

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The first 15 minutes of morning business is to be controlled by the minority, the second 15 minutes by the majority.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, therefore, ask that at the end of the minority's time I be recognized for 5 minutes. I ask unanimous consent to be recognized for 5 minutes of the period that the majority has.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Wisconsin.

FORMER SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today to mourn the passing and celebrate the life of William Proxmire—a great Senator, a great Wisconsinite, and a great man. It is particularly fitting that we pay tribute to Senator Proxmire during this first part of morning business—time he virtually always controlled during his over 30 years in the Senate. He was a giant in the Senate in a time when this Chamber was filled with giants. He followed his conscience, lived his principles, said what he thought, and thought more actively and deeply than most.

Senator Proxmire came to the Senate in 1957, winning a special election to fill the seat of Joseph McCarthy. Overjoyed at a Democratic pickup in a narrowly divided Senate, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson met Proxmire at the airport to shake his hand. Two years later, Senator Proxmire was on the floor of the Senate calling LBJ a “dictator” in a speech dubbed by the press as “Proxmire’s farewell address.”

But that was Prox: independent, outspoken, and not at all afraid to challenge conventions or conventional wisdom. In fact, there was very little that was conventional about William Proxmire.

He was a Democrat but not a reliable vote for the Democrats—or the Republicans, for that matter. He was fiercely protective of consumer rights, civil liberties, and oppressed minorities all over the world—a true liberal Democrat on social issues. But he also had a legendary frugal streak, perhaps a product of his Harvard business school background. He believed in the free market and business competition, and hated to see money wasted. His Golden Fleece awards and relentless scrutiny of Department of Defense procurement were renowned—and shamed the powers-that-be into saving many hundreds of millions of taxpayer dollars.

He did not accept sloppiness or waste in Government or in the conduct of his own business and personal affairs. He started each day with hundreds of push-ups and a 5-mile run. He demanded of his office the same sort of efficiencies he demanded from the rest of Government and returned one-third of his office budget to the Treasury every year.

He was as disciplined as he was determined. He still holds the record for

most consecutive rollcall votes: 10,252 between April of 1966 and October of 1988. And there are colleagues still serving today who remember his daily morning business speeches on the Senate floor.

Most of these speeches were on the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This convention languished in the Senate for over 20 years, viewed as a lost cause by its few supporters. But not William Proxmire. He gave a speech about the convention every day the Senate was in session from 1967 to 1986, when the convention was ratified by the U.S. Senate by a vote of 83 to 11—3,211 speeches in all. One former staff member remembers that Senator Proxmire was often the only Member on the floor during his speeches, so he concentrated on the Presiding Officer. So one by one, he reasoned and cajoled his captive colleagues into supporting this seminal human rights measure.

William Proxmire didn’t only fight for his principles, he lived them. He was the last of the true populist politicians, who took no campaign contributions, spent virtually nothing on his campaigns, and shook the hand of almost everyone in the State of Wisconsin—whether they supported him or not. Though he broke every rule of modern campaign strategy, he won his reelections in landslides and was beloved by the people of Wisconsin.

Senator Proxmire leaves behind his wife Ellen, five children, and nine grandchildren. He also is mourned by his Senate family, both those Senators who served with him and the members of his staff renowned for their professionalism, intelligence and loyalty. Neither Wisconsin nor the Senate will see his equal again, and both are the poorer for his passing.

Mr. President, I yield the floor to my colleague from Wisconsin, Senator FEINGOLD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I thank the senior Senator from Wisconsin, my friend.

Mr. President, anybody who grew up in Wisconsin in the second half of the 20th century regarded William Proxmire as a consummate Wisconsin political figure.

I rise, too, with great sadness to pay tribute to one of Wisconsin’s and the Nation’s great public servants. Senator Proxmire passed away early yesterday morning at the age of 90. He was, simply put, a legend in Wisconsin, a man who represented the very best of our State, and who will be remembered as one of the greatest advocates for a better government, and a healthier democracy, to ever serve in this body.

On this very floor he rallied against Government waste, and against corruption. I think the American people can be grateful to Bill Proxmire for so many things. But, perhaps most of all, we owe him a debt of gratitude for his work to change the culture in Congress when it comes to wasteful spending.

He didn’t buy into a culture that treats Government spending like a tab that someone else will pick up, that tucks pork-barrel spending into bills late at night, or lets boondoggles slip by unnoticed. He knew that sunlight was the best disinfectant, and he wasn’t afraid to tear down the drapes, throw open the windows, and let the sun shine in on the legislative process. He didn’t shy away from public outrage about what was wrong with the system—he brought that outrage to bear as he fought to change the system for the better. Anyone who comes to the floor today to try to put the brakes on a wasteful project, or to try to push for budget discipline, can thank Bill Proxmire for the example he set, and for the way he challenged the status quo.

I am not just grateful for what Bill Proxmire did for our State, and our country, but, frankly, for the many things that he taught me. He was a tireless representative for our State. Watching Proxmire, you couldn’t help but learn how important it was to listen—really listen—to the people you represent, and how much you can learn from that genuine exchange of ideas. When Bill Proxmire hit the campaign trail, it wasn’t about a barrage of expensive ads. It was about connecting with voters and giving them a chance to have their say—even when they said something you didn’t agree with. As he once joked, “The biggest danger for a politician is to shake hands with a man who is physically stronger, has been drinking and is voting for the other guy.” And he knew that from experience because nobody—nobody ever in the history of American politics, I believe—shook more hands than Bill Proxmire.

And the people of Wisconsin loved him for it. After an early career of some tough defeats, once he won, he just kept on winning, with reelection margins of 71 percent of the vote in 1970, 73 percent in 1976, and 65 percent in 1982, when he ran for a fifth 6-year term. Incredibly, in those last 2 reelection campaigns he was reelected despite refusing contributions altogether. A lot of the money he did spend in his campaigns was on postage to return donations.

As somebody who wanted to run for public office myself, and as somebody who kept being asked again, “where are you going to get the money to run?” Bill Proxmire gave me hope. His example helped me to believe that you can run on ideas, not just on money. And that example didn’t just help me in my run for office, it helped inspire me in the fight for the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill, and the ongoing fight against the undue influence of money in politics.

His example of real shoe-leather campaigning went hand in hand with his work on open Government. He didn’t just want to be accessible himself, he thought all of Government should be open and responsive to the people it served.

In this, as in so many things, he represented the true spirit of Wisconsin, which pioneered laws in this area. He once said that "Power always has to be kept in check; power exercised in secret, especially under the cloak of national security, is doubly dangerous." Today, as we struggle for openness and oversight on national security issues, I think his words have never been more true, and open, accountable government has never been more important.

And then there's Bill Proxmire's lesson in courage. How many times did he stand on this floor and say what needed to be said, truly representing the people back home, saying what they would say if they stood here themselves, about boondoggle projects, or the importance of open government? Here was a man who knew what mattered, and knew how to bring attention to a cause no one else was championing.

He was perhaps most famous for his Golden Fleece Awards, where he put the spotlight on the kind of waste that, unfortunately, we still see too much of in the Senate today. While most members just let waste pass by unnoticed, Proxmire was unrelenting. Here are a couple choice examples of Golden Fleece winners: To the National Institute of Dental Research in 1984, for sponsoring a \$465,000 study on the "effects of orthodontia on psycho-social functioning"; to 190 Federal officials in September 1982, for door-to-door chauffeur service costing \$3.4 million; and to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in February 1977, for a \$27,000 study of why prison inmates want to escape.

I think that last one says it all about why the Golden Fleece awards struck such a chord with the American public. There's a lot of numbness in Washington to wasteful spending, but Bill Proxmire wasn't numb to it. He was outraged by it. He had the innate aversion to waste that the American people have, people who have to sit down at their kitchen tables, work out a budget, and decide what they can afford, and what they can't. They think that if they have to do this, we should to. So Senator Proxmire stood up and demanded a little common sense, and a measure of discipline for the Federal budget. It was very courageous and very representative of the people who sent him here, I can tell you.

This is a very sad day for our State. But it is also a day to reflect on the Proxmire legacy, and to be proud of the impact he made on our state, and on the Nation. He was a fighter, literally and figuratively. He was a college boxing champ who managed to hold off two people who tried to mug him near the Capitol, and then helped in a drag-net that led to their arrest. He was a proud veteran, a newspaper reporter, and a dogged campaigner who lost three races for office and was written off by a lot of people in Wisconsin politics before he won the race to fill the seat of Senator Joe McCarthy after McCarthy died in 1957.

He was as determined as they come, it was that quality that served him so well during his years in this body. It continued to serve him all his life, even as he fought a long and difficult battle against Alzheimer's disease.

His wife Ellen, his children and grandchildren are in all of our thoughts today. As we remember William Proxmire, and all that he did, I feel deeply proud that he represented my State. He did great honor to the State of Wisconsin by personifying the highest standards of public service in this country. So I humbly honor his memory, and express my gratitude for his outstanding service to our Nation to our democracy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I join the Senators from Wisconsin in praising the late Senator William Proxmire. Neither of the Senators currently representing Wisconsin was in the Chamber when Senator Proxmire was here. The distinguished senior Senator, Mr. KOHL, was elected in 1988, when Senator Proxmire retired. Senator FEINGOLD was elected in 1992. I had the opportunity to serve 8 years with Senator Proxmire. He was a powerful figure. He sat in the last row on the extreme right-hand side, the seat now occupied by Senator ROCKEFELLER. He was on the floor every day talking about genocide. He was the conscience of the Senate, the conscience of the Congress, the conscience of the country, really, the conscience of the world speaking on that subject every single day.

He never missed a vote. I don't recollect exactly how many consecutive votes he had, but I think it was in the range of 17,000 that he never missed.

He had a record for minimal expenditures on campaigns for his own reelection. I recollect the average figure was about \$173. That figure sticks in my mind as to what he spent to be reelected. There is some variance on what it costs to be reelected today to the U.S. Senate, but he was a towering figure. There ought to be more Senators on the floor commenting about him. Even our senior Senator, Mr. LOTT, was not elected until 1988 and Senator GREGG until 1992, so most of the Senators who are around today didn't have the advantage of working with Bill Proxmire. There is a difference between knowing about him and actually seeing him in action and seeing him work. But he is a legend.

The Senators from Wisconsin have spoken eloquently about him. I wanted to add my voice in tribute to Bill Proxmire. He is still sitting in that chair. I still hear talk about the necessity to eliminate genocide. That voice, once lonely, is now the predominant voice. A good bit of what he has said has been accepted around the world to the benefit of humanity.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from

New Hampshire is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the 15 minutes which was to go to the majority for morning business be expanded a little bit and that 7 minutes be yielded to the Senator from Florida, then 5 minutes to the Senator from New Hampshire, and then 7 minutes to the Senator from Oklahoma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KENNEDY. Reserving the right to object, and I don't intend to, what is the business before the Senate now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is currently in morning business.

Mr. KENNEDY. And what time do we start the 1 hour prior to the cloture vote?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there is 15 minutes to be controlled by the majority at the present time. Then the Senate will proceed to the debate on the PATRIOT Act.

Mr. KENNEDY. At that time, after this consent agreement, then the hour tolls prior to the cloture vote; am I correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour begins.

Mr. KENNEDY. And the time is divided?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. KENNEDY. So just as a point of information, what time do we expect that time will begin, if the pending request for time is agreed to and whatever time the floor leaders agreed to?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the pending request is agreed to, that would be 20 minutes from now.

Mr. KENNEDY. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Florida is recognized for 7 minutes.

IRAQ ELECTION

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. President, yesterday we saw a historic day in Iraq. For the third time in less than a year, the people of Iraq did what only a couple of years ago would have been a dream: they voted in free elections. For those of us who have the appreciation of democracy as a result of having lived where that is denied, the ink-stained finger, the smiles, the celebratory atmosphere akin to a wedding is something to give us all hope.

Yesterday was a relatively trouble-free day. Seventy percent of Iraqis voted. Poll stations were open for an extra hour because of such long lines. The turnout was so good that ballot shortages were reported. This was clearly a successful day.

How does a date like this come to be? How do we go from a brutal dictatorship that threatens its citizens to a society of free elections? The answer is