

cases are killed in the process, or seen as disposable people—which is a term of art used by one of the authors, experts on this topic, who has written a book called “Disposable People.” These are people who have been trafficked. Then after they get diseased or run down, they are thrown out on the street as a disposable person. It is a very ugly thing.

Paul, with his heart of gold, saw this. I remember him complaining to me one day as I was coming out on the Senate floor. He came charging up to me and he said: You do this to me.

I said: What?

He was showing me the rankings and he was only the second most liberal in the Senate. In the prior years he was the most liberal. He said: You did that to me. If I hadn't been working with you, I would be the most liberal still. He had that kind of sense of humor about him that he would blame me.

He came up to me one day, where I was talking about life being sacred and precious, and I was saying I believe all life is sacred, it is precious, a child of a loving God, and that includes Paul Wellstone and TED KENNEDY too. He came out and said I like your line on this, even if I don't agree with your position on life. He enjoyed life. He lived it well. I think he has also taught a good lesson for the rest of us about core convictions. There is no problem with having core convictions. It is a good thing to have core convictions and to stand by those. It is also a good thing to recognize when it is that the topics you are talking about are not your core convictions, so you can reach out across the aisle. I think maybe 30 percent of the topics around Washington, maybe more, could be less, are divisive ones, where there are divisions on both sides. But there is 70 percent we can work on. The country is desperate to see us make Washington work, to see us reach across the aisle, to see us make it work on core topics.

JOE BIDEN and I held a press conference in Iowa about a political solution in Iraq, and people were stunned, saying this is what we want to see; we want to see our country work on tough topics. We can do that on issues such as cancer, the war on cancer—there is no division between the parties on that—and reaching across the aisle we can show the American people a government that works. That is something we need to do. That is something I think would be in Paul Wellstone and his wife's legacy.

I remember them today and I hope all of us will remember them in our prayers, about what they gave to us. I often say you can't measure a tree very well until it is on the ground. Unfortunately, that is the case with Paul, a wonderful guy with a wonderful heart. I disagreed with him on a number of political issues, but I loved his style and loved the way he lived life.

SUDAN

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I wish to talk about the situation in Sudan. The situation in Darfur has been widely noted and known. It is deteriorating. It is deteriorating slowly. We want to get the factions back together to try to talk about what it is we can do to bring some stability.

Something that is not widely followed right now is the deteriorating situation between the north and south. We have had a long-term peace agreement in place now for a couple of years between the north and south that ended the longest running civil war in Africa. It had been going on for 20 years. Two million people were killed. Now the south has backed away somewhat from the government. The north government is not complying with the peace agreement. I will be bringing out a more full statement to my colleagues. This is very dangerous, as far as the situation that now we could get back into a problem between the north and the south again, and have two fronts going.

In the south, long term, there was a genocide going on there before it took place in Darfur. We have to be vigilant toward the Sudanese Government, which is the problem. This is a genocidal government in Khartoum. We have to get on top of that situation and make sure it doesn't deteriorate between the north along with what is taking place in the west and Darfur. It could well be that Sudan in the future is a country that breaks up into three or four different countries because of the way the Khartoum government is trying to force people into their ideological box. It is a militant Islamist government started by Osama bin Laden, this iteration. It is the problem, but we have to deal with it, where it is in this situation. I don't want us to take our eyes off the ball.

In the south, where there has been a lot of work over a long period of time to get that peace, I hope that we not lose that peace in the overall situation.

Finally, the President of Congo is in Washington now. I met with him yesterday, along with a number of my colleagues. One of the issues I want to bring up here, and I will be developing some legislation, is that a number of radical militant groups are raiding in the eastern part of the Congo. They are dislocating nearly 450,000 people now. In these guerrilla movements, what they do is get control of an area and then they get mineral rights for individuals or to groups to come in and mine things, such as coal. It is a particular metal used in making cell phones. That is how they finance their rebel movement. We saw this in the blood diamond issue in western Africa. What we did then was put a certification process together, that you had to certify that the diamonds came from legitimate means, and that shut the financing down.

My hope is we can do something similar in the Congo, where we can

have a certification on minerals like the coal. And then shut the financing down for these groups that run civilian populations out of an area. I think that is something we can do credibly. Our markets and our economy are our key foreign policy tools. Here is a place where we can use the U.S. market to try to help bring stability to a region that is key for stability throughout Africa. If we get stability in the Congo it might bring stability throughout the region. I hope we can do those things.

I appreciate my colleagues' time and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

REMEMBERING SENATOR PAUL WELLSTONE

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, someone asked me once how I would describe my politics. I told them: I believe in the Gospels of Saint Paul, Paul Douglas, Paul Simon. And Paul Wellstone.

They were, in my opinion, three of the best public servants I have known. I had the privilege to know each of them and be inspired by them. Not a week goes by that I do not draw on some lesson or some truth they taught me.

Today, I find myself thinking especially of Paul Wellstone. It was 5 years ago today that Paul and his wife Sheila died in a plane crash in heavy fog in the Iron Range of northern Minnesota. The information reached us in Chicago a few hours later. I was asked to comment on local television station. I am sure that the emotion in my voice betrayed my real feelings about this great man, and Sheila.

Also lost in the crash were Paul and Sheila's daughter Marcia; their friends and campaign workers, Will McLaughlin, Tom Lopic and Mary McEvoy; and the plane's pilots, Richard Conroy and Michael Guess.

To understand who Paul Wellstone was and what he meant to so many people, listen to this story from John Nichols, the Washington correspondent for “The Nation.”

Two hours after the plane crash, he had just finished delivering a keynote speech to about 150 family farm activists in a small town in Wisconsin when the conference organizer whispered the news to him. These were people who knew Paul Wellstone as the college professor who was willing to march with them—and even to be arrested with them—to protest family farm foreclosures. When he was elected to the Senate, they thought of Paul Wellstone as their Senator, whether or not they lived in Minnesota.

When they learned that he had died, John Nichols wrote: “Cries of ‘No!’ and ‘My God! My God!’ filled the room, as grown men felt for tables to keep their balance, husbands and wives hugged one another and everyone began an unsuccessful struggle to choke back tears. The group gathered

in a large circle. People wept in silence until, finally, a woman began to recite the Lord's Prayer for the son of Russian Jewish immigrants who had touched the lives and the hearts of solid Midwestern Catholic and Lutheran farmers who do not think of themselves as having many friends in Congress.

"He was our flagbearer," one woman said. "There are plenty of people in Congress who vote right, but Paul did everything right. We didn't have to ask him, we didn't have to lobby him, he understood. It was like having one of us in Congress."

That was how Paul Wellstone wanted it. He once said: People have to believe you are on their side, that someone in the Senate is listening. If there is someone in Congress, maybe just one person, it gives them a sense that change is possible.

Paul Wellstone was, by some standards, one of the unlikeliest Senators ever. His first election, in 1990, remains one of the great upset victories in Minnesota history. He was a college professor taking on an incumbent Senator. His campaign had very little money.

He bought his first three suits—for \$100 apiece—during that campaign, and crisscrossed Minnesota in an old green school bus that always seemed to be breaking down.

No matter. What he lacked in money and consultants, he more than made up for in ideas and passion and hustle. "Politics," he said, "is what we create by what we do, what we hope for, and what we dare to imagine."

Minnesotans believed him, and sent him to the U.S. Senate—the only challenger to defeat an incumbent Senator that year.

Even with his new suits, Paul Wellstone stood out in the Senate. During his first weeks here, one reporter wrote that he "projects an image of barely in-control energy and enthusiasm." Another reporter described how "he has a habit of going pie-eyed with excitement and pumping the air with his hands."

I remember him in the back row here. He used to like to get a long cord on his microphone and range all over that area, just walking and talking and waving his arms with that kind of stumbling gait that was part of the back injury that had haunted him most of his adult life. When he got going, people were listening, always.

When Paul Wellstone was in junior high, his mother—a Ukrainian immigrant—worked in the cafeteria of his school—a fact that embarrassed her son greatly. Later in life, whenever he visited a school, he always introduced himself to the cafeteria workers.

He did the same thing in the Senate. He seemed to know every security guard, kitchen worker, and elevator operator in this Capitol Building by name.

But this is what was different about Paul Wellstone: He didn't just talk to cafeteria workers; he voted as a Sen-

ator with them in mind. As he said, "Some people are here to fight for the Rockefellers. I'm here to fight for the little fellers." I am sure Jay Rockefeller didn't take offense.

Paul Wellstone fought for family farmers on the edge of foreclosure, for workers facing layoffs, for older people trying to decide which prescription to fill this month. He and Sheila—his indispensable partner for 39 years—fought for women and children threatened by violence.

He fought for teachers and coal miners. For veterans. For people suffering the sting of discrimination and denial because of race, gender, sexual orientation, or physical or mental disability.

He fought for immigrant parents who work at less-than-minimum-wage jobs. He listened to them, and looked them in the eye. And when he did, he used to say, he saw his own parents.

He fought for "good education, good health care, and good jobs." He demanded fairness for those to whom life had been unfair. He gave people hope and courage.

It didn't matter to him if he was on the wrong end of a 99-to-1 vote. He voted his conscience. I was in the Senate one day when we had a vote on a defense-related issue. I had decided that I was going to vote against an amendment about to be called by one of the Senators on the other side of the aisle. As is custom in the Senate, they roll through the rollcall and recount who voted how. When they listed the names in the negative, mine was the only name they mentioned and I realized I was by myself, and I said, "Where's Wellstone?" And darned if he didn't walk through the door and vote "no" with me. That's the kind of person he was. He wasn't afraid to be the only one or the only one of two Senators voting on an issue.

Now, Paul Wellstone was a wrestler not just with issues but literally—he was a champion wrestler in high school. In the Senate—even with that bad back and hobbled by M.S.—he remained incredibly strong. He held the push-up record at the Capitol police gym: 91 in 1 minute. But it was his strength of character, even more than his strength of body, that was truly extraordinary.

I remember the night the Senate voted on the Iraq war resolution. Mr. President, there were 23 of us who voted against the Iraq war resolution. Three of us remained on the floor afterwards—three of us who had voted no. The Chamber was clear; it was late at night. I recall walking up to Paul Wellstone, who was in a tight election contest back in Minnesota, and saying to him: Paul, I hope this doesn't cost you the election. And he said to me: It's OK if it does. This is what I believe and this is who I am. The people of Minnesota would not expect anything less.

That was it. A handful of words, summarizing who he was and what he believed in and what he thought politics

was all about. That was the last conversation that I had with Paul Wellstone before he lost his life in that plane crash 5 years ago today.

Much was lost in that crash. But much survives. To keep their parents' work alive, Paul and Sheila's sons, Mark and David, have started a progressive advocacy organization called Wellstone Action. Perfect. In the last 4 years, more than 14,300 people have attended "Camp Wellstone" workshops in nearly every state, where they have learned to how to make politics relevant and effective. And here I am going to give a plug: if you want to know more about their good work, go to their Web site: www.wellstone.org. Take a look.

The Senate is fortunate to still have the service of talented, passionate men and women who learned from Paul Wellstone himself. I count myself lucky as one of those lucky ones.

One thing I will close with: One of Paul Wellstone's real passions was this issue of discrimination against the mentally ill. It touched his life and his family and he knew it personally and was determined to make sure those suffering from mental illness had a fair shake for health insurance and medical services. He did not get the job done by the time he left us in the Senate, but that battle was carried on valiantly by Senator TED KENNEDY and Senator PETE DOMENICI, who passed the legislation. I hope that the House will pass a similar bill soon so we can honor Paul Wellstone and do something important.

Paul Wellstone was full of hope. A reporter who knew him well recalled a conversation they had after the 1994 elections, when Democrats lost control of both Houses of Congress for the first time in decades.

This is what he wrote:

Wellstone was upset but not down. "We don't have time for despair," he said. "The fight doesn't change. It just gets harder. But it's the same fight."

I wish Paul Wellstone were here today. Of all of the thousands of men and women I have served with in the House and Senate he and Congressman Mike Synar of Oklahoma are two that I always wish were around for a phone call, for a word of advice—just to sit with for a few moments and hear their brand of politics.

If Paul Wellstone were here today I know what he would tell us: Don't give up. Don't despair. There are so many people counting on you. You've got to keep fighting. So let's do more than just honor and miss our friend today. Let's vow to stick together, pick up the fallen standard and continue his work.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. President, I want to rise to take the floor for a few moments to reflect and to pause to think about the life and legacy of former Senator Paul Wellstone and his wife Sheila.

It was 5 years ago today that we suffered the terrible tragedy of Senator Wellstone's death, tragedy for my State, for the entire Nation.

Senator Wellstone and I had been engaged in a very hard-fought and vigorous election contest. We were about 10 days from the election. I think everybody in our State reflects on where they were at the moment they heard the news. We were both, Senator Wellstone and myself, on the way to a debate in Duluth, MN. I was up in Grand Rapids flying in on a King Air plane, the same type of plane Senator Wellstone was flying when it went down and caused his death and the death of his wife Sheila, their daughter Marcia, and five others.

We were about to get in our plane, probably about 25 miles, somewhere in the same area as the Senator. We heard the news with a great sense of disbelief, we knelt down and said our prayers for the Senator, for his wife, for the others who died.

The news was met by disbelief, shock, and sadness. In the hours that followed, it was as if the entire State of Minnesota had stopped. For so many Minnesotans, regardless of where you stood politically or whether you agreed with Senator Wellstone's politics, you admired him and his unwavering commitment to the things he cared about most. He was so passionate about what he believed.

That admiration is evidenced in folks such as Mary Oberg, who lives not far from me in St. Paul. I was looking at a piece on Public Radio today. She was not far from being in St. Paul. In a news story I read, she said she did not necessarily support all of Paul's views, but she liked the fact that there is still a memorial bench in her neighborhood, in my neighborhood, that honors Senator Wellstone to this day.

It shows respect, Mary said. And that is what is lacking in the world today, is a lack of respect for others. This is a magnificent institution. I see my colleague from West Virginia is here. He has been here a long time, has a great sense of history—I try to visit with him as often as I can—a great sense of collegiality.

In a world that has become so divisive and so partisan, so angry, whether in this Chamber or in the House Chamber, Senator Wellstone reflected in the passion for his belief that politics was not a death sport, it was something which you could agree to disagree and still shake a hand and ask: How are you doing? And move on. The kind of respect that Mary Oberg reflected on was that hallmark of Senator Wellstone himself.

His passion, enthusiasm, and energy for public service is something that inspires me, as it inspired so many folks that have followed his footsteps into public service. Nowhere was that passion more clear than in his unyielding support for those individuals who suffered the ravages of mental illness. Since he arrived in the Senate, he worked day in and day out to pass mental health parity legislation; put an end to the discrimination against people with mental illness and chemical addiction.

Paul was also willing to put aside politics on this important issue. He worked hand in hand with another champion for mental health issues, Senator PETE DOMENICI, another individual who has been around here for many years and was and is so passionate about that issue.

Working together, Senators DOMENICI and Wellstone helped millions of Americans overcome the stigma surrounding mental health disorders. Millions of Americans were able to seek treatment and gain hope through their powerful commitment to this issue.

I cannot imagine a better way to honor Paul's legacy than sending a strong mental health parity bill to the President of the United States and have him sign it into law.

I also want to comment about a unique living memorial to the Wellstones, and that is the Paul and Sheila Wellstone Center for Community which opened its doors a year ago. It is truly a Paul and Sheila Wellstone kind of place. It stands literally where the East meets the West. Since Paul came from the East, as I did, he probably felt very much at home in our ethnic neighborhoods, filled with middle-class working families.

It was constructed, in large measure, with \$10 million generously provided by this Chamber. The Paul and Sheila Wellstone Center is a 100,000 square foot facility with meeting places for a variety of cultural, social, and civic activities for people of all backgrounds. It also serves as an education and training center.

The west side is kind of like our Ellis Island. It is the place where, in the Midwest, immigrant groups came in in the old days. It was the Jews and Lebanese; today it is the Hmong and the Somalis.

A community center is a poor substitute for the real thing, Paul and Sheila themselves, but it is worth doing, providing a safe place where kids can learn and play, families can receive training and support, community members can be organized to fight injustice and partake in the American dream.

These and so many other issues that Paul cared about transcended partisan politics and ideology. The greatest legacy to Senator Wellstone is to stay rooted in his belief that Government has an obligation to do what it can do, which is to help those who need help the most.

Five years later, I certainly have a greater understanding and appreciation for the challenges that Senator Wellstone faced and others that came before him of serving in a Congress that is too often governed by partisanship rather than a culture and a commitment to getting things done.

I have made a commitment to follow in that tradition of working hard and being a vocal advocate for our great State. This anniversary should be an occasion to celebrate the Wellstones' lives and to remember the commit-

ment Paul and his family made and continue to make using public service to improve the lives of all people.

On this anniversary of their death, I hope everyone can continue to hold Paul, Sheila, their family, and the others who died in their terrible crash, hold them close in your hearts, hold them in your prayers, as my family and I will.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, it is hard to believe that it was 5 years ago today we lost our dear friend and colleague—Paul Wellstone.

On a cold Minnesota morning, his life, along with his wife, daughter, three staff members, and two pilots, was cut tragically short. It was a day that is burned into our memories, a day we will never forget.

Paul was a good man. He was a man who truly loved being a Senator. It wasn't the power and prestige that he loved, it was his ability to serve the people, to help those in need—especially those who otherwise wouldn't have had a voice.

He was a fighter. He fought for the underprivileged. For the downtrodden. For those who otherwise had been forgotten. He fought for the underdog—the little guy. And most of all he fought for what he believed in to be right and true.

Paul loved life and lived each day to the fullest. He always had a kind word and a smile to whom ever he came across. And he came to work determined to make our country and world a better place.

The Senate has changed a lot since Paul's death. The halls are a little quieter. There is a little less fire and brimstone on the Senate floor. Paul was known for going to the floor and giving an impassioned speech about how we had to provide better health care coverage for the mentally ill, assistance for domestic violence victims, better benefits for our veterans, or education for our children.

While Paul was a hard-working, dedicated public servant, he was also a family man who loved his wife, children, and grandchildren very much. His best friend and companion in his life was his wife Sheila. She inspired him, was his constant companion, and she calmed him. Their love was one of a kind. In many ways it is fitting they left this Earth together.

While Paul is not here, his spirit lives on. He inspired all of us to be better people. And his memory lives on. Paul's work is continued through his two sons Mark and David, Wellstone Action, and through his staff—many of whom can still be seen in the halls today.

Like many of my colleagues in Congress, I miss my Paul. So let us remember him today and honor all of the work he did to make this country a better place for all of us.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, it is hard to believe that today marks 5 years since an extraordinarily frigid and raining, tough day in October when we

were stunned to hear the reports of the missing plane and then reports that it carried our friend, Senator Wellstone, his wife Sheila, and his daughter Marcia. I had just been with him in Minnesota hours earlier where his wife and he campaigned.

It was one of the moments you never forget. I remember feeling the awful, vivid contrasts of a world transformed. October 25, our friend and colleague was gone—but October 24 he had been right there with us full of life. I was in the Twin Cities at Sam Kaplan's house at a Wellstone campaign event with Paul's wife, Sheila. Paul was campaigning on the other side of the State, but he called into the event, and I will never forget what it was like to hear that voice over the speaker phone—loud, clear, strong—Paul Wellstone, that voice full of passion and commitment.

It was a sad and sickening feeling to hear the next day that both of them were gone.

In the last 5 years, I can't tell you how many times how many of us, in tough fights and lonely stands, have wished we had Paul Wellstone in our corner here on the floor of the Senate.

Paul and Sheila Wellstone were an extraordinary couple. They were the best people in politics and in life—the most caring, the most giving, the most sincere and genuine people I have ever met or will ever meet.

Paul was the Pied Piper of modern politics—so many people heard him and wanted to follow him in his fight. Joyful, ruffled, the genuine article—we all admired Paul for his energy and his independence, his spirit and his zest for making people's lives better and inspiring others to do the same.

It is impossible to measure the number of lives Paul touched. So many people who never even knew him are better off because of him. When I ran for President in 2004, at rope lines around the country, people would come up to me after rallies—people in wheelchairs, people with cancer, veterans, senior citizens, farmers—and they would place in my palm that familiar, cherished Wellstone button, or one of those green ribbons lovingly created after Paul passed away. These were talismans. Words didn't need to be spoken—you could see it in their eyes, you could see how much he meant—even 2 years later, he was still their champion, he was still their voice.

Right in front of my eyes, in their faces, I could see the legacy of a man who lived Hubert Humphrey's credo: "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 needy and the handicapped." Paul's politics was a moral politics.

To all the people who worked for him, who loved him, he was never Senator Wellstone, or "the Senator"—he was just Paul, and Paul Wellstone

wouldn't have had it any other way. He was the champion in the Senate for issues that some people didn't think were politically popular—the Hmong in Minnesota, Native Americans on the reservations, the poor, children, stopping drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve thousands of miles from his home. I still remember after our victory on that filibuster, the image of Paul walking into the rally—limping—his back hurting from a condition that caused him pain right to the end, absolutely unbowed, the look on his face was pure joy—the exuberance of having succeeded at doing something because it was the right thing to do.

He understood that values had to be not just spoken but actually lived. As he said: Politics is what we do. Politics is what we do, politics is what we create, by what we work for, by what we hope for and what we dare to imagine.

I will never forget, 3 years ago, standing next to Bruce Springsteen, at rallies of 50,000, 60,000, 80,000 people—in Madison, WI, and Cleveland, OH—people standing in the chill and the rain and the wind—people who were there because, just like Paul, they loved their country so much they wanted to change it—and I still remember the response—the tears and the joy and, above all, the hope—when Bruce Springsteen would quote words from Paul that ought to ring true for all of us:

The future will not belong to those who sit on the sidelines. The future will not belong to the cynics. The future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams.

Paul and Sheila Wellstone aren't here with us in Washington, but they continue to remind us what we can have if we believe once again in our highest hopes and our strongest ideals. They continue to remind us of what is important—and what is worth fighting for.

I want to say for the record today that Paul Wellstone and his politics are much missed.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, 5 years ago today, Senator Paul Wellstone, his wife Sheila, his daughter Marcia, and three of his staff perished in a plane crash.

This was a tragic loss to the Wellstone family, including his two surviving sons, David and Mark, his State, our Nation, and this body.

His passion, energy, and commitment on behalf of the "little guys"—all those without a voice, including children, the poor, the homeless, victims of domestic violence, the mentally ill—serves as an example to us all.

He was a champion for all those who needed one, and for doing what is right. This was well-illustrated in his unwavering devotion to the fight for mental health parity, robust education funding, and affordable housing.

Senator Wellstone worked tirelessly to achieve fairness in the treatment of mental illness. On September 18, the Senate unanimously passed mental

health parity. In the other body, the Paul Wellstone Mental Health and Addiction Equity Act recently moved through committee.

We must continue the fight toward final passage of mental health parity. I look forward to that day, which will be a historic achievement, and an enduring memorial to the life of this great man.

I was honored to serve with Senator Wellstone for over 4 years on the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. He was a consistent and powerful advocate for increased education funding and ensuring our children possess the necessary skills and tools to compete in an ever-expanding global economy.

During the debates on the No Child Left Behind Act in 2001, he would say, "We cannot realize the goal of leaving no child behind on a tin cup budget." Unfortunately, today we are still struggling to provide more than that "tin cup" budget as the President has cumulatively underfunded title I of the No Child Left Behind Act, the Federal Government's most significant commitment to K-12 education, by over \$43 billion since its enactment. As such, his words seem more appropriate than ever.

Senator Wellstone worked on a multitude of issues, but I want to touch on just one other today, and that is affordable housing. At Senator Wellstone's suggestion, on April 15, 2002, I flew out to Minnesota to hold a Banking Committee Subcommittee on Housing and Transportation field hearing on "Affordable Housing and Working Families."

At the time, Minnesota had one of the Nation's highest rates of homeownership, yet one of the worst affordable rental housing shortages in the country. It was our hope that we could learn more about the affordable housing crisis impacting working families, and how government could best work with the private sector to address the problem.

Paul's passion for this issue and his special connection to his constituents was apparent throughout this hearing. He was intent on figuring out what obstacles stood in the way of creating more affordable housing, and what the Federal Government could do to help. Paul believed in democracy with a small "d," and he allowed anyone in the audience who had something to say to come up to the microphone and tell the U.S. Senate what it might do to help.

Paul's untimely death was a huge blow to many of us. He inspired us every day to focus on those who were less fortunate, and that legacy must continue to live on.

(At the request of Mr. REID, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

• Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, today, as we mark the fifth anniversary of the death of Senator Paul Wellstone, I am reminded of what Herbert Humphrey—

another great Minnesotan that served in the Senate—once said:

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 needy, and the handicapped.

This quote always reminds me of the way Paul lived his life and the legacy he has left behind.

Five years ago on this day, we lost a colleague, a progressive advocate, and a Senator who devoted every fiber of his being to building a better, fairer America. Many of us also lost a close friend who we admired and looked to for advice and support. Paul always stood up for what he believed in and gave a voice to those who were not given a seat at the table. He was the People's Senator through and through.

In the Senate, Paul championed mental health parity legislation to help end discrimination against people living with mental illness. It was a personal struggle for him, as he came to understand the issue through the experiences of his brother. I had the privilege of working with Paul as First Lady and as a member of the Senate's Heath, Education, Labor, and Pensions committee, where no issue was too difficult or challenging, large or small, for Paul to tackle if he thought it would make a positive difference in someone's life.

I remember when I heard that the plane carrying Paul, his wife Sheila, their daughter Marcia, and three of his campaign aides had crashed. Many of us did not want to believe it. No longer would our friend and Senator—indefatigable—come bursting through the doors of the Senate floor, ready to speak out, ready to right a wrong, or address a problem that had to be solved. No longer would Sheila, a dynamic presence in her own right, travel across Minnesota and the country and spread the word about domestic violence and so many other worthy causes.

To ensure that their legacy lived on, more than three years ago, an organization called Wellstone Action was established to honor both Paul and his wife Sheila. Through hard work and dedication, Wellstone Action has been able to grow tremendously and preserve the Wellstone way for future generations.

We have a duty in the Senate to never let Paul's legacy fade. I said it 5 years ago and today I reiterate it again, we must work towards the goals and ideals Paul fought for day in and day out: to strengthen our education system, our health care system, our economy, civil and human rights, our Nation. We still feel in our hearts and in our lives this grievous, tragic loss. Today, we not only look back on the life of a Senator who stood up for what he believed in, we look forward to carrying on what he taught us.●

(At the request of Mr. REID, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

● Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise to honor the life of one of the finest men I have known in this body: Senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota. Paul—along with his wife Sheila and his daughter Marcia; his staff members Will McLaughlin, Tom Lapic, and Mary McEvoy; and pilots Richard Conry and Michael Guess—died in a plane crash 5 years ago to the day. Five years, half a decade already: The time has passed so quickly that it comes as a shock to stop and recall just how long Paul has been gone. In marking his death, we remember that the years are passing just as fast for each of us, and that they can take us, as they took our friend Paul, when we are least ready to go. What a privilege we have to serve here—what a short time we are given! Paul's death and Paul's life remind us to fill that short time with all the best we can bring. Paul Wellstone did: He lived just 58 years, and yet it seems that in that time, he lived enough to fill two or three or four lives.

Paul was a champion wrestler who became a champion scholar; a tireless activist and organizer who became a beloved professor; everywhere and always a fighter, full of energy and zeal and real love for the people he spoke for in this Chamber. He was, in the proud tradition of his State, one of the happiest warriors I have ever known. He was an intellectual, a Ph.D., but never abstract; all the theories in the world meant nothing to Paul if they couldn't lift up the single mother struggling to support a family or the torture victim seeking refuge in America or the sufferer of mental illness marked with an unjust stigma.

Paul suffered with each of them. In fact, the pain that Paul felt in his life—the ache of his multiple sclerosis, the challenges of growing up the son of immigrants, the pain of his brother's mental illness—became his most powerful political weapon. Pain cuts some of us off, but not Paul Wellstone: He found the greatest salve in reaching out, in traveling up and down Minnesota in the dead of winter in his rickety green campaign bus; in taking time to thank the cooks, waiters, and janitors who served at so many of Paul's events; in stretching out an appearance to two or three times its planned length because he was so caught up in a conversation, until his staff were forced to grab him by the arm and literally drag him out of the room.

He was given 12 years to make his mark in the Senate. And in that time, he helped ensure that toddlers all through this country would have a head start in life. He ensured that his State would be a refuge for victims of torture who came here from the dungeons of Central America or Asia. He fought hard against sex trafficking and against domestic violence with Sheila Wellstone, herself a leading advocate for battered women. He helped make sure that families stayed warm in the winter, because the government gave them the heating assistance they need-

ed. And inspired by the struggles of his brother, he struggled to end the discrimination against the mentally ill by insurers. In that last cause, I was particularly proud to stand beside Paul; and finally enacting mental health parity legislation would be a fitting honor to his memory.

Paul did so much more than ever could be expected with the short time he was given; he was driven by an untiring spirit. But he also understood that legislation, as much good as it has the power to do, is something of a symptom, an outward phenomenon; the deeper causes of what we accomplish in this Chamber are the movements and forces that put us in office, that make one cause prosper and another weaken—Paul's ear was to the ground and his eyes were on the roots. He was a Senator-organizer: and as much energy as he put into legislating, he put more into building a movement that would outlast him.

So I wish that Paul were still at his desk in this room today; maybe grayer and a little more stooped, but still giving his all to the fight to end a misguided war, one he opposed since the outset, or pouring out all his passion against torture and lawlessness in our own government. I wish we still had his voice.

But on another level, I know that it doesn't matter. The activists and candidates and grassroots organizers trained by Wellstone Action, a non-profit set up in Paul's name, still memorize a phrase he used to remind us all that politics is first and foremost about those we serve: "It's not about me, it's not about me, it's not about me." Paul knew that the name at the top of the bill, the politician at the top of a ballot, the voice speaking the words matters little. The citizens whom we serve are the ones who matter most, and Paul's commitment was, first and foremost, to those of our citizens whose lives are spent at the margins of our society.

"Some people," Paul's home newspaper wrote today, "live lives so large that they never really die." It was true of Paul Wellstone, and his wife Sheila, and his daughter Marcia. May we live in their example, so that those words will one day be true of each of us.●

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, 5 years ago today, our colleague Paul Wellstone and his wife Sheila Wellstone were killed in a plane crash in northern Minnesota. It hardly seems like 5 years.

I remember that morning I was on the road driving in a van to Grand Forks, ND, going to a meeting when I received a call that an airplane had gone down in northern Minnesota and it was the plane that Paul and his wife Sheila and some staff were on. They feared that the crash had taken their lives.

I was thinking as I was coming over here today that the day Paul and Sheila were killed was very much like today—a gray day with rain and moisture. Paul and his wife were on a plane

flying to a funeral in northern Minnesota. They lost their lives. They were in the final stages of a very aggressive Senate campaign, one I believe Paul would have won. I believe he would have retained his seat in the Senate. He cared deeply about his opportunities, his privilege, and his obligation as a Senator.

A couple weeks ago, I was on the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and I was walking across the commons of the campus and looked to my left and I saw a small memorial garden to Paul and Sheila Wellstone. I didn't know it, but I asked someone why that garden existed on the campus of the University of North Carolina. They said because it was where Paul Wellstone earned his PhD, where Paul Wellstone had been a college wrestler and, I believe, a college champion wrestler. I had not known that previously. Nonetheless, there is a tribute to Paul and Sheila Wellstone on the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Last week, I was visited in my office by about eight people to present me with a framed plaque of sorts because of Paul Wellstone. I was thinking of that as I came to the floor as well. This was a group of people who represented the major automobile industry in this country, the large auto producers, and the independent shops around the country that do automobile repair. I had nearly forgotten about what had gone on as a result of this, but they asked to come and see me and they came in and said: You and Senator Paul Wellstone 6 years ago did something that made a big difference, and we wanted to recognize that work. I said: I am happy about that, but let me make sure you recognize and let me accept it for Paul Wellstone in his memory.

Paul sat in that desk right back there on the end. It was on the floor of the Senate that he came to me breathless—and he was usually breathless because he had so much energy and passion about things—and he said: I went to an automobile repair shop in Minnesota, a small family-owned auto repair shop. They told me they cannot get the codes for the new automobiles in order to be able to repair them because the automobile manufacturers have these codes in their computers and they won't provide them to the independent auto repair shops, which means when you buy a car at a dealership, you have to go back to the dealership to get it fixed. In order to get a diagnostic, you have to have the codes and they won't give the independents these codes.

He said: BYRON, that is an outrage. I want you to hold a hearing on that.

I chaired the appropriate subcommittee in the Commerce Committee, and I said I would be glad to do that. Why don't you come and be a part of the hearing and sit on the dais. He was not on the Commerce Committee. I invited him to make a statement and

ask questions. So we held a hearing in the Commerce Committee. The room was full of people representing the independent auto repair shops around the country. We had a lot of them travel to Washington, DC.

There was testimony by the automobile manufacturers and the folks running these little auto repair shops around the country. They had a big disagreement. I felt and Paul felt it was unfair to the independent auto repair dealers, the small shops, not to be able to get the codes so they could fix these automobiles that were in disrepair.

I remember Paul's statement at the hearing sticking up for the little guy, saying these folks running these automobile independent repair stations should not be disadvantaged like this; they ought to have an opportunity to do this as well.

As a result of that hearing, the automobile manufacturers and the independent repair shops decided they would work together and find a way to solve the problem. Last week, a group of them came to my office and presented me with something that said what you and Senator Wellstone did required us to sit down and negotiate, and we negotiated and solved the problem, and now we provide the codes to the independent auto repair shops. The folks from the independent shops were there and said we now have a good relationship with the auto manufacturers.

That issue got solved because Paul Wellstone was standing up for the little guy. He went to a repair shop in Minnesota and found out the independent owner of that shop was not being treated fairly, in his mind, and in my judgment. So he brought it to the Congress. We got together and held a hearing, and the result is this was solved. It was negotiated in a way that was good for the consumer, good for the folks who owned the automobile repair businesses and, frankly, good for the automobile manufacturers. They have admitted that as well. I thank all of them for negotiating that in the right way.

Mostly, I thank Paul Wellstone for the energy he had in the Senate to always stand up for the little guy. The interesting thing about Senator Wellstone, however, is that as he stood over by that back seat over there, on every single issue Paul Wellstone stood up and wanted to know how it would affect kids—especially poor children in this country, many of whom feel hopeless and helpless, many of whom feel they do not have the same opportunities. He was unrelenting in trying to make certain we pass legislation that gave America's kids a good opportunity to be successful.

The other issue for which all of us remember Paul Wellstone—and my colleague, Senator DOMENICI, surely will because he was Senator DOMENICI's partner—is parity for mental health care because mental health care has not been treated the same way in most insurance policies, and still is not in many insurance policies, as other

health care one might get. If one breaks an arm or a leg or has a disease, one gets health care treatment, and it gets covered by their insurance policy. But mental health has been treated differently.

Paul devoted much of his time in the Senate saying we ought to be fair and have parity as to how mental health is treated in health insurance policies in this country.

I came to the floor to observe, as others have today, that it is 5 years to the day we lost a good friend. He was one of those who said: Here is what I am; here is who I am. I am not trimming my sails to make things sound better for anybody. I am just going to fight as hard as I can fight for issues I care about and issues I believe are right for Minnesota and our country. I have always admired that spirit.

Those of us who were privileged to be Paul's friend also know Paul Wellstone was a team. It was Paul and Sheila Wellstone. Most of us in the Senate who had the privilege of serving with Paul and knowing Sheila and Paul as a team continue to miss them a great deal.

I wanted simply today to celebrate the memory of Paul Wellstone and Sheila Wellstone and talk about the contributions they made in this country and the contributions through public service to their country.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, this is the fifth anniversary of the death of Paul and Sheila Wellstone. I wished to say a few words on that. I was a friend of Paul's when I was in the House, and on some of the important social and economic issues that I worked on there, he was the person to whom I went, to work with a Member of the Senate.

I think history will remember Paul Wellstone as one of the great Senators of our time, not just because of his accomplishments but, more importantly, because of the extraordinary vision that he had.

Paul believed very much that we could create a very different kind of world than the world that we are living in right now. He was prepared and did stand up day after day on the floor of this Senate, taking on virtually every powerful special interest that exploited working people and low-income people and who led us to wars we should not be fighting.

He was a man who believed passionately in a world of peace, in a world of economic and social justice. That vision he brought forth is the vision I hope nobody in the Senate, nobody in this country, ever forgets.

One of the major characteristics of Paul Wellstone is he understood that the way we succeed politically is not simply by going out to the wealthy and the powerful begging for more and more campaign contributions, which is what happens so often. He understood that the way to win elections is by rallying ordinary people at the grassroots level, and perhaps it is that achievement, from a political perspective, for

which he will most be remembered. I know in Minnesota he organized at the grassroots and brought thousands and thousands of people who had not been involved in the political process together to stand up under a progressive program for economic justice and a world of peace. He understood profoundly something many here do not address: Real change takes place from the bottom, not from the top, and when millions of people stand up and say it is imperative that we have economic justice, that we have a livable wage, that we have a health care program which guarantees health care to all of our people, that we protect our environment, when that comes from the grassroots, then we will succeed. He was a tireless advocate of grassroots politics.

As someone who worked with Paul, who was very fond of both him and Sheila, the vision they brought forth is something for which I will do my best to continue advocating. His loss was a loss for the working people, for the vast majority of the people of this country, and for the Senate.

I will not forget what Paul Wellstone stood for.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I come to the floor to pay special tribute to a very special individual who is no longer with us in the Senate. He was a friend to me, a tremendous U.S. Senator, and he was an advocate for thousands and thousands of human beings across this country who may never have met him but for whom he spoke so eloquently. That was Senator Paul Wellstone.

Five years ago today, we lost that friend, that Senator, that passionate advocate. Still every day I come to this floor, I can see him here, raising his voice, throwing his arms out, speaking to everyone as if they were right in front of him about the issues he cared about.

Every one of us has special memories of Senator Wellstone, whether it was his speeches on the floor of the Senate as he wandered back and forth and put his tremendous voice to such great use. For me personally, it was listening to him talk about the issue of mental health. It was standing beside him when he introduced the bill to ban asbestos 6 years ago. We looked around, and we were a pretty lonely crowd trying to make that happen. I know he would be so proud, wherever he is up there today, looking down and knowing that this Senate 6 years later passed a ban on asbestos.

It was such issues as the war where Senator Wellstone, even though he was in a very tight election race at the time, stood his ground and said what he felt so strongly, that he could not vote for this country to go to war in Iraq. He feared no one in making that decision, even with the election he was facing.

He was a friend and partner, someone I knew so well. My best memory of him was going to his State. He invited me there, as we all do with our other col-

leagues when we are out campaigning and ask them to help us. Senator Wellstone didn't ask me to come and do a fundraiser for him. He didn't ask me to do a speech to some dignified crowd in some ballroom. He didn't ask me to come and wear a suit. He asked me to come to his State the week before his election and do what he called "a people raiser." He did it in a gymnasium. He invited people to come and donate their time because of what he cared about, the issue he fought for, to bring people into politics. He did it that day in such a tremendous way. All of us who knew him knew he was never comfortable talking to a crowd that was sitting down. He had to inspire them and have them all standing in front of him and applauding. He did it every time he spoke.

I miss him so much in the Senate. It is hard to believe it was 5 years ago that we lost such a tremendous advocate. I think he would be proud of the legacy he left in his own family, in the issues he left for many of us, and the passion as we move forward. I know if he were here today he would be saying: Don't talk about me. He would be in a back room someplace making sure we never forgot the people who sent us here and the tremendous issues they face at home. He would be inspiring somebody to stand up and speak out.

I hope we continue to do that in his memory for many years to come.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, for those who served with him, the death of Paul Wellstone 5 years ago was such a shock because not only did Paul represent intellect and vigor, he also, because of his enthusiasm and high energy level, represented a youthful picture. He looked like a young guy, college-age person. When he spoke, he did it with such energy that everybody would hear him or listen to him. If you didn't hear him, he would make sure you heard him because he was never bashful about sticking up, about talking about things he believed in. There was very little he did not believe in that would engage him so—I will use the term—furiously in his presentation.

So it is appropriate we remember a distinguished Member of the Senate, who served only a short time, and was on his way for another term. But his impact was enormous. I think in many ways he created a picture of courage and right that serves as a model for things we generally do here.

I, as so many here did, regarded him as a friend. I did not see him unable to talk to people on the Republican side of the aisle or otherwise. No matter how vigorous his arguments were, no matter how energetic his presentation was, the fact is, he would dismiss any difference as a part of a normal process. He would continue on with his insistence that what he did was right, but he was never righteous about it.

We will always think of him when we think of what is right to do in the Senate.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, 5 years ago today, our country lost a good man. Now, I am mindful of what the Scriptures say in that there is no man who is good. I am mindful of that. But this is a statement I am making, and in the context of the thoughts I wish to express, I am going to say: Five years ago today, our country lost a good man. It lost an outstanding Senator. It was 5 years ago today that Senator Paul Wellstone and his wife Sheila and their daughter Marcia perished in a tragic plane crash.

Paul Wellstone died tragically, but he lived heroically. Paul Wellstone was unique. I knew him. Paul Wellstone was priceless. Paul Wellstone was irreplaceable. Paul Wellstone was a Senator of remarkable integrity and remarkable courage.

Only a few days before his tragic death, I witnessed firsthand the integrity and the courage of that Senator, Mr. Paul Wellstone.

Paul Wellstone was in the late stages of a close campaign for reelection. Paul Wellstone had been targeted for defeat by the George Bush-Karl Rove political machine. And this Senate was about to vote on the Iraq war resolution. I was here.

At that time, granting President Bush the authority for an invasion of Iraq was the political thing to do. The White House had convinced most of the country that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction and that Saddam Hussein was poised to use those weapons.

Many Americans had been frightened by a steady drumbeat of White House rhetoric about mushroom clouds and weapons of mass destruction. Many Americans had been convinced that the war would be brief and that our troops in Iraq would be welcomed with open arms.

Despite the then-prevailing view that voting against the Iraq war was political suicide, Senator Paul Wellstone—God rest his soul—Senator Paul Wellstone proudly and defiantly—do you hear that word “defiantly”—announced he would vote against it. I will never forget his words.

Seldom have I been so impressed with the courage of a colleague. Senator Paul Wellstone took a principled stand, a stand that would undoubtedly cost him votes, and maybe his reelection.

Did Paul Wellstone flinch? No. He did not let that sway him. He stood against the White House. Paul Wellstone stood against the easy, popular winds of the time. Paul Wellstone stood against the rush to war.

Senator Paul Wellstone placed the good of our country and the lives of young Americans far above his own reelection. That was Paul Wellstone.

We needed more Senators like Paul Wellstone.

Paul Wellstone exemplified the courage of his convictions. Senator Paul Wellstone stood proudly against the rush—the rush—to war. Senator Paul

Wellstone was brave. He was passionate. He was ever true to his conscience and to the people he represented. Despite the pain and the difficulty of multiple sclerosis, Paul Wellstone carried on and made us all feel humbled and proud by his bravery.

When the Senate lost Senator Paul Wellstone 5 years ago today, the Senate and the country lost a man of remarkable integrity. How I wish our country had more men like him—Paul Wellstone.

I close this statement with a poem, a remarkable poem—a remarkable poem for a remarkable man.

God, give us men!

A time like this demands strong minds,
great hearts, true faith, and ready hands.

Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie.
Men who can stand before a demagogue and
brave his treacherous flatteries without winking.

Tall men, sun-crowned;
Who live above the fog.
In public duty and in private thinking.
For while the rabble with its thumbworn
creeds,

its large professions and its little deeds,
mingles in selfish strife, Lo! Freedom weeps!
Wrong rules the land and waiting justice
sleeps.

God give us men!

Men who serve not for selfish booty;
But real men, courageous, who flinch not at
duty.

Men of dependable character; men of sterling
worth;
then wrongs will be redressed, and right will
rule the Earth.

God give us men!

Thank You, almighty God, for this
remarkable man, this man of great
honor, this remarkable man, Paul
Wellstone. Whence cometh another?

Mr. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, 5
years have passed since we lost our distinguished colleague, Senator Paul Wellstone, in a tragic plane crash. That crash also took the lives of his wife Sheila, their daughter, Marcia, three loyal staffers, and two pilots.

That sad day the Senate lost a passionate, gifted, and respected colleague and friend.

Paul was a political science professor, with a sharply honed intellect. But his heart was as big as his mind, and he was a committed advocate for the less fortunate.

He was elected in 1990 and quickly became a strong, crusading voice in the Senate.

Paul fought for increased education funding, for improvements in the minimum wage, for affordable, accessible health care, for campaign finance reform, for legislation to protect small farmers, and for legislation to expand insurance coverage for the mentally ill.

Paul helped lead the successful opposition to an energy bill in 1991 that would have opened the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil exploration.

Paul was a champion of the dispossessed around the world—in Latin America, in Africa, and in Asia.

In 1996, when I voiced concern over the treatment of women and girls by the Taliban, Paul was one of the few open to the idea that the United States should do something.

In 1999, Paul and I introduced the International Trafficking of Women and Children Victims Protection Act to address these heinous crimes and to hold to account nations that fail to meet minimum international standards.

Paul cared deeply about Tibetan autonomy. The last time we worked together was to cosponsor legislation to encourage dialogue between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government—and to protect the identity of the people of Tibet.

He would have been pleased to see the Congressional Gold Medal—the Nation's highest civilian honor—awarded to the Dalai Lama earlier this month.

Paul was eloquent. He was compassionate. And he is missed. I feel honored to have been his friend and colleague. I will never forget him, and the Senate is better for his service.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I can hardly believe it has been 5 years since we lost Paul and Sheila Wellstone. It still seems like only yesterday that I would see Paul pacing up and down the aisles on the Senate floor, speaking out for Minnesota and what he so affectionately called the “little fellers” in the world.

There isn't a day that goes by that I don't miss him and beloved wife and soul mate, Sheila, but the loss is especially poignant in these tough times our country faces.

I remember during the Iraq war debate, Paul spoke out passionately against the resolution authorizing the go-it-alone military approach in Iraq. He spoke, almost prophetically, about the possible consequences of our actions—how it would impact the continuing war on terrorism and efforts to rebuild Afghanistan. He said that the gravest concerns were those raised about the possible loss of life—to our soldiers and innocent Iraqis. I can hardly imagine what he would think of the mess we are in today.

That day, Paul was strong and unafraid, as he always was, even though he knew his “no” vote could cost him his Senate seat. He said then that the “only way to do it, is to do what you honestly think is right, and then whatever happens, happens.”

I think history has shown that Paul was absolutely right. And my only regret is that he is not here today to continue speaking out against the war in Iraq.

There are times when it is positively exhausting to keep fighting for just causes, especially against this administration. But then I look at the wall in my office and I see a beautiful picture of Paul and me together, and I think of what he would say if he was still here, and I am sure he would tell me to stand up and keep fighting.

We all lost so much 5 years ago on that tragic day—Paul, a fighter, a

hero, a friend, a father, a grandfather. And of course we lost Sheila, Paul's partner in life, their daughter Marcia, and three devoted staffers. My heart still aches.

But what we gained, from Paul's life and legacy, cannot be erased by time. His passion and life's work is being carried on by his friends and colleagues, and by the good people of Minnesota, who I know miss him dearly.

And I know that if he could, Paul would tell us that there is no time for tears, and as he said many years ago, this is no time for timidity.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, today we mark the anniversary of a sad event. The tragic deaths 5 years ago of my friends, Paul and Sheila Wellstone. Yet I know that I join today the people of Minnesota and my colleagues here in the Senate in celebrating the lives they lived and the legacy they left behind.

Paul was a remarkable man who stood up in the Senate for those most in need of representation, the underprivileged, the oppressed, and the mentally ill. He stood up and he never backed down.

Paul Wellstone was a man of great energy and passion, seemingly always in motion, but never too busy to have a word with people he would come across in the corridors or in the elevators, never too busy to take a moment to talk with the tourists in the Capitol, Senate workers, or the constituents of other Senators. For this, he was beloved by the many people who serve us here in the Senate and the many others he touched. We all miss his eloquence, and his humor, but, most of all, we miss this man of warmth and caring.

When that plane crashed in northern Minnesota 5 years ago, his beloved State, the Senate, and the Nation were deprived of a wise and thoughtful leader. When I stood on the Senate floor to pay tribute to Paul Wellstone shortly after the accident, I pointed out that one of his last acts in the Senate was a vote against the war in Iraq. I recalled his speech then. But now, 5 years later, after the painful course which that war has taken, his words ring even more true. He saw and understood the first of the series of mistakes made in Iraq. He said, “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 never feared to fight for what he believed, even when in a small minority like his vote against the welfare reform bill in 1996, and his battles against the bankruptcy bill, and on behalf of more equitable funding for the victims of mental illness.

My wife Barbara and I often think of our friends, Paul and Sheila Wellstone, and the good times we shared. Because of those enduring memories, we celebrate their lives on this anniversary, in much the spirit that they lived, with a smile in our hearts.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, it is 5 years ago today that we lost one of the most articulate, most energetic, and brightest lights of this Senate when our colleague from Minnesota, Senator Paul Wellstone, and his family were killed in an airplane crash as he was campaigning in Minnesota for reelection.

Paul sat at that desk right there, and from that desk he would pace back and forth with his speeches, like a caged lion, because the energy was bursting from him as he would speak with such passion about the poor and the down-trodden and the dispossessed. It was such a voice that was snuffed out that when they had the memorial service for him, it is amazing the number of Senators who went to Minneapolis for that memorial service; Senators from both sides of the aisle, who had tremendous respect for this Senator who spoke with such passion.

I wanted to add my voice to those who have recalled the life of Senator Paul Wellstone and what he meant to America and to the Senate.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, today we remember Paul Wellstone, his wife Sheila, and his daughter Marcia. Today my wife Connie and I send our thoughts and prayers to the Wellstone sons, Mark and David.

Paul, so many of our colleagues noted earlier today, was more than a Senator, more than a professor. He was, of course, first and foremost a loving husband and a proud father. But for millions of Americans, Paul Wellstone was a hero.

Paul was an unparalleled champion for social and economic justice. He led by example, fighting for the weakest among us, those whose voices are too often drowned out or altogether ignored.

In the Senate, Paul Wellstone was their voice. He may have had the title "Senator," but he proudly, perhaps more proudly, wore the moniker "activist." From this Chamber, he fought for the poor, for the veterans, the environment, and working men and women not just in Minnesota but across the land and across the world. He led by example, an example we in this Chamber are well served to follow.

Five years after his death, he remains sorely missed.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, today marks 5 years since the tragic death of our friend and colleague, Paul Wellstone of Minnesota.

You know, I look around the Chamber, I see men and women of remarkable talents and abilities. But I have also had a strong sense that over the last 5 years there has sort of been a void in our midst; a very special Senator, a Member who played a unique role within this body, has been missing.

It is as though we are suffering from "phantom limb syndrome"; you know, where a person loses a limb but still feels its presence. Whenever an issue of moral urgency, an issue of conscience

comes to the Senate floor, I still expect to look back over here in the back row and see Paul Wellstone over there, chopping his hands in the air, speaking with his passion, urging us to do the right thing. On that score, I remind my colleagues that one of the last major votes cast by Senator Wellstone was his vote against a resolution later used by President Bush as an authority to launch an invasion of Iraq.

I remember it well because Paul and I were very close friends, and we debated this between us. I said: Paul, no, Bush is not going to use this as any kind of authorization to go to Iraq. This is only meant to give him the authority to go to the U.N., to get the U.N., which is what we want to do, is to get the U.N. inspectors back there.

Well, I think Paul was a little more prescient than I was. So we did not vote the same way on that. I will forever rue the day I voted to give President Bush that authority. Quite frankly, Senator Wellstone was in the midst of a very difficult reelection campaign when he cast that vote. So I think it is a measure of his political courage that he cast that vote without thinking about any political consequences.

Five years later, with our Armed Forces bogged down in a civil war in Iraq, it is painfully clear Senator Wellstone's vote was not only a courageous vote, it was the right vote.

I think Paul truly was, as I have said before, kind of the soul of the Senate. I have said before that no one ever wore the title "Senator" better or used it less. He loved it when ordinary folks came up to him and called him Paul. Some Senators might not be so approachable. Paul Wellstone was. He took that as a sign that ordinary people knew he was one of them. He was approachable and he cared.

Paul Wellstone was truly my best friend in the Senate. But he is one of those rare souls who so many saw as their best friend. He had a powerful authenticity about him that made a miner up in the Iron Range know he was as important to Paul Wellstone as the President of the United States. That was a very unique ability he had.

He never had to proclaim his decency. It shone forth in great acts of political courage and small acts of human kindness. He never had to say he cared. He never had to proclaim his compassion. You just knew it was there. The hard-working folks he cared about most didn't have lobbyists of influence, but they had Paul Wellstone. He truly was their best friend.

So 5 years later we remember the political science professor whose measure of truth was never in political theory but in the impact of our decisions on real people. We remember the community organizer who understood how to bring people together, rural and urban, environmentalists and labor, Republicans and Democrats and, as I have often joked, he even brought Minnesotans and Iowans together. We remember a leader, a proud Democratic Farm-

er Labor Party liberal who constantly reminded those of us who are Democrats that the purpose of our party is to offer hope and opportunity to all Americans, including the neediest among us.

I still remember the first time I ever met Paul Wellstone. It was in 1988. I was a freshman Senator. We were in the midst of one of the deepest recessions—depressions, almost—in farm country that we had had since the Great Depression. Farmers were losing their farms all over the Midwest. Suicides were up. Families were breaking up. There were bankruptcies. It was not a very good time in farm country. I remember I went out to speak to a large group right outside of Austin, MN, at a big farm gathering. I know there were well over 1,000 farmers. It was a big gathering. I think the Minnesota Farmers Union or maybe the National Farmers Union had pulled them together.

So they asked me to come speak because I had been, at that time, trying to get through a bill called the Harkin-Gephardt farm bill to respond to the crisis.

So I went there to speak and, of course, as any big gathering like that on the stage, you have a lot of different speakers. I was supposed to be the final speaker. I was the Senator. So I get there. We had one farmer speak, then the head of the Farmers Union speak and then somebody else spoke and then somebody else spoke. Right before me, they had this guy, this Professor Wellstone. I had never met this guy, and I am on the stage with him. I am preparing my remarks, thinking how I am going to get the crowd up and excited, get them stimulated. And so this Wellstone guy gets up to speak. He has long curly hair. He has a T-shirt on, kind of rolled up. He was muscular, a wrestler.

How can I say it? After he spoke, I didn't quite know what to do. He had everybody up. He was so enthusiastic. He had everybody pumped up. He had everybody enthused. I thought, how can I follow this? Well, I tried my best. It wasn't very good. I came back to my staff. I said: I don't know who that guy is, but don't you ever put me on after him again.

That was my first introduction to Paul Wellstone. Then after that we became friends. After that, through mutual friends in Minnesota, I found out that he was thinking of running for the Senate. Of course, he had a big primary. He won it. Of course, I couldn't do much to help him because I was fighting for survival myself in 1990. I had a Congressman running against me. I was a first-term Senator. But I couldn't have been more happy, after my own reelection, than the fact that Paul Wellstone won that race in Minnesota in 1990. So we joined forces in the Senate.

In 1996, running for reelection, that was a tough year. Quite frankly, both of us nearly lost. We were very close. I remember talking to him on the phone.

I said: Paul, I don't know if I am going to survive. He said:

Yes, we are going to survive.

Then 2002 came. I remember a dinner with another colleague. I won't mention the name. It is a personal thing. But we were thinking maybe of not running again. Paul Wellstone had said he was only going to serve two terms, and he was afraid of breaking that commitment. So we discussed this over dinner. Our wives were with us. We discussed the issue of running or not. I thought, well, I have been here for a couple terms myself. I didn't know if I wanted to do it anymore. That would have been my third term, his second. Then one by one we decided we were going to run again, and we talked Paul into it.

We said: Paul, you have to be here. You have to do it. And don't worry about that. Your people will understand. You have things to do. You haven't finished your job.

So we all decided, yes, we would seek another term in office.

Paul once said:

Politics is about what we create by what we do, what we hope for, and what we dare to imagine.

Paul was a hopeful man. I always remember that green was his color. He had that bus painted green. When I say "painted green," I mean with a paint brush. It was an awful paint job they did on that bus of his. He climbed aboard that bus in 1990 and set out to build a better America. But Paul never meant for it to be a solo voyage. He wanted us all aboard.

Though Paul is no longer with us, his journey for justice continues. Near the site of the tragic plane crash is a beautiful physical memorial for Paul and the seven others who died there: his wife Sheila, daughter Marcia, two pilots, campaign staffers Will McLoughlin, Tom Lapic, and Mary McEvoy. That is the physical monument.

I would like to think there are also living memorials that Paul would have been truly passionate about. One of those is the nonpartisan, nonprofit Wellstone Action organization founded by his sons, Mark and David, which trains citizens in civic activism and grassroots, people-to-people politics, the kind of politics he loved and excelled at like no one else.

I think there is one more Paul Wellstone legacy. It is not tangible, but it may be the most powerful legacy of all. That is our memory of his passion, his convictions, and his incredible capacity for bringing people together to accomplish important things.

Before closing, I must mention one of those important things he fought so hard for and was so passionate about that still remains unaccomplished. He fought hard all the time I knew him to end the neglect and denial surrounding issues of mental health, access to mental health services. Over 41 million persons suffer from a moderate or serious mental disorder each year. Less than

half receive the treatment they need, and 80 to 90 percent of all mental disorders are treatable by therapy and medication. Paul fought very passionately for the Mental Health Parity Act to end the absurd practice of treating mental and physical illnesses as two different kinds of things under health insurance.

In late 2001, the Senate passed the Mental Health Equitable Treatment Act, sponsored by Paul Wellstone and Senator DOMENICI of New Mexico—that was when I happened to be chairman. We had a brief interim where we had the Senate, at that time, 2001–2002—as an amendment to the 2002 Labor-Health and Human Services-Education appropriations bill. It passed the Senate. Then we went to conference. In conference it was argued that this was not the right place for it, that it should be on an authorization bill, not on an appropriations bill. I don't have the words right here, but I have them, when people committed that we would take care of mental health parity the next year on an authorization bill. So it was dropped in conference. Then 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, and we still don't have mental health parity. The Senate passed it. A strong majority of Members in the other body supported a similar bill entitled the Paul Wellstone Mental Health and Addiction Equity Act of 2007. But we still don't have it done.

I can't think of a better living legacy to Senator Paul Wellstone than for this Congress, the 110th Congress, to pass the strongest possible mental health parity bill and send it to the President to become law. I hope we can get that job done before we go home whenever that may be.

In closing, for those of us who had the privilege of serving with Paul Wellstone, his spirit is still very much with us. He still inspires us. He still calls us to conscience. He still makes us smile when we think of his puckish humor. He was the finest of men. We miss him greatly.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, having had the privilege of serving with Paul Wellstone for a couple of years after arriving as a Senator, not knowing him as well as Senator HARKIN knew him, I say amen to all the Senator from Iowa said and thank him for reminding us.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WHITEHOUSE). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

PASSENGER RAIL INVESTMENT AND IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 2007

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 294, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 294) to reauthorize Amtrak, and for other purposes.

Pending:

Sununu amendment No. 3452, to amend the Internet Tax Freedom Act to make permanent the moratorium on certain taxes relating to the Internet and to electronic commerce.

Sununu amendment No. 3453, to prohibit Federal subsidies in excess of specified amounts on any Amtrak train route.

Lautenberg (for Carper) amendment No. 3454 (to amendment No. 3452), of a perfecting nature.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 3453

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from New Jersey for giving me this time and for being a longtime advocate of Amtrak but not only the eastern corridor Amtrak. The Senator from New Jersey has worked diligently for a national system. The reason we have a need for a national system is because it is national. The national system connects other routes to each other. If we had funded Amtrak in the same way we funded and helped other modes of transportation, we would have a bigger ridership because we would have better on-time delivery. The bad on-time delivery has caused a drop-off in ridership. This does not mean we should abandon the national system.

I am pleased to be a cosponsor of this bill. Senator LOTT has been another longtime champion of a national system. There are 41 cosponsors of this bill. We have worked together to make sure we don't only subsidize the eastern corridor. I have said all along, it is national or nothing for me. I believe in a national passenger rail system, one that connects our country from coast to coast. My vision is that we have a track going across the northern part of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the southern part from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and then from the top to the bottom of our country, from the northernmost point down to the tip of Florida and the tip of California. That is a national system. It would have a track that also splits the middle of the country from Chicago down to Texas. From there, we have the capability to have State systems that would emanate from that skeleton.

It is important that we stay together. It would be easy to say: Well, the northeastern corridor does own its own tracks, and therefore it is more efficient, and why don't we just cut off the rest of the country and subsidize that? That is not a national system. I