

Mr. REID. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. MURRAY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### 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 pas-

sionately. 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 again. A few months ago, I held a meeting in my office to develop a legis-

lative 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.

#### NOTICE

If the 107th Congress, 2d Session, adjourns sine die on or before November 22, 2002, a final issue of the Congressional Record for the 107th Congress, 2d Session, will be published on Monday, December 16, 2002, in order to permit Members to revise and extend their remarks.

All material for insertion must be signed by the Member and delivered to the respective offices of the Official Reporters of Debates (Room HT-60 or S-123 of the Capitol), Monday through Friday, between the hours of 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. through Friday, December 13. The final issue will be dated Monday, December 16, 2002, and will be delivered on Tuesday, December 17, 2002.

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By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

MARK DAYTON, *Chairman*.

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.

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.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARPER). Without objection, it is so ordered.

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 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 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 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 afterwards. 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 that 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.

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 a very tall tree. 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 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.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

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 people of Minnesota. He told them why he did it, and 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.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

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, and Labor 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 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.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

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 school bus, 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 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 differences in opinion though he was unwavering in his own beliefs. And although I only served with him for two years, I saw many times his warmth towards 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 under-represented.

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 multi-national 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 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 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 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 United States 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 Conroy 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.

#### RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12:40 having arrived, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:40 p.m., recessed until 2:16 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. REID).

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business, not to extend beyond the hour of 2:45 p.m. today, with the time from now until 2:45 to be equally divided between the two leaders or their designees.

Mr. LEVIN. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate recess subject to the call of the Chair.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 2:19 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 2:29 p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. EDWARDS).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, is the Senate in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise to support the motion for cloture that will be voted on in about 15 minutes. This is a way to begin bringing this debate on the creation of a Department of Homeland Security to a close and to allow our Government to begin the urgent business of creating this new Department.

For those of us who have supported this idea for over a year now, this moment is long overdue.

I am troubled by the draft of the substitute bill that began circulating yesterday which, in my view, has not only a number of very good parts in it which are quite similar to those contained in

the bipartisan bill reported out of the Governmental Affairs Committee but also has a number of serious shortcomings that I hope to discuss when it comes to the floor either later today or tomorrow.

I am especially concerned that this new substitute bill creating a Department of Homeland Security also contains a number of special interest provisions that are being sprung on the Senate without prior warning or consideration. This is really not the time for that. We all ought to be focusing on the terrorist threat, the need to create a Department of Homeland Security to meet that threat, and not on using a vehicle that is probably moving to passage to put into it a host of pet personal projects. This is clearly not the time for that, and I hope the President and members of the leadership will discourage Senators and Members of the House from using this homeland security debate as a vehicle for accomplishing those more special purposes.

More than 14 months have now passed since September 11, 2001, that day when terrorists viciously exploited our vulnerability and took the lives of 3,000 of our friends, family, and fellow Americans. Fifteen months have now passed since October of 2001, when Senator SPECTER and I initially proposed legislation creating a Department of Homeland Security to meet and beat the terrorist threat. This measure was not just bipartisan. It was, in fact, intended to be nonpartisan. Our proposal had nothing to do with politics and everything to do with giving our Government the ability to protect the American people from another terrorist attack. I point this out now, not out of pride but to make clear how far we have come, in some ways in the wrong direction, and how much time we have taken before making this urgent transformation.

In the beginning, the vision of a Homeland Security Department was a recommendation and a report issued by a nonpartisan commission chaired by our former colleagues, Warren Rudman and Gary Hart. Then it was put forward in our committee bill. Then, as often happens to good ideas in a democracy, it gained support and steam in Congress.

At the outset, President Bush and most Republicans in Congress resisted our legislation. I never took that resistance to be partisan, and I do not believe it was. The President argued that the coordinating Office of Homeland Security within the White House led by Governor Ridge would be strong enough to do this massive and complex job. So for 8 months, the administration did oppose the creation of a Homeland Security Department.

In the meantime, the Governmental Affairs Committee held a total of 18 hearings, exploring every possible aspect of our homeland defense vulnerabilities and how they should be fixed. On May 22 of this year, the product of that work, a new version of the