Max Baucus
U.S. SENATOR FROM MONTANA

TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES
Tributes
Delivered in Congress

Max Baucus
United States Congressman
1975–1978
United States Senator
1978–2014
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BIOGRAPHY

Throughout his career, Max Baucus never forgot where he came from or who he represented. Raised on a ranch near Helena, Max understands the values of hard work, faith, family, and community. That’s why he did “workdays” as often as he could with local businesses in Montana. Max would spend a full day working alongside Montanans to gain a better perspective of the challenges they face. He’s done workdays on farms and ranches, at butcher shops and pharmacies, schools and construction sites.

In 1995 and 1996, Max walked the entire 820-mile length of Montana. An avid runner, Max completed a 50-mile running marathon in just over 12 hours in 2003.

Boosting the State’s economy and creating good paying jobs in Montana topped Max’s priority list. By combining his trademark work ethic with independence and experience, Max helped create thousands of good paying jobs in Montana. He’s held five separate statewide Montana Economic Development Summits, each of which attracted more than 1,000 people. These meetings, along with the State’s top economic development officials and business people, helped lay the foundation for economic development planning in the State.

Whether fighting to expand the Children’s Health Insurance Program or writing landmark health care reform legislation that is working to reduce the deficit and provide quality, affordable health care coverage for all Americans, Max led the charge to improve choice and competition and make health care work better for Montanans. For decades he led efforts to cut the rising number of the uninsured in Montana and to strengthen Medicare for Montana seniors.

By traveling overseas and hosting foreign dignitaries in Montana, Max helped knock down trade barriers and open foreign markets to Montana’s high-quality products. He led Montana agriculture and business leaders on trade missions to Asia, Cuba, Australia, and South America.

Max was also committed to boosting Montana’s education system and fighting to increase access to public lands important to hunting and fishing.
Max graduated from Helena High School in 1959. He earned both a bachelor of arts degree and a law degree from Stanford University. He has one son, Zeno. In what little free time MAX has, he enjoys hunting, fishing, and hiking on the public lands he fights so hard to keep open.
Mr. BAUCUS. Let me begin by thanking so many of my friends here: Senators Durbin, Carper, Hatch, and so many others. I must say to you, you have expressed your remarks, and they mean a lot to me. But they probably mean more to me than I think you know. They mean so much to me. Thank you for what you have said.

I would also like to begin by thanking the people of Montana. The people of Montana have given me the honor of representing them in the Congress for nearly 40 years. It is 39 now, and actually at the end of this year it will be 40 years. I want to thank President Obama very much for the opportunity to serve the American people as Ambassador to China.

I also want to recognize one of the best teammates and friends anyone could ever ask for, Senator Jon Tester. Thank you, Jon.

There is nothing greater in life than the love of family. I have been an incredibly lucky man. I would like to thank my wife Mel, my son Zeno, his wife Stephanie. I would also like to thank our grandchildren, Katie and Joey.

Mel, Zeno, Stephanie, Katie, and Joey, you inspire me daily. I am so grateful for each of you. I am so blessed to have Mel in my life. Her energy, her zest for life, her positive outlook, and her love have transformed me. I am the luckiest guy in the world because of Mel. Katie and Joey are clearly inspired by their mother. They are great kids, great achievers. I think the last grades I saw—one is in law school and the other is in college—they had all A’s. Why? Because they are inspired by their mother. That is why they do so well, in the best sense of the term.

My son Zeno is one of the best kids parents could ever wish for. I am so proud of him. He is so smart, intelligent, and decent. He is currently an assistant U.S. attorney, living in Helena with his wife Stephanie. I am proud of him. You may have read about that case where a lady pushed her hus-
band off a cliff in Glacier Park, MT. He is the prosecutor in
that case.

I am very proud of him. Again, an indication of how proud
I am of him, I learned more about that case reading the pa-
pers than I did from him. He keeps his cards close to his vest
and is such a decent, smart, effective guy.

Stephanie, his wife, has jumped right into life in Montana.
She is so talented and special, and the Helena community is
very lucky to have her.

Thanks so much to my parents Jean and John Baucus. I
wish they were here today.

Growing up on a ranch in Montana, you learn the simple
lessons, the measure of life. You learn to cherish the land.
It gets in your blood. You work hard. It is humbling. There
is so much you cannot control working on a ranch. You can-
not control the weather, whether it rains or it does not rain.
You cannot control the prices. It gives you a little perspective
to feel philosophical about life.

On the ranch you are charged also with nurturing life,
nurturing livestock, producing a small part of nature’s boun-
ty. You have an obligation to learn as a rancher.

It is also the Montana way to love the outdoors. We are
outdoors people in Montana. We hunt, we fish, we backpack,
we hike, we grow crops, we raise livestock, we mine coal, and
we cut timber. I think Montanans are more outdoor people
than any other people in the country. We love it. It becomes
part of our soul. Montana writer Bud Guthrie said, “Some-
how I am part of it, a mortal partner to eternity.”

I grew up this way, and it shored up my belief that we all
have a moral obligation to our kids and grandkids when we
leave this place, to leave it in as good a shape or in better
shape than we found it. That internal compass is also a last-
ing gift from my parents and their love of the land. My mom
is one of the most special persons one could have the privi-
lege to know. She had the class of Grace Kelly and the spunk
and grit of Katharine Hepburn. She was a combination of
them both—an intelligent, classy lady, always positive, al-
ways upbeat. She was so intelligent and so well read. She
even read more books than I did. I would come home at
night and say, “Mom, what are you reading?”

She would tell me all about the book. One she was reading
was President Obama’s second book, which he wrote when
he was a Senator. “What do you think about that, Mom?”

“Oh, it is a pretty good book. It has something to say. It
is a little long, though.”

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Anyway, she wrote a note to the President and told him that she liked it. He wrote back, and they became pen pals. It was very nice.

Someone asked me last week what my mother would have thought of all this. She would have been incredibly excited and fascinated with the adventure ahead. Although I miss her every day—in fact, I talked to her every day at 5 o’clock in the afternoon. That hour goes by daily, but I keep thinking of her. She is always on my mind, as is my father. He loaded bombs on airplanes in Europe during World War II. A product of the Great Depression, he instilled in me the values of hard work, humility, and good faith. He worked me hard on the ranch, stacked a lot of hay, a lot of fencing. I know why he did it—for the right reasons. I did not complain because I knew that he was trying to raise me in the way that he hoped would help me later in life.

He was also such a decent person. No one ever spoke an ill word of my father—ever—such a rock solid character. The Republican Party in Montana asked him to run for Governor. He would not have anything to do with it. He did not care about that politics stuff. He was a rancher and liked what he was doing—ranching. I was so blessed to have such great parents.

Now 52 years ago, I was full of youthful idealism and curiosity about life beyond the ranch. I am sure it was caused somewhat by my parents. As a college student at Stanford, I decided to take a year off from my studies between my junior and senior year. I grabbed a knapsack and I hitchhiked around the world for 1 year. It was June–August 1962 to about August–September 1963.

I set out to visit countries I had only imagined—India, Japan, and China, to name a few. Before I departed, I had never thought about a life in public service. But that trip opened my eyes. It charted my course. I realized how people across the globe were interconnected. We are all in this together.

I saw the indispensable role that America plays as a leader on the world stage. It was so obvious. I knew right where I was, in the middle of the then-Belgian Congo, and I had an epiphany. All this realization hit me that we are so connected, that our natural resources are diminishing. Somehow we have to work better together if we are going to have better lives, not only for ourselves but for everyone on the globe. We are so connected.
The world is getting smaller. Our natural resources, in fact, are diminishing. We have to find a way to work better together. I returned home with a commitment to a career where I could improve the lives of my fellow Montanans and of all Americans. I would not be standing here today had it not been for that trip where I hitchhiked around the world, probably the most defining era of my life.

It was by far the most influential, and that 1 year set into motion a series of opportunities to serve that I would never have dreamed would take me back to China to represent the United States 50 years later. When I first ran for statewide office in 1973, no one knew me from Adam. I had been away from the State for many years.

I needed some advice. I had met Mike Mansfield when I was in high school. Instantly there was a man I totally respected and honored. He planted the seed, I know, for later interest in public service. It was not a defining moment, but I could tell at the time. He told me I should run; I should go back home and serve. I was then working at the SEC, just a short distance from here.

If I wanted to run for Congress, he said, it would take a lot of hard work, a lot of shoe leather, and a little bit of luck. I took his advice literally. I wore out as much shoe leather as I knew how. I walked the entire length of the State of Montana from Gardiner in the south—Gardiner is next to Yellowstone Park—up to the Yaak, a remote part of Montana near the Canadian border.

I got to know so many great people who later put me to work for them in the House. It was right in the middle of the Watergate political scandal. I joined a congressional class determined to restore good faith and trust in government, a terrific bunch of folks. They were just great, the “Watergate class.”

I think of my friends Chris Dodd, Tom Harkin, Paul Simon, Henry Waxman, and George Miller, to name a few. It was a great class. They were running for office and serving for the right reasons.

When I hitchhiked around the globe as a young man, I also realized that no country has a monopoly on religion, culture, or virtue. We are all together. We are all in this together. All people basically have the same dreams for their families—to put food on the table, to make ends meet, to take care of the kids, have health care they could afford, and a clean environment for their families to explore and enjoy.
The Senate can make people’s dreams a reality. We are so lucky as Americans to have this institution under our Constitution written by our very perceptive forefathers. It offers what few institutions in the world can boast—the opportunity to make a difference when history calls.

One of the greatest privileges I have had in this job is having one of the best staffs on the Hill. They are sitting behind me—some of them. They are terrific. They have always been ready with big ideas and dedication to answer history’s call. If there is a vanguard of vision, my staff has been in it.

I might say, parenthetically, I am very proud of my staff for another reason. My office has spawned about six marriages. A woman or a man working in my office who didn’t know each other until they started working in my office got together and got married—six times—and they have all worked but for one. I don’t know, but maybe I worked them too hard or maybe not hard enough. Whatever the reason, over the years after they were married, to see their kids, it has been terrific. It meant so much to me.

How many people have served since the time I have been here? The answer is 1,423 folks have worked on behalf of Montanans and on behalf of Americans, each person making a positive difference to the lives of others.

I thank them all very much.

In the years I have been in the Senate, we voted to send our sons and daughters to fight wars overseas, to protect our national security. I think the strongest human instinct is self-preservation. When you come from a beautiful place such as Montana, and from the wonderful people of our State, you will stop at nothing to defend them.

Montana has a tradition of answering the call to serve. As a matter of fact, more Montanans have volunteered for service per capita than nearly any State in the Nation.

My own nephew Phillip left college to enlist in the Marines. Before long he was far away in Anbar Province serving our country. I loved Phillip as a father. His fellow marines looked to him for support, counsel, advice, and leadership as they faced many firefights. He made lance corporal in record time. He gave his life to our Nation and then returned to the family ranch for the very last time.

Phillip, like each one of the fallen heroes who bore our battles, left behind big dreams undone and countless broken hearts. Dust to dust—we still shudder.

President Lincoln concluded his second Inaugural Address with a call for the Nation to “care for him who shall have
borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan.” Lincoln’s commitment remains our sacred duty today.

In the Senate we have made progress. We enacted tax credits for businesses that hire veterans and enacted a new GI bill. In the past 10 years Congress has doubled support for the VA. That is an investment of which we should be proud. Someone once wrote: “In war, there are no unwounded soldiers.” It is important we remember that. We make the tough votes to authorize war, and we must also find the courage to band together so that our troops return to a nation that honors their service.

Of all the bills that I have worked on, there are two that stand out. In 2010 we took the Montana National Guard’s model of improved PTSD screening and expanded it nationwide. That concept of very meaningful PTSD screening began in Montana with the Montana National Guard. It worked so well I got it in the defense bill, and it is now being enacted nationwide to make sure we do the very best to protect our kids who are coming home.

The new screenings have resulted in more than 800,000 servicemembers who have received personal and private one-on-one attention from a trained health care provider—both before and after deployment. Make no mistake; these screenings are saving lives.

I am also proud of another life-saving bill, the Affordable Care Act. It has been almost 4 years since President Obama signed that act into law, and in that time the law has done more than any other in the past half century to expand access to health coverage. It has provided 71 million Americans free preventive service. More than 6 million seniors have received discounts on vital prescription drugs.

More than 3 million young people have peace of mind knowing they will be allowed to stay on their parents’ health plans. I am especially proud that now no child will ever be denied health care coverage because they had been sick or had a preexisting condition.

It has been a tough road. It has been a challenge I am proud to have taken on. While the debate over the law continues, I am proud to stand for it because it is helping millions of Americans.

Take Julie from Helena. Julie wrote to me that she is self-employed and finally able to get access to affordable, quality health care coverage because of the ACA.
John, from Missoula, has a daughter who survived ovarian cancer. Thanks to the ACA, she was able to stay on her parents’ insurance and win her battle against cancer.

I am very proud of the role I played in helping to make health care more accessible and more affordable to many Americans.

In this Chamber there are brilliant men and women. With great respect to my colleagues, I insist that, in the most important respect, Senators are just ordinary people—big, not-so-big, tall, short, men and women. We are just people.

It is only through the extraordinary institution of the Senate that the ordinary people have the power to make life better for all Americans. We belong to something bigger than ourselves. When I first came to the Senate, Senators from opposing parties actually had lunch together in the private Senate Dining Room on the floor below the Chamber. It was called the inner sanctum.

In those daily rituals we learned about each other’s families, home States, and developed real friendships. Senators dined together—no spouses, no staff, only Senators from both sides of the aisle. We compared notes, talked about our kids, and talked about our family. We talked about legislation, and we got to know each other. It was wonderful getting to know each other, to build trust, confidence, and understanding. It was the backbone of respect that we all relied upon.

Those friendships provided a refuge from the political firestorms and common ground to turn to after the wrangling over the disagreements of the day.

Now schedules are packed with caucus meetings and political fundraisers. The Senate is losing the spirit of friendship and forgiveness that, in the words of Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, “is the final oil of harmony in all human relations and which rests upon the contrite recognition that our actions and attitudes are inevitably interpreted in a different light by our friends as well as foes than we interpret them.”

Friendship and forgiveness, that is the oil of human relations that brings us together. That private Senate Dining Room now carries only the echoes of the friendships once forged at its tables, and we are poorer for it. Yet there is nothing inevitable about this trend. The hope of this body lies in individual Senators. The heart set upon solutions to problems will win over the heart devising traps for political gain.
It is my honor to have friendships that formed the basis for solving some of the Nation’s most difficult problems. I will never forget working together with the late Senator John Chafee on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

I worked with John for years before finding out he was an amazing war hero, decorated for his service in Korea. He didn’t tell us that. It took years before I learned what a hero he was, a self-effacing kind of guy. Few people knew about his war record because he didn’t brag about it or use it for political gain. He served because he believed in it, not because he thought he could benefit from it. Without a doubt, we need more John Chafees in the world.

Between 1989 and 1990, we sat together in a small room off the Senate floor, facing wave after wave of unhappy Senators—sometimes until 1 or 2 in the morning. He was the ranking Republican member of the EPW Committee. I became chairman of the Environmental Protection Subcommittee.

Together we met with our colleagues ironing out the compromises on acid rain, ozone depletion, air quality permits, and scores of other issues. Senator Chafee later became chairman of the full committee. We had our disagreements, but by and large under Senator Chafee’s chairmanship I recall an oasis of civility.

That friendship helped us to pass the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990. I am very proud of that effort. I was chairman of the committee at that time, and we finally got it.

It is a small point, but I always respected that he never raised his voice. He was always civil, always decent, always positive, upbeat, and trying to find a solution. John never lost his temper. He listened carefully to the other person’s point of view.

He was a paragon of the Senate—as is my good friend from Iowa, Chuck Grassley.

Chuck and I began our friendship by deciding to meet weekly face to face in his office or my office. It turned out to be 5:30 p.m. every Tuesday. We would bring our staffs together. Pretty soon our staffs were talking to each other. The health care staff after a while started talking to each other and our trade staff started talking to each other.

Heck, we were basically one office. If you were a fly on the wall, you would think this was one office where people were trying to get together to solve problems.
Chuck is a Republican; I am a Democrat. We have differences, but our goal is to solve the problems and find solutions while adhering to our principles.

Our friendship led to a culture of respect and honesty in the Senate Finance Committee that helped us pass important agreements of other bills to expand trading opportunities with the rest of the world. I am especially proud of our work together to successfully shepherd the Medicare Modernization Act of 2003. Senator Carper referred to it just a short while ago.

I thank my good friend Dave Camp. Dave is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. We have worked together a lot over the past couple of years on tax reform. We have bridged the partisan divide to help pass the most recent highway bill and the payroll tax cut. Dave is a super American and a wonderful man. I am very lucky to have him as a friend.

It has also been a terrific honor working with my good friend Senator Orrin Hatch.

Orrin, Dave, and I, recently worked together to introduce trade promotion authority legislation to make Congress a full partner in trade negotiations. In trade, as in so many important areas, working together is the only way to get the job done. The Senator is a real American—Orrin Hatch. He is the salt of Utah and cares about his State and his country. The Senator is a wonderful person to work with. I can’t thank him enough.

Thank you, Senator Hatch.

In 1961, President-elect John F. Kennedy said:

Our governments, in every branch, at every level, national, State, and local, must be as a City on a Hill—constructed and inhabited by men aware of their great trust and their great responsibilities.

If we are indeed a City on a Hill, it rests firmly on the bridges that Senators built when they faced even the deepest divides. I mention my closest friendships across the aisle because it is those bridges that we lack the most today.

The epiphany I had as a young man hitchhiking around the world 52 years ago I believe is even more relevant today. Advances in technologies and communications have made us more interconnected as people than ever before.

The challenges of globalization bind us even more. Climate change—we are all in this together—terrorism, economic development, and education, can all be addressed with good faith and a commitment to finding common ground.
I am committed in my next chapter to meet these challenges. The United States-China relationship I believe is one of the most important bilateral relationships in the world that will shape global affairs for generations. We must get it right.

Thirty-eight years ago, Mike Mansfield said farewell to this institution by simply declaring: “There is a time to stay and a time to go.”

Now, as I face my own crossroads, I am humbled to have the opportunity to follow in his footsteps.

As America’s Ambassador to Japan, Mansfield worked hard to strengthen and improve America’s relationship throughout history. I will try to do the same.

Many of you know I love to run. I actually have my eye on the Beijing Marathon—but, to be more honest, maybe I will scale it down to a half-marathon, something a little shorter. When I think about my next endeavor, I am reminded of something a professional runner, Paul Tergat, once said: “Ask yourself: ‘Can I give more?’ The answer is usually ‘Yes.’”

I can give more; we all can. I thank President Obama for asking me. I am indeed energized to serve America in this new role and to look at this as my sprint to the finish.

I trust Montanans to choose wisely as they have so well with my friend, the great Senator from Montana Jon Tester.

My final message is not for my esteemed peers but for the young people chasing their dreams across the Montana Hi-Line, searching for meaning through the Yellowstone River Valley or climbing toward their future along the Rocky Mountain Front.

The headlines paint the picture that there is no honor in public service. I disagree. I think the greatest noble human endeavor is service—service to friends, service to family, to church, to synagogue. Public service. The most noble human endeavor is service. So I urge you young folks to take up that challenge that politics is not an honorable profession. It is more than honorable. It is an obligation to serve. I urge you to follow and serve. Choose to serve others. For me, it has been the honor of a lifetime. I am so lucky. And be ready—because history is calling.

It is with deep gratitude and respect that I say for the last time, with full faith in the highest forms of the Senate, I yield the floor. But before doing so, I just have to say I am not going anywhere. I am just taking a trip, maybe for a year or two, across the Pacific—just a trip. I will be coming
back because we all are together on different journeys that we take.
   I thank all of you, my colleagues.
   I yield the floor.
Letters of Resignation

Monday, February 10, 2014

U.S. Senate, Washington, DC, February 6, 2014.

Governor STEVE BULLOCK,
Montana State Capitol,
Helena, MT.

DEAR GOVERNOR BULLOCK: In order to assume the responsibility of serving as the United States Ambassador to China, I write to resign my seat in the United States Senate effective upon my appointment as Ambassador. Representing the people of Montana for 40 years has been the honor of a lifetime. I am grateful for the trust Montanans have bestowed on me and the opportunity to contribute to our great state and nation.

Respectfully,

MAX BAUCUS.

February 7, 2014.

Hon. JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.,
President of the Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR VICE PRESIDENT BIDEN: In accordance with my letter of February 6, 2014 to Governor Bullock, this is to clarify that my resignation as United States Senator became effective at the close of business on February 6, 2014.

Sincerely,

MAX BAUCUS.
TRIBUTES

TO

MAX BAUCUS
Mr. REID. Mr. President, I have had the good fortune of serving in Congress for more than three decades with a good man, the senior Senator from Montana, MAX BAUCUS. We hope to schedule a vote sometime this afternoon on his confirmation to be our Nation’s Ambassador to China.

Senator BAUCUS has served in the Senate for a long time. At the end of this year, he will have served 36 years. Prior to that, he served in the House of Representatives for 4 years. Prior to that, he served a term in the Montana State Legislature.

He has his undergraduate and law degree from Stanford. He is an extremely smart person and is certainly versed on what goes on in the Congress.

After he received his law degree from Stanford, he worked as an attorney at the Securities and Exchange Commission and entered private practice in Missoula after that.

His mentor, and the person who got him interested in politics, was Mike Mansfield. I didn’t know him—I shouldn’t say I didn’t know him. He attended the Prayer Breakfast, and I met him on a number of occasions at our Wednesday Prayer Breakfast. He was a very quiet man, and that is what everybody says about him. He was the worst guest in the world to interview on a Sunday show because he wouldn’t say anything. He would just answer yes or no. He was well respected in the Senate by Democrats and Republicans.

I heard Senator BAUCUS tell the story many times about how Mike Mansfield suggested that he go into politics. Well, he did do that.

Senator BAUCUS served 2 years in the Montana State Legislature before he was elected in 1974 to the House of Representatives. He served, as I indicated earlier, 4 years in the House before coming to the Senate. He has been elected and reelected to the Senate 5 times. As I said, at the end of this year, he will have served for 36 years in the Senate.
He has been chairman of the Finance Committee. He has been chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee. He has been a member of the Agriculture Committee for a long time. By the way, he was appointed to that committee on a temporary basis many decades ago and never left.

As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, he was instrumental in developing lots of landmark legislation, but the most significant law he helped to pass in this body was the landmark health care reform bill, the Affordable Care Act, which is saving lives and a lot of money for American taxpayers.

He has been a longtime advocate for the Children's Health Insurance Program. He worked on that with a number of people—not the least of which is Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah.

While Senator Baucus is well known nationally for his tireless work on health care, tax reform, and as a member of the Environment and Public Works Committee, he was also involved in public works projects.

I think the most important thing that Montanans will remember about him is that he always put Montanans first. He is an avid hunter. He authored one of the largest public land grant bills in American history which preserved 310,000 acres of forest land in northwestern Montana.

It is a testament to his love of the outdoors that Max Baucus walked almost 1,000 miles across Montana in 1995 and 1996.

Max and I have an ongoing dialog about running. I have run a number of marathons, but Max Baucus is a better runner than I am. He is faster, and he has run—I ran one 31-mile race, but Max has run 50-mile races, and he has trained for 100-mile races. During one of those, he fell and hurt himself quite significantly. He hit his head because of a fall.

We have exchanged news articles and stories about runners. We enjoy focusing on our athletic skills. It was just the two of us, so we could say whatever we wanted because there was no one there to listen.

He is someone who loves running. He is still an avid runner, and I have admired him for his athletic skills in addition to his legislative skills.

Senator Baucus' independent spirit has made him a powerful advocate for Montana and for the issues he cares about.
He is a respected member of the Democratic caucus and has great respect from the Republican caucus.

During the time that Senator Grassley was the ranking member—I can't vouch for this, but I think I am right—and Senator BAUCUS was chairman of the Finance Committee, they met every week for lunch. Every week we were in session, they had lunch together.

His passion is well known to all of us. He has decades of experience in Congress. President Obama made an excellent choice in appointing Senator BAUCUS to represent America's interests in China, a growing power in our global economy.

He has never shied away from difficult issues of the day, and I have no doubt that his fearlessness will serve him well in his new role as a representative for our country in China.

Although Senator BAUCUS will be missed by the entire Democratic caucus and the Senate family, our loss will be the Nation's gain.

I wish the senior Senator from Montana the very best.

I hope we will vote this afternoon on Senator BAUCUS' nomination to be Ambassador to China. We have not locked that in yet.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I rise to speak of my colleague, our friend Senator BAUCUS, who hopefully will be confirmed by the Senate to his new post in a few hours.

I have, of course, known Senator BAUCUS since I came to the Senate, but even before, one of my first impressions of him was a picture of Senator BAUCUS in his white cowboy hat on his ranch in Montana. To me, a kid from New York City, he looked like the Marlboro Man. He was handsome and he was in the cowboy hat. So I said, “Wow.”

When I met Senator BAUCUS, I found his heart, his brain, and his soul were every bit as good as the outside. He was a great leader of the Finance Committee. First, he had great intellect. MAX BAUCUS would see an issue, understand the issue, and get to the heart of the issue quicker than almost anybody else. He understood the vagaries of legislation, and he knew how to try to get things done. He always worked in a bipartisan way. He reached out to Republicans, and many criticized him sometimes for doing it, but given the gridlock in this body, in retrospect, everybody would think: Wow, that is what we should be doing. And he tried and tried.

Of course, his crowning legislative achievement was health care. I know there are some—particularly on the other side of the aisle—who criticize it, but I have no doubt that MAX BAUCUS will be regarded as a giant in what he did in coming
up with the health care reform bill. I have no doubt that as the kinks are worked out and as the effort moves forward, it will be regarded as one of the pieces of landmark legislation of this decade and this century, and it wouldn’t have happened without MAX BAUCUS.

There are 37 million Americans who now have access to health insurance, a whole generation of young adults who will be insured through the age of 26, and protection of all Americans with preexisting conditions because of the diligence, the never-give-up attitude Senator BAUCUS had. On so many other things in the bill—getting after the private insurance companies; now community health centers are providing health care for the poorest among us in a better way—this is one of many issues on which MAX BAUCUS took the lead.

As I say, he was a premier legislator, worked long and hard, figured out what he thought the right thing to do was, tried to get colleagues from the other side of the aisle as well as on our side of the aisle to support it, and then got it done. The list of his accomplishments is long. He took the bull by the horns, never backing off.

I know Senator BAUCUS will be an outstanding Ambassador to China. It is one of the most important foreign policy positions our country has to offer, and having someone with MAX BAUCUS' acute mind, great persistence, good heart, and good soul will mean a lot.

Not only are we going to miss Max, we are going to very much miss his wife Mel. She is terrific. They met not too long ago, and I know how happy they make each other. I think it makes all of us feel happy as well.

MAX, you are truly the best of the “Last Best Place,” and we will all miss you.

Mr. TESTER. . . . We have just come through the worst recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Unemployment is still at 7 percent. We need to get it lower. The bottom line is there are still some folks out there who need some help, and as the economy continues to improve—we are not where we need to be yet—we ought to give those folks the help they need to get back on their feet, to give them the hope they need to reenter the workforce and become valuable parts of our economy again.

Madam President, there is a beautiful small town in the farthest corner of northwest Montana. The town is called Libby, and it sits in the heart of the Kootenai Valley, surrounded by majestic snow-capped mountains. It is a beau-
tiful place. But despite Libby’s postcard-worthy views, the town has a troubled history.

Starting in 1919, mining companies began pulling vermiculite from the mountains outside of town. Vermiculite was used to bake, to build soil in gardens, and to insulate buildings. It was not long before the families of Libby began to pay the price for keeping their fellow Americans warm.

Mining vermiculite exposed Libby’s miners and residents to asbestos dust. That asbestos got into their homes, their schools, and—eventually—their lungs. Over the decades, hundreds of folks in Libby died from asbestos exposure, and thousands more continue to suffer today.

When the W.R. Grace company bought the mines in 1963, the company denied that asbestos caused the illnesses plaguing the town’s residents. Instead of sounding the alarm, they kept quiet while building corporate profits on the backs of Libby’s suffering families and workers.

Word about Libby’s fate finally made it to national news in 1999. The plight of Libby’s families caught the attention of one man in particular, Montana’s senior Senator MAX BAUCUS.

MAX soon began his crusade to get the EPA and the Department of Health and Human Services to take action. Despite MAX bringing countless government officials to northwest Montana to see what asbestos had done to the men, women, and children of Libby, it took 10 years for the government to declare this region a public health emergency, the first of its kind. Thanks to MAX, Libby today is home to a state-of-the-art medical clinic that screens and treats residents for asbestosis.

Thanks to MAX, the Affordable Care Act extended Medicare coverage to everyone in the emergency zone. Thanks to MAX, funds are flowing into Libby to remove asbestos from homes, schools, and playgrounds. Due to MAX’s hard work and the determination of the people of Libby, the town is slowly putting the sordid legacy of W.R. Grace in its rearview mirror. MAX’s hard work for the people of Libby is the MAX BAUCUS that Montanans have come to know.

But MAX’s work for the people of Montana started many years before he led the fight to help the people of Libby. In the early 1970s when MAX started in public service, he traveled to Butte to meet a fellow by the name of Harp Cote. Harp knew the lay of the land in Butte, but he did not know MAX. MAX did not know Butte. Harp was instantly impressed with MAX’s willingness to work or, as Harp said it,
MAX's “fire in the belly.” MAX asked Harp to introduce him to Butte's leaders and voters. Unlike other candidates, MAX did not want Harp to lobby the folks of Butte on his behalf. Instead, MAX went door to door himself to win their support.

That kind of work ethic, where you put your own shoe leather into the fight, is the reason for MAX's many achievements in Congress, achievements that include saving Social Security from privatization, leading the charge to modernize the Clean Air Act, passing six farm bills and three highway bills to strengthen Montana's and America's economy.

Folks in Washington do not always recognize MAX's hard work. In a town where too many people race for the nearest TV cameras, MAX's preference for hard work does not always do him any favors. That is practically a mortal sin around here. But not for MAX. MAX has represented Montana in Congress since 1975.

His long record of service proves that Montanans do not want a showman. They do not want someone who yells across the aisle. They want someone who will reach across that aisle and find a way to say yes even when saying no is easier to do. It is like the folks in Libby. Montana wants someone who will work hard for them, who will get results and fight to improve our quality of life. Montanans have a soulmate in MAX BAUCUS.

I first met MAX in 1998 at an economic development meeting in Havre, MT. MAX is famous for his economic development summits in Butte. So it was no surprise that we first crossed paths when MAX was working to improve Montana's economy. At that point in his career MAX's record was already impressive.

In 1972, as director of Montana's constitutional convention, MAX helped pass one of the most progressive State constitutions to date, enshrining protections for clean air, for clean water, and for the right to a quality education into law. He then walked the entire length of our State to introduce himself to Montanans and win a seat in Congress, meeting more men and women along the way like Harp Cote.

As MAX gained experience in the Senate, he became chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee. Soon thereafter, well into his fifties, MAX hiked 820 miles, from one corner of our State to the other, to earn the support of Montanans during his 1996 reelection. So MAX, in your new role as Ambassador, take my advice and do not try to walk from one end of China to the other.
MAX next rose to become chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. As chairman, MAX did not have the luxury of not getting the job done. The Finance Committee has been home to some of our Nation’s hardest working Senators and greatest examples of bipartisanship because failing to support critical programs like Social Security and Medicare is simply not an option.

On the Finance Committee, you cannot sit back and throw stones. You have to roll up your sleeves, you have to find common ground, and you have to get the job done. That is what MAX did. He passed legislation to reduce Americans’ tax burdens, improve children’s health, and, most recently, to reform our Nation’s broken health care system.

MAX’s penchant for hard work and thoughtful, independent-minded leadership stems from another great Montanan that he and I both admire, former Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield. MAX met Mike as a teenager, and for many Montanans of today, myself included, MAX connects us to Mike’s legacy as a champion for the greater good, as the champion for putting service and sacrifice well before self, and a champion for Montana.

Montana’s leaders always put Montana first, and MAX is no exception. Just as Montana has shaped MAX, MAX has shaped Montana. MAX’s dedication to our public lands is legendary. Montana is known as the Treasure State because of our incredible natural resources and unrivaled public spaces. From Yellowstone to Glacier, Montana is a place like no other. Throughout his career, MAX has set out to preserve our treasured lands for future generations to enjoy. In 2008, the same year he won reelection and became the first person to win all 56 counties in Montana, MAX helped set aside 320,000 acres of prime hunting and fishing lands across our State.

This land, which will forever be open to the public, is part of MAX’s brainchild called the Montana Legacy Project. MAX’s love of our outdoors extends to those who share his love. In March 2000, he came to the Senate floor to remember a young Montanan, Sean-Michael Miles, who had tragically died in a car accident just over a year before.

MAX dedicated a scholarship in Sean’s name. MAX repeated Sean’s words:

I know this land may pay a price for being beautiful, as change advances, carrying with it the prospect of loss. It is a land I desperately love. It is a part of me. It hurts so much to care so much. Yet as a westerner, I am invited to breathe it all in deeply each day.
Max, Sean would be proud of your hard work to preserve our treasured places. I pledge to carry on your efforts so Montanans can continue to cherish our special places and pass our traditions down to our kids and our grandkids.

It is not a stretch to say that I would not be here if it were not for MAX BAUCUS. Max has brought world leaders to Butte for his economic development summit. He brought camera crews onto construction sites and small businesses as part of his famous Montana workdays. He operated forklifts in warehouses, made bread in Montana’s bakeries, and dug ditches—all to get a better feel for hard-working Montanans each and every day.

He fought for Montana farmers and ranchers who feed our Nation. But he also helped bring a dry-land farmer from Big Sandy, MT, to the Senate. Max, I cannot tell you how much you have meant to me as a friend, as a partner, as a mentor. I have lost track of how many meetings and rallies we have attended together across our State. But I do know that at each one you have had my back.

So when I arrived in the Senate in 2007, it was because of you that a guy with seven fingers and a flat-top haircut quickly figured how to get from his office to the Senate floor. It is because of you that I had a model for working across the aisle to pass thoughtful, responsible legislation. It is because of you that I always know that I have a friend to turn to when I need advice; that is, because along with your tremendous staff, you have always put Montana first. You have built the Montana Democratic Party into a beacon of common sense, freedom, and opportunity in the West. Our party is stronger because of you and your dedication to our State.

After retiring from the Senate in 1976, Mike Mansfield became the Ambassador to Japan. Now you are poised to continue following in Senator Mansfield’s footsteps as Ambassador to China. I know that you will continue to serve Montana, even as you serve our Nation’s interests overseas. I wish you the best. While you are gone, I will keep up your fight for Montana, particularly the Montanans who need someone to fight for them. Montanans like Les Skramstad. Les was a longtime Libby resident. For years, he saw politicians come to Libby with a promise to help. That help never arrived.

When Max came to Libby, Les told him he would be watching. Les passed away in 2007 before Libby began getting its help. But Max keeps Les’ photo close because in
Montana a promise to help is a promise to keep. That is the Montana way. That is the MAX BAUCUS way.

MAX, it has been an honor to serve with you. It is an honor to call you friend. The Senate will be a lesser body without you. I wish you Godspeed and good luck. This is an incredibly important job. I know you are more than up to that task. Thank you for your service to this Senate and to Montana and to this country.

Mr. MENENDEZ. I know we are shortly going to be voting on, among other issues, the nomination of Senator MAX BAUCUS to be the next U.S. Ambassador to China. I would expect that he would have a unanimous, if not nearly unanimous, vote in the Senate.

I said in the Foreign Relations Committee this week that clearly one of the biggest challenges and the biggest opportunities before U.S. foreign policy today is getting the relationship between the United States and China—in the context of our rebalance to the Asia-Pacific—right. I can think of few more able or qualified at this important moment in history than our friend and colleague, the Senator from Montana, to help provide advice and guidance to the President and to Congress about how to get that relationship right.

He is an expert on trade issues. He understands what we face in the coming years as China’s economy continues to grow. He is fully aware of the fact that we have had U.S. exports to China that have increased by almost $40 billion in the past 4 years alone, creating and sustaining millions of U.S. jobs in sectors across the board—automobiles, power generation, machinery, aircraft, and other vital industrial sectors. His trade missions to China, since he has been the chairman of the Finance Committee, have given him the perspective he needs to deal with the realities of our policy options.

From the hearing he clearly understands that through the rest of the 21st century and beyond, much of the strategic, political, and economic future of the world is likely to be shaped by decisions made by Washington, Beijing, and the capitals of Asia over the next 4 to 5 years. How we get that rebalance right is incredibly important, and the Ambassador to China is equally important in that regard.

Finally, trade is not the only issue as it relates to China. Our collective security, having China pursue a rules-based system, is extremely important, as well as what happens in the South China Sea—all of the issues Senator BAUCUS ad-
dressed in his nomination hearing with great ability, insight, and a willingness to take them on.

As the very final point, human rights is an incredibly important issue as it relates to China. I want to read briefly from the transcript where he was asked about the question of human rights. He described a moment as a Senator in which he raised the issue with then-President Jiang Zemin.

Senator BAUCUS said:

He [the President of China] said I did not know what I was talking about, basically. But then I went to Tibet, went to Lhasa and raised the same point there. And sure enough, within about 2 or 3 weeks, this person was released. …

Protection of human rights is the bedrock. It is the underpinning of American and world society. … People look to America, look to America to lead on so many issues, including the protection of human rights, religious freedoms, freedom of the press, all the rights that are enumerated in the universal declaration. It is what most progress springs from.

And the answer is yes, Senator [Cardin]. You have my commitment [on human rights].

I think the totality of trade, currency manipulation, security, human rights, and the answers that he gave in his hearing, clearly show manifestly that he is very capable of being the next Ambassador.

I urge a unanimous vote in the Senate, and I yield the floor.

Mr. REED. First let me add my accolades to those of the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about Senator BAUCUS. He is superbly prepared to be our next Ambassador to China. He is a friend and colleague. The President chose wisely, and I anticipate his confirmation. …

Mr. REID. Madam President, after having consulted with the Republican leader, I now ask unanimous consent to move to executive session to consider Calendar No. 629, the nomination of our friend MAX BAUCUS to be Ambassador to China; further, I ask that all time be yielded back, with all of the provisions under the previous order remaining in effect.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of MAX SIEBEN BAUCUS, of Montana, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the People’s Republic of China.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of MAX SIEBEN BAUCUS, of Montana, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the People’s Republic of China?

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There appears to be a sufficient second. There is a sufficient second. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 96, nays 0.

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the President will be immediately notified of the Senate’s action.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I am pleased that my colleague and very dear friend MAX BAUCUS was confirmed by this body the way he was. He will make a fine Ambassador to China. We all know what an honorable, decent man he is. We all know of his abilities. We all know he has run a very tough committee, a very important committee, and has done a terrific job in doing so.

All I can say is I rise to wish my good friend Senator MAX BAUCUS good luck as he departs to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to China.

We are going to miss MAX. I do not think it is fair to this body, but, nevertheless, I think it is fair to our country because MAX will make a great Ambassador. Senator BAUCUS first came to the Senate in 1978 and has the distinction of being Montana’s longest serving Senator. So, as you can see, I have served with Senator BAUCUS for a long time—longer than the two of us would like to admit sometimes. Over the years I have come to respect his commitment both to his constituents and to his principles. Having worked side by side with him on the Senate Finance Committee, I know a lot about his constituents and his principles. He raises his constituents constantly and his principles I do not think ever wavered.

If you want to understand my friend MAX BAUCUS’ priorities, take a look at the sign on his Senate office desk. Like MAX, it is to the point and unequivocal. The sign says: “Mon-
tana comes first.” Plain and simple, not much nuance, the language is pretty declarative.

That is MAX BAUCUS. In his long and distinguished Senate career, he always put the people of Montana first.

Both Senator BAUCUS and I are westerners, and westerners expect a certain amount of independence in their Senators. They expect us to work across the aisle and attempt to solve problems and work together.

Of course, we Republicans tend to view that problem solving as less government and Democrats tend to view that problem solving as more government. That is not universal, but that is where the two sides usually come down. That being the case, MAX and I have often found ourselves on different sides of some of these issues. However, we share the desire to solve problems and, as MAX’s sign says it, to put our constituents’ interests first. Senator BAUCUS has always understood that notion very well, and I am here to declare that to everybody who listens.

As a result, his disposition—particularly as chairman of the Finance Committee—has been to try to find a way to a bipartisan yes rather than a partisan no. I have always respected him for that.

Over the last few years, as I have served alongside MAX as the ranking member of the Finance Committee, I have greatly appreciated his willingness to put partisan differences aside for the greater good of all.

One adjective you could use to describe Senator BAUCUS is one that was used by his predecessor as chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The term I am thinking of is “indefatigable.”

Whether it was preparing for and running a marathon, walking across the wide expanse of his home State, or working at one of the many jobs he regularly undertook back home on recess visits, MAX has been indefatigable.

He has been a tireless legislator. Just ask his staff. They will affirm that fact. As a Senator, he was always working. I have no doubt he will do the same as our Nation’s Ambassador to China, arguably the most important diplomatic post in the world today.

As we saw today, the vote on his confirmation was not even close. That is because all of his colleagues know that MAX BAUCUS is a committed public servant who will serve the American people with competence, dignity, and a tireless commitment to our Nation and its interests.
I have to say I feel personally about this nominee and about this nomination. I like MAX very much. Having served with him on the Senate Finance Committee, he has always tried to be fair. He has always tried to consider the other’s point of view. He has always tried to consider different ways of solving problems, and he has worked to do so. That is about all we can ask from our colleagues on the other side—either Democrats or Republicans.

I just want to at this time wish Senator BAUCUS and his lovely wife Melodee and, of course, his family the best of luck in this and all future endeavors.

As MAX departs the Senate, Senator BAUCUS leaves behind a great legacy and very big shoes to fill. So at this particular point, I hesitate to say farewell to my friend MAX BAUCUS, but I only say farewell knowing that he is going to go on to a very important job for our country, where I think he will do a very good job.

He will have my support as he serves over there, and let’s just hope that we on the Finance Committee can do a better job or at least an equivalent job to what MAX has done to keep these very important issues on the most important committee of the Congress moving along.

I have nothing but respect for MAX. I appreciate him very much. I am his friend, and I intend to continue this friendship as long as we both live.

With that, I congratulate Senator BAUCUS. I am proud of the Senator, and I intend to support him while he is there as well.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CARPER. Madam President, the Chinese New Year began, as you probably know, just a couple days ago. I do not know a lot of words in Chinese, but among the words I have learned is how to say “Happy New Year.” It is a new year in China. It is a new year for Chinese Americans in this country as well. I think the way we say “Happy New Year” is “Gong Xi Fa Cai.” So I say that to my friend.

When word came out that MAX had been nominated by the President for this role, I say to our friend from Utah, I ran into MAX. He was about to go into an elevator, I think in the Hart Building, and I said, “I know the President has nominated you for this, but you can’t leave. We need your leadership on tax reform. We need your leadership on an SGR fix
and doctors and all these other issues—trade policy. You can't leave now.”

He said, “Well, the President has nominated me.”

I said, “Well, I am going to put a hold on your nomination.”

He was about to get in the elevator and go away, and he put his head back out and said, “Oh no, you are not.”

I was tempted. I was tempted because there is a lot he leaves. Actually, I think he leaves at a time when this place is working better. I am encouraged by that. Frankly, I am encouraged by the relationship the Senator has kindled with Senator Hatch. I am encouraged by the relationship the Senator has kindled with our friend Dave Camp from Michigan over in the House as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. MAX has set an example for the rest of us.

It is ironic the chairman of the committee and the ranking member are sitting here across the aisle from each other, but the two of them, in terms of providing personal examples—the kind of leadership we need; do as I do, not as I say—both of them are terrific at reaching across the aisle, doing what the people sent us to do: find principled compromises, get things done.

I wish to mention—let me just ask, and he can maybe nod his head—my recollection is, when we took up the issue of whether there should be a Medicare prescription drug program that was supported initially by Senator Kennedy and by President George W. Bush, I think in the end the version that prevailed was the version preferred by President Bush.

My recollection is that Senator BAUCUS may have gone across the aisle and supported that version of the bill and took me and probably another 10 or so Democrats with him—not an easy thing to do.

I remember going back to Delaware—I have told him this story before—I went back to Delaware and held a number of townhall meetings, if you will, on that issue and got excoriated, eviscerated by mostly Democrats. They would come and say: How could you do this? How could you support that prescription drug program, the Medicare Part D Program.

I explained I thought it was a principled compromise. I thought it would work. A year later, it has an 85 percent approval rating by the people who use it. For 6 or 7 straight years—it still has an 85 percent approval rating, a little higher than ours. If you look at how we are doing in terms of anticipated costs, it is 7 years under budget.
When the time came to try to find a compromise on comprehensive health care reform, I remember the Senator did not just work with three or four Republican colleagues on the Finance Committee—Senator Grassley, Senator Snowe, Senator Enzi. The Senator did not work with them for a couple of days to try a find a principled compromise, Senator BAUCUS worked with them for weeks—I think months—to try to do that. Ultimately, the Senator was unsuccessful. But the Senator led us through a difficult markup in committee and on the floor. I know there are reservations in that law that we should tweak and change and make it better. But I think in the end, the Senator's leadership will be vindicated by a lot of Americans, just like we did with the Medicare prescription drug program. Obviously, that was the right thing to do.

Thank you for the leadership you provided.

On a personal level, I would say, as Senator Hatch has said, this is a personal loss to me, and I know to many Democrats and Republicans. But the Senator leaves behind a wonderful legacy. You leave behind a whole lot of people, and they all have their resumes—no, not really. One or two of them may have. But you have a reputation as surrounding yourself with really good people. I sought to do that. I kind of learned from you and Senator Hatch, but I have always sought to surround myself by people smarter than me. My wife always says that it is not hard to find them.

You have done a great job surrounding yourself with terrific people. They are here today sitting behind you, over in the Republican side, up in the galleries—a lot of love here. I hope you feel it from all of us.

In the Navy when people pull up their anchor and prepare to sail off into the sunset or the sunrise, whatever the case may be, we always like to say: Fair winds and a following sea. That is what I wish to you and to Mel. We are going to miss you here, but we are really going to miss her. We hope we will have an opportunity to see you again and to work with you again.

We hope the same, that we will have an opportunity to see Mel. We think the world of her. Good luck to both of you. May God bless you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, I just want to make a brief statement before Senator BAUCUS speaks and thank him for his service in the Senate, thank him for representing Montana, and accepting some of the toughest assignments in
the Senate. We have a similarity in our background. We were both inspired to this position by Senators who served before us; in his case, Senator Mansfield, who was an extraordinary leader in the Senate and an extraordinary man when you consider his contribution to our country. He served in two world wars, if I am not mistaken, perhaps in three different branches of the military. It was just an exceptional life of public service which ended with his ambassadorship to Japan.

Now, Senator BAUCUS, who was inspired to public life by Senator Mansfield and followed in his footsteps in representing the State of Montana, serving in one of the highest leadership spots in the Senate, is now off to an ambassadorship, which, when you consider the ebb and flow of history, is singularly the most important ambassadorial assignment which the United States of America can make. Today, this overwhelming bipartisan vote in the Senate is a fitting tribute to Senator MAX BAUCUS for his service, his friendship, and his continued dedication to be a servant of our Nation. I wish you and Mel the very best in this new assignment. We hope to get a chance to come to see you, and also, more important, to work with you, to make sure that our relationship with China remains strong for decades to come.

Thank you, MAX, for being such a great colleague and a friend.

Mr. CASEY. Madam President, I rise today to pay tribute to my colleague, MAX BAUCUS. Senator BAUCUS has been a leader in the areas of tax, trade, health, agriculture, and the environment. I have served with him on the Finance Committee and the Agriculture Committee and have enjoyed working with him and learning from him. On the Finance Committee, Senator BAUCUS worked to improve the health care of all Americans, most notably with the passage of the Affordable Care Act. It should also be noted, one of his last acts as a Senator today was to introduce a bipartisan and bicameral agreement on Medicare physician payment reform. On the Agriculture Committee, he was a passionate advocate for farmers. MAX leaves a legacy he should be proud of. I wish him well in China and thank him for his continued service.

Mr. NELSON. Madam President, I rise today to congratulate Senator MAX BAUCUS for his confirmation as Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. I am grateful to
have had the opportunity to serve with him for several years in the Senate and on the Finance Committee, which he chairs.

Max's entire life has been dedicated to public service. He was a member of the Montana House early in his career, before being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and then the Senate in 1978. Few people have served as long in the Senate as Max and led such an illustrious career here. Max has been behind many landmark pieces of legislation that will benefit people's lives and the country for years to come. As chairman of the Finance Committee, he has influenced so many issues that have an impact on American families every day, from tax policy to pensions, health care, and education.

What is more, I have seen first hand Max's unique desire to work with people across the political spectrum. Max's commonsense approach and collegial nature, learned from growing up on a ranch in Montana, has played a significant role in his ability to get things done. I hope that all Senators will learn from his example. In fact, I believe it is what we must do to best serve the people who elected us.

On behalf of all Floridians, I want to thank Max for serving his country in the Senate for more than three decades. I wish him well as he follows in the footsteps of his mentor, Senator Mike Mansfield, in becoming Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

Mr. Levin. Madam President, Max Baucus has never been afraid of the long haul. As the son of Montana ranchers, he knows the meaning of a long day's work. Before his 1996 election, he walked the length of Montana, more than 800 miles. In 2003, well past his 60th birthday, he ran a 50-mile ultramarathon.

For the last three decades, I have had the privilege of running a different sort of marathon with Max. We entered the Senate together after the election of 1978, and have served together since then. Today we mark the end of that marathon, as Senator Baucus prepares to become Ambassador Baucus and assume one of our Nation's most important diplomatic posts as Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Max Baucus has played a central role in some of the most important legislative accomplishments of recent decades. He has helped bring health care coverage to millions of Americans by working toward establishment of the Children's Health Insurance...
Program and the Affordable Care Act. At the same time, he was worked tirelessly on issues of major importance to Montana, fighting to support his State’s agriculture, and to support important educational and economic development initiatives.

He moves from this important role to another. Our relationship with China is more important than ever. Decisions made today will affect that relationship for decades to come. We are seeking to cement a positive relationship, one in which China joins with our friends and allies in the Asia-Pacific region to support collective security and economic growth, and fosters stability through adhering to international norms. As the representative of the American people in Beijing, MAX will be instrumental in getting and keeping the United States-China relationship on a positive footing. He will be in a crucial position to help open Chinese markets to American goods.

I will miss MAX as a friend and a colleague, but I am grateful for his willingness to take on this job, to continue serving his Nation in a new and challenging capacity.

Mr. WYDEN. Madam President, before he leaves the floor, I would like to make a few comments about Senator BAUCUS.

Our part of the world has sent to the Senate some of our most distinguished and thoughtful Members. The great Pacific Northwest sent Wayne Morse from my home State to the Senate and Warren Magnuson and Scoop Jackson of Washington State. I note that Senator Cantwell is here. Frank Church of Idaho was sent to Washington, and, of course, Mike Mansfield, Senator BAUCUS’ mentor and pioneer in terms of promoting closer relations between our country and Asia. It is very fitting that this afternoon MAX BAUCUS joins that very special group of Senators from our part of the United States.

Second, I wish to caution Senators on one point, and the distinguished Senator from Utah and I have had a little bit of a laugh about this. MAX is exceptionally friendly, and he always tells Senators: Our paths are going to cross again. I look forward to working with you in the days ahead. Senator Hatch and I just want to say to everyone here in the Senate: However close you are to Senator BAUCUS, that doesn’t mean every Senator can insist that MAX come back from China to talk about the latest twist in the debate about currency manipulation or some other issue.

The last point I want to mention is a personal one. When you are here in the Senate for more than three decades, you
deal with scores of bills and amendments, and you talk about coalitions that were built to pass measures that needed to be passed, and from time to time you have to build a coalition to stop something that shouldn’t be passed. But what I want to do—out of those thousands of bills and thousands of amendments—is talk about a special BAUCUS commitment that was especially important to me; that is, the needs of senior citizens.

MAX BAUCUS had some particularly celebrated wins in the fight for seniors—something in which the Presiding Officer of the Senate is very involved. The reality is that the person who did more to stop the privatization of Social Security here on the floor of the Senate was MAX BAUCUS. He was the one who led the coalition. He reached out to Senators on both sides and said, “Look, of course we need to save more for private retirement savings, but we are going to do that on top of Social Security, not as a replacement for Social Security.” So Senator BAUCUS was there building that coalition, making the case for why this special program, this intergenerational program has been so important for our country.

What I remember best about Senator BAUCUS and seniors, though, is when the Finance Committee blew the whistle on some of these ripoffs in supplements sold to older people, and eventually these supplements really became the delivery system for Medicare as we know it in much of the country. Senator Cantwell and I, of course, know of the Medicare Advantage Program.

We would have hearings in the Finance Committee where we would hear about efforts in the private sector to sell health insurance to seniors that was not worth the paper on which it was written. I remember—kind of bringing my Gray Panther roots into the cause—talking to MAX about this change and that change, and it would get pretty dense pretty quickly. MAX just said, “This is wrong to rip off senior citizens this way.” We were able to get those changes. The consumer protections MAX BAUCUS locked into the law for the Nation’s vulnerable seniors essentially remain the protections of today that are used as the model for senior rights.

Senator Cantwell and I, since we are both on the committee, also know that in the budget discussions, when it came time for hard choices, MAX always made it a priority to stand up for what are known as the dual eligibles—the seniors who are the most vulnerable, the seniors who don’t have political action committees and don’t have clout and
can’t participate in all of what we normally think of as today’s politics, from fundraising to all of the grassroots work.

I will close by saying that when you see somebody week in and week out stand for the most vulnerable people in society, such as those dual eligibles, you learn a lot about what a person feels strongly about, what values are important to them. So I want to close by saying that when we talk about the Senators from our part of the world—and Senator Cantwell remembers so well the legendary Warren Magnuson and Scoop Jackson and Frank Church, who, by the way, was chair of the Senate Select Committee on Aging. I met him for the first time when I was director of the Gray Panthers and had a full head of hair and good looks. MAX was always on those issues, year after year.

I hope today, as we reflect on his contributions and certainly all the bills and amendments he offered in the Senate Finance Committee, people will also remember that there is a reason MAX belongs with those distinguished Senators I mentioned from the Pacific Northwest. It is because he had a heart for people, he had a heart for seniors, and he had the values that represent the best in public service.

With that, Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I too come to the floor to say goodbye to our colleague from Montana and wish him well in his new endeavor as Ambassador to China—something the Pacific Northwest cares dearly about. So I know we will be working with him in his new capacity, but it really is a very historic moment for all of us and certainly for those of us in the Pacific Northwest.

I will never forget MAX and I riding back to our offices on the subway once and talking about the Inland Empire. I think people thought we were making something up, but that is how we refer to our part of the country and the interior, which is this huge economy that is built on agriculture, built on trade, built on natural resources that we hold so dear and for which we fight.

To come to the Senate and to sit in the seat Scoop Jackson once held and think about how you will have the where-withal and ability to remember all of what Scoop and Maggie and everybody fought for and to know the incarnation of that is right there in MAX BAUCUS, the person who worked with them, who saw them, and who then carried that torch on
these important policy issues, to me, is so important to recognize today because he really is a legislator in the mold of Magnuson and Jackson.

I thank MAX for one thing in particular; that is, doing deals. Around here people sometimes criticize doing deals. But you know what? The art of compromise and moving our country forward requires that, and MAX became a model dealmaker in the context of these important policies on which we have worked, whether the modernization of the trade legislation for dislocated workers and expanding that program and making it more robust because it needed to be modernized or whether some of the changes we have made to CHIP, because I can tell you he certainly helped us in Washington State in making sure we had our fair share as regards the Children's Health Insurance Program.

Just speaking about CHIP in general, I can't say enough about CHIP as a program. When you get discouraged around here about what we are actually getting done or what problems we are solving, if you think of nothing else but CHIP—just the Children’s Health Insurance Program—and literally giving health insurance to millions of children across America who wouldn’t automatically get health insurance, this job is worth it right here and now. So I thank MAX for that.

Certainly on the Affordable Care Act I have often said that MAX applied his marathon skills to the patience of Job in actually crafting that legislation. I think we probably worked every day for 2 years in committee to make that legislation a reality, and it took a lot of patience. Many times late at night I would have lost my patience with the process and our colleagues, but MAX didn’t, and the end result is that this country is moving forward on a major health care policy that I know 30 or 40 years from now will be in the same category as our other key programs such as Social Security and Medicare, as a foundation and as a base of what we are doing to make sure people have affordable health care in this country.

MAX, I thank you for the staff you hired as well because in the Finance Committee, while we didn’t always agree on every single policy, they also came to the table ready to make things happen, and I certainly appreciate that.

To my colleagues, I feel as though we really are losing a piece of our institution today, somebody who really understood the issues that I care about in the Pacific Northwest, and somebody who really knew how to make things happen. I know our path forward is a new course on the Finance
Committee, but I hope we will continue in the way that MAX brought forth issues because in the end it is about improving the lives of the people we represent, and that means we are not always going to agree, but we are going to have to put ideas on the table and we are going to have to get them passed into law.

So, MAX, as you go across the big Pacific, I know you will remember us, but we will be looking to you too because there is a lot we have to get done. I know that as you are running around Beijing, you will have that little app they now have that shows the level of pollution in Beijing that comes right off the U.S. Embassy, and you will be talking to the Chinese about how we have to work together on a clean energy strategy, and we will applaud you for that. But don’t forget all of us here because there is a lot of work to be done. We are very proud to call you a former colleague and a key leader in the history of the Inland Empire. Thank you very much, MAX.

WEDNESDAY, December 10, 2014

ORDER FOR PRINTING OF SENATE DOCUMENT

Mr. BENNET. I ask unanimous consent that the tributes to retiring Senators be printed as a Senate document and that Senators be permitted to submit tributes until December 23, 2014.

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

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