unequaled in this body. But we will also miss his kindness, his resolve, and his unbelievable energy—energy he brought to every single task he undertook. Whatever it was, PAUL did it with sincerity and he did it with great passion. PAUL got things done. He was effective. That effectiveness came because of his energy, because of his drive, because of his determination, and it came because he understood what he believed in. He understood what he cared about. He understood what was important.

It also came about because he could get along with people from both sides of the aisle. He really transcended politics in that respect. He knew people. He understood them. It was evident he cared about them. You never had any doubt when PAUL WELLSTONE asked you how you were doing, how you were feeling, how your wife was, that he actually meant it. He actually cared.

Arthur Ashe, the famous athlete, who also died too young, once said:

True heroism is remarkably sober, very undramatic. It is not the urge to surpass all others at whatever cost, but the urge to serve others at whatever cost.

That was PAUL WELLSTONE. That was his mission. No cost was too great in his eyes when it came to protecting the lives of those in this society who could not protect themselves—as he said, “the little people,” the poor people, the people who needed someone to help them. He worked so hard and so tirelessly and with such commitment to protect children, the elderly, the mentally ill. I had the privilege of working closely with PAUL on a number of the legislative initiatives he cared so much about—the kind of initiatives that were intended to protect and improve peoples’ lives, like job training—the bill he and I spent an awful lot of time working on—and mental health courts bills.

PAUL also cared deeply about the future of America’s children. He wanted to ensure that every single child in this country received a quality education.

He was instrumental in making sure that our transition to teaching initiative was included in last year’s education reform law. And, in fact, at the time of PAUL’s death, he and I were getting ready to introduce a bill to expand the child care loan forgiveness program to include preschool teachers.

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I intend to go forward and introduce that bill tomorrow. I know that is what PAUL would have wanted. And, in his memory, I would like to rename that bill “The PAUL WELLSTONE Early Educator Loan Forgiveness Program.” This legislation is just one of so many examples of what PAUL stood for and cared so passionately about.

It wasn’t too long ago that this Senate lost another friend and colleague. That man was a dear friend of mine. That man was Senator Paul Coverdell. I was recently looking back at the *Congressional Record* at some of those fiery and impassioned speeches that PAUL WELLSTONE used to give on this Senate floor, and I came across a speech he gave in tribute to Senator Coverdell following his death.

I was really struck by his remarks, because what he said in those few words about Senator Coverdell really capture today what we in this Senate think about PAUL WELLSTONE.

I would like to take just a moment to read to my colleagues what PAUL WELLSTONE said on this floor on July 19, 2000:

Mr. President, I want to speak about my colleague, Senator Coverdell. I know other Senators have. I absolutely have nothing rehearsed. There are many Senators who will speak about Senator Coverdell probably in a more profound and moving way than I can.

There is one moment I want to remember about Senator Coverdell because this small story tells a large story. We had had a major debate about the Colombia aid package. Senator Coverdell and I were in a debate. We did not agree. It was a pretty good debate back and forth. I know from time to time during the debate I would reach over and touch his hand and say something to the effect: I just cannot believe you said this; this is wrong—something like that.

At the end of the debate, I said, because I believed it and believe it: Senator Coverdell is a really good Senator.

He smiled and touched my hand and said: Senator WELLSTONE is a really good Senator.

I do not know if the latter part is true, but the point is that is the way he was. That is the kind of Senator he was.

That is also the kind of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE was.

PAUL WELLSTONE in that tribute went on to say this about our friend, Senator Coverdell:

We talk about civility. He was just a beautiful person. I really enjoyed him. We need a lot of Senators like Senator Coverdell: Paul, you are wrong on the issues, but you are a really good person.

The Senate has lost a wonderful person and a wonderful Senator, and the United States of America has lost a wonderful person and a wonderful Senator.

To PAUL WELLSTONE today, I say that you, too, were a wonderful person. You were a wonderful Senator.



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Today on this floor, we honor what PAUL WELLSTONE stood for, what he believed in, and what he accomplished here in this Senate. As a public servant, PAUL touched the lives of his family, his friends and colleagues in the Senate, his constituents in his home State of Minnesota, and the lives of millions of people throughout the United States.

I will not forget PAUL WELLSTONE—none of us will. He is deeply missed and will always be remembered.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, as we have reconvened today, there is a void in this Chamber. The untimely passing of our friend and colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE, brings a sadness to the entire Senate family.

We are also touched by the loss of PAUL's wife Sheila, his daughter Marcia, members of his campaign staff: Will McLaughlin, Tom Lopic, and Mary McEvoy, and the two pilots: Captains Richard Conry and Michael Guess.

When I heard Senator WELLSTONE's plane had gone down in Minnesota, it was difficult for me to convey my thoughts. I thought of the countless hours I have spent, as a Senator now for 34 years, in small planes, flying around my State on campaigns and on official business.

I recalled the day in December 1978 when the plane carrying my wife Ann and myself and five friends, coming from Juneau to Anchorage, crashed at the Anchorage airport. The time that followed was a difficult one for my family. The death of a spouse, a colleague, a loved one, or a friend is never easy, but to lose that person in an accident, particularly one you survive, is worse because you will always know you never said goodbye.

It was an ironic twist when I discovered PAUL WELLSTONE's plane crashed in the same city, Eveleth, MN, where Alaska Congressman Nick Begich was born. As the Senate knows, Representative Begich and the House majority leader, Hale Boggs, were killed when the airplane in which they were flying was lost over Alaska in 1972.

It is safe to say—and I think this is no surprise to anyone—that PAUL WELLSTONE and I did not see eye to eye on much, but I respected PAUL for fighting for what he believed and for his personal toughness that never let physical problems slow him down.

We spent much time together on the subway going back and forth and became great friends. As a matter of fact, PAUL and his wife came over to our home. Catherine and I were pleased to have dinner with him and Sheila on a personal basis.

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I admired PAUL's commitment to his causes, particularly to his dedication to mental and physical health parity. As a young boy, I helped raise a cousin who was challenged by mental retardation, and I know the difficulties faced by those in that community. Senator WELLSTONE's compassion and determination has made a difference in many families across our Nation, many lives of people such as my cousin.

Likewise, Senator WELLSTONE's wife Sheila was a great advocate. Her work on behalf of domestic abuse victims helped many women and children begin life anew, with the hope and encouragement that came from Sheila's work.

Catherine and I cannot put into words the sympathy and sorrow we feel for PAUL's family for the loss of their parents, their siblings, and their grandparents.

Mr. President, grief is a process that helps heal the heart. We will always miss PAUL, but we honor his memory by keeping after our business, as he did—testing our ideas on the campaign trail and here on the Senate floor. My friend, PAUL WELLSTONE, would want it that way.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President,

Sunset and evening star,  
And one clear call for me!  
And may there be no moaning of the bar,  
When I put out to sea,  
But such a tide as moving seems asleep,  
Too full for sound and foam,  
When that which drew from out the boundless deep  
Turns again home.  
Twilight and evening bell,  
And after that the dark!  
And may there be no sadness of farewell,  
When I embark;  
For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place  
The flood may bear me far,  
I hope to see my Pilot face to face  
When I have crost the bar.

Mr. President, one of our number has gone from our midst.

I know that by now he has seen his Pilot face to face because PAUL WELLSTONE has crossed the bar. He was not tall; yet mere feet and inches are no measure of a human heart. He could not be cool or aloof, for he knew that it is passion and commitment that drive human progress. He was not without infirmity, but the limitations of the flesh never hold down a robust and tenacious spirit.

PAUL WELLSTONE fairly burned with exuberance for life and for the causes that he cared about. We all heard PAUL

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WELLSTONE as he spoke about those causes that he cared so much about. He always spoke with passion. A visit to his office is illustrative. Over the entrance to his private office is a huge enlargement of a snapshot of his former, now deceased, chief of staff, Mike Epstein. Most of us remember Mike Epstein, who used to be seen back here on the bench to my left as he sat listening to PAUL and waiting with PAUL. PAUL WELLSTONE did not forget. He did not forget Mike Epstein.

Once inside PAUL's office, over the doorway three large photos can be seen of the faces of battered women. PAUL WELLSTONE often spoke of those battered women in our population. He did not forget.

On the walls of his private chamber are photos of Hubert Humphrey, John Kennedy, and on his desk is a bust of Martin Luther King. PAUL WELLSTONE did not forget.

PAUL was a man of causes. He was a teacher. He was a man who stayed true to the things in which he believed. I can almost see him back there now beside the flowers that have so thoughtfully been placed on his desk as a token of our remembrance of him. I often heard him use a metaphor. He called it an old Jewish proverb. He would use it again and again, in speech after speech. He would say, "You can't dance at two weddings at the same time." Senator Don Nickles is on the floor, and he remembers this and has indicated so by a smile. I never quite knew what PAUL WELLSTONE meant when he said that you can't dance at two weddings at the same time. I never tried it, but I never was at two weddings at the same time.

When he said, "You can't dance at two weddings at the same time," he meant that one must not be false. That is the key. One must not be false. He meant that one cannot be all things to all people. He was thinking of the words of Shakespeare, who said: To thine own self be true. Thy can't now then be false to any man.

He meant that one cannot say one thing and then do another. And he meant that one cannot say the same thing to two different people and mean two different things. It is a fundamental lesson and has special application to those of us who toil in the ruined fields of what passes for politics today. You cannot dance at two weddings at the same time.

PAUL WELLSTONE died tragically, but he lived heroically. He ran uphill against the odds and enjoyed and gloried in the experience. He was unique, he was priceless, and he was quite irreplaceable.

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I shall miss him, and we all shall miss his courage.

I was most endeared to PAUL WELLSTONE in the last days of his life. One day as we stood in the room together—we Democrats—and discussed the resolution concerning the Iraq war—which may come and which in my present thinking is likely to come—we stood over in the corner room there and the majority leader was there. My Democratic colleagues—most of them—were there; PAUL WELLSTONE was there. We discussed the Iraq resolution. I remember PAUL WELLSTONE as he stood and said to us, his Democratic colleagues:

You all do what you must, but I am going to vote against the resolution. But don't worry about me. I will explain it to my people. I think I am doing the right thing, and I believe my people will feel also that it is right. But if they don't, they will vote. However that vote comes, whatever that decision is, I will live with it.

I thought that took a great deal of courage. Here was a Senator who was running for reelection and he had already reached a decision in his mind that he was going to take a stand, and that was going to be a principled stand. His future in politics could go one way or another; but regardless PAUL WELLSTONE was going to take that position. He was going to go to the people with it. He was willing to debate it with the people, and he felt that in the final analysis the people would uphold him in the position he had taken.

There were not any ifs, ands, or buts. That was a position he took right over in that room, in the corner, near the elevator on this floor. That, more than anything I saw in PAUL WELLSTONE's life when he was here in our midst for 12 years, that, more than anything else, impressed me. I thought: Oh, if all Senators were like that. If all public officials were like that, who would take a principled stand, state the reasons for that stand to the electorate, and let them make their choice. Of course, he wanted to come back to the Senate, but he knew very well that particular stand, in the climate in which we find ourselves, might mean he would not be reelected. And in the minds of a lot of people, the likelihood would be perhaps he would not be reelected. He took that stand. That told me something about that man I had never seen before in him.

That is the kind of courage that is found in men and women who are not only willing but are proud to stand up for their convictions and win or lose. They are determined to do it that way because they feel that is for the best interest of their country. That is the way PAUL WELLSTONE felt. But that, more than anything else, watching him and listening to

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him on that occasion and knowing he was heading out of here in a very close election, which at that point he probably was a little behind—and I think he was. But he went. He made that decision. He voted that way. He went to the people and, from what I can understand, he was winning. His points were going up. He was going up. So the people, even though some of them—many of them—may not have agreed with PAUL, admired a man of conviction. That is the kind of man they wanted in this body.

I will always remember PAUL WELLSTONE for that demonstration of conviction, that demonstration of integrity, that demonstration of courage, that demonstration of character. So his spirit, as long as I am here, will always permeate this Chamber.

I never was close to PAUL WELLSTONE. I cannot say I am close to a great many Senators here. That is not their fault. We are all busy people. But that drew me close to PAUL WELLSTONE.

We owe a great debt to the people of his beloved Minnesota and his wonderful family for sending him to serve with us for a time. I fully believe if PAUL WELLSTONE had lived, he would have won that race. That Senator we would have had back.

I went to that memorial service. I went to Minnesota. I went there when Hubert Humphrey died, and I went to the memorial service for PAUL WELLSTONE. I was at that dread gathering. I was struck by the size of that tremendous gathering of people singing songs, speaking. I wondered about this man, what kind of hold he must have had on the hearts of the people of Minnesota to draw a huge audience like that in a memorial service.

I also believe in my heart that the memorial service veered off on a path that probably was not intended, and I felt badly about some of the things that happened there—about the treatment, not only impolite, but the discourteous treatment that was accorded to the minority leader, Mr. Lott. I did not know about the treatment by which he had been embarrassed. I did not know about that until after it was over. But I felt as time went on that I was in a strange meeting, and I believe that but for the veering off course by that meeting Walter Mondale would have been elected. In any event, that is in the past and cannot be revisited.

We will all miss PAUL WELLSTONE. I do not think that he would have wanted things to happen as they did in that par-

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ticular meeting, but that being said, I think PAUL WELLSTONE's spirit will live on.

I regret the strange twist of fate that took his wife and his daughter and the members of his staff to their untimely ends. But as to PAUL, we owe him a great debt. I think I can best say his spirit will live on by repeating the words of Thomas Moore:

Let fate do her worst, there are relics of joy,  
Bright dreams of the past that she cannot destroy,  
That come in the night-time of sorrow and care,  
And bring back the features that joy used to wear.  
Long be my heart with such memories filled,  
Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled,  
You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will,  
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, it is a sad occasion that we see flowers on the desk of PAUL WELLSTONE memorializing his service to this country and to the Senate.

PAUL WELLSTONE served very ably in the Senate for 12 years. I had the pleasure of working with him, and I had the pleasure of opposing him on many occasions. Many times, I would always say in the heat of the battle that PAUL WELLSTONE had intensity, he had passion, and he had conviction. As Senator Byrd mentioned, those are qualities and traits that are very much needed in the Senate.

October 25, when PAUL WELLSTONE was killed along with his wife Sheila and his daughter Marcia, in addition to three staff members and a couple of pilots, was a real tragedy to the Senate family. Unfortunately, we have lost a lot of Senators through airplane crashes. Many of us have been in planes under questionable circumstances. It is a tragedy we hate to see. I remember receiving the phone call and the words were "oh, no," when it was confirmed.

As many of our colleagues, I went to Minnesota for the memorial service on October 29 to express our condolences and sympathy on the loss of a colleague. We wanted to show support to his family, friends and constituents and say that, yes, he was a valuable Member of the Senate and we hated to lose him. To lose him in such a tragic and unexpected way is really a loss for the entire country.

I remember very well when Senator WELLSTONE made one of his last speeches. It was a tribute to Senator Helms. Philosophically, they were probably as opposed as they could be, but they were always gentlemen and they always conducted themselves as Senators. Like Senator Helms, every time we had a debate with Senator WELLSTONE that we disagreed on

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we always would shake hands, win or lose, and we did both. We won some battles, we lost some battles, but we were always friends and we were all colleagues.

I remember PAUL WELLSTONE being inducted to the National Wrestling Hall of Fame in Stillwater, OK—an outstanding American and a great tribute. This happened in the year 2000, but he was in the class of 2001, a class that is very unique.

Our colleague, Senator John Chafee, also deceased, was inducted into the National Wrestling Hall of Fame, as well as the current Speaker of the House, Dennis Hastert. They were a very special class of competitors who competed not only on the wrestling mat but also on the floor of the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

PAUL WELLSTONE earned our respect and our gratitude. We miss him, and we wish to communicate to his family, his friends, his associates, and his staff members, that we respected PAUL WELLSTONE. We appreciate his service to this country, to his State, and to the Senate. PAUL WELLSTONE will be missed by all of us who had the pleasure of calling him our colleague.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in taking these few moments to pay tribute to an extraordinary man and a great Senator. It is hard to come back to the Senate floor this afternoon and not be overcome by a sense of loss because this desk behind me, with the flowers, will never again serve as the launching pad for one of PAUL WELLSTONE's memorable and impassioned speeches.

Every American who shared PAUL's determination to make our country all that it should be, all that it can be, all that PAUL thought it must be, felt that same sense of loss. The Americans who only knew PAUL WELLSTONE through tuning into C-SPAN or seeing the evening news, watching that energy flow, those arms flail about, that pacing up and down, may not have known the man but they too saw, as we his colleagues saw, that deep abiding love of our country. That is what motivated PAUL WELLSTONE. He would come on to this floor, sometimes bursting through those doors, having to speak out, making it clear that there was some injustice that had to be righted, some problem that had to be solved, in order for us all to be the best we could be.

That wrestling spirit that never let go really was with him in every encounter. He was a bear hugger. He was a caring, loving man, as well as a great advocate.

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His determination to improve our Nation, our education system, our health care system, our employment system, to strengthen civil and human rights and provide opportunities to those who live on the outskirts of American life, was unparalleled. Every one of us who knew him, and the millions who did not, were heartbroken by his untimely death.

I had someone say to me that the voice for the voiceless has been silenced. That is not only a tribute to PAUL but it can also be heard as a rebuke to us. Was there only one among us who spoke for the voiceless, who hurt for those who were hurting, who carried the pain of injustice and exclusion under which so many suffered? One hopes that is not the case, but the only way to prove it is not is to ensure that our voices are heard loudly and clearly.

This floor will seem empty without his words of conviction unless we fill it with our own. The ideals he represented and his steadfast belief that we, the people, through our government, acting together, can be a positive force, literally to change the future for those who might otherwise be left in despair, that commitment motivated every aspect of his daily life.

Our Senate family and the people of Minnesota not only lost Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, but we lost a great advocate in Sheila Wellstone and we lost a great teacher in Marcia Wellstone. His family shared his passion and his drive for justice. His staff were with him every step of the way and some tragically even gave their lives in service. Our thoughts and prayers are certainly with all those, along with the Wellstone family, who lost family members, friends, and colleagues.

Before coming to the Senate, I had the great pleasure of working with both PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. I admired Sheila greatly. Just as her husband, she was made of steel. That little package of energy that propelled her down these corridors and throughout the State of Minnesota looking for ways to help and to shed the spotlight she could bring into the darkest corners of human misery set her apart. She especially became a champion of those women and children who were victims of domestic violence. The stories she heard from women all over Minnesota and America did not stay her property; she told them to anyone. She would come to the White House and buttonhole me or the President. She would go anywhere to see anyone to make sure that someone whose small cry for help that she heard in St. Paul or Margie would be heard in Washington as well. She believed that the idea



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of violence-free families should be a reality in every home in our Nation.

She and PAUL, together, believed the diseases, the illnesses of the mind, should no longer be relegated to some back room where they would be brushed aside, ignored because of the stigma, the embarrassment attached to them historically. She encouraged PAUL to join forces with Senator Domenici to transform each of their families' experiences into a national campaign to improve the lives of the mentally ill.

Sheila and PAUL were also instrumental in bringing to international awareness the horrific problem of trafficking in human beings, the modern form of slavery by which young women, young girls, are literally sold into bondage, into the sex trade, into domestic servitude. Sheila and PAUL WELLSTONE were absolutely committed that this practice of degradation would end.

When each of us heard the news that the plane carrying PAUL and Sheila and Marcia went down, time seemed to stop. Many did not want to believe it. We kept asking our staff and others how it could be true. How could this have happened? Horrible events, tragedies of this magnitude, have a way of stopping time. But then we have to return. The clocks have to start moving again. We have to continue our journey into the future. But if we remember what that moment in time felt like when we realized our friend, our colleague, a great Senator, would no longer join us for our debates, then perhaps that tragedy can change the tone and landscape of our politics and our debates. Perhaps PAUL's example in life, his legacy in death, will compel all to look inward, to ask ourselves what are we doing today with the same energy, the same good humor, the same fighting spirit that PAUL WELLSTONE embodied to make life a little better for the people we represent, to give voice to the voiceless.

Over the past weeks I have thought a lot about PAUL WELLSTONE. I remember so many incidents and so many of his triumphs. He was there day in and day out. No issue was too small that it did not have his commitment behind it if he thought it would make a difference in someone's life. The Senate passed expanding insurance coverage for the mentally ill. I hope Senator Domenici's heartfelt plea and his long-time commitment will help finally to pass his and PAUL's dream into law.

We increased access to child care for the working poor because PAUL WELLSTONE knew what it meant to worry about your children while at work because you did not know the

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conditions they would be in, whether they would receive the quality of care they should.

One of my favorite PAUL WELLSTONE moments was when PAUL and I were at a hearing he was chairing of the Subcommittee on Employment, Safety and Training. We had been receiving reports about a sharp increase in the numbers of unreported deaths and injuries among immigrant workers—many of them illegal, who found their way to our country and were put to work, despite the laws against it, for the cheap labor they provided—who were not given the protection or the support or the respect they should have for the dangerous jobs they were performing.

One of my State's newspapers, *NewsDay*, ran a powerful investigative report about the conditions in which immigrant workers labored in New York. PAUL read it and contacted me right away. He wanted us to work together to find out what we could do to stop people from dying, literally dying, in New York and around America.

Many who go to hearings around here know that not many people, except the paid lobbyists for the various industries affected, show up for the committee hearings. The lobbyists fill the chairs. They take the notes. They rush out to make the cell phone calls to report to their superiors and employers what is going on. But unfortunately, except on rare occasions, other people do not come.

On that day, to our surprise, hundreds of workers flooded the halls of the Dirksen Building trying to get into our hearing, trying to tell their stories. Unfortunately, we had no idea this would draw such a crowd. The room the hearing was being held in was not big enough to accommodate everyone waiting.

PAUL and I conferred, and PAUL said: I can't believe it. There are all these people outside. Some of them came from miles away. You can see his arms, as you hear those words, going back and forth. What are we going to do?

Before I could answer, he got up, and in that bowlegged wrestler's stance and walk he had, he walked down from the platform, through the crowd, threw open the doors, told the Capitol Police that everyone was coming in and that there would be room. They could sit on the floor, they could sit in the Senators' chairs because he and I were the only Senators there. He would not keep the very people we were having the hearing about out of the hearing room.

That was PAUL. He was a people's Senator. Everyone was welcome. Every door was open. It was an unusual hearing,

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but it was a memorable one. Afterward, he greeted each and every person who was there.

It was this passion that got him up and fighting every day, even when he was in such pain, as some of us can remember, seeing him in pain on this floor, remembering how last year the pain was so intense he literally dropped to the floor of the Senate. He later learned that he was not just contending with the aches and pains of a Hall of Fame wrestling career but that he had multiple sclerosis. That did not stop him either.

For any of us who inquired how he was doing, he brushed it off. He was not interested in any way or concerned about his own health. He wanted to talk to you about what we were going to do about unemployment insurance, what we were going to do about education, how we could turn our backs on all these children who would not get the resources they needed.

During the debate on the education bill, PAUL was the only member of our Education Committee to vote against it. We knew why. He warned that focusing our education system solely on improvements in standardized tests without a major increase in Federal funding was wrong. I agreed with that. I said so at the time in our committee. I will vote for this bill, but only if we have the funding.

Here we are, a year later. We got the funding for 1 year and then the administration came in and no more funding. PAUL was right, as the distinguished Senator from West Virginia knows. Trust, but verify, when it comes to such promises.

Senator WELLSTONE always stood by his beliefs. His last big fight, as Senator Byrd has so eloquently reminded us, was over two big issues: Certainly Iraq, what should be done, what will be done, what our obligations as Senators are to hold this administration accountable; and, here at home, the fight for unemployment benefits to be extended. For the life of me and for PAUL WELLSTONE, with whom I spoke about this at length time and time again, it made no sense. How could we turn our backs on people who were out of work through no fault of their own, who needed a little bit of a helping hand? He would come to the floor, he would make that case, and we wouldn't go anywhere with it. We couldn't get our colleagues to support extending unemployment insurance one more time.

Along with what I hope will be a lasting legacy of mental health parity, I truly request our colleagues and the adminis-

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tration to extend unemployment insurance, PAUL WELLSTONE's last domestic battle, for people who will otherwise have nowhere to turn when those benefits are gone.

I want to say also a word about Senator WELLSTONE's staff, because he certainly loved and respected his staff. As Senator Byrd has mentioned, his staff was a loyal, hard-working group who often accompanied Senator WELLSTONE to the floor and sat there watching him, getting energy from his excitement and passion. I want to name some of the names of those men and women who helped him do the work we honor today. Colin McGinnis, his chief of staff, and Brian Ahlberg, his legislative director, are two extraordinary public servants. My staff has enjoyed the privilege of working with them.

My staff and I have also had the opportunity to work with Marge Baker, who led Senator WELLSTONE's efforts on the Subcommittee on Employment, Safety and Training, with Jill Morningstar, who was his legislative assistant on education and women's issues, with Rachel Gregg, who led his efforts to assist the working poor, as well as Patti Unruh, Ellen Gerrity, and Richard McKeon, who made up his team of health care advisers.

I offer my condolences to each of his extraordinary staff members and I want them to know how much we appreciate the work they did for PAUL.

On October 15, at the close of his last debate, here is what Senator WELLSTONE said:

I don't represent the pharmaceutical companies, I don't represent the big oil companies, I don't represent the big health insurance industry, I don't represent the big financial institutions. But you know what, I represent the people of Minnesota.

That may be his most fitting tribute—the honor, the ability, the results he brought to the way he represented the people of Minnesota. He did it with passion and principle. We join in saluting his life and his service and we challenge ourselves to remember the reasons why so many are mourning him today. Each of us, try to live up to the standard PAUL WELLSTONE set.

Mr. CORZINE. Mr. President, I compliment the Senator from New York for her gracious and most appropriate words with regard to the service of the Senator from Minnesota, who was such a special person.

I rise to add my words of respect and praise and thanksgiving for the life and leadership of my friend and colleague and, in fact, political hero. PAUL WELLSTONE was a good man

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who did his very best to do good things—very simply, good things for others. With his wife Sheila, their lives were about service, service and advocacy for others. In fact—I think the presiding officer probably knows this—they may well have been the most unselfish people I ever observed. The drive was not to power. It was not to popularity. It certainly was not to wealth. It was to service—service to those without a voice. PAUL WELLSTONE really did believe all men and women are created equal and therefore should be treated accordingly.

As a friend, PAUL was always supportive and full of counsel for a fellow progressive—or should I say liberal. While our paths to the Senate could not have been more different, our paths in the Senate were much alike. He was a pathfinder for me and for many others because of his personal passion and principle with which he was so secure—it was deep in his soul. It gave him vision. His words and deeds were an example for all who seek to lead. As he so often implored, our actions cannot be separate from our words. All men and women are created equal, and he believed our Nation must act, also, accordingly. He fought for that every day on this floor.

We have heard about his principled fight for mental health parity. We have heard about his fight to make sure education was something other than high stakes testing, and to make sure welfare reform was about something other than reducing the numbers on rolls, but was really about reducing poverty levels; on labor rights and defending the right to organize, defending the right of working men and women to have access to the American promise on an equal basis with those who are granted more; and on women’s rights, which we have heard so much about, and domestic abuse, in which he carried the words and deeds of his wife so ably; on veterans’ care and the homelessness problems of our Vietnam vets. On these and many other issues he really was a man who spoke for those without a voice.

PAUL’s passion and vision will be deeply missed. For those honored to have shared his life, it is now our responsibility to pursue his vision. His commitment to equality and justice must not be lost and, with God’s will, it will not.

To this challenge, earlier today I heard Senator Stabenow cite great words from Frederick Douglass that bear repeating. When you think about PAUL WELLSTONE you think about how he handled himself in this world. Those words are:

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If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

PAUL WELLSTONE led his struggle for freedom with thunder and lightning—his struggle for progress. We will miss him. We will miss his struggle. We must take it up.

All of us pray for his family and the families of the others lost on that tragic day of the crash. Our hearts are saddened. And we, as Senator Clinton has so ably articulated, commend his loyal and dedicated staff, and those thousands of volunteers who made his voice multiples of what it otherwise would be, through their activism and organization. We say thank you for all of them. Our love goes out. We respect them for what they have done, and their service. We hope they will not turn away from the effort and the fight. We thank them all. They mourn. We mourn. But we must not quit. We will not quit. Our deeds must match his deeds in the days and years ahead.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute today to two dear friends, PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. The October 25 plane crash in northern Minnesota which took their lives was an incalculable tragedy. It deprived Minnesota of a brilliant Senator. It deprived my wife Barbara and me of two very dear friends. It deprived the poor and disadvantaged everywhere in this country of a most committed, eloquent, and passionate champion.

If there is one word that I heard perhaps more than any other in the tributes that have been paid to PAUL WELLSTONE, it would be the word “passionate.”

Compounding the tragedy, the crash claimed the lives of PAUL and Sheila’s daughter, Marcia; three members of his staff: Will McLaughlin, Tom Lopic, and Mary McEvoy; and the plane’s two pilots, Captains Richard Conry and Michael Guess.

Our hearts go out to PAUL’s sons and grandchildren, and to all of the families of those whose lives were lost. We think about what might have been. We are reminded of just how ephemeral and precious life is.

It is said that an obituary tells you what a person did and a eulogy tells you who a person was. I would like to talk about who PAUL was.

PAUL WELLSTONE was the patron Senator of lost causes. By “lost,” I don’t mean wrong. In fact, most of his causes

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were right. But many of them were at the moment unpopular.

PAUL WELLSTONE devoted his energies to fighting for the disenfranchised and demoralized, the lonely, and the isolated. He saw his mission in the Senate and in life as comforting the afflicted and, when necessary, afflicting the comfortable. In social justice circles, it is called “speaking truth to power.”

PAUL knew what it is like to be the underdog. He literally wrestled his way into the University of North Carolina on an athletic scholarship. He overcame learning disabilities to earn a Ph.D. from that distinguished university. The civil rights movement inspired him to become active in politics. In 1990, he ran a seemingly quixotic campaign against an incumbent Senator who outspent him by more than 7 to 1. And PAUL won. And he won again in 1996.

I think PAUL beat the odds because he gave hope to so many people who have been left behind. PAUL was a friendly and warm person who learned and remembered everybody’s name because he genuinely cared about them.

More recently, PAUL battled hip and back injuries and publicly announced that he had multiple sclerosis. When he made that announcement, he said—with characteristic wit and pluck—“I have a strong mind—although there are some who might disagree with that—I have a strong body, I have a strong heart, I have a strong soul.” And that he did.

PAUL knew what it was like to be an underdog. So he devoted his life to fighting for the underdog. At Minnesota’s Carleton College, where he was a professor, he protested the college’s investments in companies doing business with apartheid South Africa. He intervened on behalf of many farmers facing foreclosure. He joined the picket lines at a meat-packing plant. And when Carleton College’s custodians went on strike, he taught his classes off-campus because he wasn’t going to cross that picket line.

PAUL brought his unabashed idealism to the Senate. He voted against the gulf war in 1991. He voted against the welfare bill in 1996. He led a lonely fight against the bankruptcy bill, saying that it would enrich big credit card companies at the expense of ordinary people suffering “brutal economic circumstances.” And the list goes on.

One of his last votes that he cast was for the more multi-lateral approach relative to our situation in Iraq. During that debate, he argued as follows:

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Acting now on our own might be a sign of our power. Acting sensibly and in a measured way, in concert with our allies with bipartisan congressional support, would be a sign of our strength.

PAUL often found himself in small minorities. He was, however, able to move the Senate on occasion through sheer conviction. For instance, he teamed with Senator Domenici to require health insurance companies to provide more equitable coverage and benefits to people suffering from mental illness. It was the right thing to do. It was the fair thing to do. And he prevailed.

Life deals everyone setbacks and defeats. And PAUL had more than his share, especially in the Senate. But he never became the least bit cynical as many people do when they suffer life's disappointments. He kept coming back cheerful and committed as ever. He was absolutely guileless. And I think that was the source of his popularity, which extended to people who vehemently disagreed with the policies that he advocated. Everyone admired the fact that he spoke from the heart, and he voted based on his sincere beliefs—not from political expediency. He believed in the power of ideas and causes, and in the power of government to help people. He was a formidable adversary. And he had that unique gift of being able to disagree without being disagreeable.

T.S. Eliot wrote to a friend:

We fight for lost causes because we know that our defeat and dismay may be the preface to our successors' victory, though that victory itself will be temporary; we fight rather to keep something alive than in the expectation that anything will triumph.

That wistful statement, to me, captures some of PAUL WELLSTONE's approach to his duty. With indefatigable goodwill and cheer and sincerity, PAUL always bounced back, always carried on, and always stood on principle—never on expediency. He wasn't afraid to be in the minority, even a minority of one.

A friend of PAUL's, Bill Holm, wrote a touching tribute that appeared in the *New York Times* the day after PAUL died. I am going to put that column in the *Record* following my remarks, but I wish to quote from it briefly to underscore some of what the column says.

Bill Holm wrote,

Whatever PAUL's height, he was one of the largest men I ever met. He filled rooms when he entered them. Size in a public man is an interior, not an exterior, quality. . . . He thought himself an athlete . . . and I suspect he saw his whole political life in that metaphor. He wrestled with the power of big money, military adventurism and penny-pinching against the poor. He meant to fight fair, but he meant to win.



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The great suffragette Anna Howard Shaw remarked,

It does not make so much difference perhaps as to the number of days we live as it does to the manner in which we live the days we do live.

She could have been saying that about PAUL WELLSTONE.

PAUL fought the good fight—usually against long odds. I think, because he was a wrestler, he knew it was always possible to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. Sometimes you can be behind on points but suddenly pin your opponent seconds before the match is over. So he never gave up. He had an infectious optimism. That is why he was such an inspiration.

He certainly lived his life with gusto. He showed that gusto in the way he consumed my wife's stuffed cabbage. We still have some in the freezer which we had preserved for the next dinner we were going to have with the WELLSTONES.

PAUL WELLSTONE may have stood 5 feet 5 inches tall, but he had the heart of a giant. As we mourn his passing, we celebrate his life. What a gift he gave to us all.

I ask unanimous consent that Bill Holm's column, appearing in the October 26, 2002, edition of the *New York Times*, be printed in the *Record*.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

[From the *New York Times*, October 26, 2002]

#### **A Liberal With a Wrestler's Stance**

(By Bill Holm)

Minnesota, Minn.—PAUL WELLSTONE was an unlikely politician in a place like Minnesota—land of walleyes, cornfields and phlegmatic Scandinavians. He was an urban Jew, son of immigrants, a college professor at the fanciest of Minnesota's private colleges. And, probably worst of all for his non-talkative constituents, he was a passionate orator, a skilled rouser of rabble over issues he loved and an unapologetic populist liberal.

How did this man, who was killed yesterday in a plane crash in northern Minnesota, ever manage a triumphantly successful political career in which even many Republicans and conservative Christians quietly scribbled the WELLSTONE X on their ballots, hoping their neighbors wouldn't catch them behaving like lefties?

When I gave readings of poetry and essays, I often shared a podium with Senator WELLSTONE at various rural conventions and political gatherings. It was a remarkable experience, and I learned very well to proceed rather than follow him. He worked a house as well as Hubert Humphrey ever did.

I remember a Farmers Union convention in St. Paul: PAUL WELLSTONE, a pugnacious 5-foot-5, stood at the dais between the Farmers Union chairman and me, both 6-foot-5 Scandinavians.

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“It’s nice to join my Norwegian cousins here in St. Paul,” he said. He then proceeded in 20 minutes to bring the audience cheering to its feet. If this had been a monarchy, the farmers would have crowned him.

I was next, with a few small and sensitive rural poems. I had a sinking feeling that a master had bested me.

Whatever PAUL’s height, he was one of the largest men I ever met. He filled rooms when he entered them. Size in a public man is an interior, not an exterior quality. PAUL charmed—and sometimes persuaded—even those hostile to his unashamed liberal ideas by listening with great courtesy and attention to unfriendly questions. He answered without dissembling, without backing down from his own principles, but with a civil regard for the dignity of the questioner. And he had the politician’s great gift: an amazing memory for names. I saw him once pluck a vote with this gift. He answered questions for 45 minutes in a room full of ordinary citizens whom he’d never seen before. He began his last answer this way: “Your question reminds me of Mary’s concern.” Mary, in the back row, was 45 minutes ago. Mary, likely a rock-ribbed Republican, blushed a little and smiled. One more vote.

Even those who continued to disagree with PAUL did not question the sincerity of his idealism. He was sometimes attacked for naivete (as in his brave vote against authorizing the President to go to war with Iraq), but never for dishonesty. He voted, as he spoke, from the heart.

It’s often forgotten that PAUL, nearing 60 with a bad back and a respectable batch of grandchildren whom he treasured, began his rise in the world with a college wrestling scholarship. His working-class parents had no money for school, so wrestling earned him a doctorate.

He preserved a wrestler’s sensibility in both his academic and political life. In 1998 I met PAUL at a reception at the Governor’s Mansion just before Jesse Ventura, a professional wrestler by trade, first occupied that house. How curious, I told PAUL, that the two most interesting politicians in Minnesota at the moment should both be wrestlers. He replied with a wry smile: “But I’m a real one.”

He thought himself an athlete, not an entertainer, and I suspect he saw his whole political life in that metaphor. He wrestled with the power of big money, military adventurism and penny-pinching against the poor. He meant to fight fair, but he meant to win.

Not only Minnesota, but the whole country will feel the absence of his voice and his bravely combative spirit. We say with Walt Whitman: Salud, Camerado. We look for you again under our boot-soles.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Madam President, liberal? Worse, the *London Economist* called Senator WELLSTONE the most “left wing” Senator in the U.S. Senate. Yet, as the most conservative Senator, I found myself time and again fighting at his side.

The year started with the Bush seduction of Senator Ted Kennedy on education. Senator Kennedy looked at the amount—\$7 billion. President Bush looked at the thrust—prove that public education was a failure so that private education could be financed by the government. Testing. Somehow the billions being spent by the States on testing was not enough. A Federal test was necessary.

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Failing schools would be closed. Failing students would be tutored. But most likely, the student failing for the lack of a competent teacher could find no competent tutor. For all this testing, the education bill provided no help for the student to pass the test. And for this, Senator WELLSTONE ranted and raved. But nobody listened. Senator WELLSTONE was liberal, but as a conservative I knew he was right. We both voted no.

Next was the Bush tax cut. No doubt Senator WELLSTONE, the liberal, was the target for this initiative. For the purpose of Voodoo II, or Bush's Reaganomics, was to eliminate the resources of government so that without the money there would be no programs. But in reality, programs persevered, with a horrific debt, and the devastating waste of interest costs. Senator WELLSTONE, the liberal, was for programs. I, the conservative, was for putting government on a pay-as-you-go path. We both voted no.

Then there was the jobs debate. Fast track—this was a device that Presidents use to control trade agreements. With it, the agreement submitted by the President could not be amended. Congress was required to vote it up or down, and, of course, no agreement was ever submitted until the White House had the vote fixed.

To get NAFTA approved, President Clinton bought the vote with numerous favors not related to the agreement, such as defense contracts, cultural centers, and golf rounds in California and Arkansas. One could readily see that the intent was to create jobs south of the border. Sure enough, we lost 700,000 textile jobs alone. So, when fast track expired, we refused to renew it for President Clinton. Again, Senator WELLSTONE and I both opposed giving fast track authority to President Bush.

“Liberal.” “Conservative.” Wrong references. Adlai Stevenson used to say it's not whether one is liberal or one is conservative, but whether one is headed in the right direction.

Adam Nagourney of the *New York Times* writes of the “homonization” of American politics. Politics has changed. Triangulation has taken over so that every party compromises, or triangulates, the other party's issues. Both are for tax cuts. Both are for saving Social Security. Both are for defense. Both are for the war with Iraq. Both are for homeland security. Both are against corporate corruption. Worse, money locks in this triangulation so that we are back to George Wallace's, “There's not a dime's bit of difference between the parties.”

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But there is a fundamental difference. The Republicans know to campaign. The Democrats know to govern. PAUL WELLSTONE came to Washington to govern. He could see the crying needs of the country: schools, health care, jobs, infrastructure, and so forth. And he was determined to do something to provide for these needs. But with the Democrats in control by only one vote, we abandoned governing. The needs of the country were abandoned and both parties went into high gear to campaign, with money controlling the issues. Y2K, free trade, corporate reform—money controlled with a refusal to even cancel the principal corruption: stock options. The Congress danced around the fire of intelligence failures, terrorism insurance, seaport security, rail security, energy policy, pension reform, prescription drugs—but no governing.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a fighter. The shortest fellow in the Congress, most of us couldn't touch his shoes. Today, there are no fighters in Washington, just campaigners.

Mr. COCHRAN. Madam President, the tragic death of our colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE of Minnesota, was such a sudden shock to all of us. It was hard to believe he had died. PAUL was so full of life, and full of energy and enthusiasm. It was so incongruous, so unbelievable, that his life could be ended so abruptly.

But it was, and we continue to grieve and to miss him.

PAUL and I were friends. We also collaborated on legislation to help farmers and to find a cure for Parkinson's disease and Duchenne muscular dystrophy.

We often talked about our strategy for accelerating the research that is so important to the effort to conquer these threats to human life.

He traveled to my State to see for himself the plight of the poor in the Mississippi Delta. He was sincerely interested in helping alleviate the burdens and problems faced by the poor people who lived in the Delta. I told him about the initiatives we had started and let him know I shared his concerns and that we were trying some new approaches such as the Delta Regional Initiative.

Senator WELLSTONE will always be appreciated for the efforts he made to help those who needed help the most.

Mr. FRIST. Madam President, the Senate has been a unique institution since its inception. We take great pride in our deliberative nature. Debate may take time, but it is time well spent. It is always better to pursue the right—rather than the rushed—course of action. This style of governance

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has served the American people well for more than two centuries.

This does not mean the Senate is not a dynamic body. It is full of the same vibrancy that marks this great experiment called American democracy. For within this Chamber have echoed some of the most lively and spirited debates in our Nation's history. And outside this Chamber as well—in committee rooms and caucus meetings and other public forums.

On Friday the Senate lost one of its most animated Members in PAUL WELLSTONE. He was a proverbial "true believer." Conviction was not something about which he simply spoke at opportune moments; he showed it time and again with his unabated enthusiasm for being a U.S. Senator. PAUL WELLSTONE's beliefs rose from a deep and impenetrable well of principle.

Indeed, PAUL was a proud and unabashed voice for liberalism. His votes often landed him not only on the other side of Republicans, but on the other side of his fellow Democrats, as well. He was a man who simply did not blink in the face of political pressure. He stared it down without regard to price. Even if you did not agree with him, you admired him and the courage he so frequently displayed.

I saw this first-hand on the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. There PAUL and I served together on the Subcommittee on Public Health and the Subcommittee on Children and Families. We shared a common concern for the health of women and children and the mentally ill. He spoke out often on their behalf. He fought hard for them. And his passion for their well-being will be missed.

PAUL WELLSTONE was one of a kind. We were blessed to have him, his wife, Sheila, and his daughter, Marcia, as members of the Senate family. And the people of Minnesota and the United States were blessed to have him in their service. May we keep PAUL and Sheila's sons and grandchildren and the families of all those who lost loved ones in our thoughts and prayers in the coming weeks.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Madam President, several days after this terrible tragedy, the loss of our beloved colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE, his wife Sheila, his daughter Marcia, three loyal members of his staff and two pilots, we still remain in a state of shocked disbelief.

We have lost a unique and gifted man, who embodied not only the independent spirit of his home State, but one that resides at the very heart of the American soul.

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A few years ago, when speaking on this floor about the loss of his legislative director, PAUL claimed that “sometimes the only realists are the dreamers.”

In many ways he could have been referring to himself, the cerebral political science professor willing to stand alone, when necessary, for what he believed.

He had the common touch, and was an impassioned speaker, noted as much for his big heart as for his sharp mind.

Elected as the only new Senator in 1990, PAUL’s crusading voice would not have had the same impact in the House of Representatives as it did in this Chamber.

Only in the Senate could he have helped to lead the successful opposition, in 1991, to an energy bill that would have opened the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil exploration, or 5 years later force a vote on a minimum wage increase.

For two terms he fought tirelessly for increased funding for education at every level, health care that was accessible and affordable for all Americans, sweeping campaign finance reform, and farm legislation that sought to protect the small farmers.

While he was, on the one hand, an ideological liberal, willing to speak with his conscience, PAUL was also able to work with Republican colleagues on many occasions, and he was responsible for passing important bipartisan legislation, most notably the expanded insurance coverage for mental illnesses, with Senator Domenici.

But PAUL WELLSTONE’s commitment to social justice did not stop at our borders. He was an outspoken champion of the poor and the powerless around the world, in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

I remember when, back in 1996, I voiced concern over the plight of women and girls under the reactionary rule of the Taliban, PAUL was one of the few who was receptive to the need for the United States to respond to such violations.

In 1999, PAUL and I introduced the “International Trafficking of Women and Children Victim Protection Act,” which established an interagency task force to monitor and combat trafficking, provided assistance to other countries that met minimum international standards, and withheld U.S. non-humanitarian assistance to countries that failed to meet these standards.

To his eternal credit, it is worth noting that PAUL had originally introduced his own bill, which contained much tougher criminal provisions and stronger protections for victims.

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He was a leading advocate for Tibetan autonomy, able to work closely with his ideological nemesis, Jesse Helms. In fact, the last time I worked with PAUL was in cosponsoring an act to safeguard the cultural, religious, and ethnic identity of the Tibetan people and to encourage further dialog between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government.

We must not forget that the world has also lost Sheila, PAUL's wonderful wife of almost 40 years, and a passionate campaigner against domestic violence, and for the need to create violence-free families. Hers was a noble cause, a critical fight, that must be continued.

Minnesota has produced some of America's most eloquent, committed, and honorable leaders. Hubert Humphrey, Harold Stassen, Eugene McCarthy, and Walter Mondale come quickly to mind.

Even if he had not met such a tragic and untimely end, PAUL WELLSTONE would have surely earned his place among this distinguished group. The fact that he has left us so abruptly, and left all of us so sad, will not diminish his achievements, nor weaken his message.

To quote PAUL: "I still believe that government can be a force of good in people's lives."

We in the Senate should take these words to heart, just as we were truly honored to have had him among us. We are all the better to have known him and worked with him. He will be sorely missed.

Mr. DAYTON. Madam President, it has been a very moving afternoon in the Chamber listening to my colleagues speak so eloquently about my good friend, the senior Senator from Minnesota. It was touching to hear of their respect and their affection and their admiration for PAUL WELLSTONE.

I spoke earlier this afternoon about the Senator, my dear friend, and because others were waiting to speak I abbreviated my remarks. I wanted to close by noting, as others have so well, that PAUL's remarkable achievements were not his alone.

He was one of those people who, in his greatness, was able to attract great people to his side. He had extraordinarily dedicated men and women who worked with him, gave of their time and their energy, their hearts and their souls to his work: Colin McGinnis and his staff here in Washington; Connie Lewis, Minnesota State director, and her staff in Minnesota were always with PAUL and Sheila and extraordinarily dedicated.

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Of course, if you wanted to make a difference in Washington, if you wanted to try to move mountains and you were young and idealistic, who better to work for than PAUL WELLSTONE?

Many of his former students at Carleton College in Northfield, MN, went on to be his key staff aides. I used to tease PAUL and say that is what he was doing during his time there; he was recruiting the best and the brightest to work on his campaigns and organize the State and to work in Washington and in Minnesota on behalf of the many causes he championed—Jeff Blodgett, who was managing his campaign for the third time and doing so with great skill, and according to the last published polls, with very successful results, and others in Minnesota who gave up their careers, family life, and set it aside one more time to bring the man they loved and in whom they believed to victory.

Kari Moe, who was involved with Senator WELLSTONE's Washington office, was his chief of staff for years before. They are incredibly dedicated people each in their own right.

Tom Lopic tragically was on the plane with PAUL and lost his life in service to his friend and his country. Tom was the deputy Minnesota director. Several hundred friends and family came to his memorial service a week after his death. He was a man who touched people deeply, as did PAUL. His wife Trudy and others shared their recollections, the wonderful qualities Tom had that complemented PAUL, his calmness, virtually unflappable under any circumstances. Like PAUL, he was astute and eloquent, and he and PAUL collaborated on many of the words that PAUL used in speeches. Tom was always by PAUL's side offering his guidance and perspective.

Will McLaughlin was on PAUL's campaign staff. He was just starting his political career at the age of 23 in Minnesota. But everybody could see he was destined to be a star, a Governor or a Senator, something special someday. He already had been elected president of his fraternity at the University of Minnesota. Politics was in Will's blood or maybe even in his genetic code. His father, Mike McLaughlin, was a long-time Fourth District chair of the Minnesota Democratic Party, and he collaborated with the greats of the previous generation—Hubert Humphrey, Fritz Mondale, Eugene McCarthy, Joe Karth, Bruce Vento. Will's mother, Judy McLaughlin, was a close associate of the former speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives. He will be missed by his mother Judy and his siblings and his friends and



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those in Minnesota who never had a chance to get to know him.

Thousands of Minnesotans knew Mary McEvoy who was on the plane as staff in name but really as a friend of PAUL and Sheila's. She was one of Sheila Wellstone's very closest friends. Sheila flew with PAUL because he loathed it, and Mary flew with Sheila because she loathed it. It was beyond tragedy, beyond words that Mary had taken a leave of absence from the University of Minnesota where she was a full professor, where she chaired the department, where she had her own very distinguished career in her field, so she could help her friend Sheila and her friend PAUL during their time of need. She had a service where over 1,500 Minnesotans, friends, and family came to pay their respects. She was associate chair of the DFL Party. She was a leader. She was a colleague. She was a mother of three beautiful children, and she had her husband Jamie. She will be terribly missed by all of us in the life of Minnesota.

Of course, the linchpin of PAUL's staff, his unpaid and most important staff person was his wife Sheila who, unlike some campaign and political spouses, was beloved by PAUL's staff and gratefully welcomed to the office for her ability to run interference when necessary with her husband and his life and his schemes.

I remember once it was said it took a lot of money to keep Mahatma Gandhi in poverty because of the people around him necessary to help him carry out his mission. It took a lot of really remarkable and talented people to keep PAUL WELLSTONE on the brink of disorganization. He had so much energy and was doing so many things, often simultaneously. Sheila was the linchpin and a formidable political activist in her own right. She was born and raised in the coal country of West Virginia, a hard-scrabble upbringing. She and PAUL were married when they were 19 years old. For 39 years they were each other's best friend, colleagues, mates, spouses.

Many talk about and preach family values. That was a wonderful marriage and a wonderful family. They had three children of whom they were enormously proud. Marcia Wellstone, tragically on the plane, was a future political star in her own right. She loved campaigning, loved being out with the people of Minnesota. She was a wonderful teacher in the White Bear School District, beloved by her students, liked by her colleagues. She also leaves a gap with her family and friends that can never be filled.

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They had two sons who fortunately were not on the plane that day, David and Mark, of whom PAUL and Sheila were also enormously proud. I hope and I trust they will, in this time of terrible loss and grief, be consoled a little by the words that were expressed today, by the words that have been expressed by people all over the country. They had extraordinary parents, very hard parents to lose, but ones who will be with them in spirit always and gave them the best upbringing that any two fine men could wish for.

PAUL was a family man from the beginning. That was always foremost in his priorities. I remember not more than 6 weeks ago I happened to come to the Senate Chamber one afternoon, just around the lunch hour. Much to my surprise, the Senate was in recess. There was PAUL with his 7-year-old grandson named Joshua, Marcia's child, who was evidently on an outing that afternoon with his grandfather.

PAUL was showing him around the empty Chamber and pointing out where his desk was, as well as others. I think PAUL was convinced that he had Josh quite impressed with this great Chamber and all it represents to all of us until Josh looked up at him kind of wistfully and said, "Grandpa, are we going to go someplace soon? You promised that we were going to go someplace this afternoon."

For once, PAUL seemed almost at a loss for words. He looked up at the ceiling and then looked forlornly at me, looked over to Josh and said, "This is someplace."

I close by saying, yes, PAUL, this is some place that you reached, without any of the advantages some of us have enjoyed, and Sheila Wellstone with none at all. They met at age 19. He came to Northfield, MN, built a career as a college professor, she as a housewife raising their children. To come to some place like this is a phenomenal American success story.

I recounted earlier today about how PAUL was elected in 1990. He ran an extraordinary campaign, a David versus Goliath, come from nowhere, miraculous victory that is a tribute to the kind of indefatigable courage and willingness to follow his dream and bring people along with him. He stood for what he believed in and won by doing so. That should be in every political textbook in this country for decades to come.

He served in the Senate for 12 years and made those stands again and again. Whether they were popular, whether he had the votes or not, he knew usually with great insight whether he was going to be successful. He knew when

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he lost he had no alternative but to stand behind what he believed in, to stand with his conscience and his convictions. He trusted in the people of Minnesota to give him the opportunity to serve, which they did twice, and he was going back to seek their support for a third term.

As others have pointed out, he was facing one of the most difficult votes of his career, as some would say, at an inopportune time, which was the resolution to authorize the use of force in Iraq by the President, at his discretion. PAUL began his Senate career with that kind of vote with the Persian Gulf resolution and some believe because of his stands over the years that if he were to oppose a popular President, if he were to express a different perspective and, as Senator Levin, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, pointed out, vote for an alternative resolution, one that committed the United States to multilateral action with other countries of the world, that he would pay a political price for that in Minnesota.

PAUL never really agonized about his decision in this matter because compromising his convictions was not something PAUL ever considered doing. In fact, in my 2 years in the Senate, the one time I saw PAUL angry was when a staff person—not his own staff, he did not know who made the comment—was reported in the *Washington Post* as saying the Senate Democratic Caucus was trying to find some alternative resolution to provide cover for PAUL WELLSTONE who was facing a difficult reelection. PAUL was furious that anyone would accuse him of looking for cover from a tough vote. He said in one of our meetings that is what he had to take back to the people of Minnesota, that they knew he would never seek cover to avoid a tough decision or a tough vote; he would do what he believed was right and he was willing to go back to the Minnesota electorate and take their judgment.

I believe if he had been able to bring that to the Tuesday election that judgment would again have been in the affirmative. That is PAUL WELLSTONE's legacy to all of us. That is his legacy to the country. Whether one would agree with everything PAUL believed is not the point. There are those who can have sincere convictions on the other side of the issue. That is the greatness of our country and our democracy, that we can have those disagreements, honest, different points of view, and we are a better institution and we are a better country for our ability, through our political process, to embrace and incorporate those differences.

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He stood for what he believed in, would risk everything, his political career, his opportunity to serve, everything he believed and everything he wanted, on a matter of principle. He would do so willingly, courageously, and emphatically. That is something I will take with me throughout the rest of my life, and I would commend it to everyone else in this body and across this country.

PRINTING OF SENATE DOCUMENT

Mr. REID. I ask unanimous consent that tributes to PAUL WELLSTONE, the late Senator from Minnesota, be printed as a Senate document.

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

WEDNESDAY, *November 13, 2002*

The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable Debbie Stabenow, a Senator from the State of Michigan.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Gracious God, You have made gratitude the powerful antidote to grief. As a Senate family we thank You for our dear friends PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. We are grateful for Senator WELLSTONE's courageous leadership and his indefatigable commitment to help the poor and disadvantaged of our society. We praise You for his prophetic zeal for righteousness and justice for all people. Thank You for the way Senator WELLSTONE befriended all the Senate staff and employees, particularly police officers, maintenance personnel, pages, and those who serve to make the Senate run smoothly. He knew people's names, always had time to stop and visit, and made people feel valued. Dear God, You have enriched all our lives with the affirmation and encouragement communicated so generously through PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. They have done justly, loved mercy, and walked humbly with You. Heal our grief over their untimely deaths and fill us with Your Shalom. Amen.

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#### IN REMEMBRANCE OF PAUL WELLSTONE

Mrs. MURRAY. Madam President, on October 25, I lost a good friend, the Senate lost a leader, and the American people lost an advocate who was never afraid to stand up and speak for those who had no voice.

I rise today to honor my friend and colleague, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, who inspired so many people to speak up and to serve. Even as I stand here today, I cannot imagine that when I turn around I won't see PAUL standing at his desk, his arms flailing in the air, making some point with great passion.

PAUL, with his energy and optimism, has left a mark on all of us. In 1990, when PAUL WELLSTONE ran for the Senate, a lot of people were watching him and following his race. Political pundits said he could not win. But as I watched him, I became motivated. At the time, I was serving in the Washington State Senate, and I, too, was frustrated by what I saw happening in Washington, DC.

In PAUL I saw someone who cared about the little guy and who spoke passionately. PAUL was never afraid to voice his ideas or take on big fights. Not only did he win that Senate race, but in the process he inspired a generation of young people to serve their communities.

On a more personal level, PAUL inspired me to run for the U.S. Senate. His brilliant example reminded me that you don't need to be powerful or rich—or even tall—to make a difference. You just need to have an honest concern for others, an optimistic spirit, and the courage to act.

Over the last 10 years, I have agreed—and disagreed—with PAUL on any number of issues. But never once did I doubt his conviction, and never once did PAUL let his policy disagreements soften the love and friendship he felt for all of us. PAUL and I worked on everything from domestic violence and education to providing health care for veterans and protecting families from asbestos.

I could always count on PAUL to remind me that so many Americans have been dealt a tough hand in life. So many families, through no fault of their own, find themselves struggling, and they need an advocate to speak out for them in this Congress.

No matter what pressures he faced in the Senate or even with his own health, PAUL always reminded me how lucky we are to be able to serve in the U.S. Senate.

One thing I will not forget about PAUL is that every one of us was important to him and he proved that time and

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again. A few months ago, I held a meeting in my office to develop a legislative strategy on a bill. I wanted to keep the discussion small and focused and frank, so I invited two other Senators and told them not to bring any staff members. When it was time to start the meeting, PAUL bounced through the door with three people in tow. Even though staff were not invited, PAUL didn't mind. But these weren't his staff—they were his interns. He proudly introduced each one of them to us, and they all stayed for the entire meeting. We were still able to get everything done that we needed to do in the short time we had. Those young students got to see democracy up close. They got to sit in on a closed-door meeting, and they got a sense—just for a moment—that they, too, belonged there and they, too, could do it.

PAUL never stopped showing people what they could accomplish, and that is because he knew that people—plain old people—were important. He didn't care about pollsters and consultants; he cared about people. His love did not depend on whether they could write him a check.

My favorite all-time campaign event with PAUL was not a fundraiser, but—in true PAUL style—it was a “time-raiser.” On a cold Saturday morning, PAUL jammed a hall with folks who could not write a check but who could donate 2 hours of time to call or leaflet or answer phones. Judging from the enthusiasm of that crowd, yelling to the rooftops in the packed room, PAUL was their Senator and their guy. He valued them and they valued him.

I remember another event when PAUL wasn't even scheduled to speak, but he ended up stealing the show. Earlier this year, I was at a press conference on education in the Dirksen Building. Senators Kennedy, Harkin, Reed, and others were scheduled to talk about making classrooms less crowded. Out of nowhere, PAUL WELLSTONE rushed into the room looking a bit confused. My colleagues and I looked surprised because Senator WELLSTONE was not scheduled to speak and was not on the agenda. When PAUL got to the podium, the first thing he said was:

I am not sure if I am in the right room. When I ran into Ted Kennedy on the floor a while ago, he asked me if I was going to the education press conference, and I said I hadn't heard about it, but I would be there.

He continued:

Frankly, I don't even know if I am talking to the right group, but I am going to tell you why we need to fight for our kids.

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Everyone laughed. PAUL went on to give a passionate, off-the-cuff speech that wowed and inspired every person in that room.

To me, that really captures PAUL's spirit. Wherever some cause needed a voice, he would rush in—regardless of the schedule—and give his impassioned best. If there were a need, he would be there to speak out.

PAUL had said he didn't know if he was in the right room, but today I can say with confidence that PAUL was in the right place all along.

We are all poorer for the loss of PAUL WELLSTONE, his wife Sheila, his daughter Marcia, the members of his staff, and the pilots who were taken from us on that dark day. It is sad to say that the Senate will no doubt change without PAUL. No one will pace down this aisle and speak as passionately as PAUL did for so many causes. But I hope that each one of us who are here will take on part of PAUL's legacy—for example, the spirit to speak out for the underprivileged, for students in classrooms with leaky roofs, for the woman on welfare not because she wants to be, but because of domestic violence and she is trying to get back on her feet.

I hope we will pick up his legacy and speak out for the workers who are out of a job because this economy has left them behind, or for those who are trying to overcome mental illness and just need some help from their insurance company.

I hope, too, that we will carry on PAUL's legacy of respect. PAUL spoke from the heart and he spoke passionately. But he never held any disrespect for those with different views. I saw him so many times debate long and hard against another Senator and then step away from the microphone and share a laugh or a hug with the very person he had just debated a few moments before.

If we can remember to fight for all Americans, no matter what challenges they have been dealt, and if we do it with respect and dignity, then PAUL's legacy will live on in the Senate, as it lives on in our hearts and in our minds. I, for one, am going to miss him very much. He was all heart and soul. He is impossible to replace.

Mr. BROWNBACk. Mr. President, I rise to speak in morning business to pay tribute to PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. It is a difficult thing to do. It is a difficult thing for all of us to do. It is easier for me, right now, to imagine PAUL standing over there and articulating a great point, a great point that would be for the consideration of some group of

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people or an individual about whom he would be deeply concerned—he was clear, passionate, and very forceful in his advocacy for them—rather than to think of him as being gone but he is.

You cannot really measure the height of a tree until it is down. That is, unfortunately, again, the case for PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. He was a really tall man. They were really tall trees in what they did.

I had the great fortune to be able to work with both PAUL and Sheila on an issue we cared a lot about—the trafficking of individuals across country borders, generally for reasons of prostitution but also for other purposes. We found this was going on.

Actually, Sheila discovered this was happening by visiting with a number of Ukrainian women, some of whom had been trafficked themselves when the Soviet Union fell, when the superstructure that was the Soviet Union came down.

It turned out that gangs, groups came in, the Mafia-type organizations, to operate in the former Soviet Union, and they would run a number of different things. They would run drugs, they would run weaponry, and they would run people. It turned out the trafficking of people was actually their third most profitable operation. It was a real despicable thing they were doing. They would actually go into communities, trick young ladies, generally—sometimes young boys, but generally young girls—saying: We have this great bit of excitement for you. We are going to be able to have you travel to Europe or to the Middle East.

With the fall of the Soviet Union, they didn't see hope or opportunity in their own country, and they would sign on, only to have their papers taken away once they crossed the border. They would be put into a brothel, in some cases chained and tortured until they would submit to prostitution. And then they would even be moved from brothel to brothel. It was a real seamy, dirty, ugly thing that was taking place. It was a dark side of the globalizing economy. It was a dark side of the fall of the Soviet Union. And Sheila found out about it by meeting with Ukrainian women.

Now, I am sure there were not many votes at all in Minnesota that were going to hinge on whether or not PAUL or Sheila were going to work on the issue of the trafficking of young girls from the former Soviet Union, Nepal, and India, or from other places. Generally, there was trafficking from poorer countries into richer countries. But PAUL was such a champion of the value and the beauty of each person and the



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needs and the dignity of that individual, and Sheila was as well, that they were willing to put this issue forward and fight for it over a period of a couple of years, until we could get the bill passed.

Sheila found out about it. She brought it to PAUL's attention. He learned about it and talked with some of these women who had been trafficked. I started to hear about it. I met with women who had been trafficked and found out about the despicable nature of this new form of human slavery, a human slavery of which one person even wrote a book entitled, "Disposable People," because it happened in a situation where they would be moved from one brothel to another, and then, as they would get sick or diseased—in some cases they would get tuberculosis, AIDS—the owners would even throw them out on the street and say: Well, we are done with that one. It was just the most ugly act.

I remember being in a home for girls who had been trafficked and returned to Nepal. There were 50 girls, 16 to 18 years of age. Many of them had been trafficked when they were 12 to 14 years of age. And a lady was helping run this home. This was a recovery house for girls after they would come back from the brothels. This woman was trying to teach them a trade, trying to get them back into the community in Nepal. She would point around the room and say: That girl has tuberculosis and AIDS and she is dying. This girl is dying. That girl has this disease; I don't know if she is going to make it. These were girls who were 16 years of age who should have been in the very flower of their lives, and they were all dying.

They saw it. They were willing to fight for these other people. And we were able to get through legislation on sex trafficking.

PAUL joked with me afterward. He is a more liberal Member and I am a more conservative Member. After that legislative session, he commented that he moved from being the most liberal Member to the second most liberal Member of the Senate, and he blamed it on working with me. I said, "Well, just hang around with me, PAUL, and we will get you reelected."

He had that kind of humor. He was a friend. He was a friend who was not scared of ideology splitting people apart. He had his beliefs; I had mine. We all do. But he did not let that separate him. He did not judge a person's soul by their ideology. He judged people by their character and their heart, where they would be willing to stand.

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I would often see him come over to greet and talk with Jesse Helms. He and Jesse disagreed on a number of issues, but they both had passion, soul, and heart. That is what they respected and loved about each other, and that is what I continue to see and love about PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE, that passion, heart, and soul that would carry them forward.

I do not know that there is a better quote one could put forward than from Dr. Martin Luther King. He once noted that the ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.

If we measure PAUL and Sheila by that measurement, they stand as very tall trees. PAUL knew controversy. He knew difficulty. He knew challenge. It rallied him. It made him taller. It made him stronger. It was not comfort that he sought. It was not comfort that he wanted to have. I have often thought that in this life it is challenges that build us, it is not comfort that builds us; that God has created us to meet challenges, not to sit back and to eat bon-bons or to let things go by in a measurable way, but He puts challenges in front of us. The more we are willing to accept, the more He is willing to give, and the more He is willing to test us.

PAUL and Sheila accepted challenge after challenge, controversy after controversy, always with a pure heart, wanting to do the right thing to help people, regardless of what it might mean to themselves. They were there to do it and they wanted to do it. They relished doing it and they grew in doing it. He was a spirited fighter.

I remember reading about—certainly I was not in this body then—when Hubert Humphrey served in this body and was dying of cancer and they had a tribute to him in *Time* magazine. I remember so vividly reading about it. The title of it was “Happy Warrior,” because he was a warrior and he was happy about it, that his course, his challenge, in life was to be a warrior. He relished in the opportunity to be a warrior.

I did not know him personally, but he could not imagine, as I understand his personality, that there would be any calling any better than to be a warrior.

PAUL followed in those footsteps in a great and magnificent way. He was a happy warrior, happily fighting for his cause, happily pressing forward, knowing that people disagreed with him. I disagreed with him often, but I could

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never disagree with that passion. Nor could I ever disagree with that heart. We developed a really good friendship.

He is a man I was very fond of and I am fond of even now. As I say, it is hard to think of him being gone. I suppose that is because he and Sheila really probably still are here.

My prayers have been with them, with the other people who went down in that plane. So tragically their lives were ended early. None of us will know why on this side of eternity, but we can always learn and grow from him. We are caused to grow in our life by each person with whom we come in contact. I was caused to grow in a very profound and very personal way by my contact with PAUL and Sheila. I am indebted to them. I pay tribute to them and what they have done. God bless them.

Mr. SESSIONS. I would like to join my colleague, Senator Brownback, in paying tribute to the life of PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. It is also so important for us to remember the staff and others who were on that airplane. We have people in this country who serve every one of us, and their lives were given in service of their country also.

PAUL was a unique individual, no doubt about it, a man who made us smile even when we were in debate against him. He was a happy warrior. I think that is a good description of him.

All of this points out, as the Scripture says, that life is but a vapor. We are only here a short time. We might as well pour ourselves into it and fight for what we believe. Else, what is life all about?

He did that. He poured himself into his job, poured himself into his view of the world and life in general and fought for that. His political agenda was an expanded government. He wanted to help people in need. He was passionate about that. He wanted to help people. To a large degree, I suppose the disagreement I had with him was that he believed that government was the way to make that happen, but the goal was good. I know PAUL liked me, and I loved him. He was an individual who was very special.

I feel real sad about this entire event, as do all of us in this Senate. I remember his vote against the Iraq resolution, which was something I felt very strongly in favor of. He was the only Member of this body who was up for reelection who had to answer to the voters on that issue. He did not see it the way I saw it, and he did not tack to the wind. He voted against that resolution and went back home and answered to the people of Minnesota. He told them why he did it, and

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either they agreed with him or they forgave him. He was able to cast what many thought was an unpopular vote and not suffer the apparent political consequences.

I believe PAUL was a special person. He set a good example for all of us to realize that life is short. We are only given this opportunity to serve in the greatest deliberative body of the greatest country in the history of the world for what we have to assume is a very short time. We might think constantly that therefore we should use this office for the people's good, and if we do that, we will have honored his name, honored the commitment he made to public service, and honored the people of the United States.

I will miss PAUL. He was a man of great strength and character. This body will be poorer for his absence. Our thoughts and prayers go out to his family and friends.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. President, I take a moment to pay my personal tribute to PAUL WELLSTONE. PAUL was a dear friend and someone for whom I had a great deal of respect, someone with whom I enjoyed working. We served on the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee together. We served on the Workforce Protections Subcommittee together. We had many opportunities to deal on differing positions, obviously, on that committee, but always with great congeniality and with a great deal of affection for one another.

He and I were both in very heated reelection campaigns, very tight reelection campaigns, and oftentimes discussed before the adjournment our mutual desire to be able to campaign in our States.

I share the grief of my colleagues in the loss we have all experienced, the State of Minnesota has experienced, along with his family and what they are enduring. We also look back with a great deal of joy at the life he lived and the contribution he made not only to his State, to his country, but to each one of our lives.

I recall so often PAUL standing at his desk. He took the desk of one of my predecessors in the Senate, Dale Bumpers from Arkansas. He was a good successor for that position. Where Senator Bumpers would often walk up and down that aisle with great passion, so, too, PAUL WELLSTONE would use the entire length as he wandered that aisle and as he spoke with such passion and such conviction.

I remember often his referring to himself, as he would speak, "as a Senator from the State of Minnesota." He would use that expression. I don't know if that is as commonly used

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as he used it—“as the Senator from the State of Minnesota”—and he stated his position and conviction. I thought that phrase, “a Senator from the State of Minnesota,” summed up an awful lot of PAUL WELLSTONE. He was proud of the State of Minnesota, representing the State of Minnesota and the people of Minnesota. He was proud also of this institution, being a Senator. He never lost the love and the awe for serving in this great institution. In my mind, I will always be able to hear echoing PAUL WELLSTONE as he spoke on issue after issue as a Senator from the State of Minnesota.

The area in which we found mutual interest and, though from very opposite ends of the political spectrum, similar feelings was the area of human rights, especially on the cause of China and the people of China, telling the world about the human rights abuses that continue even to this day in China. PAUL and I held many press conferences with Members, colleagues from the House, who shared concerns about China. He and I made many floor speeches about the remembrance of the Tiananmen Square massacre and some of the tragedies in the past.

I speak today with great affection, great admiration, and a great sense of loss about PAUL WELLSTONE. He was a person who had great convictions. He was a man of great conscience. He was a man who did not mind if he upset the political order. He did not care that it might disrupt someone’s schedule if he needed to make a speech on a position about which he felt very deeply. As one who admired him for his conscience and his passion, I simply pause today to express my appreciation and admiration for the contribution he has made to all of us.

Mr. NELSON of Nebraska. Mr. President, I would like to add my voice to the many already heard today in remembrance of a passionate, intelligent, spirited man, PAUL WELLSTONE.

Senator WELLSTONE was an original in a crowd abounding with characters. PAUL first gained notoriety for earning this office logging miles on a green schoolbus, traveling across the State of Minnesota touching the lives of everyone he came across. Once in Washington, PAUL made his mark quickly on each Senator, aide, reporter, and officer who has been lucky enough to serve in this institution with him.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a man of principle who provided thoughtful analysis of every issue, but unlike some passionate statesmen, for PAUL it was never personal. He respected

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differences in opinion though he was unwavering in his own beliefs. And although I only served with him for 2 years, I saw many times his warmth toward those around him regardless of political ideology.

A few weeks ago we were on the floor giving tribute to another of our Members, Senator Jesse Helms, who will be retiring this year. Senator WELLSTONE eloquently praised Senator Helms, who has been so often on the other side of the ideological divide. At the conclusion of his remarks, he embraced Senator Helms.

PAUL was a man of ideas, but also a man of the people. He will be sorely missed and our thoughts and prayers are with his sons, the WELLSTONE staff, and the people of Minnesota during this difficult time.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to remember a man who is deeply missed. He was a colleague, a leader and a friend: Senator PAUL WELLSTONE of Minnesota. Since joining the Senate in 1990, PAUL earned his reputation as a great leader and a man of the people. He had strong convictions and an unparalleled passion for supporting the underrepresented.

As a member of the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee, Senator WELLSTONE was a tireless advocate for the concerns of working Americans. He pushed for expanded school funding and for improved teacher quality. He championed expanded financial aid to make sure that money was not an insurmountable hurdle for those who wanted to go to college. He fought for a higher minimum wage and better working conditions. He wanted to help the average American by working to provide better, more affordable, more available health care. It was visible to all who watched him that PAUL truly loved his work, and the people for whom he did that work.

PAUL was a strong voice in the Senate and across the country in the battle for human rights. For example, PAUL and his wife Sheila crossed the country fighting against domestic abuse. But his concern for the dignity of human beings did not stop at our country's borders. He championed a trade policy that would protect foreign workers from being exploited by multinational corporations. He was a vigorous supporter for peace in the Middle East and an advocate of foreign aid to help vulnerable children and the persecuted of all races and religions around the world. There wasn't an issue that affected human beings or our quality of life that PAUL did not actively pursue; he fought for the people, stood

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up for his beliefs and let the political chips fall where they might.

Senator WELLSTONE was also a leading proponent for American veterans and their families. Year after year, in ways small and large, PAUL WELLSTONE fought to improve health care and other benefits for those who had served their country. Many veterans disagreed with his views on defense and foreign policy, but that did not matter to Senator WELLSTONE. He understood that those who had put their lives on the line for their country deserved special treatment and special respect whether they supported him or opposed him.

People didn't always agree with his position, but he was always forthright. There was never a question of motives with PAUL. Senator WELLSTONE never let policy disagreements get personal; he always had a ready wink or smile or joke to share when the debate had ended. And he had a sense of humor that was downright infectious.

I worked most closely with Senator WELLSTONE on agriculture issues. PAUL was a fighter. He worked tirelessly to improve policy for the farmers in Minnesota and other rural States. Minnesota's dairy farmers couldn't have asked for a more vigorous ambassador in the fight for a fairer dairy program; his efforts paid off in the 2002 farm bill, which made great strides in leveling the playing field for Midwestern dairy farmers. PAUL worked on conservation issues, supported farm payment programs to family farmers and worked to improve nutrition programs in the farm bill. Senator WELLSTONE also understood the value of strong communities in rural areas and tirelessly pushed for rural economic development. As with everything else he worked on, PAUL brought a unique passion and unceasing efforts to these battles.

PAUL also worked side by side with me after the Red River flooded Grand Forks and East Grand Forks in one of the worst flood disasters in our history. His advocacy was invaluable as we secured disaster aid to rebuild the communities that had been devastated by flooding and fires. When a battle was truly important and people's livelihoods were on the line, there was no one who would fight harder than PAUL WELLSTONE.

We also worked together on the issue of mental health parity. I can well remember when Senator WELLSTONE took this issue to the Senate floor during the debate on health insurance portability. The managers of the bill had crafted a

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delicately balanced bill and agreed to oppose all amendments in order to preserve their compromise. But that would not stop PAUL WELLSTONE. He offered his amendment, and gave a typically passionate, personal plea to put an end to the injustice that condemns those with mental illnesses to inferior health care coverage. I was privileged to join Senator Domenici and former Senator Alan Simpson in making the case for this amendment. And, despite the bipartisan opposition of the leadership on the bill, PAUL's passion and the personal stories shared by his allies carried the day overwhelmingly.

PAUL's enthusiasm was infectious and deeply respected by his colleagues. No loss on an amendment or other setback could keep PAUL down; he was always ready to rejoin the fight and perpetually optimistic that he would expand his coalition and find a way to win the battle the next time. It is his character and good humor that we remember, and it is his unquenchable desire to help human beings of all kinds that will prove to be the greatest loss.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, PAUL WELLSTONE was a committed and effective Senator who will be deeply missed by millions of often ignored Americans, people who relied on him not only to fight their battles, but to win important victories on their behalf.

I worked closely with Senator WELLSTONE for many years in a number of areas important to both of us.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I know that he was a tireless fighter for the men and women who had served in America's Armed Forces, especially for ill and aging veterans, those least able to fight for themselves, yet most in need of our help.

He fought for children, for their education and health care. And he worked to fashion a welfare system that encouraged work and protected children, without becoming punitive or unreasonable.

He also worked on behalf of the unskilled and unemployed, for a living minimum wage, for job training, and for education benefits to promote workers' 21st century skills. And I knew I could always count on his support for West Virginia's steelworkers and all workers threatened by unfair practices in an increasingly complex economy.

Senator WELLSTONE's many battles earned him a reputation as an ideologue and a firebrand. But I saw him reach across the aisle many times in his career. His first loyalty was to people, not to party, and his work with Senator



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Domenici on the groundbreaking Mental Health Parity Act stands as testimony to the strength of his priorities and the effectiveness of his approach. I am proud to be able to continue his work to bring equitable treatment to those who suffer from mental illness.

PAUL WELLSTONE never believed that having principles and sticking to them somehow meant you couldn't get things done in the U.S. Senate. Instead, he believed that you had to stick to your principles, or you couldn't get anything worthwhile done. It was an approach that made him unique and won him unusual respect and admiration from every Member of this body.

Senator WELLSTONE's tragic death, along with the deaths of Sheila and Marcia Wellstone, staffers Tom Lopic, Mary McEvoy, and Will McLaughlin, and pilots Richard Conry and Michael Guess, have left a void in the Senate and in our hearts.

But all of us who worked with him, or knew of the work he did, will find some cheer in the memory of Minnesota's great voice for justice and opportunity.

Many will remember him for his fiery speeches and outspoken opinions.

But atomic veterans finally receiving treatment for their service-related disabilities, and homeless veterans with a new chance to find their way off the streets; parents whose children are learning from better teachers and enjoying better access to health care; activists who found an ally in their struggle to end violence against women; workers receiving job training; and entrepreneurs, especially women, minorities, and the urban poor, profiting from a changed and expanded Federal small business loan regime—all these people will remember PAUL WELLSTONE, as I will, not just for what he said, but what he did.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 2:33 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Niland, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has agreed to the following resolution:

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H. Res. 598. Resolution stating that the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable PAUL D. WELLSTONE, a Senator from the State of Minnesota.

THURSDAY, *November 14, 2002*

PAUL AND SHEILA WELLSTONE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY  
BUILDING ACT

Mr. BARKLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. 3156, introduced earlier today by myself and Senator Dayton.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 3156) to provide a grant for the construction of a new community center in St. Paul, Minnesota, in honor of the late Senator PAUL WELLSTONE and his beloved wife, Sheila.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. Madam President, today, Senator Dayton and I are introducing legislation to pay tribute to Senator PAUL WELLSTONE and his beloved wife Sheila.

Our legislation would provide a \$10 million authorization of Federal funds for construction of the "PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building" at Neighborhood House in St. Paul, MN, where PAUL and Sheila lived.

First, let me thank the leadership on both sides of the aisle for facilitating consideration of this legislation. Senator Dayton and his staff, Senator WELLSTONE's family and staff, and especially my colleague from West Virginia, Senator Byrd, have literally moved Heaven and Earth to bring this bill to the floor.

I may be the newest Member of this Chamber, but I fully appreciate the extraordinary efforts of so many to allow Senator Dayton and I to create a living legacy in honor of PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE in such short order.

Neighborhood House was founded by the women of Mount Zion Temple in the 1880s as a settlement house, helping newly arrived Eastern European Jewish immigrants to establish a new life and thrive in their new community.

Senator WELLSTONE always had a genuine affinity for Neighborhood House, as his parents, Leon and Minnie, were Russian Jewish immigrants themselves. But his affinity

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reached far beyond this personal link. Neighborhood House truly embodies everything that PAUL WELLSTONE fought for over the course of his entire life: that all people, no matter their background or economic status or country of origin or race or creed, would have a fair shake at life, and an opportunity to belong to and enrich their communities.

Neighborhood House has been building doorways of opportunity for diverse communities for nearly 120 years. The Neighborhood House is a multicultural-multilingual agency that provides and houses an array of programs, including legal services, child care, recreation programs, senior programs and education. "Senator PAUL," as he was referred to by many at Neighborhood House, came every year to the Freedom Festival at Neighborhood House to honor the new American citizens from the Hmong, Latino, and other communities.

Indeed, the entire WELLSTONE family was very committed to Neighborhood House. Just 2 weeks before their deaths, Senator WELLSTONE sent his daughter Marcia to tour Neighborhood House and talk with staff about important issues for our community.

In addition, Sheila Wellstone's championing of women's issues is embodied in Neighborhood House programs such as Hispanic Women in Action, a cultural empowerment group that enables women to retain their culture while learning a new one, address challenging family issues, and develop into leaders not only for their families but also their community.

When Neighborhood House began to research the construction of a new facility to meet growing needs, it was Senator WELLSTONE himself who suggested that the organization seek a Federal statute to help fund the construction.

The PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building will be a 93,000 square foot state-of-the-art community gathering place on St. Paul's west side. It will house social services, community engagement, recreation, and arts programs for residents of St. Paul, as well as new Americans in the greater Twin Cities area.

The PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building will also serve as an education and learning center for communities throughout the entire State of Minnesota. Last evening, the memorial program for the service to celebrate the lives of PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE contained these words: Complete those dear, unfinished tasks of mine. And I, perchance, may therein comfort you.

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PAUL, this is our first step toward finishing your work. I also commit to working during my short tenure in this distinguished body to try to help pass your signature legislation, the Mental Health Parity Act.

Again, I thank the Senate leadership for the extraordinary accommodation to allow us to bring this bill to the floor today. It, too, is a tribute to the respect and love of PAUL WELLSTONE by his Senate colleagues.

Mr. DAYTON. Madam President, I am proud to join with my colleague, Senator Barkley, in cosponsoring the PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building Act. I pay tribute to my colleague, Senator Barkley, for taking the initiative on this matter, for your leadership. I believe it has been one week to the day since the Senator arrived in Washington, and even before he had undertaken the oath of office and assumed the official title of Senator from Minnesota, he was acting on behalf of our State.

He deserves the credit for this measure. Others are moving Heaven and Earth, as the Senator said. I believe he is too modest. He is the prime mover in this matter. I salute my colleague for his doing so under such extraordinary circumstances. I could not think of a better way for anyone to begin service in this Chamber than to honor our colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE, and his wife Sheila, who cared about these matters from their own heart.

As Senator Barkley said, with the experience that PAUL had being the son of immigrants and his undying compassion for those who came to this country under any circumstances, PAUL's concern extended beyond those who could do him some good in this society. PAUL's concern was for those he could do good in this society. He devoted countless hours, thousands and thousands of hours to people and causes where there was no benefit for him, there was no political advantage.

Most of the people coming to this center were not citizens and would not be for a number of years. PAUL did it out of his heart; Sheila did it out of her heart, out of their common compassion for their fellow citizens, with no thought of gain or benefit to themselves.

This is a fitting first tribute. I hope it will be only the first tribute. I join with Senator Barkley in asking my colleagues here and in the House to ultimately pay tribute to PAUL and Sheila, especially PAUL, since this was his matter of concern, the Mental Health Parity Act. He worked tirelessly with

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Senator Domenici to pass this in the Senate, and unfortunately it was not adopted in conference committee.

I join Senator Barkley in hoping that measure could be passed in this session. If it is not possible, I will do everything I can, working with Senator Domenici and others next year to see it does pass. This is an important statement of the Senate and the House. We need to pass it, honoring PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. It is appropriate because it symbolizes that compassion, that spirit of humanity which marked their lives.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the bill be read three times and passed and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, without intervening action or debate.

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

The bill (S. 3156) was read the third time and passed, as follows:

S. 3156

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building Act".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

(1) Senator PAUL WELLSTONE was a tireless advocate for the people of Minnesota, particularly for new immigrants and the economically disadvantaged.

(2) PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE loved St. Paul, Minnesota, and often walked the neighborhoods of St. Paul to better understand the needs of the people.

(3) Neighborhood House was founded in the late 1800s in St. Paul, Minnesota, by the women of Mount Zion Temple as a settlement house to help newly arrived Eastern European Jewish immigrants establish a new life and thrive in their new community.

(4) PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE were very committed to Neighborhood House and its mission to improve the lives of its residents.

(5) When Senator WELLSTONE became aware that the Neighborhood House Community Center was no longer adequate to meet the needs of the St. Paul community, he suggested that Neighborhood House request Federal funding to construct a new facility.

(6) As an honor to PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE, a Federal grant shall be awarded to Neighborhood House to be used for the design and construction of a new community center in St. Paul, Minnesota, to be known as "The PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building".

SEC. 3. CONSTRUCTION GRANT.

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(a) Grant Authorized.—The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall award a grant to Neighborhood House of St. Paul, Minnesota, to finance the construction of a new community center in St. Paul, Minnesota, to be known as “The PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building”.

(b) Maximum Amount.—The grant awarded under this section shall be \$10,000,000.

(c) Use of Funds.—Funds awarded under this section shall only be used for the design and construction of the PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building.

(d) Authorization of Appropriations.—There is authorized to be appropriated \$10,000,000 for fiscal year 2003, which shall remain available until expended, to carry out this Act.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I congratulate our new colleague from Minnesota, not only for the nobility of the purpose for which this legislation is dedicated, to honor the memory of our dear friends PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE, but for the fact he achieved the passage of a measure so early in his time here as a Member of the Senate. I congratulate him for his purpose and for his success.

#### IN REMEMBRANCE OF PAUL WELLSTONE

Mr. CHAFEE. Madam President, today I offer my condolences to all the friends, family members and admirers of PAUL WELLSTONE. As has been said many times, PAUL WELLSTONE was fiercely proud of the causes with which he associated himself. Certainly, to have PAUL WELLSTONE articulately and strongly arguing on one’s behalf was a great asset. His many friends are forever grateful for his wrestler’s tenacity as he advocated for those issues which he so emotionally believed.

Several years ago a candidate for Congress in Rhode Island retired from the campaign because of a shortage of funds, declaring that no longer could “Mr. Smith go to Washington.” PAUL WELLSTONE proved that yes, indeed, Mr. Smith could go to Washington. In 1990 he challenged an incumbent who possessed a huge financial advantage in what many assumed to be a quixotic and hopeless campaign. In November of that year PAUL WELLSTONE was the only challenger to beat an incumbent, providing inspiration forever to long shots.

Three cheers for the people of Minnesota who have shown a propensity for embracing people of divergent philosophies. In the last few years Minnesota has elected Rod Grams, Jesse Ventura and PAUL WELLSTONE; public servants with very different approaches to the issues of the day. I join Min-

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nesotans and Americans in mourning the death of the passionate and good-natured PAUL WELLSTONE.

MONDAY, *November 18, 2002*

IN REMEMBRANCE OF PAUL WELLSTONE

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, like all of my colleagues, I was shocked and deeply saddened by the tragic accident that claimed the life of Senator WELLSTONE, his wife Sheila, their daughter Marcia, two pilots, and three members of PAUL's staff. My heart goes out to the families and they will remain in my thoughts and prayers.

It was always a privilege working with Senator WELLSTONE. In fact, one of the last images I have of him was in the final days of the session, when I encountered him coming up the aisle in the Senate Chamber after a vote with his typical boundless energy, warm smile, and friendly greeting. He was a compassionate, honorable man—and it was obvious to all of us that, together, PAUL and Sheila made an extraordinary and loving team.

As a public servant, Senator WELLSTONE's most enduring legacy will surely be his career of conscience in elective office. With his unwavering passion and integrity, he was highly respected and will be long remembered.

With both of us hailing from northern border States, we shared the same perspective on a number of issues such as the reimportation of prescription drugs, and we worked together over the years to ensure the critical low-income energy program, LIHEAP, would be there for the people of Maine and Minnesota.

I was proud to serve with him on the Small Business Committee where I saw his diligence and tenaciousness firsthand, and to work with him on issues of importance to our veterans such as a bill establishing July 16 as a national day of remembrance for atomic veterans, as well as a measure providing for increases in veterans spending. I was also pleased to help champion his and Senator Domenici's legislation to create mental health parity—a perfect illustration of his compassion and the causes for which he felt duty-bound to fight.

Indeed, all of us and, most important, the people of Minnesota, could count on PAUL to stand up for his deeply held beliefs, speaking always from the courage of his convictions.

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He personified the notion of being able to disagree—even vehemently—without being disagreeable.

In fact, I cannot help but recall that when Senators were offering their appreciation to Senator Helms upon the occasion of his retirement, Senator WELLSTONE offered very heartfelt and touching words. He acknowledged that he and Senator Helms often differed on the issues. But PAUL respected the purity of the convictions of his colleague across the aisle—and he wished him well.

Now, it is PAUL WELLSTONE who has left our midst, and the entire Senate family shares in the sense of loss. We have a desk that was once filled with PAUL’s irrepressible spirit, and it strikes me that PAUL WELLSTONE perished in pursuit of the very ideal he held to be so noble and worthy—public service.

This institution is always at its strongest when it is populated with men and women of PAUL WELLSTONE’s authenticity. We are diminished by his passing, and he will be missed.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I would like to take this moment to note the loss of a dear colleague, a dedicated advocate for veterans. Many have eulogized Senator PAUL WELLSTONE in the past few weeks, and I do not need to tell my colleagues of his passion, his energy, and his unwavering commitment to shout on behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves. However, few have noted his work on behalf of America’s veterans, particularly those most neglected by a Nation that has not always kept its promises. Senator WELLSTONE worked on behalf of homeless veterans, veterans suffering from the mental illnesses that can be the silent legacy of the battlefield, and for those who returned from war to fight their own government’s denials about the invisible wounds caused by chemicals and radiation. PAUL WELLSTONE may have launched his political career in protest of the Vietnam war, but as a Senator, he chose to fight for those who served. It is up to all of us now to carry on his work.

TUESDAY, *November 19, 2002*

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR PAUL WELLSTONE

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I was unable to be on the floor the day that we paid tribute to our colleague, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. I would like to take just a few moments this evening.



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Like my colleagues, I was deeply saddened over the tragic death in a plane crash of our colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE, his wife Sheila, his daughter, several members of his staff, and the plane's pilots. His death is a grievous loss to those members of his family who survived, to the people of Minnesota, whom he served so faithfully and honorably, to his colleagues in the Senate, and to the Nation.

PAUL WELLSTONE lived the American dream. His parents came to this country as immigrants. He excelled in school. He earned both his B.A. and his doctorate at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He went straight from the University of North Carolina to Carleton College in Northfield, MN, as a young professor, where he taught for more than two decades. Minnesota became home to him and his family.

In 1990, the people of his State sent him to the Senate; and in 1996, they voted to send him back for another term.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a person of deeply held convictions, a dedicated fighter for working families. He fought with passion for his principles but was also deeply respectful of those who disagreed with him. He was profoundly committed to the democratic political institutions that he had studied in his youth, that he taught to so many students over the years, and that, by his own direct engagement in our Nation's politics, he brought to life.

We feel a great loss in the death of this courageous fighter for a just and decent America, and we will seek to honor his memory by carrying forward in the spirit in which he lived and gave his life.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I too rise to pay tribute to PAUL WELLSTONE and send condolences and prayers to the WELLSTONE family, to all of his hard-working and dedicated staff, and to the other families involved.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a passionate, courageous, never waver- ing fighter for his ideals. He fought vigorously for what he believed in. He fought vigorously for Minnesotans, Americans, and people around the world. And he did so side by side with his wife Sheila, an eloquent and forceful advocate for domestic abuse victims and so many others.

He was committed to economic and social justice.

He was indignant about the lives faced by the poor, the downtrodden, the battered, and all the "little guys."

He envisioned a better world for everyone, and strove every day to help secure that better world. He was tireless, but never humorless, in this struggle.

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He challenged Members of the Senate, the President, and all Americans to envision this better world and to join him in the struggle for that better world.

He fought for all of us, but most especially for our children, for battered women, for working families, for individuals with disabilities, for seniors, for family farmers, for veterans, for Native Americans, and for new immigrants.

He fought to improve education, health care, and the environment. He was a leading voice, a champion, a fighter for these and other important needs of our Nation.

As he said:

If we don't fight hard enough for the things we stand for, at some point we have to recognize that we don't really stand for them.

His view of politics was insightful and straightforward, just like the way he lived his life. He said:

Politics is what we create by what we do, what we hope for, and what we dare to imagine.

He believed with all of his heart and soul in the American promise of equal opportunity, that

Every child in America should have the same opportunity to reach his or her full potential regardless of the color of skin, gender or the income level of the child's parents.

To make that happen, we need to provide every child with the same tools for success. I can still hear him say: "We cannot realize the goal of leaving no child behind on a tin cup budget." He would make this pitch during hearing held by the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee, on which I was honored to serve with him, on the floor, education funding rallies, and anywhere and everywhere.

He believed that education funding should come before tax cuts for the wealthy. In the education reform law that he voted against because he believed that it didn't provide enough resources and that the tests it demanded would be "educationally deadening," he worked to ensure the highest quality tests possible and to recruit and retain highly qualified teachers, among other important provisions.

He was also a leader in the fight for full funding of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. He also long worked to give welfare recipients the chance to get off the rolls and into good paying jobs by allowing them access to postsecondary education.

His legislative efforts to provide mental health parity were born in large part out of his brother Stephen's struggle with

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mental illness and his family's struggle with the problems of lack of insurance coverage of mental illness treatment.

In an editorial in the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, he said:

Think of what fairness in treatment for mental illness would mean. Think of the lives saved, the suffering eased. Suicide is linked to untreated mental illness in 90 percent of cases. Americans with mental illness, who are homeless or warehoused in jails, would instead get the humane care they need. Workplace productivity would improve, with less absenteeism and a higher quality of work. Other medical costs would go down. There would be fewer broken families, broken lives and broken dreams.

PAUL WELLSTONE could not have been more right. We must pass mental health parity in his name, and we must pass it as a first order of business in the next Congress of the United States.

He also championed improved health care for children and adolescents, particularly substance abuse and mental health treatment and suicide prevention, included in the Children's Health Act of 2000. He coauthored the law that provides funding for Parkinson's disease research. He also worked for a real patients' bill of rights and a prescription drug benefit for our seniors.

With his wife Sheila, he led the fight to end domestic violence. He worked for passage of the Violence Against Women Act in both 1994 and 2000, a landmark law that provides help, protection, and improved services to victims of domestic violence.

He long worked to address the needs of children who witness domestic violence. Children who live in homes where domestic violence occurs are at a higher risk of anxiety and depression, and exhibit more aggressive, antisocial, inhibited, and fearful behaviors than other children. They also are at risk for recreating the abusive relationships they have observed, and many, as a consequence, are juvenile offenders.

His legislation on this issue is pending in the Senate version of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Reauthorization Bill.

He fought for passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act, and was working to expand it.

He was a leader in the fight to raise the minimum wage and to extend unemployment insurance.

He believed in equal pay, worker protections, and secure pensions.

He fought to ensure veterans get the benefits and support they deserve.

He worked for cleaner air and water, reduced greenhouse gas emissions, and renewable energy. He led the fight to stop

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the oil companies from drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

He once again spoke for people with no voice, by championing naturalization for Hmong citizens who aided the U.S. war efforts in Vietnam, as well as by joining me as a cosponsor of the Liberian Immigration Fairness Act.

PAUL's efforts were not limited to improving the lives of Americans. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, he championed human rights around the globe. He worked with Senator Brownback to enact legislation to address international trafficking in women and children for prostitution and forced labor.

He also coauthored the Torture Victim Protection Act to help rehabilitate tortured survivors in the United States and abroad.

And he was a leading advocate and voice for sensible multinational-international approach to foreign policy.

PAUL WELLSTONE demanded bold action to right the wrongs of this world. He fought for many valiant causes, and in doing so, he improved millions of lives. However, his fight is not finished. There is still much to be done. It is a fight we all must continue.

As PAUL WELLSTONE once said after the 1994 election:

We don't have time for despair. The fight doesn't change. It just gets harder. But it's the same fight.

In his spirit and the spirit that is the most noble part of this Nation, let us carry on this noble fight.

WEDNESDAY, *November 20, 2002*

Mr. DASCHLE. Let me mention a colleague who left us too soon—PAUL WELLSTONE. It was a joy and an honor to have him in the Senate.

PAUL said that he came here to rattle some cages—and sometimes he rattled mine. But he always told the truth. And he always remembered who he was speaking for. As I have said before, he was the soul of the Senate. He had that rarest and most difficult kind of bravery: moral courage. He always stood for what he believed in, even if it meant standing alone. And he fought in a way that ennobled his causes and inspired us all. And I will miss him dearly.

Mr. SPECTER. PAUL WELLSTONE has been the subject of tribute and a man who will be truly missed. His work on

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mental health parity with physical ailments will be PAUL WELLSTONE's real legacy. I had an opportunity to travel to Minneapolis to pay tribute to the WELLSTONES' two sons. The tragedy with PAUL and Sheila and their daughter is truly the saddest occasion of the past Congress.

Mr. HARKIN. I want to pay my respects to our departed friend, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. I did not want this session to end without saying something for the *Record* about the large gap left in the Senate by the untimely death of PAUL WELLSTONE.

PAUL was my closest friend in the Senate. But in truth, PAUL WELLSTONE was one of those rare souls who so many saw as their best friend. He had a powerful authenticity that made a miner on the Iron Range know that he was as important to PAUL as the President of the United States.

PAUL never had to proclaim his decency; it shone forth every day in great acts of political courage and small acts of human kindness. He never had to ever say he cared. It just showed in how he greeted the elevator operators and the policemen outside. Sometimes we walked over to the Hart Building and talked to workers on the grounds. Everyone was a friend of PAUL's and he always had a smile and a handshake for everyone.

We saw this in him every day, in dozens of ways, from that hand over there at his desk relentlessly chopping the air as he stood on the floor speaking for those who otherwise had no voice, to the countless people he reached out to help across his State and across the Nation.

The hard-working folks he cared about most didn't have lobbyists or influence, but they had PAUL WELLSTONE, and he truly was their best friend. Everyone called him PAUL—not just his colleagues but staff and citizens alike. He would not have it any other way. No one ever wore the title of "Senator" better—or used it less.

In the days since that terrible tragedy, we have seen an outpouring of grief and admiration every bit as authentic as PAUL himself. It is a tribute to him and to the yearning I believe in this country for a politics that can truly be the noble profession of putting principle above the latest polls. PAUL truly was the soul of the Senate. Sometimes he cast votes that even some of his friends disagreed with—on war or on welfare. But when he did, he was the mirror in which we, his colleagues, looked at ourselves and searched our own hearts to ask whether or not we were doing the right thing.

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So we say thank you to the political science professor whose measure of truth was never in political theory, but the impact that his decisions and ours had on real people.

Since he left us, PAUL's friends and admirers have focused on PAUL WELLSTONE as the lone man in the arena fighting a battle against injustice. PAUL WELLSTONE was that. But he was also a doer who left behind a real record of accomplishment in the Senate.

PAUL was one of the Senate's leading voices for education, pushing for investments in early education, for class size reduction, and for student financial aid so working and middle-class families could afford to send their kids through college. And we worked together tirelessly to increase the Federal Government's investment in special education, so students with disabilities could get the education that is their right.

PAUL WELLSTONE worked alongside Senator DeWine to pass sweeping reforms of our Nation's job training, adult education, and vocational rehabilitation programs. By streamlining often confusing and overlapping programs and paperwork, PAUL WELLSTONE's efforts are helping ensure that America's workers get the training and help they need to stay on the job or to find new employment.

As a warrior for peace, PAUL understood this Nation's duty to the men and women who bear the scars of war. PAUL authored, fought for, and helped enact legislation to improve the living conditions of hundreds of thousands of American veterans. This law ensures that homeless veterans who suffer with alcoholism and drug addiction have ready access to the treatment and care they need and deserve.

PAUL also made a courageous push for a policy whose time had passed and should be done now, and that is mental health parity. Along with Senator Domenici, PAUL authored the Mental Health Parity Act of 1996, a groundbreaking proposal ensuring health care coverage of mental illnesses be provided on par with coverage of other medical illnesses. In the final year of his life, he continued to push for the expansion of mental health coverage, again teaming with Senator Domenici to introduce the bipartisan Mental Health Equitable Treatment Act, which could expand parity for mental health insurance.

I hope that in the next Congress, the Senate and the House will enact what I hope will be deemed the PAUL WELLSTONE Mental Health Parity Act, to finally put mental health on the same plane, the same level as all other medical illnesses.

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PAUL once said, "Politics is what we create by what we do, what we hope for, and what we dare to imagine."

PAUL didn't just dare to imagine a better America—he helped to build it. Sure, he was willing to fight the lonely fight when he thought it was right and proper, but he also knew how to turn idealism and ideas, ideas into action to improve people's lives—investing in education, expanding health care, fighting killer diseases such as Parkinson's, helping homeless veterans, and veterans exposed to radiation.

Because of what he did, family farmers will have a better future. Because of what he demanded, mental illness will soon be treated equally in our health care system. Because of who he married—his wife Sheila—and because of her passionate charge, more women and children will find safe harbor from the scourge of domestic violence.

PAUL WELLSTONE left us at a time when America needs him the most. He believed, as his champion and mentor Hubert Humphrey once said, that

The moral test of government is how that government treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children, those who are in the twilight of life, the elderly, and those who are in the shadows of life, the sick, the disabled, and the needy.

Those words, as much as anything else, form the focus of my public life and, I hope, the true path of my political party. It is a course in conscience that PAUL WELLSTONE tried to set for his party and his country.

But it now falls to each of us, those in the land of the living, to continue PAUL WELLSTONE's journey for justice, to continue to speak out, to stand up and fight the good fight, and to lead our Nation with courage and conviction. The times demand it. In the coming days, may we all have the courage of our friend, PAUL WELLSTONE.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I'd like to say a special word for our dear departed colleague Senator PAUL WELLSTONE—who I want to describe in the best way I know how, as a mensch—a man, a very good man. He radiated decency and kindness and commitment to make the world a better place. That was so not just in what he said and did on camera, but in what he said and did in quiet moments, small moments, private moments.

Much has been made of the fact that PAUL was a teacher. And it is fitting. I think about all the lessons that PAUL WELLSTONE the political scientist taught to his students, and

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how every one must have come alive when he ran for office—and won—in 1990. That inspiration will last for generations.

PAUL WELLSTONE taught his students, by example, that Americans who want change can do much more than carp or complain. They can and should enter and shape the system. They can and should be a part of the government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Senator WELLSTONE uplifted the Senate and uplifted our democracy, and he did it with the clarity of his conscience and the power of his principles and passions.

It's no wonder PAUL titled his book *The Conscience of a Liberal*, after Barry Goldwater's book *The Conscience of a Conservative*. PAUL had read Senator Goldwater's book as a boy, and though he found himself at the opposite end of the political spectrum, PAUL admired Goldwater's decency, his honesty, and his conviction.

The name "Paul" comes from the Roman family name "Paulus," which meant "small" or "humble" in Latin. And PAUL was physically small. He was spiritually humble. But the scope of his ideals and of his service was monumental.

In *The Ethics of the Fathers*, a tome of Jewish law, it is written: "It is not your obligation to complete the task [of perfecting the world], but neither are you free to desist [from doing all you can]."

PAUL WELLSTONE, as a Senator, a father, a husband, and a man, lived these words and lived them well. May he rest alongside his wife and daughter in peace.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR PAUL WELLSTONE

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, as the 107th Congress nears its conclusion, I rise to join my colleagues in remembering our beloved colleague, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. Our thoughts and prayers are with the Wellstone family, PAUL's staff, and the people of Minnesota. We are all saddened by the tragic deaths of PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE, their daughter, Marcia Wellstone Markuson, and the Wellstone staffers and pilots.

America will sorely miss PAUL WELLSTONE and his passionate advocacy on behalf of those in our communities and our country who too often feel that no one in Washington hears their voice. PAUL WELLSTONE was their voice, he was their champion, driven by his unwavering conviction that government can and should be a force for good in people's lives. PAUL was a caring, persistent, and passionate advocate for veterans, children, the mentally ill, and working families.



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He was committed to ensuring that all Americans had the opportunity to make a better life for themselves and their families, and that wherever possible, government act as a positive instrument to advance opportunity and equality for all Americans in education, job training, access to health care, and the availability of quality health care. He was driven by his commitment to civil rights and equal justice. Whether speaking on the Senate floor or to a workers' rally, retracing Robert F. Kennedy's tour of America's poorest communities, or visiting veterans hospitalized in Minnesota, PAUL lived his convictions and values. Whether you agreed or disagreed with PAUL WELLSTONE on an issue, there was never any doubt about his integrity, the passion and commitment he brought to his work, and the deep pride he felt in serving the people of Minnesota in the Senate.

PAUL and I were both first elected to the Senate in November 1990. I had been appointed to the Senate a few months earlier, but we were both the new kids on the block. From the outset, with his incandescent personality, exacting integrity, commitment to the values he espoused and the ability to speak passionately and eloquently about the issues he cared so deeply about, PAUL distinguished himself as an exceptional Senator and an extraordinary human being.

Over the course of his tenure in the Senate, PAUL became a dear friend. Because of the chronic discomfort he experienced as a consequence of his lifetime love of the sport of wrestling, he was interested in my experiences with hip replacement surgery. At the start of the 107th Congress, our offices were next to one another. His boundless energy, enthusiasm, and good spirits were always welcome and brightened the day for everyone he greeted on his way to and from his office. I remember one conversation on a long bus ride back from a Democratic retreat in Pennsylvania. My eldest son, Danny, had joined Millie and me for the weekend, and he struck up a quick friendship with PAUL and Sheila. Over the course of the ride back to Washington, we discussed philosophy and politics, the upcoming midterm elections, destiny, and the power of living in consonance with your values and beliefs. I listened as PAUL and my son agreed on the importance of living life to the fullest and living every day as if it is your last. That day stays with me because that is precisely the way PAUL WELLSTONE lived his life. He celebrated life. He loved his job and his constituents. He adored Sheila and his children and grandchildren. He always made the time to greet, talk to, or offer words of encouragement to ev-

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everyone he encountered as he went about his day. To me, this is PAUL's greatest legacy, the lives he touched, the people he inspired, the spirits he lifted with his message of hope and justice.

PAUL had hoped to visit Hawaii after the November election and had spoken to my son Danny about bringing his entire family for some well-deserved rest and relaxation. PAUL and Sheila never had the opportunity to visit Hawaii with their children and grandchildren as we talked about, but they truly lived aloha. For aloha is love. And love is the spirit that brings people together in harmony. In its true sense, aloha has to be transmitted to others, especially to each other, and aloha really is in the giving, not the taking. When you give, you are sharing aloha. This is how PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE lived their lives and it is why we in the Senate family miss PAUL and Sheila terribly. I want to bid PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE a fond aloha. May God bless them and the WELLSTONE family. Na Iehowa 'oe e ho'omaika'i mai, a e malama mai—The Lord bless you and keep you.

Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. President, I appreciate this opportunity to add my voice to those who have spoken in honor of our late colleague Senator PAUL WELLSTONE.

In the 4 years we served together, PAUL and I didn't always vote the same way. But we shared the most important value of all: We wanted to do best for the people who sent us to the Senate to represent them. On a full range of issues, from education to health care to veterans affairs, PAUL fought tirelessly for what he believed was best for the people of Minnesota and the United States.

I admired PAUL's conviction and passion in presenting his viewpoints and arguing his case. I admired his honesty and conscientiousness in standing up for what he believed. Most of all, I admired the goodwill and sense of fairness that he brought to this body. I hope that even though we won't always agree in our debates here, we can always keep alive that same spirit of goodwill, fairness, and openness.

PAUL WELLSTONE wasn't from the South, but he possessed all the qualities of a Southern gentleman. He was never rude or mean-spirited toward those who disagreed with him, and he was unfailingly civil to both his allies and his adversaries. I feel fortunate to have had him as a colleague and blessed to have had him as a friend. He will be sorely missed.

I would like to pay tribute also to the two members of PAUL's family—his wife Sheila and his daughter Marcia—who perished with him on October 25. Furthermore, three

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members of PAUL's campaign staff—Will McLaughlin, Tom Lopic, and Mary McEvoy—and two pilots—Richard Conry and Michael Guess—lost their lives in that accident. My deepest sympathies and my prayers go out to their families and friends in this time of loss.

ACCURACY IN STATISTICS AND THE DEBATE OVER BIPARTISAN  
TAX RELIEF

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss the importance of accuracy in the debate over bipartisan tax relief.

I was very pleased to work with over one-fourth of the Senate Democratic Caucus in passing the largest tax cut in a generation. That legislation has been the subject of a coordinated attack by the Democratic leadership and some of its allies in the media. For almost a year and a half, I have responded to these attacks in committee, on the Senate floor, and in the media.

The basic premise of my responses has been that participants ought to be intellectually honest in the data used in the debate. Reasonable folks can differ on whether bipartisan tax relief is a good idea or not. We ought to conduct that debate in a fair and open manner.

Apparently, my responses caught the eye of a key opinion maker, Mr. Paul Krugman of the *New York Times*. Mr. Krugman is a regular columnist and focuses mainly on economic policy. Mr. Krugman took aim at me and my statements in a column, dated October 18, 2002. I ask unanimous consent that a copy of that op-ed be included in the *Record*.

Mr. Krugman defended the often-mentioned but seldom-sourced statistic on distribution of the benefits of the tax relief package. It's the statistic we hear over and over again. The statistic claims that 40 percent of the benefits of the tax relief package go to the top 1 percent of taxpayers.

Mr. Krugman claims that I did not have an alternative answer to the 40 percent statistics.

I responded in a letter to the editor, dated October 24, 2002.

My letter sources data from the unbiased, official scorekeeper of tax policy for Congress, the Joint Committee on Taxation. This data had been placed in the *Record* in the statements Mr. Krugman criticized. That data, updated for the last year the tax cut is distributed, 2006, shows that the top 1 percent of taxpayers will receive a lower share of the benefits of the tax cut, 27 percent, than their burden, 33 per-

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cent. The remaining difference of 6 percent is distributed to taxpayers with incomes below \$100,000. That's why Joint Tax concludes that the bipartisan tax relief makes the Tax Code more progressive.

By the way, this fact is not incidental. It reveals a key ingredient to our bipartisan success in 2001.

My Democratic partners in the bipartisan bill insisted that we make the Tax Code more progressive as a condition for their support. That was a condition that I shared with them. We would not have produced the bill in the Senate without their support.

Mr. Krugman struck back at me again in a column dated October 29, 2002. He claimed my letter was "misleading" because I did not include the benefits of death tax relief in the analysis. I ask unanimous consent that a copy of that op-ed be included in the *Record*.

I prepared a response to Mr. Krugman and submitted it to the *New York Times* editor. Unfortunately, the *Times* policy only permits two responses per person per year. So Mr. Krugman can attack me every week if he wants to and my responses are limited. So Mr. Krugman and the *Times* policy left me with the recourse of responding on the Senate floor. Otherwise his charge would stand unanswered. That would be wrong.

Joint Tax does not distribute the death tax benefit because the analysis requires a conceptual leap. Economists have attempted to distribute the death tax benefit.

For instance, the Clinton Treasury performed an analysis at about the same time the former President was readying a veto on a tax bill that contained death tax relief. Joint Tax attempted to distribute the same kind of analysis in the early 1990s, but abandoned it after finding problems with it.

If you only read Mr. Krugman's columns, you would think that this analysis is straightforward. It is not. Basically, to get to where Mr. Krugman and his allies want to go, you have to make a conceptual leap. You have to assume that heirs of an estate have the same income tax profile as the dead person. So you need to ignore the reality that, for instance, tax-exempt organizations can be heirs of an estate. You need to ignore the reality that, as a general matter, no two sets of heirs look the same for income tax purposes. For these reasons, an unbiased official source, like Joint Tax, does not distribute the death tax. That was the point I was not permitted to make in a response.

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For the sake of argument, however, let's give Mr. Krugman the benefit of the doubt. Let's stack the deck further in his favor by assuming that all of the death tax relief provided in 2006 inures to the benefit of the top 1 percent. Let's perform this calculation even though it is analytically unsound. If you add that revenue loss, about \$4.6 billion for 2006, into Joint Tax's distribution table, you will find that the top 1 percent receive 29 percent of the benefits of the tax relief package. This compares with the 27 percent official Joint Tax figure. Recall that the top 1 percent bear 33 percent of the income tax burden. In this case, the 4 percent difference, once again, though to a smaller degree, increases the progressivity of the Federal tax system.

Mr. Krugman also cites an alternative tax burden, total Federal taxes, as the appropriate measure. Joint Tax's distribution analysis includes the Federal tax burden and as the projection for the last year shows the total Federal tax system was made more progressive.

Mr. President, I agree with Mr. Krugman on some things. We need to change the tone in Washington. If the tone is to change, all participants, including public servants, like myself, and opinionmakers, like Mr. Krugman, must participate in the change.

Several things must happen if the tone in Washington is to change. The first thing that needs to happen is everyone must debate in an intellectually honest manner. This means when a statistic is used, the source should be referenced. Mr. Krugman's op-ed is the rare exception when the source of the 40 percent figure has been revealed. Over the last 18 months, in countless congressional debates, in press reports and other venues, the 40 percent figure has been used without attribution. At every point when I have debated the other side of this issue, I have provided the source of my statistics.

The source of the data is important because, in an honest debate, any biases should be revealed. The source of Mr. Krugman's statistic is Bob McIntyre of the Citizens for Tax Justice. I respect Mr. McIntyre as a spirited liberal advocate of his version of tax reform. Mr. McIntyre's organization has an agenda. It is a tax policy agenda that tends to be on the left side of the political spectrum. There are competing organizations on the right side of the political spectrum such as the Heritage Foundation. These organizations also produce data on tax legislation. I doubt Mr. Krugman would ever use

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alternative analyses. If he did use these analyses, I would expect him to cite the source.

There are also unbiased sources of data. An honest debate ought to bring out that data and distinguish it from data produced from biased sources. The Joint Committee on Taxation, established in 1926, is an unbiased source of data on tax policy. By definition, Congress' official tax policy scorekeeper, Joint Tax works for the House and Senate. Joint Tax works for both sides of the aisle. Senator Max Baucus, a Democrat from Montana, is the current chairman of Joint Tax. Last year, Congressman Bill Thomas, a Republican from California, was chairman.

Opponents of the bipartisan tax relief package, like Mr. Krugman, do not use this objective source of data.

If we are to change the tone in Washington, not only do we need to be honest about statistics, but we should put statistics in the proper context. Mr. Krugman uses the tax benefit figure in isolation. Mr. Krugman ignores the context of tax burden. Joint Tax's distribution analysis for 2006 shows that taxpayers who received the greatest reduction in their tax burden were those with incomes between \$10,000 and \$40,000. For instance, taxpayers with incomes between \$10,000 and \$20,000 will enjoy a reduction in their tax burden of 13.6 percent. Taxpayers with incomes over \$200,000 will see their tax burden reduced by 6.1 percent. This example, drawn from Joint Tax, not a conservative think tank, puts the benefits of the tax cut in context.

I agree with Mr. Krugman's objective. I also agree with many of his sentiments about my late friend, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. Senator WELLSTONE liked a good and vigorous debate. He did so in an intellectually honest manner. Let's change the tone in Washington. Mr. Krugman has a role as an opinionmaker who opposes last year's bipartisan tax relief package. I welcome a lively exchange with him and others of his view. All I ask is that we have that exchange in intellectually honest terms.

So I describe a real difference in the approach of Midwestern transparent Iowans and that of an ivory tower Easterner.

I ask unanimous consent to print the aforementioned materials in the *Record*.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

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*Washington, DC, October 30, 2002.*

Re “For the People,” by PAUL KRUGMAN (column, Oct. 29): I continue to call for unbiased tax data in policy debates.

TO THE EDITOR, THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
*New York, NY.*

MAYBE YOU CAN TAKE IT WITH YOU

I share many of Mr. Krugman’s sentiments about my late neighbor and friend, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. As the Senate’s only working farmer, I was a ready partner of Senator WELLSTONE in efforts to help family farmers.

Mr. Krugman described the data in my letter as “misleading.” His dispute lies not with me, but with Congress’ official, unbiased, tax policy scorekeeper, the Joint Committee on Taxation. Joint Tax says “estate and gift taxes are not included due to uncertainty concerning the incidence of those taxes.”

The uncertainty arises, in part, because estate tax relief goes to the estate’s heirs, not the dead person. For income tax purposes, generally the person earning income is alive to enjoy it. Attempts to distribute the estate tax benefit are, at best, a very rough calculation. In effect, those who take Mr. Krugman’s view, believe the dead person benefits from estate tax relief. Only those in the ivory towers of academia believe you can take tax relief to the grave.

Sincerely,

SENATOR CHUCK GRASSLEY,  
*Ranking Member, Finance Committee.*



[From the *New York Times*, October 29, 2002]

**For the People**

(By Paul Krugman)

Ghoulish but true: as Minnesota mourns the death of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, many of the state’s residents have been receiving fliers bearing a picture of a tombstone. The flier, sent out by a conservative business group, denounces the late senator’s support for maintaining the estate tax. Under the tombstone, the text reads in part: “PAUL WELLSTONE not only wants to tax you and your business to death . . . he wants to tax you in the hereafter.”

To be fair, the people who mailed out those fliers—which are carefully worded so that the cost of the mailing doesn’t officially count as a campaign contribution—didn’t know how tasteless they would now appear. Yet in a sense the mass mailing is a fitting epitaph; it reminds us what PAUL WELLSTONE stood for, and how brave he was to take that stand.

Sometimes it seems as if Americans have forgotten what courage means. Here’s a hint: talking tough doesn’t make you a hero; you have to take personal risks. And I’m not just talking about physical risks—though it’s striking how few of our biggest flag wavers have ever put themselves in harm’s way. What we should demand of our representatives in Washington is the willingness to take political risks—to make a stand on principle, even if it means taking on powerful interest groups.

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PAUL WELLSTONE took risks. He was, everyone acknowledges, a political who truly voted his convictions, who supported what he thought was right, not what he thought would help him get re-elected. He took risky stands on many issues: agree or disagree, you have to admit that his vote against authorization for an Iraq war was a singularly brave act. Yet the most consistent theme in his record was economic—his courageous support for the interests of ordinary Americans against the growing power of our emerging plutocracy.

In our money-dominated politics, that's a dangerous position to take. When Mr. WELLSTONE first ran for the Senate, his opponent outspent him 7 to 1. According to one of his advisers, the success of that ramshackle campaign, run from a rickety green schoolbus, "made politics safe for populists again."

If only. Almost every politician in modern American pretends to be a populist; indeed, it's a general rule that the more slavishly a politician supports the interests of wealthy individuals and big corporations, the folksier his manner. But being a genuine populist, someone who really tries to stand up against what Mr. WELLSTONE called "Robin Hood in reverse" policies, isn't easy: you must face the power not just of money, but of sustained and shameless hypocrisy.

And that's why those fliers are a perfect illustration of what PAUL WELLSTONE was fighting. On one side, the inclusion of estate tax repeal in last year's Federal tax cut is the most striking example to date of how our political system serves the interests of the wealthy. After all, the estate tax affects only a small minority of families; the bulk of the tax is paid by a tiny elite. In fact, estate tax repeal favors the wealthy to such an extent that defenders of last year's tax cut—like Senator Charles Grassley, who published a misleading letter in Friday's *Times*—always carefully omit it from calculations of who benefits. (The letter talked only about the income tax; had he included the effects of estate tax repeal, he would have been forced to admit that more than 40 percent of the benefits of that tax cut go to the wealthiest 1 percent of the population.) To eliminate the estate tax in the face of budget deficits means making the rich richer even as we slash essential services for the middle class and the poor.

On the other side, the estate tax debate illustrates the pervasive hypocrisy of our politics. For repeal of the "death tax" has been cast, incredibly, as a populist issue. Thanks to sustained, lavishly financed propaganda—of which that anti-WELLSTONE flier was a classic example—millions of Americans imagine, wrongly, that the estate tax mainly affects small businesses and farms, and that its repeal will help ordinary people. And who pays for the propaganda? Guess.

It's amazing what money can buy.

In an age of fake populists, PAUL WELLSTONE was the real thing. Now he's gone. Will others have the courage to carry on?



[From the *New York Times*, October 25, 2002]

#### A Tax Cut for Whom?

To the Editor: Re "Springtime for Hitler," by Paul Krugman (column, Oct. 18): I stand by my call for unbiased tax data in policy debates. Some observers claim that 40 percent of last year's tax cuts went to the top 1 percent of taxpayers. The Joint Committee on Taxation, Congress's official, unbiased source, says the top 1 percent will receive 27 percent of the income tax cuts



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in 2006, the latest projection available. Taxpayers with incomes of \$200,000 and less will receive the majority of the tax-cut benefits, with 67 percent.

The real story is that despite those cuts, the top 1 percent of taxpayers will still pay 33 percent of Federal income taxes. They will receive a lower share of the income tax cut, 27 percent, than their burden, 33 percent.

The joint committee says the taxpayers who will receive the greatest reduction in their tax burden have incomes between \$10,000 and \$40,000. Those with incomes between \$10,000 and \$20,000 will enjoy a reduction of 13.6 percent. Those with incomes of more than \$200,000 will see their burden reduced by 6.1 percent. Intellectual honesty demands putting tax data in context.

CHUCK GRASSLEY.



[From the *New York Times*, October 18, 2002]

### **Springtime for Hitler**

(By Paul Krugman)

You may recall that George W. Bush promised, among other things, to change the tone in Washington. He made good on that promise: the tone has certainly changed. As far as I know, in the past it wasn't considered appropriate for the occupant of the White House to declare that members of the opposition party weren't interested in the nation's security. And it certainly wasn't usual to compare anyone who wants to tax the rich—or even anyone who estimates the share of last year's tax cut that went to the wealthy—to Adolf Hitler.

O.K., maybe we should discount remarks by Senator Phil Gramm. When Mr. Gramm declared that a proposal to impose a one-time capital gains levy on people who renounce U.S. citizenship in order to avoid paying taxes was “right out of Nazi Germany,” even the ranking Republican on the Senate Finance committee, Charles Grassley, objected to the comparison.

But Mr. Grassley must have thought better of his objection, since just a few weeks later he decided to use the Hitler analogy himself: “I am sure voters will get their fill of statistics claiming that the Bush tax cut hands out 40 percent of its benefits to the top 1 percent of taxpayers. This is not merely misleading, it is outright false. Some folks must be under the impression that as long as something is repeated often enough, it will become true. That was how Adolf Hitler got to the top.”

For the record, Robert McIntyre of Citizens for Tax Justice—the original source of that 40 percent estimate—is no Adolf Hitler. The amazing thing is that Mr. Grassley is sometimes described as a moderate. His remarks as just one more indicator that we have entered an era of extreme partisanship—one that leaves no room for the acknowledgment of politically inconvenient facts. For the claim that Mr. Grassley describes as “outright false” is, in fact, almost certainly true; in a rational world it wouldn't even be a matter for argument.

You might imagine that Mr. Grassley has in hand an alternative answer to the question “How much of the tax cut will go to the top 1 percent?”—that the administration has, at some point, produced a number showing that the wealthy aren't getting a big share of the benefits. In fact, however, administration officials have never answered that question. When pressed, they have always insisted on answering some other question.

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But last year the Treasury Department did release a table showing, somewhat inadvertently, that more than 25 percent of the income tax cut will go to people making more than \$200,000 per year. This number doesn't include the effects of estate tax repeal; in 1999 only 2 percent of estates paid any tax, and half of that tax was paid by only 0.16 percent of estates. The number also probably doesn't take account of the alternative minimum tax, which will snatch away most of the income tax cut for upper-middle-class families, but won't affect the rich.

Put all this together and it becomes clear that, such enough, something like 40 percent of the tax cut—it could be a bit less, but probably it's considerably more—will go to 1 percent of the population. And the administration's systematic evasiveness on the question of who benefits from the tax cut amounts to a plea of *nolo contendere*. Which brings us back to the new tone in Washington.

When Ronald Reagan cut taxes on rich people, he didn't deny that that was what he was doing. You could agree or disagree with the supply-side economic theory he used to justify his actions, but he didn't pretend that he was increasing the progressivity of the tax system.

The strategy used to sell the Bush tax cut was simply to deny the facts—and to lash out at anyone who tried to point them out. And it's a strategy that, having worked there, is now being applied across the board.

Michael Kinsley recently wrote that "The Bush campaign for was against Iraq has been insulting to American citizens, not just because it has been dishonest, but because it has been unserious. A lie is insulting; an obvious lie is doubly insulting." All I can say is, now he notices? It's been like that all along on economic policy.

You see, some folks must be under the impression that as long as something is repeated often enough, it will become true. That was how George W. Bush got to the top.

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## Proceedings in the House of Representatives

MONDAY, *October 28, 2002*

### ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the House stands adjourned until 11 a.m. on Thursday, October 31, 2002, in respect of the memory of the late Honorable PAUL D. WELLSTONE of Minnesota.

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 3 minutes a.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Thursday, October 31, 2002, at 11 a.m. in memory of the late Honorable PAUL D. WELLSTONE of Minnesota.

THURSDAY, *October 31, 2002*

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Monahan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agreed to the following resolution:

#### S. RES. 354

Whereas the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE taught at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, for more than 20 years in the service of the youth of our Nation;

Whereas the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE served Minnesota in the U.S. Senate with devotion and distinction for more than a decade;

Whereas the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE worked tirelessly on behalf of America's veterans and the less fortunate, particularly children and families living in poverty and those with mental illness;

Whereas the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE never wavered from the principles that guided his life and career;

Whereas his efforts on behalf of the people of Minnesota and all Americans earned him the esteem and high regard of his colleagues; and

Whereas his tragic and untimely death has deprived his State and Nation of an outstanding lawmaker: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate expresses profound sorrow and deep regret on the deaths of the Honorable PAUL WELLSTONE, late Senator from the State

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of Minnesota, his wife Sheila, their daughter Marcia, aides Mary McEvoy, Tom Lopic, and Will McLaughlin, and pilots Richard Conry and Michael Guess.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator, and the families of all the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate adjourns today, it adjourn as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

TUESDAY, *November 12, 2002*

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR PAUL AND SHEILA WELLSTONE

Mr. RAMSTAD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Senator PAUL WELLSTONE and his wife, Sheila Wellstone. As we all know, the WELLSTONES perished in a tragic plane crash, along with their daughter Marcia, three staff members and two pilots on October 25, 2002.

It has been 18 days since that terrible day, and I am still overwhelmed by sadness at the tragic death of our dear friends whose plane went down in a northern Minnesota wetland near Eveleth.

I continue to join all Minnesotans in mourning our great loss. Minnesota has lost two compassionate and caring public servants. Both PAUL and Sheila will be sorely missed by all of us who knew and loved them.

As the WELLSTONES' son, David, said, "The words that come to mind about my dad are integrity, passion, fairness and intensity. When the going got rough, there was no one else you wanted in your corner." And about his mother, Sheila, David Wellstone said, "The words that come to mind are selfless, caring, loving, tenacious, proud and strong. She gave of herself like you would not believe."

Mr. Speaker, we all know that nobody fought harder or with greater passion for the underdog than PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. Senator WELLSTONE dedicated his life to serving others, and he was a tireless advocate for people in need. PAUL WELLSTONE was a person of absolute integrity and was often willing to "go it alone" to stand up for what he believed was right.

Sheila Wellstone was a true champion for battered women and their families, and I was privileged to work with her on many important causes like the Violence Against Women Act and securing funding for Cornerstone, an emergency shelter for women and their children who are victims of domestic violence in the Twin Cities of Minnesota.

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Senator WELLSTONE's best friend, Rick Kahn of Minnetonka, tells how PAUL used to say to him, "It is not enough to cling to principles, no matter how noble they may be, unless we are truly willing to risk everything."

While Senator WELLSTONE and I had our disagreements on many policy issues, there is no disagreeing that I lost my partner in the fight for people with chemical addiction. I will always be grateful to Senator WELLSTONE for his tireless and principled efforts to provide chemical dependency treatment for more Americans, and PAUL WELLSTONE was the Senate sponsor of our legislation to provide parity for chemical dependency treatment.

Even though we encountered strenuous resistance from special interests, Senator WELLSTONE was always truly willing to risk everything for our cause to help people with addiction. He was absolutely relentless in his efforts to push for parity, both for people with chemical addiction, and those suffering from mental illness. PAUL would call me frequently, and usually late at night, to breathlessly relay his progress in securing another cosponsor for our bill or to ask for advice; or usually to give advice. I came to absolutely cherish those late night phone calls from my friend.

As William Cope Moyers, vice president of the Hazelden Foundation in Minnesota, the world-renowned treatment center for chemically dependent people, put it, "Senator WELLSTONE was a passionate champion of what we do at Hazelden, and his loss is immeasurable."

Not only did we lose two deeply committed champions for battered women and people with addiction, and so many other Americans, I lost two of my dearest friends in that plane crash. I have been asked many times since the crash to share personal stories about the WELLSTONES. It has been absolutely heartwarming to share personal memories about PAUL and Sheila with people throughout Minnesota.

And as we all know, in this body as well as the other body, PAUL WELLSTONE took his job very seriously, but he never, ever took himself too seriously. He had a great ability to poke fun at himself and bring people together. Even when he had policy disagreements with people, he always disagreed in an agreeable way, flashing that contagious WELLSTONE smile and slapping the person on the back in a warm, loving way.

Mr. Speaker, one of my favorite recollections of PAUL was the time he was considering a campaign for President. Before he got on the airplane for our weekly commute back to

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Minnesota, I instructed all of the regular commuters to start humming "Hail to the Chief" as soon as PAUL got on the plane.

On cue, the passengers struck up a cord of "Hail to the Chief," and PAUL saw me sitting in the back and came right over to me and said "Ramstad, do not forget. I might be only 5 feet 5 and you are 6 feet 3, but don't ever forget I was a wrestler and you were only a basketball player."

That was PAUL WELLSTONE, always in good humor, always flashing that contagious smile that reflected his love for all people.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, PAUL WELLSTONE was a person of great courage. Who can forget Senator WELLSTONE painfully walking around the Capitol bent nearly double from the back injuries he had sustained as a wrestler and from his struggles with multiple sclerosis, but always the first to run back into the kitchen of the Senate Dining Room to thank the cooks and dishwashers for his meals.

Mr. Speaker, I ask all in this body to pause for a silent moment to pay our respects to PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE, their daughter Marcia, and to the others who perished in that plane crash, Tom Lopic, Mary McEvoy, Will McLaughlin, Richard Conry and Michael Guess. My heart goes out to the family members left behind and to PAUL's dedicated staff. May you rest in peace, dear friends. Amen.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 598) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 598

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable PAUL D. WELLSTONE, a Senator from the State of Minnesota.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the House adjourns today, it adjourn as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago I had returned to Minnesota from a human rights inquiry trip with the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee in El Salvador, where we inquired into abuses of human rights visited upon Salvadorans and the four American women, three church women and one lay woman.

We visited the blood-spattered streets of San Antonio Abad, the site of La Matanza, the massacre outside of San

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Salvador. We met with numerous victims of violence by the government and resolved to take action in the Congress on our return to the United States.

On my return, I was asked by the president of the student body of Carleton College in Northfield, MN, to come and address the students on the experience that I had just encountered.

It was an overwhelming response. The place for the meeting was filled to overflowing, and students wanted to gather afterward. They asked me if I would come and join them at the home of one of the professors, which I did.

Of course, at that meeting, it was very animated and intense questioning that came from the host, a young professor, who impressed me with his deep sense of caring, his feeling about this issue, his desire to do justice. I was not quite sure of his name, and I asked again: PAUL WELLSTONE.

I said, Professor, you ought to think about running for public office. He said, indeed, I am. I am considering running for State auditor. Well, that was hardly a place from which to make statewide policy, but it was something that he wanted to do to get into the public arena, and he felt there was a message that he could convey. As was later revealed, however, his dyslexia prevented him from really grasping numbers in the way that other folks do.

Nonetheless, he conducted a spirited campaign, and lost to a gentleman named Arnie Carlson, who served as auditor for several years, and then later ran for Governor and won in the same year that PAUL WELLSTONE ran for Senator and won: 1990.

In between those two dates was a very high level of spirited activism by PAUL WELLSTONE, most notable of which was leading the resistance to construction of a power line across the State of Minnesota to be built by a generation power company of the rural electrification system which had really lost touch with its member cooperatives and the people that the co-op was to serve.

PAUL WELLSTONE called them to accountability, called them and mounted a movement across the State to hold hearings, to have public sessions to explain the necessity for this power line running through the backyard of homes and through farms, and what possible adverse side effects there might be from the construction of this power line. It was characteristic of PAUL WELLSTONE's role in public service that when people got too big, when organizations got too big for their own good, he called them to account.

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In Scripture, I find the roots of PAUL WELLSTONE's drive for public service. In Isaiah 11:4, under the rubric "the Rule of Immanuel," it is written "But he shall judge the poor with justice"; and again, in 12:1, "Woe to those who enact unjust statutes and who write oppressive decrees depriving the needy of judgment and robbing my people's poor of their rights."

Nothing disturbed, distressed, angered PAUL WELLSTONE more or motivated him more to action than unjust statutes, oppressive decrees depriving the needy of their day in court, so to speak, or robbing the poor of their rights.

Whether we read into those verses of Scripture the Legal Services Act, redlining in urban housing, the need for surveying the homeless, providing adequate housing for poor and middle-income Americans, or food stamps or Meals on Wheels, we read the keystone of PAUL WELLSTONE's career of public service: A burning mission, anchored in Scripture, expressed in public acts to improve the lives of the least among us; to be a stirring voice for those who either have none, or who have lost their voice.

At the memorial service honoring Senator WELLSTONE in Virginia, MN, in my district a young campaign worker, Ida Rukavine, spoke of the inspiration that young people felt about PAUL WELLSTONE, saying that her classmates, her contemporaries, were looking for someone to be a role model.

At a time when, as Ida implied, young people are indeed looking for role models, I would pin this image on our hearts: PAUL and his wife, Sheila, walking wherever they went hand in hand in all that they did, wherever they traveled. We should take their hands symbolically and take each other's hands and feel the strength of the spirit of PAUL WELLSTONE that still moves among us.

There were two votes that I would characterize as book-ends for PAUL WELLSTONE's career of public service, both of which I discussed with him at some length. The first was early in 1991, when we were voting in the Congress on whether to approve military action against Iraq, and the last was the most recent vote in the Congress, again to approve of a resolution giving authority to the President to use force at a time of his choosing of his determination against Iraq.

PAUL's no vote was recognized as a vote of courage, a vote of principle, a vote that marked his character in public service and all that he stood for. It was my vote, but it was his vote of deep conviction unashamedly expressed, unabashedly carried out; a role model for young people. Whether one



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agreed with the vote or not, one had to agree that this was indeed a man of great strength, personal character, and of deep conviction.

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution and in memory of our colleague, PAUL WELLSTONE. The gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Oberstar) and I had the unique opportunity of serving with PAUL for 12 years. But when I think of PAUL, I think of him primarily not in his role as a member of the U.S. Senate but as a person, a person who, when we saw PAUL, we expected to see Sheila. They were exceptionally close, and they were exceptionally close to their family; to Marcia, who unfortunately was on the plane with them; and to their sons, David and Mark, and to their grandchildren. They were an incredibly close family. PAUL was so proud of his kids and his grandkids, and wanted to spend as much time as he could with them.

I also think of PAUL as someone who really connected with people for really two reasons. One, he liked people. He met them with a flourish and enthusiasm. Two, he really had empathy for problems that impacted people.

All he said and did in politics was not about theory, but about how what we do here impacts people in their daily lives. PAUL, the elected official, was a person who always saw himself as primarily representing the underdog, the underrepresented in society, and he did that with compassion and intelligence and enthusiasm and incredibly hard work. So Americans, those that struggle day to day in life, lost a true friend, a true advocate.

We remember his boys and his grandchildren today, they carry on a remarkable family, and we offer them our sympathy and our thoughts in the days and weeks and months ahead, but our State and our country suffered a real loss in that plane accident.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution and in gratitude to my colleague for offering it.

I have a big hole in my heart, and I think it is reflective of the hole that is left now in the political landscape, a space that was occupied uniquely by PAUL WELLSTONE. I feel great sorrow and great gratitude; sorrow for the loss of a close friend and colleague, and gratitude for having had the opportunity to know and work with PAUL WELLSTONE and his wife, his lifelong partner, Sheila Wellstone.

PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE touched many, many lives; literally tens of thousands of Americans considered them-

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selves to be their close friends and partners in the effort to make America better. My husband and I enjoyed spending time with PAUL, listening to his stories and jokes and planning strategy and organizing. PAUL and Sheila were always open and friendly, and always eager to act on their beliefs.

In Chicago this weekend, we will hold a memorial service to honor their lives. Similar memorial services are being held in towns and cities across this country. PAUL WELLSTONE was the people's Senator, not just Minnesota's Senator, the one you could always count on to push for economic and social justice.

PAUL used to talk frequently about the concerns raised by people eating in the cafes and diners in Minnesota. He brought those concerns to the floor of the Senate, speaking for his constituents and for families everywhere. He knew what it was like to deal with mental illness and discrimination in the health care system. He made it his job to end inequality in care and pass comprehensive mental health parity. He knew what it was like to lack health care coverage and to be unable to afford medical treatment for a child or grandparent, and so he made it his job to win universal access to affordable and quality health care.

He listened to family farmers struggling to survive in the shadow of agribusiness, and he made it his job to speak for those farmers. He heard about discrimination and lack of opportunity, and he made it a priority to break down barriers to give every person the right to be productive and secure and to protect the rights of working men and women.

He listened to Sheila about the horrors of domestic violence, and together they worked to reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act and to stop the abuse that threatens women and children.

As a teacher, PAUL focused on the power of education to improve our lives. He fought for better teachers and better schools from early childhood development through the university level. He embraced these weighty issues with joy and exuberance. He was called the happy warrior. He was never apologetic or defensive, always bold and clear and, to many of us, thrilling.

Above all, PAUL was proud to be an organizer. He believed with every fiber of his being in the power of people to make change and to win social and economic justice. He taught us to strive for the very best in ourselves and in our communities. He inspired us to do more than we thought was possible because his vision of what was achievable was so pow-

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erful. He showed us that we can listen to our consciences, do what is right and take courageous stands on issues from welfare to Iraq and still win elections.

The people of Minnesota respected him and loved him and mourn him because he lived and voted his values. PAUL WELLSTONE changed lives. He changed thousands of lives, young people and old people alike. He empowered people. He was a friend, and I want to end with PAUL WELLSTONE as a friend.

I have two friends in my district who loved PAUL with all their hearts; Harvey and Norma Mader were good friends of PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE. For a long time before PAUL was elected to Congress, Harvey and Norma Mader were their friends. They live in my district, but they were prepared to go to Minnesota for the election as senior citizen advocates. Their lives very much revolve around progressive politics, and PAUL WELLSTONE was their hero and friend.

And PAUL would call them up on the telephone and say, How is Norma, how is she feeling? How are things going, Harvey? It was common for PAUL on a regular basis just to check in with his friends. And when I was at that memorial service in Minnesota, I talked to a number of people who said PAUL called me last week. He heard that my son was sick or he heard that I was having a test at the hospital, and he just called to see how I was.

I realize that so many of us who get so busy with our work here and the weightiness of our work here sometimes sacrifice ordinary friendships, but PAUL WELLSTONE managed to do it all. He managed to maintain those friendships all over the country. That is what I heard. It meant so much to Harvey and Norma Mader. It meant so much to all of the people that he cared so much about. I think that says something special about the kind of person he was.

Although PAUL and Sheila are no longer here physically, the partnership that we have with them will continue. Through our commitment to their vision of America, PAUL and Sheila will always have an enormous impact on our Nation and on our future.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and for coming forward to offer this resolution. I recognize that a number of Members are not here today because we do not have votes, but I am very pleased that the gentleman was able to get the time so some of us who felt so deeply about losing PAUL WELLSTONE would have an opportunity to express those views publicly.

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On the floor from time to time we are admonished not to refer to the other body. Well, this afternoon we are referring to an unforgettable Member of the other body. He was not a Member of this body, but PAUL WELLSTONE's presence was felt even in this body. In fact, this is the kind of man whose presence could not help but be felt.

The loss of PAUL, Sheila, his wife, and his daughter Marcia is deeply felt here. In no small part, these three were doing public business. They were all trying to get PAUL back to the Senate so he could engage in the business of the public.

Why is PAUL WELLSTONE so admired by Republicans and Democrats alike in the Senate? We have heard about Republicans who cried when they heard that PAUL had been killed. In no small part I think it is because PAUL believed in something, and he believed in being more than a Senator. Beyond that, if I try to focus on what made him so beloved to so many, particularly to those who worked with him, I come time and again to the fact that he took risks for what he believed in.

Members of the House and the Senate always admire that. Regardless of where we stand on the issues, the notion that somebody is willing to step forward and take political risks is something to be admired; and, of course, PAUL WELLSTONE was willing even to risk his political life.

That is another way of saying that PAUL WELLSTONE came to the Senate in order to stand for principle. The gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Oberstar) spoke of character. That is what character is all about. When the rubber meets the road and a Member needs to decide whether to take a risk on an issue, I think first of the principle that I stood for. That is not what the political business is all about. Sure, those of us from safe districts get to do that all the time. I hope we are not patting ourselves on the back. We are doing it for principle, but many are doing it also because the people who live in our district want us to do it. PAUL WELLSTONE had to think about whether what he was doing was what his constituents wanted him to do, and whether it was the right thing to do according to his own sense of principle.

So standing for principle in a real sense was a kind of trademark of PAUL WELLSTONE and indicative of his character. I do not mean to say if a Member does not always stand for principle they do not have any character. But politicians particularly admire Members who are willing to take risks, ignoring the political consequences.

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Now, let us not forget that PAUL WELLSTONE was a most unlikely candidate. It was unlikely that he would get to the Senate at all. Let us be clear; he was a Ph.D. college professor; and, indeed, a tenured college professor. I can tell Members this is not a place where one expects academics to come. I am myself an academic who never expected and never intended to come to the House. I am a tenured academic who still teaches at Georgetown Law Center. And I can tell Members, those of us who spend our lives trying to get tenure do not think of another career. It is harder to get tenure than it is to get elected. Tenured professors do not go around trying to get another job.

One needs to think what in the world got into PAUL WELLSTONE, tenure at a very good liberal arts college. Again, I go back to principle. At the bottom he was an organizer, and he had done all he could do organizing, and so he thought I guess I will go to the Senate and see if I can organize there. I am sure that is the way he thought.

If he was an unlikely candidate when he got here, he took on unlikely issues. He stuck with health care when everybody else backed off because the Democrats tried very hard in the early 1990s and got pressed back.

And again I can go down a lexicon of issues. Here is another unlikely one, mental health coverage as a part of ordinary health coverage, and he got that very far along.

Those issues speak to two abilities: One is the ability as an organizer. He never lost that passion, never lost that understanding that is the way to operate. Senator Lieberman tells a funny story that one day PAUL was discussing an amendment on the floor. PAUL walks into the Senate, PAUL is pressing his amendment. He does not even think he has Members on his side, much less Republicans, so he held up a piece a paper for Senator Lieberman to see that said "DLC votes yes," meaning Democratic Leadership Conference votes yes because Senator Lieberman was in a conference that was in another spectrum of the Democratic Party. Senator Lieberman just laughed. PAUL was so funny and laughed all the time.

PAUL was so collegial. Even those who could not possibly vote the way PAUL voted had to love him. I think of our former colleague Sam Brownback, who made common cause with PAUL on a bill to prevent international sex trafficking of women and girls. Together, this conservative Republican and this liberal Democrat pressed that bill through the floor. If you look at PAUL's record, this one-man progressive force

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was always looking for allies, especially people who were more conservative than he. He was not content to stand on principle alone. He wanted to stand on principle and then get it enacted into law and so he reached out to see how he could do that.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I will tell the quintessential PAUL story about a principle. At the height of the wonderful economy of the late 1990s, when everybody was doing well, I mean, I was going around bragging that more African-Americans own homes, highest median income in history, more rising out of poverty, at the height of this economy, PAUL called me up and said he wanted me to cosponsor a bill, then he wanted to go to a church here in the District to have a press conference about it. The bill was called the Strategic Transitional Employment Program. We should understand that unemployment was down to something like 3 percent, way down from where I regret to say it is now. This bill was about the millions who had been left behind. PAUL was tired of hearing how all of us were doing so well, even the poor. PAUL knew that there was a horrific gap between the larger number of people who were doing better and the millions who were not benefiting from that wonderful economy.

I do not think PAUL particularly believed this bill had a ghost of a chance, but he did believe that if you were one of those millions still unemployed, still living in a community that did not have investment, still living in rural or urban America where jobs were not being made out of the dot-coms and all of the wonderful work that the economy was doing, if you were in a manufacturing job still waiting to be called back, PAUL knew that nobody was talking to you and had acted as if you had floated off the planet. PAUL did not believe you should stand up for those who did not have only when the economy was the way it is now, down and not doing well at all. PAUL believed you should stand up when you had not brought the great American dream to all, especially when there were millions upon millions upon millions who thought nobody even spoke to their issues or spoke to them any longer because so many people were doing so well. That to me is the quintessential PAUL.

Mr. Speaker, Senators, not to mention House Members, come and go, but some rise to a special level. That is the level of being simply irreplaceable. That is the level to which PAUL WELLSTONE has risen to Members across the line in

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both parties. I again thank the gentleman for not only yielding to me but for bringing PAUL WELLSTONE to this body.

Mr. OBERSTAR. I thank the gentlewoman for those wonderful remarks.

Ms. McCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was Veterans Day, November 11. As I woke up in the morning, I thought, well, I am getting on a plane today and I am going to be heading off to Washington, a different type of Veterans Day than I was used to spending. See, I used to spend Veterans Day at veterans hospitals and cemeteries remembering those who had given their lives, remembering those who came home injured, whether it be physically or emotionally. I remembered those days because I spent them with Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. PAUL and I would often be at veterans hospitals, cameras long gone, with veterans from all over the United States, and we would sit and we would talk and we would have very personal conversations with some veterans who had not heard from family members in a long time and who were alone. PAUL would be on a plane as he was the last time I flew out to Washington and he would be with Sheila. His back would bother him or his legs would be bothering him and he could not sit still for very long, so especially after they changed the flight time where we have to spend the last 30 minutes sitting on the plane, not moving as we approached Washington National since September 11, PAUL would be on the plane walking up and down the aisles, talking to elderly people, talking to children, it did not make any difference whether or not they lived in Minnesota, asking them what was going on in their lives, what they were studying, how they were doing in school. Sheila would be sitting there reading, working on something to help Minnesota, to help our country, to help our Nation, women of domestic violence, children of domestic violence.

We have heard testimony from Members here of what a great legislator PAUL was, and he was truly a magnificent Senator. But he was all those things because he was a good teacher. He was a good father. He was a good friend. Sheila and PAUL never forgot family and their family went beyond their children. Their family campaigned together. Marcia, who was a teacher, was on the plane. Over the last couple of weeks, I have met students of Marcia's. PAUL was a good father, he was a good teacher, and he passed that on to his children.

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Mary McEvoy was also on the plane. Mary was a dear friend. Mary believed in the issues that PAUL worked on, helping children succeed, helping children to be literate. Mary and PAUL and Sheila together would work on those issues and make them a reality in the everyday lives of everyday children. But we all know and I know better than ever having served in this body of Congress that our staff is important. Just as we are judged by the friends we keep, I think legislatively we can be judged by the staff we work with. To the chief of staff, Colin McGinnis and the Washington staff, to State director Connie Lewis, to all the staff in Senator WELLSTONE's office, he was so very proud of you and you in the work that you did made us proud of PAUL. To Mark and David, our loss is different from yours. Yours is beyond my imagination right now having lost so many family members. You shared your grief with our State and with our Nation.

November 11 will never be the same. I will never drive by a veterans cemetery or go by a veterans hospital without thinking of all the work that PAUL did for the veterans in this country. I will never go in another grade school and not think of all the work that he did for children and education with those around him. I will carry on a women's domestic abuse roundtable that we are having with people in the Fourth District and Fifth District, St. Paul and Minneapolis, without Sheila's presence. There will be students in White Bear Lake who will always remember Marcia. And Mary is so deep in the hearts of many of us. But, Tom and Will, you also made an impact by allowing PAUL to do the work that he did and we are blessed for having you all in our lives.

Minnesota will never be the same. Minnesota will always remember what happened on the tragic Friday of October 25, where they were, what they were doing, when we all stopped and paused and remembered our blessings in having had such a special Senator.

PAUL, I will miss you in Washington and I will miss you at home.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time and extend to him and the entire Minnesota delegation the deepest sympathy of my family and my constituents.

I have known PAUL and Sheila for a very long time, long before either of us were in Congress, he in the Senate, going back to our days in the Democratic Party in the early 1980s. I have known of his passion for the issues and for working



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families in our country and his interest in making a difference for them in our country.

I rise today to honor Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, Sheila Wellstone, the sadness of their losing their daughter at the same time and to offer my sympathy to the families of those who were lost in that terrible tragedy. To the families of staffers Will McLaughlin, Tom Lopic and Mary McEvoy, Mary was a person of so many credentials and all of them much heralded in these sad days, and of the Captains Richard Conry and Michael Guess, I pray that you can take some comfort in the fact that your loved ones lost their lives in service to our country. To take part in the political process, the process of educating voters about their choices, is indeed a great service to democracy.

To David and Mark Wellstone, thank you for sharing your wonderful family with all of us and with the American people. In this era of polls and pundits, PAUL WELLSTONE was that increasingly rare breed, a politician with the courage of his convictions. We see a lot of that here in Congress, but the public is not aware of that. He fought for what he believed in. He voted for what he thought was right regardless of whether it was popular. He stood for something, and he stood his ground. In doing so, he gave voice to the many millions of Americans who cannot afford to make campaign donations and who are struggling just to pay their rent and feed their families.

When PAUL WELLSTONE took the floor of the U.S. Senate, you knew you were going to hear something quite different from what had come before and what was likely to follow. You would hear passion and compassion and sometimes anger. You would hear talk about issues that do not get a great deal of attention these days, social justice, poverty and the responsibility of government to improve the lives of citizens. This was a responsibility that PAUL WELLSTONE lived and breathed, to the good of millions of America's children and families.

PAUL and Sheila left us not only a memory but a legacy. His legacy of good works will live throughout the country. Sheila's work in terms of domestic violence and so many other issues are being made known to the American people now more generally, but anyone who knew them knew of her commitment and the difference she made in that area. Losing Marcia is another tragedy, leaving her family behind seems to be the saddest of all, but I hope again it is a com-

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fort to those families that so many people mourn their loss and are praying for them at this time.

To us in Congress, PAUL WELLSTONE left a special legacy. We can keep his spirit alive and that legacy glowing by standing strong for what we believe in and by bringing both passion and compassion to everything we do. He did that but he brought a great intellect, a great knowledge, a plan of action. He was a great person. Sheila and PAUL were a great team.

Mr. Speaker, we have already had a service in San Francisco honoring the memory of Sheila and PAUL WELLSTONE, Marcia and the others who perished. I bring from that service, attended by hundreds of people, the sympathy and condolences of my community to the people of Minnesota. I am so sorry.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for those remarks. I again want to express my appreciation to our Democratic whip for her call immediately following the tragedy expressing her deep sympathy and condolences through me to the family and to the close friends of PAUL WELLSTONE. It is characteristic of the gentlewoman from California that she would call and express that profound feeling. I am grateful that she mentioned the memorial service. I know that the family will be most appreciative.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I want to first of all thank the gentleman from Minnesota for yielding me this time and for taking out this special order. I recall a poet once saying, "Some people see things that are and ask why." But then he said, "I dream of things that have never been and ask why not." It seems to me that such was the life, such was the career, such was the being of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, a man who had an uncanny way of penetrating.

Notice that many people say "PAUL WELLSTONE," and that is because they felt a level of intimacy with him even though they were not personal friends, even though they had not traveled with him on an airplane, even though they did not live in his neighborhood or come from his district. He had a way of connecting, and so we would think of him as PAUL WELLSTONE, Senator WELLSTONE, full of power, dynamite.

I knew that PAUL could not sit still, but I did not know it had anything to do with his legs. I thought it just had to do with the level of energy and excitement that he brought to everything that he did. I was pleased to spend time with him in many small groups of people where there were no tele-

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vision cameras or headlines—small groups of labor organizers, college students, low-income people—and he was asking the question then why not a livable wage so that low-income people can enjoy a level of the goodness and the greatness of this Nation? Why not health care for everybody no matter where they come from or where they are going? But he also believed in giving a lot, understanding that if we put something in, we get something out. Always organizing, knowing that life can be greater and better than what it is.

It seems to me that another poet summed up his life when he said that whatever one puts into it, that is what he will get out of it. He said

I bargained with life for a penny and life would pay no more; however, I begged at evening time when I counted my scanty store, but I found that life is a just employer, he gives you what you ask, but once you have set the wages, then you must bear the task. I worked for a menial's hire only to learn dismay, whatever price I had asked of life, life would have willingly paid.

PAUL WELLSTONE put a great deal into it, and he got a great deal out of it. It has been a pleasure to know you, sir. Condolences to your family and all of those who shared your dream and your vision and went with you as you left.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Minnesota (Mr. Oberstar), and I do not want to go on at great length about PAUL WELLSTONE because so much has been said already, but I believe I knew PAUL WELLSTONE longer than anyone in this Chamber, going back to, I believe, 1969, when I was in my last year at Carleton College and PAUL WELLSTONE was in his first year on the faculty there. He was even then a dynamic, passionate person who cut a bigger swath than his stature might have led one to believe.

So much has been said about how dynamic, how passionate he has been in speaking out for farmers, for workers, for people of all sorts, and what joy he brought to his campaigning, to his political activity. He has been described as a man of convictions, someone who spoke clearly and directly, someone who is never criticized for hiding his opinions, for shifting his opinions, for pulling his punches. So it might sound to some people that we are describing a cocksure, arrogant ideologue. It could not be further from the truth. In my many interactions with PAUL WELLSTONE when he was a junior faculty member, when he was an activist going from town to town around Minnesota, when he was a friend with discussions in the evening, when he was a mentor to me when I arrived on Capitol Hill a couple of terms ago, in

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every instance what characterized PAUL WELLSTONE was not cocksure opinions but questions. He was one of the best questioners I have ever known, and one left each discussion with him with a sense of having some doors opened through his questioning, some understanding gained through his questioning, and a sense of purpose gained from his questioning. What a loss.

Mr. EHLERS. I do not claim to know the late Senator WELLSTONE very well. We had very little interaction, but I had a deep interest in him because my home State was Minnesota. That was the State of my birth, and I have watched Minnesota politics with great interest over the years and I also watched Mr. WELLSTONE with great interest. And although his politics and his political views were quite different from mine, I admire several things about him.

In the go-along-to-get-along atmosphere we often encounter in politics, he stood out as someone who stood for his beliefs. He fought passionately for his beliefs, and he sought to extend those beliefs into action, and I admire that in any individual, whether in the House or the Senate or the political arena in general, to have a stance that they take, to have a passion for what they believe is right, and to fight passionately for what they believe is right I think is an admiral trait in any individual, and Mr. WELLSTONE certainly exhibited that during his brief career in the political arena.

So I just wanted to add those comments to the *Record*, and I thank the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Oberstar) for having this session so we can each express our opinions about what Mr. WELLSTONE has added to the Senate and to our Nation.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Ehlers) for those thoughtful comments. They were much appreciated, and I know that the Wellstone children will be most grateful and again for his ever academic and thoughtful presentation.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. OBERSTAR. I would conclude by observing that PAUL WELLSTONE was more than a Senator, more than an advocate for ideas, for issues, for causes. PAUL WELLSTONE was himself a movement, a movement for justice. I pray that his movement will continue in the spirit in which he lived his life of public service.

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Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened by the tragic death of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, his family members and staff, and I have prayed for the families of all the victims of this accident.

I rise today to support this resolution honoring the short but powerful life of PAUL WELLSTONE, the people's Senator. I will miss PAUL, a good friend, a good person, and an invaluable and courageous colleague.

PAUL and I joined together on many occasions to fight for legislation to help those who have so little power in our society. Most recently, we coauthored a bill to provide mental health and substance abuse treatment to juvenile offenders. PAUL understood that many young offenders suffer from problems that are treatable and that contribute to their troubles, but for which they rarely receive effective treatment. It was not a bill written for the powerful or wealthy interests. It was not a bill written because it would be popular in the press.

It was just one of the many examples of PAUL's genuine desire to help people and demonstrated his understanding of his role as a representative in government.

PAUL WELLSTONE fought for working families, for better schools, and for a cleaner environment. He was a dedicated public servant who was passionate about his work and who was proud to fight for progressive causes. His loss is a loss for all of America and for all those Americans who so desperately need champions on their side. PAUL was a man of principle, courage, and great intellect. Sadly, he will not be easily replaced in our society and we will miss him deeply.

Mr. EVANS. I rise to recognize the accomplishments of my good friend, the late Senator PAUL WELLSTONE of Minnesota. Many have come before me to praise the character and actions of this faithful public servant who left us all too early last month. Many have lauded his commitment to the underdog, to those who lacked a voice, to the "little guy." I speak of his commitment and passion for veterans.

During his 12 years on the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, PAUL was an active and committed member whose heartfelt concern about veterans issues was often unmatched. PAUL has been remembered for his courageous stands in both Bush administrations against sanctioning military action in Iraq. At one time, PAUL was criticized for making his views on this known at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington. Even though the gesture may have been misinterpreted, to me, it was symbolic of his constant

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realization that war has consequences. We must be ever-cognizant of the often painful realities of putting our sons and daughters in harm's way and resort to force only as the last recourse.

But PAUL also consistently demonstrated that he believed part of the cost of war was being ready to assist those that were willing to put themselves on the line for their country. For his advocacy he was honored by numerous veterans service organizations, including Vietnam Veterans of America, the Minnesota chapter of the Paralyzed Veterans of America, the Military Order of the Purple Heart and the Minnesota Veterans of Foreign Wars.

One of the things that drew people to PAUL was his willingness to listen. I was impressed that the Senator rarely missed an opportunity to hear directly from veterans at their annual joint legislative hearings held here in the House. He would often bring the veterans to their feet exhorting them to fight for their rights.

Last year, PAUL introduced the Senate companion to my bill, Heather French Henry Homeless Veterans Assistance Act, S. 739. This bill addressed so many of the constituencies PAUL held dear—and men and women without homes, individuals with mental illness, and veterans. I am proud to say, with PAUL's help in the Senate, we enacted Public Law 107-95.

PAUL also got things done for "atomic" veterans. During his tenure, Congress identified many new diseases which were presumed connected to veterans who were exposed to ionizing radiation.

Veterans could count on PAUL as an ally in the budget process—he consistently put forth initiatives to increase funding for veterans health care. I believe my friend PAUL would agree that we owe our veterans a great debt and he was already prepared to pay the bill.

PAUL and I also shared a chronic disability as a common foe. He dealt with his MS without complaint pushing himself to act when lesser men might have faltered. That is part of the personal courage he demonstrated on behalf of himself, his ideals, and the constituents who entrusted him with an office he used to its best advantage every day.

PAUL, you were a cherished friend to me, to veterans of this great Nation, and to every American who needed a voice, I will miss you.

Mr. REYES. Mr. Speaker, the Congress, the State of Minnesota, and the Nation tragically lost a great public servant.

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The sudden death of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, his wife Sheila, daughter Marcia, three staffers, and two pilots in an airplane crash last month, saddens us all. I extend my heartfelt sympathy and support to their family and friends as they deal with this tremendous loss.

This is also a devastating loss for our Nation. As chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, I was fortunate to work with Senator WELLSTONE on many issues, such as the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Personally, I worked closely with him on many veterans benefits issues.

PAUL had a true passion for people, civil service, and veterans that is matched by very few. PAUL's commitment to helping people, his warm sense of humor, and positive attitude made him both a great Senator and an excellent friend. His leadership and friendship will be dearly missed by me, members of the CHC and all members of the U.S. Congress. Our thoughts and prayers remain with PAUL's family and loved ones, and the family and friends of his staff and the pilots.

EXPRESSING SORROW OF THE HOUSE AT THE DEATH OF THE HONORABLE PAUL D. WELLSTONE, SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a great American and a great man—Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. The passing of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE creates a void that is impossible to fill—it is a tragedy for this Nation and a personal tragedy for me.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a tireless fighter for what he believed in. He was a man whose honor is unquestioned, whose energy was infectious, and whose dedication to his country—and those ideals upon which it was built—was obvious in everything he did. PAUL WELLSTONE's passing robs voiceless Americans—the poor and disenfranchised—of one of their greatest advocates. And it leaves those of us bent on furthering a progressive agenda without one of our greatest leaders.

Mr. Speaker, I also rise today to mourn the loss of one of the hardest-working people I have ever known. PAUL WELLSTONE earned himself a scholarship to the University of North Carolina as a student and an athlete. Four years after graduation he was awarded a Ph.D. in political science and began a 21-year teaching career in which he became increasingly involved in community organizing. In 1990, PAUL WELLSTONE—an underfunded underdog—ran a long-shot campaign for the U.S. Senate, which he won by energizing

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ordinary Minnesotans. Twelve years later, his political legacy stands as testament to him keeping his promises.

Unlike many politicians, there was no disconnecting between PAUL WELLSTONE's political ideology and the way he lived his life. PAUL was the Senator who knew the names of the elevator operators and waiters in the Senate Dining Room. He was the Senator who, according to James W. Ziglar, a Republican who was Sergeant at Arms of the Senate from 1998 to 2001, returned late one evening to his office to tell the cleaning staff how much he appreciated their work. PAUL WELLSTONE's unique authenticity, and his ability to remain true to his roots distinguished him here in Washington and, as many Minnesotans will tell you, back in his home State.

PAUL WELLSTONE was an unabashed liberal. He believed that every American should have access to affordable health care and good public schools, that our foreign policy should be based first and foremost on the sanctity of all human life—American or otherwise. And he knew that coming down on the right side of an issue—keeping in line with his morals and ethics—was always more important than voting with the majority or in a politically motivated way. PAUL WELLSTONE voted against the Persian gulf war as one of his first acts as a Senator, and just recently was the only Senator facing reelection who voted against giving President Bush authority to conduct preemptive and unauthorized military strikes on Iraq. PAUL was a man who did not compromise his ideals.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE. In an era where the difference between talk and action is often enormous, PAUL WELLSTONE was a man who lived as he spoke. I believe that America is better for it.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution honoring Senator PAUL WELLSTONE and to express my deep sadness at his unexpected death, and that of his wife Sheila, their daughter Marcia, members of his campaign staff, and the two pilots of the plane.

Senator PAUL WELLSTONE was a man of conviction and passion who worked tirelessly on behalf of America's families. He was dedicated to making the American dream a reality for all—including the most marginalized among us. Senator WELLSTONE always stood firmly by his principles, consistently representing the people of Minnesota with honor and courage.

I had the privilege of knowing Senator WELLSTONE and working with him and his wife Sheila on the issue of domes-



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tic abuse. Senator WELLSTONE was a vigorous champion for reform. He was a driving force behind enactment of the Violence Against Women Act—the most important domestic violence law in our Nation’s history. He also authored and helped pass legislation that provides services and support to children who grow up in violent homes and fought for legislation that helps health care providers do more to stop domestic violence.

During the past three Congresses, I was honored to partner with Senator WELLSTONE in introducing legislation that helps provide employment stability and security to victims of domestic violence. And most recently, to have partnered with him to secure \$5 million for the Department of Defense to fund confidential victim advocates to address the problem of domestic violence among our military personnel.

Senator WELLSTONE will be remembered as one of this Nation’s most dedicated and nationally recognized advocates on domestic abuse. All of us who partnered with him to put an end to this horrific crime know that this movement has lost an irreplaceable leader. His lifelong efforts to make our communities safer and more just will serve as a model for all of us who will continue to fight against the cycle of violence that plagues so many American families.

Mr. Speaker, Senator WELLSTONE will be sorely missed by all of us here in Congress, and fondly remembered as the Senator from Minnesota who brought a message of social justice and equality to the people of this great Nation. My sincere condolences go out to the Wellstone family, families of all those aboard the plane and to all the residents of Minnesota.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 598, I move that the House do now adjourn in memory of the late Hon. PAUL D. WELLSTONE.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o’clock and 58 minutes a.m.), pursuant to House Resolution 598, the House adjourned until today, Wednesday, November 13, 2002, at 10 a.m., in memory of the late Hon. PAUL D. WELLSTONE.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. OBERSTAR:

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H. Res. 598. A resolution expressing the condolences of the House of Representatives on the death of the Honorable PAUL D. WELLSTONE, a Senator from the State of Minnesota; considered and agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, *November 13, 2002*

EXPRESSING SORROW OF THE HOUSE AT THE DEATH OF THE HONORABLE PAUL D. WELLSTONE, SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution honoring my colleague and friend, Senator PAUL WELLSTONE of Minnesota.

Senator WELLSTONE was not only a friend of mine, but he was also a special friend of my district, the Ninth Congressional District of California. In fact, he had visited my district not long before the tragic accident. People in my community embraced PAUL for the same reasons so many across country did.

PAUL WELLSTONE was a progressive champion who truly personified the personal, populist approach to politics. He was an organizer who never lost touch with his grassroots. In fact, he proved that the support of everyday Americans, not huge sums of corporate cash, could still win elections. He proved that you don't have to compromise your beliefs to be successful. He proved that passion for beliefs earns the respect of even one's biggest opponent.

PAUL WELLSTONE showed no fear and incredible energy in his approach to fighting for our shared progressive agenda. He stood alone as the sole member of the Progressive Caucus in the Senate. He worked tirelessly for the least among us; often against incredible odds. PAUL was never afraid to speak up and to fight for his beliefs.

Despite the long odds he often faced, Senator WELLSTONE was an extremely effective and accomplished Senator. His work on mental health parity legislation is widely recognized, and I sincerely hope to have the opportunity to vote yes on the WELLSTONE mental health parity legislation in the very near future. He, along with the help of his wife Sheila, passed several pieces of legislation to prevent domestic violence and to help its victims.

He worked tirelessly to end the scourge of homelessness among our Nations' veterans and to ensure those who served this country received the health care they were promised and deserve. As a former educator, he fought for increases in

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Head Start, higher education funding, and better schools for all children in America, regardless of income. He fought for seniors and to alleviate the absurd cost of prescription medication. In short: he fought for us all.

The people of Minnesota, the U.S. Congress, the progressive movement, and all Americans were fortunate to have such a strong, effective, tireless, and accomplished leader serving us in the U.S. Senate. We will miss him dearly.

And though he is no longer with us, we will always remember and thank him for his incredible service. Now we must honor his memory by continuing our collective fight to make his vision of America a reality.

Mr. Speaker, I have attached for the *Record* a copy of remarks I made in introducing PAUL WELLSTONE at an event last year.

REPRESENTATIVE LEE'S INTRODUCTION OF SENATOR WELLSTONE (D-MN) AT  
21ST CENTURY DEMOCRATS DINNER WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28, 2001

As we come together tonight to honor some amazing populists with Democrats 2000, now known as 21st Century Democrats, I am extremely proud to introduce one of the greatest progressives in Congress—the phenomenal PAUL WELLSTONE.

As many of you know, after more than 20 years of teaching, PAUL WELLSTONE jumped into the 1990 Minnesota Senate race. He rallied a huge grassroots network of supporters, got a green bus to tour the State, and won his election. When you are trying to rally the troops in your State for an election, it's easy when you have an amazing, inspirational, progressive leader like PAUL WELLSTONE. He personifies the personal, populist approach to winning elections. He proves you need the support of everyday Americans, not huge sums of corporate cash, to get elected.

During his tenure in Congress, Senator WELLSTONE has been a real leader in progressive causes and has held true to his beliefs. He is our one and only Congressional Progressive Caucus member in the Senate. He proves that you don't have to compromise your beliefs to be successful. He proves that your passion for your issues make even your opponents respect you.

Senator WELLSTONE is one of the most effective members of the U.S. Congress, which is no easy feat these days and he champions issues few Members will dare to discuss. Senator WELLSTONE has been active and successful in dealing with many issues, but let me take a moment just to commend him on a few.

He is a tireless supporter of legislation to ensure mental health parity. He has passed several pieces of legislation with the help of his wife Sheila to prevent domestic violence and to help its victims. His work helping homeless veterans and on veterans' health care has earned him the recognition of numerous veterans' organizations. As a former educator, his devotion to education and children's issues has led him to fight for increases in Head Start, higher education funding, and better schools for all children in America, regardless of income. He has partnered with Minnesota seniors to talk about the international disparities in prescription drug pricing and to pass legislation to correct this problem.

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And these are just a tiny fraction of his successes. In short, the people of Minnesota, the U.S. Congress, the progressive movement, and all Americans are fortunate to have a strong, effective, tireless, accomplished leader serving them in PAUL WELLSTONE.

Senator WELLSTONE, welcome, and congratulations on this award you are receiving tonight.

THURSDAY, *November 14, 2002*

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, just a couple of weeks ago, an unspeakable tragedy hit not only this Congress, but it hit this Nation. That was the loss of Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, his wife and daughter, staff and others who traveled with him on that fateful day. We lost a warrior who was not afraid to speak for the voiceless and those that could not be heard.

So I stand here today unabashedly opposed to this conference report and this rule on the bankruptcy bill; and I believe Senator WELLSTONE would not mind me standing in respect and admiration for his fight, for it was his unrelenting work in the other body that caused this issue to remain in the forefront, that although the representation of this legislation is what many of us would have wanted it to be, a respect for consumer interests as well as fiscal responsibility, it is a stomping out of the rights of the poor who cannot speak.

#### FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Monahan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed a bill of the following title in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 3156. An Act to provide a grant for the construction of a new community center in St. Paul, Minnesota, in honor of the late Senator PAUL WELLSTONE and his beloved wife, Sheila.

#### DISPOSING OF VARIOUS LEGISLATIVE MEASURES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Simpson). The Chair will entertain this combined request under the Speaker's guidelines as recorded on page 712 of the House Rules and Manual with assurances that it has been cleared by the bipartisan floor and all committee leadership.

S. 3156, to provide a grant for the construction of a new community center in St. Paul, Minnesota, in honor of the late Senator PAUL WELLSTONE and his beloved wife, Sheila.

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S. 3156

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building Act”.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

(1) Senator PAUL WELLSTONE was a tireless advocate for the people of Minnesota, particularly for new immigrants and the economically disadvantaged.

(2) PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE loved St. Paul, Minnesota, and often walked the neighborhoods of St. Paul to better understand the needs of the people.

(3) Neighborhood House was founded in the late 1800s in St. Paul, Minnesota, by the women of Mount Zion Temple as a settlement house to help newly arrived Eastern European Jewish immigrants establish a new life and thrive in their new community.

(4) PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE were very committed to Neighborhood House and its mission to improve the lives of its residents.

(5) When Senator WELLSTONE became aware that the Neighborhood House Community Center was no longer adequate to meet the needs of the St. Paul community, he suggested that Neighborhood House request Federal funding to construct a new facility.

(6) As an honor to PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE, a Federal grant shall be awarded to Neighborhood House to be used for the design and construction of a new community center in St. Paul, Minnesota, to be known as “The PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building”.

SEC. 3. CONSTRUCTION GRANT.

(a) Grant Authorized.—The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall award a grant to Neighborhood House of St. Paul, Minnesota, to finance the construction of a new community center in St. Paul, Minnesota, to be known as “The PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building”.

(b) Maximum Amount.—The grant awarded under this section shall be \$10,000,000.

(c) Use of Funds.—Funds awarded under this section shall only be used for the design and construction of the PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE Center for Community Building.

(d) Authorization of Appropriations.—There is authorized to be appropriated \$10,000,000 for fiscal year 2003, which shall remain available until expended, to carry out this Act.

Ms. McCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of legislation (S. 3156) to create a living memorial for PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE in my home district of St. Paul. I am pleased that both the House and Senate were able to agree on such a fitting tribute.

Senator WELLSTONE was my colleague, but PAUL and Sheila were also my constituents and my friends. Over the years, PAUL and I have walked the streets door to door knocking and listening to the concerns of Minnesotans, working to-

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gether to address the challenges of our communities and neighborhoods. PAUL and Sheila's enthusiasm for public service and their commitment to Minnesota were unmatched.

Today I stand with the Minnesota congressional delegation to pay tribute to PAUL and Sheila with a true living memorial to their lives of serving the people of Minnesota.

This legislation will authorize the design and construction of a new community center in St. Paul at the Neighborhood House. The Neighborhood House has played a long-standing role in building community values among diverse peoples. Since the 19th century, the Neighborhood House has supported ethnic and cultural groups through times of transition or need so that they go beyond mere self-sufficiency, develop critical workforce skills, and become active members of our democratic process. From Hmong immigrants to Hispanic women facing domestic violence, the Neighborhood House provides all those who come an opportunity to improve the quality of their lives.

The new center to be named after PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE will host youth and family programs, immigrant education programs such as English classes, employment services and workforce development. It will provide a forum for new citizens to learn and integrate themselves into their new society and will strengthen Minnesota's richly diverse community.

PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE were advocates for people from all walks of life. They were open to all Minnesotans. In the Senate, PAUL spoke for those who had no voice and he worked hard to empower those who needed help the most. This new center embodies the ideals and principles that PAUL and Sheila lived every day.

I thank all my colleagues in Congress for honoring PAUL and Sheila WELLSTONE in a way that will continue their work and improve the lives of Minnesotans for years to come.

FRIDAY, *November 22, 2002*

H. RES. 598

Ms. SOLIS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart and great sadness that I rise to honor my friend Senator PAUL WELLSTONE, who died October 25 in a plane crash in Minnesota along with his wife and daughter, three of his staff members and two pilots. The mark that PAUL WELLSTONE

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left on the world was far, far greater than his small stature and down-to-earth nature would suggest. And so, the emptiness we feel at his passing is vast and deep. It stretches far beyond the personal pain of losing a friend, or the tragedy of his shattered family.

Senator WELLSTONE was a public servant in the most ideal sense of the term. Politics never became more important to him than the people he represented and the people he loved. Victory never became more important to him than voicing his true convictions. Power never became more important to him than his desire to serve the powerless.

On the campaign trail, PAUL WELLSTONE drove an old green schoolbus across the State of Minnesota. From that bus Senator WELLSTONE tirelessly assured people that he would struggle for peace and fight for veterans, that he would work to stop the tide of domestic violence and mental illness, and that he would defend our fragile environment. Most of all, that old bus brought hope and excitement to people whom for too long, and for too many reasons, felt that their government had forgotten about them. Now that he is gone, that bus must not sit and rust away. We must have the courage, the commitment, and the strength to keep that bus rolling.

I will miss PAUL WELLSTONE greatly. I know that we all will.





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## **Memorial**

Will McLaughlin  
Tom Lopic  
Mary McEvoy  
Marcia Wellstone Markuson  
Sheila Wellstone  
Senator PAUL WELLSTONE

Tuesday, October 29, 2002  
Williams Arena  
University of Minnesota

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## Program

### **Processional**

#### **The Armed Forces Color Guard**

### **Welcome**

George Latimer

### **Opening Prayer**

Rabbi Marcia Zimmerman and Minnesota clergy

### **“America the Beautiful”**

White Bear Lake High School Choir

### **Tribute Film—“Ladder to the Stars”**

#### **Will McLaughlin (1979–2002)**

David McLaughlin

#### **Tom Lopic (1952–2002)**

Brian Ahlberg

#### **Mary McEvoy (1953–2002)**

Bob Bruininks

### **“Heroes”**

Ann Reed

#### **Marcia Wellstone Markuson (1969–2002)**

Theresa Saxe

Larry DeNucci

#### **Sheila Wellstone (1944–2002)**

Connie Lewis

#### **Paul Wellstone (1944–2002)**

Rick Kahn

David and Mark Wellstone

Senator Tom Harkin

### **“Stand Up, Keep Fighting”**

JD Steele

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## “Stand Up, Keep Fighting”

For the future of our country  
Stand up, keep fighting  
For the freedom of the people  
Stand up, keep fighting  
For the workers and the farmers  
Stand up, keep fighting  
For the elders and the teachers  
Stand up, keep fighting

We do better  
When we all do better  
Working together  
You and me  
For the future  
Of our children  
Remember PAUL WELLSTONE

For the ordinary people  
Stand up, keep fighting  
For the things that we believe in  
Stand up, keep fighting  
For the love we have between us  
Stand up, keep fighting  
For the land that just keeps giving  
Stand up, keep fighting

Everybody  
Is somebody  
In this race  
We count as one  
The fire of justice  
A common journey  
Remember PAUL WELLSTONE  
Stand up, keep fighting

Remember PAUL WELLSTONE  
Stand up, keep fighting  
Remember PAUL WELLSTONE  
Stand up, keep fighting

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Everybody  
Is somebody  
In this race  
We count as one  
The fire of justice  
A common journey  
Remember PAUL WELLSTONE  
Stand up, keep fighting

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*The remarkable lives of these six individuals touched and inspired countless others. To share your personal memories, stories or condolences, go to [www.wellstone.org](http://www.wellstone.org) and click the “remembrance” link.*

“Politics is about the improvement of people’s lives.”

—Senator PAUL WELLSTONE

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**A Service of Memorial**  
**Celebrating the Lives of**  
Marcia Wellstone Markuson  
Sheila Wellstone  
Senator PAUL DAVID WELLSTONE

*In the rising of the sun and in its going down,  
We remember them.  
When we are weary and in need of strength,  
We remember them.  
When we are lost and sick at heart,  
We remember them.  
When we have joys we yearn to share,  
We remember them.  
So long as we live, they too shall live,  
for they are now a part of us, as  
We remember them.*

Wednesday, November 13, 2002  
Washington Hebrew Congregation  
3935 Macomb St., NW, Washington, DC

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## The Order of Service

### **The Israel Baptist Church Choir**

#### **Welcome and Opening Prayers**

Rabbi M. Bruce Lustig  
Rabbi David Saperstein  
The Reverend Elenora Giddings Ivory

#### **Musical Selection**

##### **Marcia Wellstone Markuson (1969–2002)**

Mark Wellstone

##### **Sheila Wellstone (1944–2002)**

Marian Wright Edelman

##### **Paul Wellstone (1944–2002)**

David Wellstone  
Colin McGinnis  
Senator Tom Daschle

#### **In Their Own Words—A Memorial Tribute**

Senator Pete Domenici  
Marianne Murphy  
Joel Schwartz  
Arthur Froe  
Kiersten Stewart  
Gene Nichol

#### **Tribute Film**

#### **Musical Selection**

“Sweet Survivor” sung by Doug Mishkin

#### **El Maleh Rachamim**

Cantor Mikhail Manevich

#### **Mourner’s Kaddish**

Rabbi M. Bruce Lustig

#### **Closing Musical Selection**

“Light One Candle” sung by Doug Mishkin

*Reception to follow in Ring Hall*

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## Mourner's Kaddish

Yit-ga-dal v'yit-ka-dash sh'mei ra-ba b'al-ma di-v'ra chi-  
r'u'tei, v'yam-lich mal-chu-tei b'cha-yei-chon  
u-v'yo-mei-chon u-v'cha-yei d'chol beit Yis-ra-el,  
ba-a-ga-la u-vi-z'man ka-riv, v'i-m'ru: A-mein.

Y'hei sh'mei ra-ba m'va-rach l'a-lam u-l'al-mei al-ma-ya.

Yit-ba-rach v'yish-ta-bach v'yit-pa-ar, v'yit-ro-mam, v'yit-na-  
sei, v'yit-ha-dar, v-yit-a-leh, v-yit-ha-lal sh'mei d'kud-sha,  
b'rich hu, l'ei-la min kol bir-cha-ta v'shi-ra-ta, tush-b'cha-ta  
v'neh-cheh-ma-ta da-a-mi-ran b'al-ma, v'i-m'ru: A-mein.

Y'hei sh'la-ma ra-ba min sh'ma-ya v'cha-yim, a-lei-nu v'al kol  
Yis-ra-el, v'i-m'ru: A-mein.

O-seh sha-lom bi-m'ro-mav, hu ya-a-seh sha-lom a-lei-nu v'al  
kol Yis-ra-el, v'i-m'ru: A-mein.

Let the glory of God be extolled, and God's great name be  
hallowed in the world whose creation God willed.  
May God rule in our own day, in our own lives, and  
in the life of all Israel, and let us say: Amen.

Let God's great name be blessed for ever and ever.

Beyond all the praises, songs, and adorations that we can  
utter is the Holy One,  
the Blessed One, whom yet we glorify,  
honor, and exalt. And let us say: Amen.

For us and for all Israel, may the blessing of peace and the  
promise of life come true, and let us say: Amen.

May the Source of peace send peace to all who mourn, and  
comfort to all who are bereaved. Amen.

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If I should die and leave you here awhile  
Be not like others soon undone,  
Who keep long vigil by the silent dusk and weep.  
For my sake, turn again to life and smile.  
Nerving thy heart and trembling hand.  
To do something to comfort weaker  
hearts than thine.  
Complete those dear, unfinished tasks of mine.  
And I perchance, may therein comfort you.



“Never separate the lives you live from the words you  
speak.”

—Senator PAUL D. WELLSTONE

Acknowledgments:

The Officers and Staff of the U.S. Senate  
Senior Rabbi M. Bruce Lustig and the staff of Washington  
Hebrew Congregation  
Tracy McDonnell, Pianist

The family and staff of Senator Wellstone thank you for the  
many expressions of sympathy and support, and are grateful  
to the many friends who have volunteered their help to make  
this memorial possible.

