

The philosophy that got us where we are, which this President inherited, President Obama, was a philosophy that said that a tax cut to the wealthy solves every problem and, by the way, step back and let corporate America regulate themselves, police themselves, and everything will be OK.

Well, we saw what happened on Wall Street—millions of jobs lost, 401(k)s gone, pensions gone, savings gone. We have seen what happened in the gulf when the oil companies policed themselves. We saw what happened in West Virginia, where the miners lost their lives because the mines were policing themselves. And we saw what happened economically in terms of job loss.

This really is a bigger fight than just the jobs bill in front of us. It is about whose side you are on. It is about what your values and priorities are. And I can tell you, just as a practical matter, I am going to support whatever works for the people I represent, whatever works for the people in Michigan.

This did not work, this red ink getting longer and longer and longer. President Obama comes in; 750,000 jobs lost a month. We put in a jobs bill, a Recovery Act to focus on manufacturing and small businesses, job training, to help the people who lost their jobs. It has been slow because the hole was so deep, but we have begun to turn it around. By the end of the year, we got it to zero jobs lost, and now we are gaining jobs. Now we have to keep gaining jobs. We are returning accountability and commonsense regulation to Wall Street, to the oil industry, and to other areas where lives could be lost and there is a public interest.

So we are in the middle of a major debate in this country. And what I find most disturbing is that too many on the other side of the aisle are rooting for failure. They want the President to fail. They want our majority to fail. But in the process of that, we all will fail. The country will fail if we do not have a set of economic policies and investments and partnerships that work, if we do not focus on the people who need temporary help and support right now while they hold their family together and look for a job.

When I think about the men and women fighting overseas, fighting in two wars around the world for our great democracy, they want to know that they are coming home to a job; that their family has a house; that the kids are going to be able to go to college; that they are going to be able to breathe fresh air and drink clean water; and that somehow that they were fighting not for some craziness, some crazy political battlefield here, but for a sense of love and thought about our country and the people in our country.

Patriotism really is, when it comes to our country, against other countries in the world, it is fighting for our side—not our side of the aisle but our country, not rooting for people to fail just so you can get a short-term polit-

ical advantage. I hope that does not work. Obviously, you could say for personal reasons, we do not want it to work, but I hope it does not work for our country because we have to get beyond this and be able to work together because too many people are counting on us.

In closing this evening, I want to express an apology to everyone who is caught in this economic tsunami. I am not going to stand here and apologize to BP, but I am going to apologize to the people who are out of work in this country for what has happened today because it is shameful. And over 87,000 people in my State are going to be directly affected by this by the end of next week. I apologize to them for what has happened because it is wrong. It is wrong. And we are going to do everything we can to turn this around because people are counting on us to do that.

MORNING BUSINESS

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

HONORING STEWART UDALL

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. President, the oilspill in the gulf looks to become one of the greatest environmental disasters in our lifetime. This accident, which has been brought on by our addiction to oil, is another tragic reminder—as if we needed one—of the sad inevitability of human error. This spill in the gulf is also a reminder of the fragile balance we must maintain between the development of resources and protecting the environment from which they spring. It puts me in mind of our generation's responsibility to our children and the challenge of fueling prosperity with newer, cleaner, and more sustainable energy sources.

As the world watches our efforts to contain this disaster, I cannot help but think about how another generation of Americans might have responded. In particular, I have one man in mind.

A few months ago—March 10, to be precise—my family mourned the loss of a great and good man who was beloved by everyone in our clan, from the eldest to the youngest among us. On that day, we lost my uncle, Stewart Udall, at the grand age of 90. Of course, our family is no different from any other American family. Death occurs every day, every hour, and every minute, and families cope with the loss, however it comes. It harkens us to cherish those all-too-brief moments we have with the people we love.

I would not take to the floor of the Senate to discuss personal loss, but I hope my colleagues will indulge me in taking a few moments to honor Stewart Udall, not because he was a mem-

ber of our family and because we loved him dearly but because his contributions to America deserve our recognition. So it is not my uncle I wish to recognize; it is Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall the conservationist, Stewart Udall the civil rights activist, author, historian, and public servant I wish to honor today.

Stewart never confused power with greatness. He was quoted saying as much. He knew that the power given to him by the people of Arizona to represent them in Congress, the power President John F. Kennedy bestowed upon him as Secretary of the Interior, and the power he subsequently had in private life as a man whose words and opinions mattered in the public arena—all of these manifestations of power were, for him, fleeting and not of deep consequence, except for the opportunity it gave him to make a difference in the world. And he did make a difference, a very big difference.

Under his leadership in the Kennedy-Johnson years, the Department of Interior was a beacon of conservation, wildland preservation, and environmental stewardship. As the New York Times recently noted, "Few corners of the Nation escaped Mr. Udall's touch."

For the wildlife, lands, and water of this country, his touch was a Midas touch. He added 3.85 million acres to the public lands inventory, including 4 national parks, 6 national monuments, 9 national recreation areas, 20 national historic sites, 50 wildlife refuges, and 8 national seashores.

While serving as Secretary of Interior, he also found time to write the first of many books in his long career as an author. His book "A Quiet Crisis" is considered a landmark work. His words provided a manifesto to an emerging public movement on behalf of the environment. Before Stewart Udall's time at Interior, the term "environmental policy" was not even a part of the public debate. By the time Stewart left public service, no politician in the country could run for office without addressing environmental concerns and issues.

While Stewart is deeply associated with the cause of conservation, his conscience was broader than the landscapes he helped protect. He cared deeply about the environment, but he cherished human beings. That is why he said:

Plans to protect air and water, wilderness and wildlife are, in fact, plans to protect man.

That is also why he took up the cause of Native Americans and why he was an early champion of civil rights and an unrelenting opponent of racial segregation.

Friends and colleagues noted that he had a rare reputation in political life. It has been said that he "never advanced his own ambitions by tearing down a fellow human being." I know this is true of Stewart Udall because

even his fiercest political opponents respected his sense of fairness and welcomed his friendship.

Mark Twain said:

The fear of death follows from the fear of life. A man who lives fully is prepared to die at any time.

Stewart Udall was a man who lived life fully. He had a zest for life and a thirst for knowledge and experience that was truly without bounds. I cannot say where this enthusiasm for experience was rooted, but it must have been nourished by the intimate and painful memories from no less than 50 missions as a tail gunner during the Second World War. I still marvel at this feat of endurance and bravery. The average life expectancy for a B-17 crew in the European theater was allegedly 14 missions. He flew 50. It was something he rarely spoke about.

I know if he were here with us today, Stewart would be in the thick of our debate about energy, the threat of climate change, and lessons to be drawn from our painful experience in the gulf. In a moving letter he drafted for his grandchildren, Stewart anticipated the challenges of our time and acknowledged the mistakes of his own. To that end, he wrote:

Operating on the assumption that energy would be both cheap and superabundant led my generation to make misjudgments that have come back and now haunt and perplex your generation. We designed cities, buildings, and a national system of transportation that were inefficient and extravagant. Now, the paramount task of your generation will be to correct those mistakes with an efficient infrastructure that respects the limitations of our environment to keep up with damages we are causing.

I cannot improve on words Stewart spoke in defense of conservation some years ago. Given the challenges we face today, I believe they still ring true, and I wish to close my tribute to his public service by recalling them now.

He said:

Over the long haul of life on this planet, it is the ecologists, and not the bookkeepers of business, who are the ultimate accountants.

Our progress as a society cannot be measured solely or even in part by the output of our economy, the number or complexity of our machines, or the brilliance of our technology. Our progress and success as human beings cannot be defined by gross domestic product, billions expended or invested, profit margins, trade balances, or numbers of hits on a Web page. In the end, our progress in any category of endeavor depends on our survival, and our survival is tied to the health and well-being of the planet we share. Stewart Udall illuminated this simple truth and made it the centerpiece of his public service. I am proud to have known him, I am honored that he was my uncle, and grateful, as are so many, to have been his pupil. His voice will be missed, but his wisdom endures.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I wish to thank my colleague from Colo-

rado for that beautiful and meaningful tribute to Stewart Udall and the lessons he has given us through his life and through this wonderful tribute. We very much appreciate it this evening.

CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, this week, we commemorate the United Nations International Day in Support of Victims of Torture. June 26, 2010, marks the 23rd anniversary of the day on which the Convention Against Torture—CAT—took effect. I am proud that the United States is a signatory to this important Convention and defends human dignity by criminalizing acts of torture. Along with the other 75 nations that have ratified the Convention, we affirm our commitment to hold those responsible for torture accountable for their actions.

I have worked hard for many years to improve the investigation and prosecution of international human rights abusers. I worked for several years to develop and secure passage of the Anti-Atrocity Alien Deportation Act. This act, which became law in 2004, expanded the mission of the Office of Special Investigations at the Department of Justice from denaturalizing Nazi war criminals, to investigating, extraditing, or denaturalizing any alien who participated in genocide, torture, or extrajudicial killing abroad. It has prompted, among other accomplishments, the deportation of a former Ethiopian official, Kelbessa Negewo. Negewo was accused of abuse and torture during the period of the Red Terror in Ethiopia in the mid-1970s. He is now serving a life sentence for torture and multiple killings in Ethiopia. This case proves that those who have committed reprehensible acts of torture and seek safe haven in the United States will not find refuge here.

In order to further improve our ability to identify and prosecute human rights abusers, I am proud to have co-sponsored the Human Rights Enforcement Act of 2009. Signed into law at the end of last year, this legislation created a new section within the criminal division of the Department of Justice with responsibility for prosecuting serious human rights offenses. Additionally, it amends a section of the Immigration and Nationality Act to prevent those who have ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in genocide from obtaining eligibility for protection under our asylum laws.

In addition to strengthening our ability to investigate and hold human rights violators accountable, I have worked hard to ensure that victims of atrocity can find protection here in the United States. In March of this year, I introduced S.3113, the Refugee Protection Act. This law will renew America's commitment to the ideals embodied in the Refugee Convention and eliminate cumbersome procedural delays currently faced by refugees who flee persecution or torture.

For those who have suffered mental, physical, and emotional harm as a result of torture, I have consistently supported funding for rehabilitation and treatment. In my work on the State and Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, we secured \$7,100,000 in the fiscal year 2010 Omnibus Appropriations Act for the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture and an additional \$13,000,000 for Victims of Torture programs and activities at U.S. Agency for International Development. In order to help these victims heal, we must continue to provide resources to aid physical and psychological recovery.

Vermont has also become home to many resettled refugees who have been victims of torture. A group called New England Survivors of Torture and Trauma—NESTT—has been established by the Department of Psychology at the University of Vermont and the Vermont Immigration and Asylum Advocates to offer medical, psychological, legal and social services in an effort to help address the needs of this community.

As we mark this year's United Nations International Day in Support of Victims of Torture, we must acknowledge that the United States has not always lived up to its ideals. Under the previous administration, abhorrent acts were authorized by a series of Office of Legal Counsel, OLC, memoranda, and a dark chapter in American history was written. Under questionable legal guidance that failed to meet ethical standards, acts occurred in the interrogation of terrorist suspects that failed to reflect the fundamental American ideals of justice, dignity, and human equality. Nothing has done more to damage our world standing and moral authority than this revelation. It is vital that the United States reclaim its historic role as a world leader on issues of human rights.

The claim by some that there is a necessary choice between ensuring security and upholding liberty is a falsehood. Until we understand what led to the production of the OLC memos and the acts that followed, we cannot move forward with a clear moral conscience. The imperative to discover what led to these events is stronger than ever. I remain a committed advocate of the establishment of an independent, non-partisan Commission of Inquiry to gather facts about how we arrived at this place. We must understand the mistakes of the previous administration to ensure that they never happen again. We cannot, and we must not ignore this chapter in the history of our Nation.

As we mark the Day in Support of Victims of Torture, we can begin to right these wrongs by renewing our commitment to recognize those who have suffered atrocities but fight on with enormous courage. To those around the world who have endured the unspeakable, we remember you. To those who have survived torture, inhuman, or degrading treatment at the