

Byron L. Dorgan

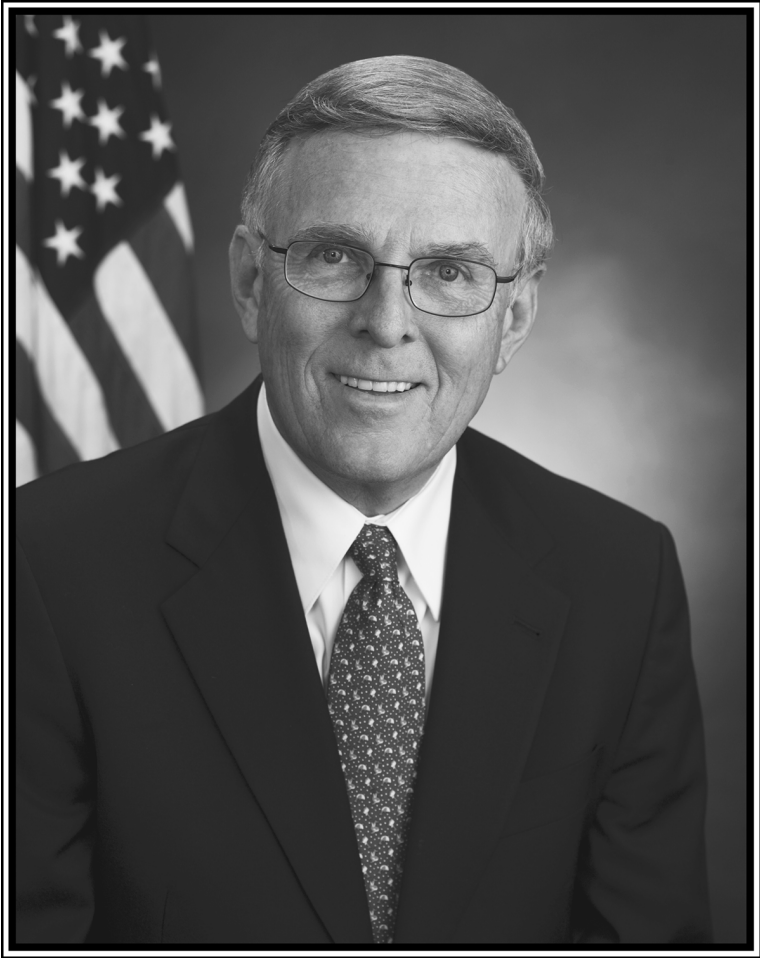
U.S. SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA

TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF  
THE UNITED STATES







Byron L. Dorgan

Tributes  
Delivered in Congress

Byron L. Dorgan  
United States Congressman  
1981-1992

United States Senator  
1992-2011



*Compiled under the direction  
of the  
Joint Committee on Printing*

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## BIOGRAPHY

U.S. Senator BYRON DORGAN was raised in the southwestern North Dakota town of Regent, where his family worked in the farm equipment and petroleum business and raised cattle and horses. At age 26, he became North Dakota's youngest-ever constitutional officer when he was appointed State tax commissioner. First elected to Congress in 1980, BYRON DORGAN has devoted his career to fighting for the interests of rural America.

Senator DORGAN served six terms in the U.S. House of Representatives and was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1992. He was a senior member of the Appropriations, Commerce, and Energy Committees. He also served as chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee and the Senate Democratic Policy Committee.

With his experience and ever-growing influence in Congress, Senator DORGAN worked to expand North Dakota's burgeoning energy sector, preserve a strong safety net for family farmers, and spur economic development throughout the State.

In 2002, he proposed the creation of a Red River Valley Research Corridor that would help attract research funding and high-tech companies to North Dakota. A 2006 North Dakota State University study found that the initiative created thousands of jobs and a \$759 million economic impact, allowing the State's college graduates to pursue careers close to home.

Senator DORGAN is a strong advocate of energy policy that will move our country aggressively toward the use of renewable energy and domestic energy sources, and away from our dangerous reliance on foreign oil. As chairman of the Senate Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee, he worked to fund development of renewable energy sources like wind, solar, and biofuels, as well as clean coal research that will help us find better ways to use the resource that fulfill 50 percent of our Nation's energy needs.

As a young boy in rural North Dakota, Senator DORGAN was ingrained early in life with a deep appreciation for the family farmers and ranchers who rise before dawn every day



to put food on the tables of families around the world. He has emerged as one of the Nation's leading voices on behalf of America's agriculture industry.

Senator DORGAN is the author of the *New York Times* best-selling book *Take This Job and Ship It: How Corporate Greed and Brain-Dead Politics Are Selling Out America*, and a newly released book *Reckless!: How Debt, Deregulation, and Dark Money Nearly Bankrupted America (And How We Can Fix It!)*.

He earned his bachelor of science degree from the University of North Dakota and his master of business administration from the University of Denver.

Senator DORGAN is married to Kim Dorgan and has four children: Scott, Shelly (deceased), Brendon, and Haley.

# Farewell to the Senate

Thursday, December 9, 2010

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, those of us who are leaving the Congress at the end of this year are given the opportunity to make a farewell speech. But more, it is an opportunity to say thank you to a lot of people to whom we owe a thank you, and to colleagues, to family, to the staff here in the Senate and our State staff, and the people of North Dakota, in this case, who gave me the opportunity to serve. It is the opportunity for me to say thank you.

One of my colleagues the other day talked about the number of people who have served in the Senate. Since the beginning of our country, there have been 1,918 people who have served in the Senate. When I signed in, I signed on the line, and I was No. 1,802. There have been 212 Senators with whom I have served in the years I have been in the Senate. It is hard to get here and it is also hard to leave. But all of us do leave, and the Senate always continues. When finally you do leave, you understand this is the most unique legislative body in the world.

I arrived 30 years ago in Congress, and when we all show up the first day, we feel so very important and we believe the weight of the world rests on our shoulders. Then we begin getting mail from home.

I have long described a letter that was sort of leavening to me, sent to me by a schoolteacher early on after I arrived here. Her class was to do a project to write to Mr. DORGAN in Washington, DC. I paged through the 20 letters from fourth grade students, and one of them said, "Dear Mr. DORGAN, I know who you are. I see you on television sometimes. My dad watches you on television too. Boy, does he get mad."

So I knew the interests of public service, of trying to satisfy all of the varied interests in our country. It is important, it seems to me, that we do the right thing as best we can and as best we see it. That dad from that letter showed up at a good many of my meetings over the years, I think. He didn't introduce himself. But in most cases, the people I represented over these many years were ordinary folks who

loved their country, raised their families, paid their bills, and wanted us to do the right thing for our country's future.

I have a lot of really interesting memories from having served here, 12 years in the House and 18 years in the Senate. The first week I came to Washington, in the House, I stopped to see the oldest Member of the House, Claude Pepper. I had read so much about him, I wanted to meet him. I walked into his office, and his office was like a museum with a lot of old things in it, really interesting things. He had been here for a long time. I have never forgotten what I saw behind his chair—two photographs. The first photograph was of Orville and Wilbur Wright, December 17, 1903, making the first airplane flight, signed “to Congressman Claude Pepper with admiration, Orville Wright.” Beneath it was a photograph of Neil Armstrong stepping on the surface of the Moon, signed “to Congressman Pepper, with regards, Neil Armstrong.” I was thinking to myself, here is a living American and in one lifetime, he has an autographed picture of the first person who learned to fly and the first person who walked on the Moon. Think of the unbelievable progress in a lifetime. And what is the distance between learning to fly and flying to the Moon? It wasn't measured on that wall in inches, although those photographs were only 4 or 5 inches apart; it is measured in education, in knowledge, in a burst of accomplishments in an unprecedented century.

This country has been enormously blessed during this period. The hallmark, it seems to me, of the century we just completed, was self-sacrifice and common purpose, a sense of community, commitment to country, and especially leadership. In America, leadership has been so important in this government we call self-government.

There was a book written by David McCullough about John Adams, and John Adams described that question of leadership. He would travel in Europe representing this new country, and he would write letters back to Abigail. In his letters to Abigail, he would plaintively ask the question, “Where will the leadership come from for this new country we are starting? Who will become the leaders? Who will be the leaders for this new nation?”

In the next letter to Abigail, he would again ask, “Where will the leadership come from?” Then he would say, “There is only us. Really, there is only us. There is me, there is George Washington, there is Ben Franklin, there is Thomas Jefferson, there is Hamilton, Mason, and Madison. But there is only us,” he would plaintively say to Abigail.

In the rearview mirror of history, of course, the “only us” is some of the greatest human talent probably ever assembled. But it is interesting to me that every generation has asked the same question John Adams asked, “Where will the leadership come from for this country? Who will be the leaders?”

The answer to that question now is here in this room. It has always been in this room—my colleagues, men and women, tested by the rigors of a campaign, chosen by citizens of their State who say, “You lead, you provide leadership for this country.”

For all of the criticism about this Chamber and those who serve in this Chamber, for all of that criticism, I say that the most talented men and women with whom I have ever worked are the men and women of the Senate on both sides of this aisle. They live in glass houses. Their mistakes are obvious and painful. They fight, they disagree, then they agree. They dance around issues, posture, delay. But always there is that moment of being part of something big, consequential, important; the moment of being part of something bigger than yourself. At that moment, for all of us at different times, there is this acute awareness of why we were sent here and the role the Senate plays in the destiny of this country.

The Senate is often called the most exclusive club in the world, but I wonder, really, if it is so exclusive if someone from a town of 300 people and a high school senior class of 9 students can travel from a desk in that small school to a desk on the floor of the Senate. I think it is more like a quilt work of all that is American, of all the experiences in our country. It allows someone from a small town with big ideas to sit in this Chamber among the desks that were occupied by Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, and so many more, and feel as if you belong. That is the genius of self-government.

I announced about a year ago that I would not seek reelection after serving here 30 years, 12 in the House and 18 years in the Senate. I am repeatedly asked, as is my colleague Senator Dodd, I am sure, who is leaving at the end of this year, “what is your most significant accomplishment?” While I am proud of so many things I have done legislatively, the answer is not legislative. I have always answered it by saying:

Well, the first month I was here, 30 years ago next month, I stepped into an elevator on the ground floor of the Cannon Office Building of the U.S.

House of Representatives. That step into that elevator changed my life. There was a woman on that elevator, and between the ground floor and the fourth floor, I got her name. And that is a pretty significant accomplishment for a Lutheran Norwegian. This year, we celebrated our 25th wedding anniversary. My life has been so enriched by my wife Kim and children, Scott and Shelly and Brendon and Haley; grandchildren Madison and Mason—they serve too. Families are committed too, to this life of public service, weekends alone, and I am forever grateful to the commitment and sacrifice of my family.

I wish to say two things about some other people as well.

First, there is our staff. All of us would probably say—but, of course, I say with much greater credibility—I have the finest staff in the U.S. Senate. I have been so enormously blessed. I am so proud of all of them. They are talented, they are dedicated to this country, and I have been blessed to work with them. In fact, I have worked with most of them for many years.

Then I wish to say to the floor staff of the Senate that I come here, as do my colleagues, and we say our piece and we get involved in the debates, and the floor staff does such an unbelievable job. When we are done speaking, we often leave. They are still here. They are the ones who turn out the lights. They refrain from rolling their eyes when I know they want to during these debates. Boy, are they professional, and all of us owe them such a great debt of gratitude.

To my colleagues, I kind of feel like Will Rogers: There is nobody in here I do not like.

It is a great place with some terrific colleagues, especially Senator Kent Conrad. We have been friends for 40 years. For 40 years we have been involved in the political fights and the political battles in North Dakota. He is a great Senator. I said last night at a reception, “He is the best Senator in the U.S. Senate come January.” But what I should just say right now is, he is an outstanding Senator and makes a great contribution to this body. Congressman Pomeroy, with whom I have served, the other part of Team North Dakota, three of us who worked together on campaigns 40 years ago, in North Dakota and who then for 18 years were the only three members of North Dakota’s congressional delegation. It has been a great pleasure. We will continue these friendships. But I say thanks to Senator Conrad especially for the work we have done together.

Now, you know—and it shows—I love politics. I love public service, always have. John F. Kennedy used to say every mother kind of hopes her child might grow up to be President, as long as they do not have to be active in politics. But,

of course, politics is the way we make decisions about America. It is an honorable thing. I have always been enormously proud of being in politics. I have run 12 times in statewide elections since age 26. I have served continuously in statewide elective office since the age of 26—never outside of statewide elective office—for a long time, 40 years. It has been a great gift to me to be able to serve, and I am forever grateful to the people of North Dakota who have said to me, “We want you to represent us.”

Now it is time for me to do some other things that I have long wanted to do. That is why I chose not to seek reelection this year.

Let me be clear to you. I did not decide not to run for the Senate because I am despondent about the state of affairs here. That is not the case. These are difficult and troubling times. But I did not decide not to run and to criticize this institution, although there is plenty of which to be critical. I do not want to add to the burdens of this institution. This institution is too important to the future of this country.

I could talk, by the way, for hours about the joys of serving here with all of my colleagues.

I was thinking about the late Ted Kennedy, when I was jotting a few notes, standing at his desk back in that row for many years. I know no one will mind me saying this: I think he is the best legislator I have ever seen in terms of getting things done. Ted Kennedy, full of passion, and on certain days when he was agitated and full-throated, you could hear him out on the street fighting and shouting for the things he knew were important for America.

I think of Bob Dole who would saunter onto this floor, and he almost seemed to have an antenna that knew exactly what was going on, what the mood was, and what he could and could not do and how you must compromise at certain times. He had a knack like that, unlike any others I have seen.

I think of Strom Thurmond, who left us at age 101. If anybody could know his life story, what an unbelievable, courageous story. One of the things that I remember about Strom Thurmond is my involvement with legislation for organ transplantation to save people’s lives. I did a press conference on a bill I was introducing on organ transplants, and Strom Thurmond showed up. I think he was 90 years old. He signed an organ donor card. He said after he signed the organ donor card at age 90, “I do not know if I’ve got any-

thing anybody wants, but if I am gone, they are welcome to it.”

Robert C. Byrd, who sat where my colleague is sitting now—they do not make them like Robert C. Byrd anymore. I recall one day when another colleague was on the Senate floor, Robert C. Byrd got very angry about what the other colleague was saying. He believed it was disrespectful. So he rushed up to the Chamber, and the other colleague had left by that time. I do not know that our colleague ever understood what happened to him. But Senator Byrd, being very angry at what the other Senator had said, said simply this, “I have been here long enough to watch pygmies strut like Colossus.” He said, “They, like the fly in ‘Aesop’s Fables,’ sitting on the axle of a chariot observe, my, what dust they do raise.” Then he sat down. And I thought, you know, they do not make Senators like that anymore. The Senator who left did not understand what Senator Byrd had just done, cutting him off at the knees.

I take a treasury of memories. I should mention as well one of my best friends, Tom Daschle, who served here, a wonderful friend and a great leader for a long while as well. I just take a treasury of memories from this place.

This place, however, has substantial burdens ahead of it, and will have to make good decisions, tough decisions, and exhibit the courage needed for the kind of future we want; we are going to have to put some sacrifice on the line for our country’s future.

I want to talk for a bit about a couple of those issues. While there are always big issues, and I have always been interested in debating the big issues, my principal passion has been to support family farmers, small business folks, and the people who go to work every morning at a job. It is the family farmers out there who live on hope, plant a seed, and hope it grows, who risk everything. It is the Main Street business owner who this morning got up and turned the key in the front door and went in and waited because they have everything in their financial lives on the line, hoping their small business works. And it is the worker who goes to a job in the morning every day, and they are the ones who know “seconds,” those workers at the bottom of the economic ladder. They know second shift, secondhand, second mortgage. They know it all. The question is, who speaks for them? The hallways outside the Chamber are not crowded with people saying, “Let me speak for those folks.”

In the first book I wrote, the first page, a book called *Take This Job and Ship It*, about trade, I describe a story that was told about Franklin Delano Roosevelt's funeral. As they lined up in this Capitol to file past the casket of the deceased President, a journalist was trying to capture the mood of people who were waiting in line. He walked up to a man, a worker who was holding his cap in front of him, standing there with tears in his eyes, and the journalist said to this working man, "Well, did you know Franklin Delano Roosevelt?"

The man said, "No, I didn't. But he knew me."

The question is, it seems to me, for every generation in this Chamber, who knows American workers? Who stands up for the people who go to work every morning in this country? As I said, there are big issues that relate to workers and farmers and business people and others in this country.

Let me just mention a couple. We know that for America to succeed we have to fix our schools. Thirty percent of the kids going to schools are not graduating. That cannot continue. We cannot have schools that are called dropout factories. We need the best schools in the world with the best teachers in the world if we are going to compete. We need substantial education reform.

We also have to get rid of this crushing debt. We know we cannot borrow 40 percent of everything we spend. We know better than that. All of us know that. We have been on a binge, and it has to change. We cannot borrow money from China, for example, to give tax cuts to the wealthiest Americans. Somehow we have to change all of these issues. It is time for this country to sober up in fiscal policy and leadership from this Chamber as well.

We need a financial industry that stops gambling and starts lending, lending especially to those businesses that want to create jobs and want to expand. We need a fair trade policy that stands up for American workers for a change and promotes "made in America" again. We are not going to be a world economic power if we do not have world class manufacturing capability. It is dissipating before our eyes. This is all about creating good jobs and expanding opportunities in this country. It is not happening with our current trade policy. It is trading away America's future, and we know better than that.

On energy, we have ridden into a box canyon. Sixty percent of the oil we use comes from other countries, some of it from countries that do not like us very much. That holds



us hostage, and we cannot continue that. We need to produce more of all kinds of energy at home. We need to conserve more. We need more energy efficiency. We need to do all of these to promote stability and security in this country.

Another issue that I have spent a lot of time working on deals with American Indians. They were here first. We are talking about the first Americans. They greeted all of us. They now live in Third World conditions in much of this country, and we have to do better. We have to keep our promises and we have to honor our treaties. In this Congress, I have had the privilege of chairing the Indian Affairs Committee. This Congress, however, as tough as it has been, has done more on Indian issues than in the previous 40 years. We passed the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, the first time in 17 years. We passed the Tribal Law and Order Act that I and others helped write, which is so very important. We just passed yesterday the special diabetes provisions that are so important to the Indians. We put \$2.5 billion in the Economic Recovery Act to invest in health care facilities and education and the other things that are necessary in Indian country.

We just passed the *Cobell* settlement which deals with a problem that has existed for 150 years in which looting and stealing from Indian trust accounts went on routinely. President Obama signed the bill last night at the White House.

Those five things are the most important elements together that have been done in 40 years by a Congress dealing with Indian issues. But the work is not nearly over, and we have to keep our promises and honor our trust agreements.

We face some pretty big challenges. But the fact is, our grandparents and great-grandparents faced challenges that were much more significant and they prevailed.

All of us in politics especially know the noise of democracy is unbelievable. It is relentless, incessantly negative, and it goes on 24/7. We have bloviators all over the country who are trying to make sounds from the chest seem like important messages from their brain. They take almost everything they can find in any paper from any corner of this country that seems stupid and ugly and just way out of line, and they hold that up to the light on their program and they say, "Isn't this ugly?"

Sure it is ugly, but it is not America. It is just some little obscene gesture somewhere in the corner of our country. It is not America. There is this old saying, "bad news travels

halfway around the world before good news gets its shoes on.” That is what is happening all the time. This country is full of good. It is full of good things, good people, and good news. Every day people go to work to build, create, and invent, and they hope the future will be better than the past.

There was a book titled *You Can't Go Home Again* by Thomas Wolfe. He said there is a peculiar quality of the American soul that has an almost indestructible belief, a quenchless hope that things are going to be better, that something is going to turn up, that tomorrow is going to work out, and somehow that has been what has been the hallmark of American aspirations.

When I graduated college with an MBA degree and got my first job in the aerospace industry at a very young age, the first program or project I worked on was called the Voyager Project. We were, with Martin-Marietta Corporation, building a landing vehicle for Mars. That was 40 years ago. That program was discontinued after about 4 years.

But 5 years ago, the new program resulted in firing two missiles, two rockets from our country, 1 week apart. We aimed them at Mars. One week apart the rockets lifted off with a payload. When they landed, 200 million miles later, they landed 1 week apart on the surface of Mars. The payload had a shroud and it opened and a dune buggy drove off the shroud and started driving around on the surface of Mars. First one did, and then 1 week later the second arrived. They were named Spirit and Opportunity. Five years ago, we began driving Spirit and Opportunity on the surface of Mars. They were American vehicles. They were supposed to last for 90 days. We are still driving those dune buggies on the surface of Mars 5 years later.

Spirit, very much like old men, got arthritis of the arm. So they say it hangs at kind of a permanent half salute.

Spirit also has five wheels, and one wheel broke. So the wheel didn't break off, but now it is digging a trench about 2 inches deeper on the surface of Mars and the arthritic arm just barely gets there, but it does. It gets back to sample even a slightly bit deeper into the soil of Mars to tell us a little bit about what is going on. Spirit, by the way, also fell asleep about 1 year ago. They couldn't reach it. It takes 9 minutes to communicate electronically, by radio, with these dune buggies on Mars. So they sent a signal to a satellite we have circling Mars and had the satellite send a signal to Spirit and Spirit woke right up. So two dune buggy-sized ve-

hicles are traveling on the surface of Mars driven by American genius.

My point in all this is, first of all, they are very aptly named during challenging times—"Spirit" and "Opportunity," manufactured to last only 90 days but still driving around on the surface of Mars 5 years later. If American invention and American initiative can build rockets and dune buggies and drive them on the surface of Mars, surely we can fix the things that are important on planet Earth. I was going to say this isn't rocket science, but I guess it is.

This country is an unbelievable place. This is all a call to America's future. Where we have been and what we have done, all these things together ought to inspire us that we can do so much more.

George Bernard Shaw once said, "Life is no brief candle to me. It is a splendid torch which I am able to hold but for a moment." This is our moment. This is it.

About 15 years ago, I was leading a delegation of American Congressmen and Senators to meet with a group of European members of Parliament about our trade disputes. An hour into the meeting, the man who led the European delegation slid back in his chair, leaned across to me, and said:

Mr. Senator, we have been speaking for an hour about how we disagree. I want to tell you something. I think you should know how I feel about your country. I was a 14-year-old boy on a street corner in Paris, France, when the U.S. liberation army marched down the Champs-Élysées. An American soldier reached out his hand and gave me an apple as he marched past. I will go to my grave remembering that moment, what it meant to me, what it meant to my family, what it meant to my country.

I sort of sat back in my chair, thinking, here is this guy telling me about who we are and where we have been and what we have meant to others. It was pretty unbelievable. Our problems are nothing compared to where we can go and what we can be as a country, if we just do the right thing.

This Senate has a lot to offer the American people. I know its best days are ahead. That splendid torch, that moment, that is here. That torch exists in this Chamber as well.

I feel unbelievably proud to have been able to serve here with these men and women for so long. I am going to go on to do other work. But I will always watch this Chamber and those who will continue to work here and do what is important for this country's future. I will be among the cheerleaders who say, "Good for you. You know what is important, and you have steered America toward a better future."

I thank my colleagues.

(Applause, Senators rising.)

TRIBUTES

TO

BYRON L. DORGAN



# Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *November 30, 2010*

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, 16 Senators will retire this year. There is a pretty big turnover in this body, but that is a lot of Senators at once. We are losing an enormous amount of talent, but, of course, we are gaining a lot of talent with the new Senators.

I wish to show my respect for those who have served, which I will do in a summary fashion because we are talking about 16 individuals with very complex and distinguished backgrounds.

One might ask, what are the characteristics of a Senator? There are a lot of different answers to that, depending on your background and attitude toward politics and government. First, I have always thought that one characteristic of almost every Member of the Senate is that he or she probably was a first grader sitting in the front row, hand in the air waiting to be recognized. This is an eager bunch or you would not have gotten here.

Second, it is a group of risk takers. Most people who end up in the Senate get here because a lot of other people who wanted to be Senators were standing around waiting for the right time to run. A lot of people who were elected to the Senate seemed to have no chance of winning at the time they decided to run, but the voters decided differently, and here they are.

Third, we are almost all professional and congenial. That is a big help. It is almost a requirement in an organization of 100 individuals who spend almost all their time with one another, who serve in a body that operates by unanimous consent, when just one Senator can bring the whole place to a halt, and whose job basically is to argue about some of the most difficult issues that face the American people. So it helps that almost every Member of the Senate is an especially congenial person.

Back in Tennessee, people often say to me it must be rough being in that job. They are awfully mean up there.

The truth is, I don't know of a more congenial group than the Members of the Senate. We begin the day in the gym. The next thing you know we are at a Prayer Breakfast, and then we are at a committee hearing. Then we are on the floor voting, and then we have lunch. It goes through the day until 7 or 8 o'clock, or sometimes later. We live together and we get along very well. We know and respect each other.

Not long ago, the Presiding Officer (Mr. Udall of New Mexico) and I were having dinner together with our wives. We were lamenting the loss of families who know one another, the way it happened when his father was serving in Congress and when I first came to the Senate to work for Senator Baker. And that's true. We've lost some of that. Still, there is an enormous amount of affection and good will here. You don't always get to be very close friends in this job, but you get to be very good acquaintances, and you learn to respect people for their strengths.

Senator Domenici said, when he left, that we don't do a very good job of saying goodbye here. That is true. As one part of saying goodbye, I wish to say at least one good thing about each one of the 16 retiring Senators. Much more could be said about each, of course. Mostly, I am going in alphabetical order. . . .

Senator BYRON DORGAN. I once heard the Chaplain say there is no better storyteller in the Senate than Senator DORGAN. He didn't mean making up stories. He said he was good at taking what he figured was the truth and explaining it in ways the rest of us could understand. I have enjoyed working with him on legislation that would make it easier to introduce electric cars and trucks in our country and reduce our dependence on foreign oil. . . .

It has been my privilege to serve with these 16 Senators. We thank them for their service to our country. They have had a chance to serve in what we regard as the world's greatest deliberative body; it is a special institution. We will miss their leadership, and we hope they will stay in touch with us because they are not just retiring Senators, they are all our friends.

I yield the floor.

WEDNESDAY, *December 8, 2010*

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed as a Senate document a compilation of ma-

terials from the *Congressional Record* in tribute to retiring Members of the 111th Congress, and that Members have until Thursday, December 16, to submit such tributes.

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

THURSDAY, *December 9, 2010*

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, we have just heard from Senator DORGAN (see farewell address, page vii), an extraordinary Senator and even more extraordinary as a friend. He has served in the Congress for 30 years. He has served in public office in my State for more than 40 years. It has been my privilege to call him my best friend for 42 years. We just heard the remarkable ability he has, a gift, to paint word pictures that communicate with people, that help us understand the consequences of the actions we take here.

In recent weeks, I have become very interested in the universe and the vastness of what surrounds us. One of the things I have found most striking is that 1 light-year goes 5.8 trillion miles, and the universe is 12–15 billion light-years across. This is a vastness that is hard for us to calculate. Scientists tell us it all started with a big bang almost 14 billion years ago. Now scientists are saying it may not just be one big bang but there is a cycle that takes place over 1 trillion years that leads to repeated big bangs. BYRON DORGAN has been a big bang in the Senate. He has made a difference here. He has made an enormous difference in our home State of North Dakota. He helped build a foundation that has made North Dakota, today, the most successful State in the country—the lowest unemployment, the best financial situation, the fastest economic growth. BYRON DORGAN helped build a foundation that has transformed our State. We are forever in his debt.

As his friend and colleague, we are forever grateful to the contributions he has made to North Dakota and to the Nation.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from North Dakota and add my voice as well to celebrate Senator DORGAN's tenure in the Senate.



I wish he was going to stay. He has been someone about getting things done. As somebody who has sat in the presiding chair a number of times, I have heard Senator DORGAN. Even when I don't fully agree with him, no one is more persuasive in arguing his case.

Mr. REID. BYRON DORGAN from North Dakota is such a fine person. He for many years has had the same job I had under Senator Daschle, the head of the Democratic Policy Committee, and he rendered valuable service to the caucus, to the Senate, and the whole country in his capacity there. We served together in the House of Representatives. We have traveled together. His wife Kim is such a fine human being. I am going to miss BYRON. He is and has been one of my close advisers, close friends. I hope I am not being boastful here, but I don't think Tom Daschle had two better friends in the Senate than DORGAN and Reid. We were very close to him. We admired our friend Tom Daschle and did everything we could to make his life here as pleasant as possible.

As far as being a good speaker, BYRON DORGAN is very good. He has a unique way of communicating that very few people I have known have had. He is someone who, as far as the finances of this country and the world, is without peer as a legislator. He knows it all, and he has a way of articulating his views that is unique and I think very powerful. So I am going to miss BYRON DORGAN very much. He is a wonderful human being. I care a great deal about him. I have watched his son and daughter grow up. They are in college now. I remember them when they were little kids. In fact, my son Key, who was a fine athlete at the University of Virginia, when he was playing on those national champion soccer teams at the University of Virginia, gave BYRON's son Brendon a few soccer lessons. So I am grateful for the friendship of Senator Bennett and Senator DORGAN.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in honoring the service of Senator BYRON DORGAN. Over his nearly 30 years in Congress, Senator DORGAN has been a strong and dedicated advocate for the people of the State of North Dakota.

Senator DORGAN's long career in public service began in 1969 when he was appointed North Dakota State tax commissioner. Assuming this position at the age of only 26, Senator DORGAN became the youngest constitutional officer in North Dakota's history.

Since 1980, Senator DORGAN has been a voice for the people of North Dakota in Washington, DC. After serving six terms in the House of Representatives, he was first elected to the Senate in 1992.

It is clear that Senator DORGAN's upbringing in the small town of Regent, ND, has shaped his tenure in Congress. Throughout his years in Congress, Senator DORGAN has been a formidable advocate for rural America and the family farmers of his State. He led the effort to make permanent the Disaster Aid Program, which provides an essential safety net for farmers and ranchers affected by severe weather, in the 2008 farm bill.

Senator DORGAN also has been a great advocate for North Dakota's energy sector. As the country moves toward renewable and domestic energy sources, he has worked to put his State at the forefront of the industry.

After so many years of public service for the people of North Dakota, Senator DORGAN's time in the Senate is coming to a close. I am proud to have served with him, and I thank him for his service in the Senate. I wish Senator DORGAN and his family the best in the next chapters in their lives.

FRIDAY, *December 10, 2010*

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to our colleagues who are departing the Senate after distinguished service on behalf of their States and on behalf of the Nation. I have been privileged to work with these individuals, to learn from them, to collaborate and cooperate with them, and to, in some small way, help them do what they have done so well—represent their States with fidelity, with great effort, and to move the agenda of the Nation forward. . . .

BYRON DORGAN was an integral part for many years in this Senate. He is one of those individuals whose wisdom you appreciate more and more each day. He is someone who spoke years ago about the offshoring of jobs, and he spoke years ago about a tax system that doesn't reward investment in American jobs but ironically might encourage disinvestment of those jobs. He is someone who spoke with reason, candor, thoughtfulness, and facts about issues that the rest of us are beginning to recognize today are critical to the future of this country.

We will also miss his steady hand on the Appropriations Committee, where he battled to ensure that the reasonable priorities of this Nation were met. His support and help in terms of LIHEAP funding and his help to me personally in so many different ways is deeply appreciated. I thank him for his service. I know he will continue to provide, in his writings and speeches, the wise and thoughtful insights that, again, as we look back, I think we should have heeded with much more energy and enthusiasm when he spoke them. . . .

To all of these colleagues and their families, my deepest appreciation and my profoundest respect.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise again to recognize the service of another great Federal employee. This is a tradition that was started by our friend and former colleague, Senator Kaufman, and I am proud to carry on that tradition. But I want to first say that I appreciate the remarks of the Presiding Officer (Mr. Reed) about our colleagues who are leaving this body, and I share his great respect for not only Senator Kaufman but all of the colleagues who are leaving the body at the end of this Congress. . . .

WEDNESDAY, *December 15, 2010*

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I have been honored for the past 18-plus years to serve alongside Senator BYRON DORGAN, who is preparing to leave the Senate after three distinguished terms. Senator DORGAN has been one of the most plain-spoken, energetic, and formidable forces in the U.S. Senate, and I will sorely miss his voice.

Some might, at first, see relatively little in common between more urban, industrialized Michigan and more rural, agricultural North Dakota. But Senator DORGAN and I saw eye to eye on issue after issue—problems that needed to be tackled, outrages that needed to be exposed.

One of those problems is tax abuse. Senator DORGAN has been one of the Senate's most stalwart and active opponents of tax cheats who rob the Treasury of billions of dollars each year, while unloading their tax burden onto the backs of honest taxpayers. He introduced legislation, commissioned key GAO reports, and fought long and hard against tax breaks that encourage U.S. companies to ship jobs offshore, set up factories in other countries, and use phony offshore companies to dodge taxes. I remember one floor fight last year in

which he led a successful effort to stop legislation that would have opened the floodgates to billions of dollars that U.S. companies had hoarded offshore and wanted to bring back home without paying the same tax rate as their competitors. I remember battles we fought to stop so-called “inverted” corporations—companies that pretend to move their headquarters offshore as a method of dodging U.S. taxes—from participating in Federal contracts. I remember joining with him to request data exposing how U.S. companies have stopped bearing their share of the tax burden. I am going to miss his iron will and sharp wit in the ongoing battles to combat tax abuse.

Senator DORGAN has also been an articulate and strenuous defender of American workers, benefiting working families not only in North Dakota and Michigan, but across the Nation. For years, he has fought for fair trade policies, insisting trade partners like South Korea and Japan, that export millions of autos to the United States, open their doors to U.S.-made autos. There may be no major auto factories in Senator DORGAN’s home State, but that did not prevent him from exposing the hypocrisy and injustice of unequal market access and demanding change. I will miss his voice in the ongoing battles to pry open markets now shut to American goods.

Senator DORGAN also fought for American working families when he helped author the Creating American Jobs and Ending Offshoring Act, a bill that sought to end the tax benefits given to employers that send jobs overseas, and instead reward the companies that invest in the United States. I am hopeful that the Senate may yet see the wisdom of his legislation and enact it into law. Senator DORGAN literally wrote the book on how corporate interests and political shortsightedness are hurting U.S. workers and the U.S. economy, and the Nation will continue to benefit from his work on this issue even after he has left the Senate.

Similarly, as cochair of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, Senator DORGAN has done much to shed light on human rights abuses in China and to illustrate how China has often failed to make good on its World Trade Organization commitments. I am a member of the commission, and my brother is Senator DORGAN’s cochair, and we have both enjoyed the privilege of working with him in that forum.

Finally, Senator DORGAN has been an essential voice in the Senate on reining in the excesses of Wall Street. As chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations,

which conducted a 2-year investigation into the financial crisis, I know personally how diligent, informed, and intense his efforts were to restore sanity to the U.S. financial system. He took it upon himself to organize Senators into a force for change and reform. When lobbyists claimed banks were the victims rather than the perpetrators of the crisis, that their executives had done nothing wrong, and their multimillion dollar paychecks were justified, Senator DORGAN dug into the facts, educated himself on the most esoteric financial engineering, and took on the special interests. For example, he crafted an amendment to the Wall Street reform legislation to ban “naked” credit default swaps and worked with me to add my amendment banning synthetic asset-backed securities. Our joint amendment was unsuccessful, but time will show those types of high-risk, empty bets do nothing to advance the real economy and much to direct dollars into the mindless casino that plagued the U.S. financial system.

I will sorely miss Senator DORGAN’s insight and determination in the ongoing battles to rein in Wall Street excess. The people of North Dakota are rightly proud of Senator DORGAN. He is a fighter, and he never stopped fighting for them. They have benefited greatly from Senator BYRON DORGAN’s service. The people of our Nation have benefited. I know the working families of my State have benefited. I want to thank him for his service, for his energy, for his diligence, for his tenacity, and for his friendship. On a personal level, Barbara and I wish him and Kim and their family the best as they embark on this new path together.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the printing of tributes be modified to provide that Members have until sine die of the 111th Congress, 2d session, to submit tributes and that the order for printing remain in effect.

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

THURSDAY, *December 16, 2010*

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a longtime colleague and friend of mine, Senator BYRON DORGAN who will be retiring from the U.S. Senate when the 112th Congress convenes in January. I would like to take

this moment to thank BYRON for his service, and wish him, his wife, Kim, and the rest of his wonderful family the very best as they embark on this new chapter in their lives.

BYRON has dedicated the better part of his adult life to serving the people of his State. When he was just 26 years old, BYRON became the youngest constitutional officer in North Dakota history when he was appointed to serve as the State's tax commissioner. In 1980, BYRON once again demonstrated his commitment to public service when he was elected to the State's lone House seat. Twelve years later, after six terms in the House, the people of North Dakota once again returned BYRON to Washington, this time as their U.S. Senator.

Throughout his career in public service, BYRON has been particularly vocal on issues related to U.S. agricultural policy. As a young man growing up in the small town of Regent, ND, BYRON developed a strong appreciation for American farmers and ranchers and the important work they do to keep our country fed. Indeed, BYRON's own family worked in the farm equipment business and raised cattle and horses. As a result, he has been a consistent advocate for greater economic security and opportunity in rural America.

Since 1999, BYRON has also chaired the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, where he has played an important role in helping to craft the Senate Democratic policy agenda over the last several years. But after BYRON leaves the Senate in just a few short weeks, I believe he will be remembered as a public servant who was devoted first and foremost to advancing the interests of the people of his beloved home State, North Dakota.

Once again, I would like to thank BYRON for his many years of service, and wish him well as he leaves the Senate. It has truly been a pleasure working with him over the years, and I firmly believe that this body will not be the same without him.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise today to bid farewell to a number of our friends and colleagues who are ending their service in the Senate. Their contributions are too numerous to mention, therefore I would like to take just a few minutes to highlight some of the memories of the Senators I came to know personally.

Some of the departing Senators I have served with for decades. Others were here for only part of a term. All of them worked hard for their constituents and our country. . . .

It has been a pleasure to serve with Senator BYRON DORGAN of North Dakota, and I will miss him greatly. I have had the honor to work alongside Senator DORGAN on two committees of great importance to both of our States, the Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

Senator DORGAN and I served on the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs together beginning in the 104th Congress. During his tenure as chairman during the last 4 years, I saw first hand the leadership skills and compassion he possesses. Chairman DORGAN has shown his dedication to all of our Nation's indigenous people: American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians. Thank you Senator DORGAN for your efforts to improve the quality of life for America's native people.

I am grateful that Chairman DORGAN has been a strong ally to Hawaii's indigenous people, the Native Hawaiian people. He has stood with Senator Daniel Inouye and me as we have worked to have the United States fulfill its obligations to all of its Native people, including Native Hawaiians. *Mahalo*, Chairman DORGAN, for your *aloha* to the people of Hawaii.

Senator DORGAN is a great statesman and a gentleman who has served the people of North Dakota in the U.S. Congress for three decades. During our combined service on the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, I repeatedly saw Senator DORGAN's passion for the people of North Dakota as he worked to make his State a pioneer in renewable energy efforts. For those of us who serve in the Senate, we work tirelessly to advance the needs of not only our home States, but the whole Nation. Senator DORGAN has proven himself both a great North Dakotan and a great American.

The Senate will be a much different place without his leadership, and I know that I am joined by many of my colleagues in wishing him many successes in the future. Many of my constituents in Hawaii will miss his leadership just as his own constituents in North Dakota will.

*Mahalo* for your friendship and for your service to our Nation. On behalf of Millie and our family, I send our *aloha* to you and Kim and your family. We wish you the best as you begin a new chapter in your lives. . . .

In closing, the end of this Congress is bittersweet, with so many talented and dedicated public servants leaving this institution. All of them made a lasting impact on the Senate

and on our country. *Mahalo nui loa*, thank you, for all your work.

FRIDAY, *December 17, 2010*

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, at the end of each session of Congress it has long been a tradition in the Senate to take a moment to express our appreciation and say goodbye to those who will not be returning in January for the beginning of the next Congress. One of those I know I will miss who will be heading home to North Dakota to begin the next chapter of his life is BYRON DORGAN.

BYRON was raised in the ranching and wheat growing region of North Dakota in the town of Regent. Looking back, he has often said that he graduated in the top 10 of his high school class. "There were nine of us," he then adds with a smile.

Growing up in a community that was so heavily involved in agriculture gave him an early taste of what rural life is all about. He experienced first hand the importance of farming to his home State and the hard work associated with taking good care of the land and the resources it provides. He saw the way people who live on farms schedule their days—working from sunrise to sunset, going from task to task knowing there was always more work to be done than there were hours in the day. It was a lesson about the true meaning of hard work that would stay with him throughout his life and help direct his efforts and his service in the Senate.

One issue we shared an interest in and worked together on for years has been sales tax fairness. BYRON took his experience as a former tax administrator and I used my background as an accountant to focus our work on the issue. BYRON's understanding of our tax system and how it must work efficiently to provide the government with the resources that are needed to fund its operations was very impressive. That should come as no surprise to anyone since he had been appointed the tax commissioner of North Dakota at the age of 26, which made him the youngest constitutional officer in the State's history.

We also worked together on the Freedom to Travel to Cuba Act. We hope to change our current policies there because for 40 years they have failed to bring about the results we hope to achieve. It was clear to us both that if we wanted to bring our democratic ideas to Cuba to effect the changes we want-



ed to achieve, we had to find another way to do it. Fortunately, BYRON's leadership style and his speaking ability were again a great addition to the effort and helped to win us the support we needed to get things rolling.

Looking back on these and other issues, it is clear that BYRON's career has been guided by the lessons he learned as he was growing up about the importance of hard work and always giving your best to the task at hand every day. That is why you will always find him fighting for the needs of rural America and promoting a sense of fairness and equity in our tax system. There can be little doubt that he has accomplished a great deal during his service in the Senate. He has been a champion for rural America, and farmers and ranchers not only in North Dakota but all across the country have been grateful for his efforts and the results he has been able to achieve.

I don't know what BYRON has planned as he begins the next chapter of his life, but I am certain we have not heard the last from him and his wife Kim. They have been a team over the years as they have worked together for the people of North Dakota. They have made a difference, and they have a great deal to show for their efforts.

In the coming session, I know we will all miss BYRON's effective way of speaking and addressing the concerns of the people of his State. He has a great sense of humor, and his ability to present the case for "his side" has won many an argument—some of them before they had even begun.

Good luck, BYRON. Keep in touch. We will always be pleased to hear from you.

SATURDAY, *December 18, 2010*

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, with the close of the 111th Congress, the Senate will lose one of its most popular, articulate, and outspoken Members. I will lose a kindred spirit and a fellow progressive populist, BYRON DORGAN, who has spent his entire four decades in elected office fighting on behalf of family farmers and ranchers, struggling small businesses, ordinary working Americans, and anyone who has been run roughshod over by big business, big banks, or big government.

Both Senator DORGAN and I are proud of our roots in the rural Upper Midwest. I was raised in Cumming, IA, population 162. He was raised in Regent, ND, population 211.

BYRON always liked to joke that he graduated in the top 10 of his class of 9 students.

Senators on both sides of the aisle have come to respect and admire Senator DORGAN's distinctive voice here in the Senate, a voice that mixes keen intelligence with a great sense of humor, plus a gift for making his arguments with colorful, compelling stories and language. Throughout his more than four decades in public service, he has used that voice to speak out powerfully for farm country in rural America. He has fought hard for policies at the national level to give rural families a better chance at success. He has been a strong supporter of the farm bill's safety net provisions, including countercyclical support for farmers to get them through hard times, and he has been equally outspoken in championing strict limits on Federal farm payments to ensure that the lion's share goes to small family farms, not big agribusiness and absentee farm owners.

As a senior member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee and chair of the Appropriations Committee's Energy and Water Development Subcommittee, Senator DORGAN has always been an outspoken champion of clean, renewable, homegrown energy, including wind and solar and biofuels. He likes to boast that North Dakota is "the Saudi Arabia of wind." Well, my folks in Iowa might dispute that claim, but we get the point. BYRON and I have both been strong advocates of building a nationwide distribution grid for wind- and solar-generated energy.

I wish to make just one more point about Senator DORGAN. I guess I can say this now since he is retiring and a political opponent won't be able to use it against him. BYRON DORGAN is an intellectual. He has a passion for ideas and knowledge. He even writes books—actually, really good books, the kind that show up on the *New York Times* bestseller list. I am a great fan of his 2007 book entitled *Take This Job and Ship It: How Corporate Greed and Brain-Dead Politics Are Selling Out America*. If you want a blistering and I think dead-on account of the causes of the crash of 2008, read BYRON's other book entitled *Reckless!: How Debt, Deregulation, and Dark Money Nearly Bankrupted America*.

I consider BYRON DORGAN a great friend, a great Senator, and a great advocate for all working people in this country. He has accomplished many things in his three terms here in the Senate, but I can think of no greater accolade than to say simply that he is a good and decent and honest person

with a passion for social justice and a determination to make life better for ordinary Americans.

When the 111th Congress comes to a close, of course, my friendship with BYRON will continue, but I will miss his day-to-day counsel and good humor. I join with the entire Senate family in wishing BYRON and Kim the best in the years ahead.

SUNDAY, *December 19, 2010*

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize the departure of the junior Senator from North Dakota. Senator BYRON DORGAN, a devoted public servant who has spent most of his life serving the good people of North Dakota, will be leaving the Senate at the close of this session. He will certainly be missed.

Senator DORGAN was born in Dickinson, ND, in 1942 and was raised in Regent, ND. His family worked in the petroleum and farm equipment business and they also raised horses and cattle. BYRON attended college at the University of North Dakota and graduate school at the University of Denver. He began his career in public service at the young age of 26, when he was appointed to be the North Dakota State tax commissioner. He was the youngest constitutional officer in the history of North Dakota.

Senator DORGAN came to Washington, DC, in 1980 when he was elected to serve in the House of Representatives. He served six terms in the House before coming to the Senate in 1992. For three full terms, he has ably and energetically represented his native State. During his time here, he has been a senior member of the Appropriations Committee, chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee, and, of course, chairman of the Democratic Policy Committee. The people of North Dakota have benefited from his efforts on those committees and, I think he would be the first to tell you, that his home State has never been far from his thoughts here in the Senate.

While Senator DORGAN and I have, more often than not, disagreed on the issues, he has always been sincere in his belief that what he was doing was in the best interest of our country. Such commitment to principle has to be admired, even if, in the end, you disagree with the conclusion that is reached. I should note that there have been times, actually in some high-profile moments, in which BYRON has voted dif-

ferently than the majority of his party. In the Senate, which, of late, has been highly polarized and extremely partisan, going against the grain takes courage and independence, qualities I have admired in Senator DORGAN.

Senator DORGAN is a good man. I want to wish him, his wife Kim, and their family the very best of luck.

MONDAY, *December 20, 2010*

Mr. KERRY. I know the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. Thune) is here. I know he wishes to speak. I will not be long. I wish to take advantage of this moment with the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. DORGAN) on the floor to say a couple of things.

First of all, I am very grateful to him personally for the comments he has made about both my efforts and the efforts of Senator Lugar. I appreciate them enormously. But more important, the Senator is going to be leaving the Senate at the end of this session. I wish to say there are few Senators who combine as many qualities of ability as does the Senator from North Dakota. He is one of the most articulate Members of the Senate. He is one of the most diligent Members of the Senate. He is one of the most thoughtful Members of the Senate.

I have had the pleasure of serving with him on the Commerce Committee. I have seen how creative and determined he is with respect to the interests of consumers on Internet issues, on fairness issues, consumer issues in which he has taken an enormous interest. He has been head of the policy committee for I think almost 10 years or so. He has been responsible for making sure the rest of us are informed on issues. He has kept us up to date on the latest thinking. He has put together very provocative weekly meetings with some of the best minds in the country so we think about these things.

I wanted to say to the Senator from North Dakota personally through the Chair how well served I think the citizens of North Dakota have been, how grateful we are for his service, and how extraordinarily lucky we have been to have someone representing 1 of the great 50 States as effectively as he has. I think he has been a superb Senator, and he will be much missed here.

WEDNESDAY, *December 22, 2010*

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my colleague, Senator BYRON DORGAN. This is his last day voting in the Senate. He is retiring after serving the people of North Dakota in the Congress, the House, and Senate, for 30 years. But BYRON's record in North Dakota goes even beyond that—another 12 years in State office, so a total of 42 years of serving the people of North Dakota.

I want to first say I am not objective when it comes to BYRON DORGAN because he is my best friend. We have been friends and allies for all of those 42 years. In 1968 I was running a campaign to lower the voting age in North Dakota and first met BYRON DORGAN, a young tax commissioner—very young, in his twenties, appointed after the previous tax commissioner took his life. BYRON had extraordinary responsibility thrust on him at a very young age, the youngest statewide official in our State's history. BYRON disposed of those responsibilities with real distinction, becoming recognized as the most influential State leader, even more influential than the Governor of the State, by a major publication in North Dakota.

I met BYRON DORGAN in that year and was so struck by his ability, his charisma, and his vision for our State and our Nation that I thought: This is somebody I want to work with in my career.

We started a friendship that has lasted to this day. In 1970 I was helping run the reelection campaign of Senator Quentin Burdick, who served in this Chamber for more than 30 years. I got to know BYRON even better then. In fact, my wife and I spent time with him and his wife. In the years that followed we became very close friends. In 1974, when I got back from business school, BYRON called me and asked me to come to his office. I did the day after I returned home. We took a walk around the Capitol Grounds of the State of North Dakota and he talked to me about what he saw as the future—the future of our State, things that were happening in the country that needed to be addressed, and how the two of us might, working together, change that future and make a difference.

I agreed that day to be his campaign manager for the House of Representatives. In that campaign, Earl Pomeroy, now North Dakota's lone Congressman, was the driver. I was the campaign manager. BYRON is always quick to point out it was the only election he ever lost. He always said it was

the fault of the campaign manager. I always said it was the fault of the driver. And Earl always believed we would have won if only he had been the candidate.

Those were incredible days. I remember so well that campaign, the three of us—we bonded in a way that I think is very rare in politics and served together in a way that is unusual. There was never the kind of competition that often exists between Members. But there was always a keen friendship and a real partnership. We were allies, fighting for North Dakota, fighting to change the country, deeply committed to each other and to our State.

After that campaign BYRON asked me to be his assistant. Weeks later he hired Lucy Calautti. Lucy, years later, became my wife, so I have always credited BYRON with bringing us together. We were also joined by my college roommate who became another assistant to then tax commissioner BYRON DORGAN, a young man named Jim Lang, a very dear friend of mine, an absolute genius, and the four of us worked to build the Democratic Party in North Dakota and to change the political landscape.

Those were incredible times. We fought great battles for a coal severance tax in North Dakota, for an oil severance tax, things that helped build the financial base for our State.

In 1980, BYRON announced that he would seek North Dakota's lone seat in the House of Representatives. I ran to succeed him as tax commissioner. Lucy, who by then was somebody for whom I had great respect, was his campaign manager in that race for the House of Representatives. BYRON was successful, and I was successful in a year in which no other Democrats were successful in our State.

We then had a period of time, 6 years, before the Senate race in which BYRON was in Washington, I was in North Dakota, and we campaigned together day after day, weekend after weekend, month after month, all across North Dakota, building a movement, a movement that resulted in my running for the Senate in 1986.

It was really BYRON's turn. He could have chosen to run, but he decided not to, and so I did, in a race that many thought was impossible for me to win. I started out more than 30 points behind the incumbent. He had over \$1 million in the bank. When I got into the race, I think I had \$126. But BYRON DORGAN was my ally in that race every step of the way. I think very few others would have done what he did for me. I think very few other Members of the House of Representatives, having someone else leapfrog them to come

to the Senate, would have put themselves on the line as much as BYRON DORGAN did for me in that Senate race in 1986. But he was with me in every corner of the State fighting tooth and nail, an uphill battle in which, as I said, I started out 38 points behind.

But on election day, I won a very narrow victory, winning by about 2,000 votes over an incumbent who had won his previous race with over 70 percent of the vote and a man who really looked like a U.S. Senator, Mark Andrews—6 feet 5 inches, booming voice, white mane of hair, very powerful speaker. Yet I was able to win that race in a squeaker, and I never could have without BYRON's extraordinary assistance and support.

For a period of time that I was in the Senate, he was in the House, and then in 1992 I announced I would not seek reelection to my seat because I made a pledge in that 1986 campaign, and the pledge I made was that I would not run for reelection unless the deficit was dramatically reduced. If you have reviewed 1992, you know the deficit was at a record level. After the first Bush administration, deficits were at record levels. So I announced I would not seek reelection, in keeping with my pledge. BYRON DORGAN announced for my seat, and there was Lucy helping to run BYRON's campaign for what was my seat in the Senate—a remarkable time in our lives.

Then later that year, Senator Burdick, the other Senator from North Dakota, died. The Governor called me and said:

Kent, you have to run to fill out the 2 years of his term; otherwise, North Dakota is going to lose all its seniority in one fell swoop, lose all of Senator Burdick's more than 30 years of seniority. We are going to lose BYRON's 12 years of seniority in the House because he is running for your seat in the Senate, and we will lose your 6 years of seniority if you do not run to fill the term of Senator Burdick.

I have always remembered that the media in North Dakota took a poll on whether I should run to fill the 2 years of Senator Burdick's term, and even an overwhelming majority of Republicans thought I should run. So the Governor told me there would be a special election after the regular elections in November. He said, "Look, you have kept your pledge. You did not run for reelection to your seat. BYRON is running for election to your seat. You would be in a special election in December."

So I agreed to run, and BYRON and I were running simultaneous campaigns for the Senate in 1992, he for my seat in the regular election, and I was running for the special elec-

tion in December. Once again, we crisscrossed North Dakota campaigning together, making our case, and both of us won very big victories in 1992.

From that time period forward until today, BYRON and I have served together representing the State of North Dakota—best friends. What a remarkable story.

I can still remember one of the publications here on the Hill—I can't remember if it was *The Hill* or *Roll Call*—when the two Senators from Mississippi were fighting for the majority leader position, ran a cartoon that said: "Why can't the two Senators from Mississippi be more like the Senators from North Dakota—friends forever." And BYRON and I have been friends forever and will be friends forever.

After the 1992 race, we both served North Dakota, and, unlike so many delegations, we did everything we could to support each other. I can't think of a time when there were ever angry words exchanged between BYRON DORGAN and Earl Pomeroy and myself. It was what many people back home called Team North Dakota. And we have been a team, as close as you could be.

During BYRON'S time in the Senate, he has been a fierce fighter for policies that benefit average people and also somebody very suspicious of corporate power. He passionately opposed what he thought were misguided trade policies that contributed to jobs moving overseas. He was one of a handful of Senators who warned against consolidation and the excessive risk that would result from repealing the barriers between commercial and investment banking. He warned at the time, in what has become a famous speech, that if we passed that legislation, we would face a financial crisis in the years ahead. That prediction looks prescient today in light of the financial collapse of 2008. He was a leader in fighting for farm policies to benefit family farmers and ranch families rather than corporate agriculture. In the midst of it all, he wrote two books: *Take This Job and Ship It* and *Reckless!: How Debt, Deregulation, and Dark Money Nearly Bankrupted America*.

Most important, BYRON DORGAN had a vision, an energy, and a persistence that has played a huge role in building the prosperity of our State.

Robert Kennedy once said: "There are those that look at things the way they are, and ask why? I dream of things that never were, and ask why not?" That is really the way BYRON approached service to North Dakota. He did not see limits; he saw opportunity.



He looked at our university system and technology industries and saw no reason they could not be built into the Red River Valley Research Corridor that could power the economy of eastern North Dakota. He set about making it happen, and he has succeeded.

He looked at our energy industry and saw no reason North Dakota could not be the energy powerhouse for the Nation. Through his position on the Energy Committee and the Energy and Water Subcommittee of Appropriations, he helped build North Dakota into one of the leading energy-producing States in the Nation.

He looked at the growth of the knowledge industries and the Internet and saw no reason North Dakota could not be wired with the same 21st-century telecommunications infrastructure as the rest of the country. He used his position on the Commerce Committee to get that done as well.

The results of his work can be seen in every corner of our State. Modern highways and air terminals, new and improved water infrastructure, a booming energy and agricultural economy, high-tech companies springing up everywhere across our State, the strongest economic growth in the Nation, the lowest unemployment rate in the Nation—by any measure, North Dakota is doing very well. Most of that, BYRON will tell you, is because of the hard work and good judgment of the people of North Dakota. But among them, no one has worked harder or smarter on behalf of North Dakota than Senator BYRON DORGAN.

Let me close by saying that I do not know of a harder working or more productive person than BYRON DORGAN. He produces extraordinary amounts of high-quality work. He is type A squared, but he never forgot his roots.

BYRON DORGAN grew up in Regent, ND, a town of 300. He often reminds us that he graduated in a class of 9 and he was in the top 10. He is proud of that background, he is proud of that heritage, he is proud of our State, he is proud of our Nation, and we are proud of him.

I will miss BYRON DORGAN's partnership here every day, but I know he will be with us because BYRON DORGAN will never be far from the fray. BYRON DORGAN has served this body well, served the Nation well, and served our State extraordinarily well.

I yield the floor.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my colleague and friend, Senator BYRON DORGAN.

It has been an honor to serve with Senator DORGAN since he and I were both elected to the U.S. Senate in 1992.

Nobody can get to the heart of a matter like BYRON DORGAN. He has an unbelievable ability to lay out both challenges and solutions with clarity. He is a populist in the best sense of the word, and our country is better for his service in this Chamber.

Senator DORGAN has always been a champion for the people of North Dakota, for our workers, and for rural Americans. For the last 18 years, he has devoted himself to supporting family farms and promoting economic development across our country.

Senator DORGAN has been a leader in the Senate in fighting to preserve jobs here in America and end tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas. No one has fought harder for the middle class.

He used his position as chairman of the Senate Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee to advance important projects and create jobs, and I will always be thankful for his support in our efforts to protect California communities from flooding.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Senator DORGAN has worked tirelessly to improve health care and economic opportunities for Indians. He has helped streamline the bureaucracy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He developed the landmark Tribal Law and Order Act, which helped give tribal justice officials the tools they need to protect their communities. I was so proud to cosponsor that bill and so pleased that President Obama signed it into law this year.

He leaves a distinguished legacy and will be greatly missed by all of us.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I would like to take a few minutes to pay tribute to the 16 Senators who will be departing this body at the end of the year.

I am grateful for the opportunity I have had to serve alongside each of these Senators as colleagues and as friends. All served their States with distinction and gave their constituents strong voices in the world's greatest deliberative body. Senators Evan Bayh, Robert Bennett, Kit Bond, Sam Brownback, Jim Bunning, Roland Burris, Chris Dodd, BYRON DORGAN, Russ Feingold, Carte Goodwin, Judd Gregg, Ted Kaufman, George LeMieux, Blanche Lincoln, Arlen Specter, and George Voinovich—each left an indelible

mark on the Senate, and I wish them well as they take on new challenges and opportunities into the future.

I would like to speak briefly about a few of the Senators I knew best and served with in committees to recognize their contributions and accomplishments and share my fond memories of them and the legacies they will leave behind. . . .

Today we say goodbye to Senator BYRON DORGAN after 18 years in the Senate, serving the State of North Dakota.

First elected to Congress in 1980, DORGAN has devoted his career to serving North Dakota and fighting for the interests of rural America.

After serving six terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, BYRON was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1992.

I have had the pleasure to serve with Senator DORGAN on the Senate Commerce Committee. Last summer, we joined together with several of our colleagues in the Senate to introduce bipartisan legislation that reauthorized the Federal Aviation Administration, FAA.

The legislation accelerated the modernization of the Nation's air traffic control, ATC system, addressed critical safety concerns in the national airspace system, NAS, and improved rural community access to air service.

I appreciated BYRON's willingness to champion good ideas put forward by Members from either side of the aisle. By focusing on issues where consensus could be achieved, he helped to move the debate forward on important issues and solve problems.

Senator DORGAN leaves the Senate with my best wishes and respect. . . .

In conclusion, the departing Senators' contributions, their dedicated service, and the issues they championed will be remembered long after their final days in the Senate.

I believe I can speak for my fellow Senators when I say that we will all miss our departing friends.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, when the 111th Congress draws to a close, we will bid farewell to 16 colleagues who have collectively given more than 200 years of service to our Nation through their service in the Senate. These include seven of the Senate's most experienced Members. People like Chris Dodd and Arlen Specter who have each served five terms in the Senate. Kit Bond who has served four terms and Bob Bennett, BYRON DORGAN, Russ Feingold, and Judd Gregg, who have each served three terms in this Chamber. . . .

I would like to say a few words about my friend BYRON DORGAN. In 2007, following the sudden and unexpected death of our friend and colleague Craig Thomas, I was elevated to vice chair of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Senator DORGAN was the chairman of that committee. Last week both of us had the honor of addressing the National Congress of American Indians at one of the meetings that preceded President Obama's tribal summit. Each of us reflected on the fact that the committee has been highly productive during the period we shared the gavel. During our time together the committee laid the groundwork for reauthorization of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, more than a decade in the making. We reauthorized the Native American Housing Assistance and Self Determination Act; we pursued a settlement of the *Cobell* litigation; and we crafted and introduced the Tribal Law and Order Act, which President Obama signed into law earlier this year. Senator DORGAN has consistently championed adequate funding for the Indian Health Service and he has come to the floor on many occasions to speak to the unacceptable rates of suicide among Native youth. I am pleased to know that he will continue this work after he leaves the Senate. It comes from the heart. . . .

It has been an honor and a pleasure to serve with each of the people who will leave this Chamber when we adjourn sine die. Each has made substantial contributions to their States, to the Nation, and to the Senate during their time here.

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