

humor. I am not sure that the public at large has understood that. But I have had an ongoing relationship—very friendly—with BOB DOLE on many, many occasions. In fact, this year when he was running for President of the United States, I suggested to him—and he knew it was facetious—that I might consider a draft to be his Vice Presidential running mate, if he was interested in that. BOB knows that I am a Democrat—always have been and always will be, and we had lots of jokes about that. But over the years of friendship, over the years of serving on very tough issues, sometimes we were maybe at sword's point, one would think, when we were debating a measure of some importance on the floor of the U.S. Senate. BOB DOLE never lost his sense of humor. He never forgot his sense of humor. And I think that is what helped carry him through probably that life-threatening wound that he received in battle and probably through some of the more heated debates that have taken place here on the Senate floor. I have never seen BOB DOLE do anything but smile when someone said something or told him something that he thought was humor.

So I am saddened by the fact that a coworker for whom I have great respect, has made a choice that I think was the right choice for him to make, especially with regard to the heavy responsibility that he carries for his party, and he will carry in the Presidential election this year. In that regard, maybe I can sum up my feelings, friendship, and understanding with BOB DOLE by a statement that I made to him in one of our more humorous conversations maybe 6 months ago right in the heat of those very tough Republican primaries for President of the United States. I said to BOB DOLE, "You know, BOB, if we have to have a Republican President"—then I repeated it—"if we have to have a Republican President, I hope it is you." People that do not understand humor might think that was a cutting thing for JIM EXON to say, but BOB DOLE knew what I was saying. BOB DOLE knows that myself and all, likely, on both sides of the aisle respect not only the man's talent but the man's sense of responsibility and his sense of humor which has endeared him to those of us on both sides of the aisle.

Godspeed, BOB DOLE, to you and your wonderful wife, Elizabeth. You are a great couple. And whatever the future holds, we will always hold you in high esteem.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. HATCH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BOB DOLE

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Nebraska for his kind remarks about our friend BOB DOLE, which were very eloquent. I think he expressed it beautifully for a

lot of Democrats. I think everyone in this body has tremendous esteem and affection and love for BOB DOLE. He is one of the all-time great Senators. There is no question about it. He will go down in history as one of the all-time great Senators.

Mr. President, 20 years ago, when I was first sworn in as the junior Senator from Utah, BOB DOLE was among the first of my Republican colleagues to come up and put his arm around me, and helped guide me and helped me to learn the ropes.

I rise today to thank him for that, and for his extraordinary leadership in the years since. When the citizens from Kansas elected BOB DOLE as their Senator, they chose a man who epitomizes the qualities of mainstream America, a team player, a war hero who demonstrated tremendous courage and perseverance both on the battlefield and afterward, a hard worker and an honest and decent man, a man whom all Americans can look up to.

By now, most of us are aware of the wounds Lieutenant DOLE suffered on that April morning in 1945. That was about the same time that my brother was killed in the Second World War. BOB DOLE could have been killed too, and almost was.

We have also heard about his amazing and long recovery. But less is known about how BOB DOLE was injured. Richard Ben Cramer's book, "What it Takes," tells us how:

Dole got his men down to the low stone wall. Dole could have stayed in the middle [of the platoon]. But he knew his job, and he did it. He was out in front, with the lead squad.

They were pinned down quick. They were pinned down in the field, when a farmhouse on the left opened fire: a Jerry machine-gun nest . . . the men in the field were hamburger.

Dole had to get that machine gun. The lead squad was going to have to flank that house and get that nest of Krauts [sic]. Sergeant Carafa assumed he'd be going out with the squad, but Dole said, "Sergeant, I'll take 'em."

BOB DOLE saw many men die trying to knock out that machine gun. It was that morning, trying to take it out, that he was wounded. BOB DOLE could have let someone else go out with the squad. BOB DOLE could have stayed behind and provided cover. BOB DOLE could have stayed in the middle. Instead, BOB DOLE was out in front.

BOB DOLE has been out in front ever since. He became a skillful legislator. He knew how to get things done around here. But he also knew that duty required him to take action when it wasn't always in his own best interest or when he saw public policy going down the wrong path.

Take, for example, his leadership on addressing the crime issue. Throughout his career, BOB DOLE consistently supported legislation to fight crime and help the victims of crime. From the Organized Crime Control Act of 1969 to the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, BOB DOLE has

fought to bring accountability to the criminal justice system. But, in 1994, Senator DOLE stood up for what he thought was right and opposed the so-called Crime Control Act of 1994 because it was a pork-laden, big dollar, Great Society social spending boondoggle. Some of our colleagues thought we had lost our minds when we opposed a so-called crime bill in an election year. But BOB DOLE did it because it was the right thing to do.

He worked tirelessly for comprehensive habeas corpus reform. He worked to crack down on frivolous inmate lawsuits and was at the forefront of reform when, in 1984, he cosponsored the Sentencing Reform Act, which brought truth-in-sentencing to the Federal system.

Mr. President, Senator DOLE has been a leader and a fighter for civil rights from the beginning of his career. Senator DOLE knows full well that prejudice and artificial barriers can hold a person down. As a Member of the other body, he voted for landmark legislation including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He was a leader in the effort to extend the Voting Rights Act in 1982. In 1967, then Congressman DOLE voted for the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. In 1990, Senator DOLE supported the expansion and clarification of this law to protect older workers from the loss of their employee benefits.

Senator DOLE led the passage of the Martin Luther King holiday bill. It was a bill I voted against, and I consider it the worst mistake I have made in my 20 years here. I thought that we should not add another holiday due to both the public and private sector costs involved. But, frankly, in hindsight, I made a mistake.

BOB DOLE, however, did what was right, and he brought that bill up and helped to pass it.

He played a key leadership role in enacting the landmark Americans With Disabilities Act. I worked hard on that bill, and I know what he did. I was in the late night meetings. As the ranking Republican on the Labor and Human Resources Committee, I was in the leadership meetings. I have to tell you, without BOB DOLE, that bill would not have passed. The ADA extended civil rights protections and opportunities to millions of Americans with disabilities. I can remember when it passed, he and I had tears in our eyes because it was such a monumental day.

Yes, BOB DOLE has been there for the big fights, let me tell you.

BOB DOLE recognizes that rights inhere in individuals, not groups. In 1995, he introduced the Equal Opportunity Act, which prohibits racial, ethnic, and gender preferences in Federal employment, Federal contracting, and federally administered programs. He sparked a healthy and timely national debate on affirmative action. In his view, every American should be treated with equal rights under the law, without preference based on race, ethnicity, or gender.

BOB DOLE helped build the Republican Party that we have today. He helped build the Republican majority we have today. There were no litmus tests under BOB DOLE's leadership. He successfully knit together Senators from Alaska to Virginia to form a working team whose sole purpose was to achieve the goals for America that we all held in common—goals that I personally believe we hold in common with the American people.

We are going to miss BOB DOLE in the U.S. Senate. I suspect even his worthy adversaries on the Democratic side have come to admire his determination, skill, and faithfulness to the people he represents. I believe there is unanimous agreement in this body that BOB DOLE served with honor and distinction as one of the greatest Senators in the history of this Federal Republic.

I have to say something here that I am sure BOB DOLE does not know, but I am going to say it publicly because it means so much to me. My brother died shortly before BOB DOLE got wounded in the Second World War. My brother was very dear to me. I was only 10 years old when he died. When we received the news, I immediately got a white streak of hair on the right side of my forehead because it was such a shock to me.

He was killed in the Ploiesti oil raid, which, of course, was the pivotal oil raid of the European war because it knocked out all of the Vienna-Austrian oilfields that Hitler depended on. But Jess' death was a tremendous shock to us.

When I came to the Senate, BOB DOLE put his arm around me. He looked like my brother, to a large degree. My brother had the same color hair, was about the same height, about the same build. My brother was a football player as well. He looked a lot like my brother. I have always considered BOB DOLE, for good or bad, to be my brother.

I have tremendous respect and admiration for this man, this fellow who has given so much to his country and who, if everybody in America knew him—knew him like we do—there would be no question that he would be the next President of the United States.

I have to say I love BOB DOLE. Elaine does, too. We love his wife Liddy. She is a tremendous human being. As both chairman and ranking member of the Labor Committee, I worked with Liddy Dole, who served as President Bush's Secretary of Labor. I have to tell you I appreciated those days and appreciated her kindnesses to me and her great work for the country.

Today, BOB DOLE is leaving the Senate to pursue a different calling. Yet it still is the calling of public service. He did not have to leave the Senate. Nobody could have pushed him out of here. It would have been safer to stay. But we have already learned that BOB DOLE does not stay safely in the foxholes. That is not what we expect of our leaders, and BOB DOLE, in my opinion, has what it takes.

Whatever the future may hold for BOB and Elizabeth Dole, I just want to wish them both happiness and God-speed.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KEMPTHORNE). The President pro tempore of the Senate, the distinguished Senator from South Carolina, is recognized.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in recent years, many in the media, the public, and even some Members of Congress, have come to regard those who seek positions in the public sector with some amount of contempt and mistrust. Most of us in this Chamber know such characterizations are not only unfair and inaccurate, but do much to harm the sanctity and reputation of a body dedicated to debate and providing for the Nation.

The large majority of those who become Government officials are honorable individuals, but there are a handful of Senators in particular whose conduct and dedication to service are above reproach, and who stand as living contradictions to those who believe that this is an ineffective and partisan body. These Senators are men and women of principle who are dedicated to the noble cause of working to benefit all the people of the United States. Today, it is with great regret that I mark the departure of a man who sets a standard for service to the Senate and the Nation that is truly unmatched—the majority leader and Senator from Kansas BOB DOLE.

I doubt it came as a surprise to anyone in Russell, KS, when BOB DOLE first ran for elected office in 1951. The bright young war veteran and attorney had already established a well-deserved reputation for courage and hard work when he declared his candidacy for a seat in that State's House of Representatives. It was these two simple attributes that not only help BOB DOLE to win that election, but have helped to guide him through life of challenges, hardships, and accomplishments.

The heartlands of the Kansan prairies are where BOB DOLE learned about being tough and not giving in when in the same situation the average person might simply give up the fight. While this is a region of simple beauty, kind people, and strong values, during the time of BOB DOLE's youth it was also a place that was rife with hardships for those who lived there. It was a place where hard work was not a virtue, it was a necessity for survival, especially during the Nation's most severe economic crisis, the Great Depression.

In his hometown of Russell, KS, BOB DOLE also learned about things such as patriotism and a commitment to serving the Nation. He was taught that these words represented more than mere ideas or ideals, they were part of the responsibilities of citizenship in this great land. During World War II, BOB DOLE served his country as an officer in the Army, and when he was ordered to lead an attack on a German-

held hill in Italy, Lt. BOB DOLE never had any question about his duty. It was this dedication to duty, a commitment to serving the Nation, and pure, unadulterated courage that sent Lieutenant DOLE up that hill, and it was those same qualities that not only saved his life after being gravely wounded by hostile fire, but gave his life purpose in the years following his near life-ending injuries.

As he lay in a hospital bed, it took a man of fortitude, determination, and courage to face 39 months of surgery, convalescence, and rehabilitation. It took courage, fortitude, and determination for BOB DOLE to face the fact that his dream of becoming a doctor and helping others had ended. It took courage, fortitude, and determination for him to make the decision to not make his disabilities a handicap, but to force forward with life and to dedicate himself to serving others through public service rather than medicine. It took a man of fortitude, determination, and courage to learn again how to do all the things that you and I take for granted; to go back to school in order to finish his undergraduate degree and earn a law degree; and, to begin his career. Simply put, it took grit to survive what BOB DOLE survived and to essentially start life anew.

Since entering politics and public service, BOB DOLE has never looked back and he has never faltered in his duties. He has approached each position he has held with enthusiasm and has earned a reputation for thoroughness, fairness, and honesty. These qualities, along with those outlined earlier, endeared him to his fellow Kansans who sent him on to positions of progressively more importance and responsibility. From the Kansas Legislature, he served as Russell County attorney, and then as a U.S. Congressman for four terms before coming to the U.S. Senate in 1968. It is here that I met BOB DOLE and immediately took a liking to this serious-minded fellow veteran who had a pragmatic approach to the issues before the Nation, and a fire in him to serve.

Over the next 28 years, I became quite fond of Senator DOLE as a colleague and a friend. I was pleased to watch him grow into his position as a Senator and to become one of the leading spokesmen for our party not only in this body, but throughout the Nation. His abilities as a public servant did not escape many, including President Gerald Ford, who selected Senator DOLE to be his running mate in 1976. The longer BOB DOLE served in the Senate, the more prominent and critical his role became in the legislative process. His razor sharp mind gave him an encyclopedic familiarity with legislation and legislative procedure, both which he put to good use as he ascended the ladder of Senate leadership. Furthermore, his years of experience as a Member of Congress gave him an insight into the affairs of the Nation that could be matched by a few with

whom he served, and made him a valued advisor to fellow Senators, and to Presidents. In short, BOB DOLE was, and continues to be, a man of tremendous abilities and background whose experience allows him to have an impact on the governing of the United States that is unique and nothing short of beneficial.

It seems hard to believe that BOB DOLE is leaving the Senate. After almost 30 years of prominent and dedicated service, he seems as much a part of this building as the statute of Armed Freedom which sits atop the Capitol and guards the District and the Nation. More important and significant than merely enduring the rigors and battles of the Senate for almost three decades is that during his life and in his tenure in Congress, BOB DOLE has made a difference in the history of the United States. Among other things, he has stood tall for a budget that will not saddle future generations with an unfair debt; he has fought hard to give our men and women in uniform the resources they need to keep America free and safe; he remained firm on the need for drawing the line against the crime and criminals that prey on innocent Americans; he did not flinch in working to contain our former Communist enemies; and, he has worked hard to ensure that the United States maintains the most dynamic economy in the world. Time and time again, BOB DOLE has been on the right side of the issues, working to create legislation and policy that is beneficial to the citizens of this Nation, and leading this body toward a vision of an America that is safe, wealthy, and full of opportunity as long as there is a United States. It is with no small regret that I say I will miss my colleague, my leader, and most importantly, my friend, BOB DOLE. I wish him well and thank him for his service, and for the example he has set for selflessness, patriotism, and humility.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, today a giant in the annals of the U.S. Senate, Senator ROBERT DOLE of Kansas, the Republican leader, has chosen to leave this great institution to pursue and, I believe to win the Presidency of the United States. The Senate will never be quit the same; for Senator DOLE has that rare and admired quality of making things happen, getting things done, and moving this tradition-layered institution forward.

All of BOB DOLE's adult life had been spent in service to the American public and today he has not ended that service. He is just entering the final phase

of his public service—campaigning for the highest office in the land.

Mr. President, for the past 16 years, I have been privileged to represent the people of the State of Alaska in the Senate. And throughout my tenure in the Senate, BOB DOLE has been a friend to the people of Alaska and a leader who has always been sensitive to the special needs of our young State.

BOB has traveled extensively in Alaska. And he understands that unlike States that entered the Union in the 18th and 19th centuries, Alaska, which has only been a State since 1959, is far more dependent than other States on decisions made in Washington.

Almost 70 percent of Alaska is owned by the Federal Government. Fifty-four million acres of Park Service land is in Alaska—68 percent of all Park Service land in the Nation. Fifty-seven million acres of designated wilderness is located in Alaska. That's over 60 percent of all wilderness lands in the country.

And 76 million acres of Fish and Wildlife Service land is in Alaska—That's 85 percent of all Fish and Wildlife Service land in the United States.

The purpose in providing these statistics is to reiterate to my fellow Senators that almost any economic activity that is done in Alaska can only get started if the Federal Government does not stand in the way. BOB DOLE has always understood that.

BOB DOLE also understands that our natural resources can be developed in a responsible manner using our best technology without harming our environment.

BOB DOLE does not sell America's technology and ingenuity short—he believes that it is better to harvest our abundant resources in an environmentally responsible manner rather than sending our dollars and jobs overseas by importing resources.

Mr. President, BOB DOLE has served as the Republican leader for more than 11 years—longer than any Republican leader in history. He has had to juggle and balance the interests of States as different as Florida and Alaska in order to get legislation from the drawing boards to President's desk.

Throughout all of the time I have known BOB, he has never sacrificed what is important to Alaska's 600,000 citizens in order to get a piece of legislation adopted. In fact, it was BOB DOLE's leadership that ensured that for the first time last year, Congress authorized oil exploration in ANWR.

And when BOB DOLE moves to the White House next year, Alaskans can be assured that the roadblock to our economic development will finally be removed. He knows that America's economic security cannot be assured so long as we are dependent on foreign countries for more than 50 percent of our energy needs.

Mr. President, Alaskans will miss Senator DOLE's leadership and sensitivity to our State's needs. I will miss him as a person and friend that I have grown accustomed to talking with

every day. BOB DOLE's destiny will take him to even greater challenges and responsibilities next year. And I know he will always keep Alaska's special needs in mind whenever he makes decisions on economic policy.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, we have just said goodbye to the majority leader, who has just retired. He has left the Senate with great support from those of us who have known him and really do have a great love for BOB DOLE.

I have known him since he was a Member of the House. I was not a Member of the House, but I knew he was there in the House. BOB DOLE and I came to the Senate at the same time. As he leaves today, I am, as he just said, the sole survivor of the class of 1968. He has been a great friend of mine. I have been on the floor before to say how I felt about BOB DOLE.

I have also remarked about the fact that he has also been a great friend of the State I represent. He assisted us greatly in the passage of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act, which paved the way for the trans-Alaska pipeline. He assisted me many times in matters pertaining to the oceans—the Fishery Conservation Act, which protects the fisheries off our shores. He voted with us on the Alaska Lands Act, on issues that we tried to change in that bill in 1980. He and Elizabeth Dole were very helpful in assisting us on the Alaska Railroad transfer. As a matter of fact, as I have told many of my friends, their Christmas card that year was the photograph of the Secretary of Transportation and her husband standing at the back of the superintendent's car on the Alaska Railroad. That was Elizabeth's trip to Alaska, and BOB was traveling with his wife in her official capacity. He was of great assistance to me at the time that we had the terrible disaster of the *Exxon Valdez* oilspill. I could go on and on and talk about things that BOB has done with me.

What I really want to talk about, though, today is BOB DOLE as a leader. As he said to some of us today, he believed that, as the leader, he tried to reach out to those of us here in the Senate who might disagree with him, and reach out to Americans. Recently, we had a report of a poll in my State that showed BOB DOLE is more popular than almost any of us who are elected officials in Alaska. He is well known in the north country because they know that he has gone out of the way on the campaign trail to go as far away as Alaska. I am one of those.

There are not very many of us remaining here now who saw service in World War II. Part of my role has been to work as chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee to assure that we keep the mandate we received from the Constitution to provide for the common defense.

BOB DOLE has never, ever voted against those of us who believe in a strong defense. He joined all of us who worked together in the Reagan years to see to it that we could rebuild our national defenses—really our total military capability—at the time that the Soviets were going into an enormous military monolithic Communist dictatorship. He was quite successful in getting the Senate to help President George Bush at the time of the Desert Storm victory. He knows the value of defense. One of the issues he is talking about now, as he leaves us, is our missile defense system.

He has told us himself today about his role in the Disabilities Act. He has worked with us in child nutrition, and he certainly has been responsible for the family tax credits coming back to where they should be. We hope to really increase those in the future. As was remarked here on the floor by our leader, he has reduced the tax rates in our country from a maximum of 90 percent to a maximum of just over 30 percent—for most Americans, 28 percent.

But I am really full of memories today as we have seen our leader leave us because, as he mentioned in his statement, in 1984, I, too, was a candidate to become the leader of the Senate. After several votes, it came down to a contest between Senator DOLE and myself. During the counting of the vote, he came over and congratulated me and thought that I had won. To the contrary. He won the election by a narrow vote. At that time, I asked for recognition and asked Senate Republicans to vote unanimously for Senator DOLE because it was clear we needed a united Republican group in the Senate to move forward. In retrospect, I think that was probably one of the smartest moves I ever made and one of the best votes I cast—to assure that BOB DOLE was elected the leader of the Republican side unanimously. He has shown us what he can do.

I want the Senate to know how much he demonstrated his philosophy of reaching out. After that election, he asked me to come see him, and he told me that he had some things in mind. For instance, one of the things he wanted to do was have the Senate more involved in the oversight of the arms control negotiations that were going on at that time. He asked me to chair the arms control observers group which he created at that time. He got the support of the minority, and we created a bipartisan group that played, I think, a very successful role in working on arms control negotiations.

He also came to me—I think this is probably not too well known in the Senate—and said that he was dis-

appointed that the move to bring television to the Senate had failed, and he asked me if I would work with others in the Senate to bring that about. It was at that time a privilege, really, to represent the leader in meeting with Senators from the other side and on our side of the aisle. There were some Senators who changed their positions when they realized that the new leader was very sincere and wanted to have the American public know what was going on in the Senate.

I think that the Senate has been changed by television coverage in the Senate—some good and some bad, but mostly good. I believe it has demonstrated for the country what is ahead of us if BOB DOLE is successful in his new quest, because he does reach out for people. He makes sure that everyone involved around him has a meaningful role and listens. He listens to advice. If there is one thing that I think can be assured in the days ahead, it is that candidate DOLE is going to listen to America and America is going to listen to candidate DOLE. For myself, I can think of no better thing for the country than to know that we go to the beginning of the new millennium with a new President.

So I hope, Mr. President, that this day, this decision that my good friend has made to leave this Senate, which he loves and we all love, proves to be the right decision for him and for the country. I know that he has not left our hearts because those of us who know him will be with him all the way along the trail.

As the statement made by Theodore Roosevelt was read today in our meeting, as we gave him the bust of Teddy Roosevelt, BOB DOLE has known both victory and defeat, and he has shown his courage and his ability to stay the course. I believe he has what it takes. I hope he will know victory in the days ahead.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise to salute the energy, intelligence, and personal strength of a man who is leaving a remarkable career in the U.S. Senate, the majority leader, Senator ROBERT DOLE.

Many of my colleagues have worked with Senator DOLE far longer than I, but it didn't take me long after I arrived here in 1993 to develop a healthy respect for his skill as a legislator and for his ability to lead his Republican colleagues. Moreover, it quickly became clear to me that Senator DOLE is a man shaped and defined by his ability to meet challenges without flinching and to overcome them.

He has been accorded well-deserved praise from both sides of the aisle, and his colleagues on the other side have demonstrated their respect for his abilities by making him the longest-serving Republican majority leader in the Senate's history.

Mr. President, Senator DOLE's government career since he joined the Senate in 1968 is widely known and respected. He has played a pivotal role in

the passage of several pieces of important legislation, including, for example, the landmark Americans With Disabilities Act in 1990.

For many years, Senator DOLE was a supporter of legislation to protect civil rights. For example, his efforts were crucial in the passage of the renewal of the Voting Rights Act in 1982.

His imprint is also on the Food Stamp Program, on Social Security, and other important measures.

One legislative achievement that may not get much notice, but which helps some of our Nation's most vulnerable people, is Senator DOLE's support for the Program of All-Inclusive Care for the Elderly, or PACE. Senator DOLE and I share an interest in this innovative long-term care program, which is a nationwide effort to integrate services for certain elderly Medicare and Medicaid patients. PACE has managed to provide an extensive array of services while saving money, both laudable goals.

On another issue—committing United States forces to Bosnia—Senator DOLE and I were in disagreement, but even though we were on opposite sides of the final vote to send American troops there, I recognized his efforts to work for bipartisanship and to take a risk to support what he regarded as the necessary action in this area.

Mr. President, it is unfortunate that, during an election year, the Senate is so often consumed by partisan tensions and maneuvers. Nevertheless, the U.S. Senate is an institution where it is possible to reach across the aisle and find common ground.

Senator DOLE has devoted many, many years to the Senate and to working on issues of enormous public interest. He has earned the respect and admiration of all of his colleagues, Republicans and Democrats alike.

Mr. President, BOB DOLE will be long-remembered in the U.S. Senate, and this Chamber will simply not be the same without him.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, today the Senate loses one of its true legislative craftsmen. When I came to the Senate, BOB DOLE had already earned a reputation as a legislator, a Republican who could cross the aisle to work with Democrats to solve problems and reach compromise. This is the essence of the Senate. I soon learned that the reputation of the Senator from Kansas was well earned. Over the years my respect for his ability to craft a legislative solution has grown. We will all miss his skill.

We will also miss BOB DOLE for his sense of humor. The Senate can be a place of high drama, high pressure, and sometimes high dudgeon. BOB DOLE, who has himself shown a real bite from time to time, and who is a tough fighter for his point of view, more often than not is able to defuse the situation, and sometimes disarm his opponents with a quip or a flash of his wit which leaves them laughing.

But, most of all, Mr. President, BOB DOLE will be remembered in the Senate

as a man of his word. There is no greater compliment which one Senator can pay to another.

In this body, a Senator is only as good, only as reliable, only as effective, as his or her word. Senator ROBERT DOLE has earned the respect of all who have served with him in this Senate.

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, there are few true heroes in this country, but one who has lived in our midst for many years is BOB DOLE, who has accomplished so much in his life and is going off to accomplish more. He was a hero in war who now and forever will bear the scars of his service to his country. And he is a hero in peace—a man who can maneuver through the legislative trenches with grace and daring, avoiding minefields and pitfalls, running the gauntlet while dodging bomb blasts from his opponents.

He leaves us today to enter a new battleground, where, I have no doubt, he will prevail with the same creativity and tenacity that had made him such an able Senate leader.

BOB DOLE has the experience, the temperament, and the judgment to be President. He is a man of honor and courage who understands the workings of Government at the highest levels but has never lost his understanding of common men and women. That's because he is a common man, who through the sheer force of his intellect and industry has reached uncommon heights.

There are, of course, many stories that could be told to illustrate the spirit and fortitude that has brought BOB DOLE to such heights, but two of my favorites date to 1952, the year he was elected county attorney in Russell, KS, and began his political career.

One night after Bob was elected, a man named Huck Boyd was driving through Russell after midnight and saw the light still on at the county courthouse. Huck Boyd was editor of a weekly newspaper and thought there might be a break-in, so he pulled over to investigate. It turns out that BOB DOLE, the new county attorney, was still working at his desk. And it also turns out that Huck Boyd was Kansas' member of the Republican National Committee, and was so impressed by this hard-working young man that he started talking him up throughout Kansas as a future political superstar.

But the quote I like best comes from the story of the 1952 county attorney election itself. Two young men who had come back from World War II were running—BOB DOLE and Dean Ostrum. Dean was a bright young man who had enjoyed many of life's advantages and was the son of perhaps the best lawyer in Russell. BOB DOLE didn't have all the advantages of life, had seen more adversity in 29 years than most people see in a lifetime, and was the son of Doran Dole who worked in a local creamery. As the campaign wore on, Bob outthought and out hustled his opponent, won by 200 votes, and launched his political career. The quote I like is

from Dean Ostrum years after the campaign was over:

"How long was my day? I don't know, but it wasn't as long as BOB DOLE's I'm sure of that."

Forty-four years later that statement still rings true. No one I know has ever outworked BOB DOLE.

One of the reasons I believe so strongly in BOB DOLE's candidacy is because we share common views and values. We believe that consensus and compromise make for good government. We believe that rigid ideas and hardened positions drive people apart and lead to stalemate and paralysis. We believe in Ronald Reagan's theory of the big tent—that the Republican Party is a caring and compassionate organization that welcomes people of all backgrounds, a party that does not demean minorities by ridiculing their ancestry, a party that speaks of hope and promise and does not exploit fears and anxieties.

We believe in a strong national defense, that America cannot be the world's policeman, but neither can we afford to become a prisoner of world events. Some want to walk away from the world, but BOB DOLE knows the world won't walk away from us.

We believe that the best protection for American industry and workers is to open up our minds through education, training, and competition—not by shutting down our ports. We believe we must prevent illegal immigration but not punish those who seek the blessings of America by complying with our laws.

BOB DOLE, like Ronald Reagan before him, has dedicated his life in public service to tearing walls down around the world and not putting them up around America.

We also share a common belief that for government to operate most effectively—or in this day and age some might say to operate at all—it is necessary for policymakers to understand that goals cannot always be achieved at once. Progress must often come in small steps. BOB DOLE understands that principle better than most and he has the judgment, gleaned from years of experience, to know when those steps can be taken safely—or when one more step will send us hurtling over a dangerous precipice.

BOB DOLE understands that power and responsibility must be returned to the States. We have a \$5 trillion debt that is gobbling up our children's economic future, and we know we have to slay this monster or it will surely slay us.

The man who stood for so many years beside us in the Senate does not appear to be wearing armor. But he is. It's made of a composite stronger than anything that can be manufactured by campaign strategists, pollsters, or spin-meisters. It's made of a belief in God, country, family, honor, and duty.

I have known BOB DOLE for more than 20 years as both a friend and a leader. He is a man of good heart and

good humor who calls forth the better angels of our nature.

As President of the United States, he will make America safe and sound for us and our children. As President of the United States, he will help make the world safe for America.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, as BOB DOLE leaves the U.S. Senate today, we are participating in a celebration unlike anything we have witnessed in the Senate for many years, and are unlikely to see again in this century. The abundant flow of affection in the midst of applause and tears are testimony to our recognition of BOB DOLE's investment in the Senate, our recognition of the hold his leadership has on our perceptions of the Senate, and the meaning of statesmanship, public service, and patriotism.

Senator BOB DOLE of Kansas was easily reelected to a fifth term in the U.S. Senate. After 8 years of service in the U.S. House of Representatives, he is in his 28th year of Senate service. On most days in the U.S. Senate and in most battles, BOB DOLE has been the voice and the very visible, energetic leader of the Republican Party.

BOB DOLE is the personification of hard work, constructive intelligence, personal loyalty and the determination to succeed against all odds.

His life has been filled with honors and recognition for significant achievements. But perhaps the defining moments of his life were those he spent on a mountainous Italian battlefield.

The troops he led as an Army infantry lieutenant were exposed to deadly enemy machine gun fire. He led the charge to eliminate the enemy emplacement. He absorbed withering fire which tore his body and almost ended his life.

His heroism was recognized promptly. But his ability to force feeling and movement into his wounded body, to restore some hope that he could feed himself, dress himself, and function as a working, contributing man, took years of agonizing treatment, therapy, and persistence beyond comprehension.

BOB DOLE is intellectually and physically tough because his very life and being have depended upon that toughness. But those same fateful experiences have undergirded his compassionate championship of all handicapped Americans who have counted upon him to extend a strong hand back to pull them into the fullness of life in America.

From his early days in Russell, KS, BOB DOLE has understood the struggle of many families to keep food on the table. He has been the Senate champion for thoughtful nutrition programs, including comprehensive knowledge about food stamp distribution and a host of food programs for the working poor of our country.

I first met BOB DOLE when he was Chairman of our national party, and later as our Vice Presidential nominee in 1976. In the days following that election, I called BOB DOLE to thank him

for his leadership and to ask for his help in fulfilling my first Senate campaign pledge, namely, to seek a seat on the Agriculture Committee. Even at a time of his own personal discouragement, he was characteristically helpful to me. I was seated at the end of the minority side of the table as the most junior member. I have witnessed for 20 years the mastery of BOB DOLE as a farm legislator.

His energy level is astonishing. His capacity to entertain new ideas and his generous ability to boost other people have strengthened my enthusiasm for this remarkable Kansan.

He deserves the opportunity to serve our Nation as its President. The Nation deserves his Presidency, which could be a term of remarkable achievement based on his innate courage and wisdom, and his universal experience with public persons and public issues.

I will be one who strives to help him realize new dimensions of leadership, because I have witnessed his integrity and I have confidence in his judgment. For the moment, I believe it is most important simply to recognize that to applaud BOB DOLE is to applaud the vitally important concept that good people arise in America to assume great responsibilities. Our country is stronger because this Senator always saw his duty and inspired so many Americans to follow him.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I join in wishing the majority leader well—but not too well—as he takes his leave of the Senate.

He and I have differed on many occasions on many issues during the many years we have served together. But we have also been able to find many opportunities to work well together on many different issues of both foreign and domestic policy, and I have great respect for his ability as a Senator and Senate leader.

Of course, I liked it better when he was minority leader instead of majority leader.

In fact, we have worked closely on many significant issues over the years. I think particularly of the Americans With Disabilities Act in recent years. Senator DOLE was a strong supporter from the beginning. He stepped in early and often, and prevented many abrasive confrontations on that bill. As a result, it was enacted with broad bipartisan support in Congress, and has become one of Senator DOLE's and Congress' most notable achievements.

Senator DOLE and I also worked well together on other civil rights bills, on voting rights bills, on child nutrition legislation, and a range of other issues. In addition, we served together on the Senate Judiciary Committee for 6 years at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, and I was consistently impressed with his day-to-day ability on the issues and his tireless energy and dedication.

I also have many warm memories of the daily radio debates we did together for 4 years in the 1980's on our program

called "Face Off." We were usually, but not always, facing in opposite directions on the issues, but Senator DOLE's intelligence and wit always shone through, and helped make the daily analyses both enlightening and enjoyable.

Often, even in the most contentious debates in the Senate, his excellent sense of humor was particularly effective, and he used it skillfully to defuse the tensest moments.

Now, Senator DOLE leaves the Senate with a record of many accomplishments that have served the Senate well, the Congress well, the State of Kansas well, and the people of America well.

I join Senators on both sides of the aisle who have found it a great privilege, a great honor, and a great education to work with Senator DOLE over the years. We admire his leadership and statesmanship, and we value his friendship. We respect him, and we will miss him very much in the months and years ahead.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I rise today, as have my Senate colleagues, to pay tribute to the distinguished Senate majority leader, Senator ROBERT DOLE of Kansas.

Mr. President, the great American patriot Henry Clay, who also served as a Member of the House and the Senate, once said, "Of all the properties which belong to honorable men, not one is so highly prized as that of character."

He was right. As imperfect beings, we all strive to cultivate virtuous qualities—we endeavor to be kind; we are mindful to be courteous; in trying times, we struggle to maintain a sense of humor, but character, as the fiery turn-of-the-century evangelist, Dwight L. Moody, once so bluntly defined it, "is what you are in the dark."

Character is not something one can put on, like a new set of clothes. It is not something one trots out on special occasions, like courtly manners. It is not something one can pretend to possess. Yet, despite its ethereal quality, character is unmistakably apparent. It is the steady hand in times of crisis, the quiet voice in times of stress. It is courage in the face of adversity, strength of purpose, when all else seems to fail. It is a "property," as Henry Clay put it, whose value is beyond measure, a characteristic no amount of money can buy.

Mr. President, ROBERT DOLE is a man of character. A man who has remained true to his convictions; a man unafraid to defend his beliefs; a man who says what he thinks, and means what he says. He is a doer, not a talker; a fighter, not an equivocator; a leader not a dodger.

Today he leaves the U.S. Senate and the battlefield he's loved so well for so many years, the Senate floor. But he goes not gentle into the good night. He leaves on one last mission. He leaves to engage perhaps the most important battle he will ever fight—a battle not just for the heart and soul of America,

but—more importantly—for the future of America. A battle that will lose or save America for the next generation; a battle to accomplish what all generations except ours have done before us—leave America a better place for our children and our grandchildren.

Mr. President, it is a battle that must be fought; a battle that must be won. And I can think of no one better to lead the mission than BOB DOLE.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, today Senator DOLE becomes citizen DOLE. He has every right to be proud of that hard, courageous decision. We in the Senate have every reason to be sorry for it.

Senator DOLE leaves a legacy of lasting influence. He led this body to historic accomplishments, including the rescue of Social Security and the first balanced budget in a generation. He led his party, 2 years ago, to historic victory. And now he has accepted one more opportunity to serve—one more chance to lead.

This is the common thread that runs through an uncommon life—leadership. He has provided a definition of the term.

Senator DOLE has mastered the art of consensus. He knows when a breakthrough depends on one well-placed word. He knows how to cool tempers and emphasize agreement. He knows how to turn the chaos of this process into tangible achievements. These are rare and important qualities.

But this is only half of the story. I have seen another side of Senator DOLE's leadership. He once put it this way:

I believe there is a place for honest negotiation in politics. It is an essential part of Democracy. Every political movement, and every public official, however, must locate a place where compromise ends—a core of conviction where we keep our conscience. There comes a time when even practical leaders must refuse to bend or yield.

For Senator DOLE that core of conviction is basic and clear, permanent and solid: safe streets, strong families, military strength, fiscal responsibility, a decent public culture. These commitments are nothing new and everything important. They are rooted deeply in the soil of the midwest in the lessons of a small town in his experiences of suffering and service. BOB DOLE understands the secret strength of America, because he embodies it.

Senator DOLE understands that Americans value freedom and responsibility, but must still care for one another in times of crisis and need. He understands the fears at the edge of poverty, because he felt them in his youth. He understands the price of liberty, because he paid it himself. He fights strongly, because he believes deeply. We have come to depend on this core of conviction, based on the lessons of a life.

In his legislative career, Senator DOLE has displayed both elements of true leadership: consensus and conscience, flexibility and firmness. He is

an example to all of us who work with him—who follow him—who respect him. Leaving the security of the Senate is just another example of the moral courage we have come to know the essence of leadership at the moment of testing.

T.S. Eliot wrote, "in my end is my beginning." This is the end of a distinguished legislative career. It is the beginning of a new mission. That mission takes Senator DOLE beyond this body, and we regret it. But I am convinced it will take him to the White House. Senator DOLE—citizen DOLE—has only begun his service to this Nation.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I rise to honor and remember our distinguished majority leader, our colleague, and our friend, BOB DOLE, as he prepares to leave the Senate.

When you work with or around BOB DOLE, you soon realize: He has consistent values and an unwavering commitment to them.

He's been in there fighting for a balanced budget—not because of some green eyeshade interest in the numbers, but because he knows it's a moral issue.

He's been fighting for years, consistently, for a balanced budget constitutional amendment because he understands this is a principle of fundamental fairness, and he understands how the Constitution really works, protecting the basic rights of the people by preventing the Government from abusing its powers.

I've worked with BOB DOLE on other constitutional issues, from protection of second amendment rights to private property rights.

When Congress passes the 28th amendment—the balanced budget amendment—some time in the near future, even though he will have left the Senate, it will be, in part, a monument to Senator DOLE's years of hard work.

I remember many events, many battles, high points and defeats, as BOB DOLE and I have worked together for the balanced budget amendment.

When I was in the House, in the early 1980s, CHARLIE STENHOLM, a Democrat from Texas, and I started CLUBB—Congressional Leaders United for a Balanced Budget.

Pete Wilson was our Senate Co-Chair and BOB DOLE was a charter member.

When we met with taxpayer groups, and stood on the steps of the Capitol with mail bags full of hundreds of thousands of letters and petitions from Americans everywhere—BOB DOLE was always there with us, promoting the balanced budget amendment.

CLUBB worked with taxpayer groups to schedule Members of Congress around the country to meet with local leaders, State legislatures, and others on behalf of the balanced budget amendment.

I remember back to 1985–86 and how it impressed me that, here was the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, a man busy with every issue before Congress—and he took the time and effort to

travel whenever he could, wherever he could, to bring the balanced budget crusade to Americans everywhere.

And last year, after our constitutional amendment fell one vote short, and then again this year, he showed that the Senate could break with history and make history, could muster enough courage, under his leadership, to actually produce a balanced budget.

Citizen, Senator, Majority Leader BOB DOLE has worked, fought, and spoken to the Nation for the balanced budget amendment because he cares about the future of our Nation; because he cares about our children, and what kind of opportunity we leave for them; because he cares about having a country that provides for the security of our seniors and the best possible jobs for our working men and women.

Many, many aspects of BOB DOLE's life have demonstrated how much he cares about people, especially the helpless, and about our country.

Much has been said about his record as a war hero and his war injuries. And, of course, much has been said about his public service.

Unlike many in politics, he has not just sympathized with people's pain, he has been there.

Doctors first said he would not live because of his war injuries. Then they said he would never walk again.

But he did much more than walk—he soared on the wings of self-sacrifice and service to others.

Because of the values he learned growing up in Russell, KS, because of the lessons of life, he understands people and cares about people.

This understanding has shown through in his leadership here in the Senate, where he has been perceptive about the strengths of his colleagues and what things are important to them.

It has particularly struck me how he, as leader, has always looked to match those strengths and interests with the tasks at hand to give his colleagues leadership opportunities, and to accomplish something good for the Nation.

The Senate will miss his leadership, his dedication, his integrity, and how he cares about people.

And in the coming months the Nation will learn much more about those qualities, and will call upon him for one more heroic mission.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the Senator from Kansas.

The significance of this day should not be diminished by reference to or discussion of the gentleman's future pursuits. They should more importantly reflect the tenure and service that he has already given his State of Kansas, the office of majority leader, the institution of Congress, and this country as a whole.

Mr. President, I remember my first direct interaction with BOB DOLE in 1993 as we crafted fundamental entitle-

ment reform to the supplemental security income system. I could talk today of our work in shaping the direction of our Nation's social policies, more recently during a very intense debate here last fall on a comprehensive welfare reform package. I was honored to have been of assistance to him in managing the floor discussion, and it was during this debate that Senator DOLE's guiding hand was once again exhibited in maneuvering this body through one of the more contentious and important discussions of national policy.

As the youngest member of this body, however, it is with a different perspective that I would like to focus my remarks today. Many of BOB DOLE's most significant experiences, especially his service in defending this country in World War II, largely precede my 38 years. His 35 years of service and leadership in Congress roughly bridges the span of my life. And while I have only had the honor to serve under his direct leadership in the Senate for a year and a half, I have indirectly benefited from BOB DOLE's sacrifices, courage, and convictions for the better part of my life.

Today's speeches have been filled with personal reflections, tributes to service, and legislative and policy histories that all have been influenced by the gentleman from Kansas. As moving and genuine as these reflections have been, time and history will truly capture and attest to the magnitude of Senator DOLE's service and the importance of his departure.

Rapid change in the character and makeup of both Chambers has marked my 6-year service in the U.S. Congress. Since my election in 1990, the U.S. Congress has experienced not only one of the largest single year turnovers since the 1974 elections, but has also ushered in a historic change in the majority parties of both houses.

And in the midst of this profound change, individuals like the Senator from Kansas have remained a stabilizing force to this institution. As it is far too easy to get lost in the direction of our own careers, we must not allow ourselves to lose sense of those who have shaped the institution of Congress and those who have left a lasting imprint on the direction of our Nation. History will undoubtedly record Senator DOLE as one of those people.

As the longest serving majority leader in the U.S. Senate, Senator DOLE possesses an instinctive ability to navigate the Senate's process of forced compromise. While at times during this session these abilities have served as a source of personal consternation, I readily acknowledge that these are qualities that a leader must exhibit to carry out the duties and responsibilities of this Chamber. These are qualities that a leader must espouse to bridge the ideological differences that manifest themselves in the direction of our policies.

Clearly, the history and service of Senator DOLE's 35 years in Congress is



an inspiration to all of us and a challenge as we, in his absence, try to foster and maintain the integrity and direction of the institution of the Senate.

The hallways of the Senate will long be filled with the images of Senator DOLE's presence and the echoes of his trademark late night walks from this Chamber, through the Vice President's lobby, and to the majority leaders' office overlooking America's Mall of monuments to this Nation—the view across what will now be known as the BOB DOLE balcony.

Mr. President, it is indeed a distinct honor to congratulate and thank the Senator from Kansas for his service to our country. I rise with the distinction of being a U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania and the honor of being a colleague of the Senator from Kansas. I rise with the privilege of representing 12 million Pennsylvanians in the rich tradition and history of Senators Hugh Scott, John Heinz, and Harris Wofford, who have had the honor to serve with Senator DOLE at this very desk before me, and have been enriched by the shared service and experiences. But most importantly, I rise as a personal beneficiary of the Senator's sacrifice, his service, his steadfastness, and his wisdom.

In closing, Mr. President, I stand today with the privilege of speaking in some small way for those Pennsylvania voices in sharing our blessing for the continued strength, courage, and conviction in life's pursuits for Mr. DOLE and his family.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise for a final, heartfelt tribute to Senator DOLE.

In another unselfish act on behalf of his country, Senator DOLE will leave the Senate where he has so well served the people of Kansas in order to better serve the American people as our next President.

Mr. President, by any definition, BOB DOLE is a great man—a man whose entire life has been dedicated to serving his country with honor, with courage, and with integrity.

BOB DOLE is an American hero. He fought to defend this country during times of war. And throughout his career he has fought for policies to ensure prosperity and security at home and peace around the world.

Mr. President, BOB DOLE has remained dedicated to the same causes and principles that led him into public service over 40 years ago. He is a man certain of his core values, and anchored to his unwavering principles of service to country, honoring individual freedom, and bettering the lives of every American.

Mr. President, BOB DOLE represents what's right about America: integrity, courage, compassion, and patriotism.

Mr. President, it will be difficult to imagine the Senate without BOB DOLE's strong presence and skillful leadership. BOB DOLE's monumental legislative achievements—first as a

legislator and now as leader—are the direct result of his strongly held convictions, his forceful advocacy, his skill at debate, and his respect and tolerance for other Senators' views, perspectives, and experiences.

His native State of Kansas and the many noble causes he has championed over the years have benefited from his legislative skills. As his colleagues, we know—and history will record—that he has had an indelible influence on this body, our Government, our people, and our times that will be felt well into the next century. He will leave an imprint deeper and stronger than few Senators in history can rival.

Mr. President, some personal comments on Senator DOLE are unavoidable at this moment. How could a Midwestern-Kansas conservative from a rural and agricultural State become friends and have so much in common with an ethnic second-generation Italian from Long Island?

In BOB DOLE's own words:

Al D'Amato and Bob Dole—at first glance it seems like an unlikely friendship. One was raised on his mother's pasta in the heart of America's largest city. And the other was raised on his mother's fried chicken on the plains of rural Kansas. But when New Yorkers sent Al to the United States Senate in 1980, it didn't take me long to discover that we had a great deal in common.

Both of us call them like we see them. Both of us believe in the neighborhood values that made America great—values like hard work and personal responsibility. Both of us don't give up without a fight. And both of us have never forgotten from where we came.

Mr. President, these insightful words are from BOB DOLE's introduction to my book. They reveal BOB DOLE's basic decency, his solid foundations, and his strong character. These are the qualities that attract people to BOB DOLE and the reasons he is so admired.

Mr. President, as my dear friend, colleague, and leader, BOB DOLE, departs the Senate to pursue the Presidency; he leaves with my continued admiration and support. His unique and historic journey has taken an unexpected but necessary turn. With his beloved Elizabeth beside him in his quest for the Presidency, I know my friend has made the right choice.

Mr. President, the Senate will miss BOB DOLE and I will certainly miss my friend.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, one of the stories BOB DOLE likes to tell in speeches and interviews has to do with the events in the first 2 weeks of 1983 when, quite literally, the Social Security system was saved. As with many tales told on political campaign trails, it is not one hundred percent accurate. We all recall that opening passage from Huckleberry Finn in which Huck tells us that we will recognize him from the book about Tom Sawyer which was written by Mr. Mark Twain, "and he told the truth mainly."

Which BOB DOLE does. The only part of the tale he leaves out is his own role. It could not have happened with-

out him. To the contrary, he made it happen.

I was there. I so attest. It was January 3, 1983. A new Congress was convening. I had just been sworn in for a second term. This was agreeable enough, indeed, hugely so, but there was a cloud over the occasion. I had gone on to the Finance Committee in 1977 and had worked on the Social Security Amendments of that year, under the superb leadership of Gaylord Nelson. We had realized the actuarial troubles the Social Security Trust Fund would face with the curious demography of the baby boom on the still-distant but recognizable horizon. We put in place a number of F.I.C.A. tax increases to provide for this. And thought our work was done. Then came the second oil shock and the great inflation of the late 1970's. For the first time in our history price increases ran ahead of wage increases. The Trust Funds sank to the point of approaching insolvency. In 1981, the new director of the Office of Management and Budget, David Stockman, warned the country to expect the "world's largest bankruptcy" on a date certain in the near future. It wasn't as bad as that, but Robert J. Myers, the former chief actuary, knew it was bad enough and he passed this on. President Reagan called for and Congress created a Commission on Social Security Reform, headed by Alan Greenspan. We met all through 1982, but could come to no agreement on what to do. The year ended, the Commission ended, an inconsequential report was drafted.

But something had, in fact, happened. BOB DOLE, a member of the Commission, had listened. He always listens, as Senators know. But this time he was listening to information quite at odds with all he had ever heard. That Social Security was not a crazy New Deal Ponzi scheme certain to go broke one day. That day being at hand. Which is what so many members of his party were willing to believe. No; he learned, largely from Myers, there were difficulties but they could be resolved and should be resolved.

On that January 3 morning, Senator DOLE had an op-ed article in *The New York Times*. I ask unanimous consent that it be reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the *New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1983]

REAGAN'S FAITHFUL ALLIES

(By Bob Dole)

WASHINGTON.—In this city, which makes history but prefers headlines, today's hottest story is President Reagan's problem with his allies on Capitol Hill. But those who believe that they see a divisive split between the President and Congressional Republicans ignore Ronald Reagan's many achievements, misunderstand the role of Congress, and exaggerate the tension between the Presidency and Congress that has naturally existed since the Founding Fathers found room for both in the Constitution.

It is important to understand that Presidents of both parties have always had differences with their friends on Capitol Hill.



Thomas Jefferson had to endure a Speaker of the House who was not only a fellow Democrat but his own son-in-law and who had the irritating habit of publicly charging members of the Jefferson Administration with corrupt land speculation.

Abraham Lincoln found his military decisions criticized by his own party's select committee on the conduct of the war, and his nascent plans for Reconstruction roadblocked by the so-called radical Republicans.

Theodore Roosevelt's pioneering efforts to regulate commerce and preserve the natural splendors of the West ran counter to the property-loving instincts of Republican legislators.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt saw the wave of his personal popularity crest in 1937, when disgruntled Democrats shot down his plan to pack the United States Supreme Court.

Lyndon B. Johnson failed to unite Democrats behind the Vietnam war and, in the end, abdicated. So did Richard M. Nixon when many of his strongest supporters made clear their distaste for his handling of Watergate. Earlier still, Mr. Nixon watched as two Supreme Court nominees were torpedoed by Republican Senators.

Jimmy Carter's term was rendered all but irrelevant by Democrats of the Kennedy stripe. Now, after two years of remarkable leadership, the equal of anything seen in this city since the heyday of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, it has become fashionable to claim that Ronald Reagan's mastery over Congress has become frayed and that his options for future guidance have narrowed to little more than graceful acquiescence.

Much of this is the product of journalistic boredom or perhaps, Democratic wishful thinking. Those interested in the sounds of genuine partisan division ought to pitch their hearing to the tunes of Mondale and Glenn and Hart and Hollings and Askew and Cranston.

What's more, those now debating responsibility for next year's agenda all too easily overlook Ronald Reagan's achievement in setting the decade's agenda. They forget that the President has already engineered a major shift in relations between the individual and his Government. And, in their own preoccupation with current headlines, they obscure a personal history of political resourcefulness and a gift for compromise familiar to anyone who has examined Ronald Reagan's Governorship in California.

So, before Republicans start believing the fashionable theory of a White House-Capitol Hill split, we ought to remind ourselves that we are led by a persuasive chief executive, that we enjoy strong, experienced leadership in both houses of Congress and that the issues confronting us present as much opportunity as peril.

Social Security is a case in point. With 116 million workers supporting it and 36 million beneficiaries relying on it, Social Security overwhelms every other domestic priority. Through a combination of relatively modest steps, including some acceleration of already scheduled taxes and some reduction in the rate of future benefit increases, the system can be saved. When it is, much of the credit, rightfully, will belong to this President and his party.

Similarly, the mashed-potato circuit echoes to the plaintive cries of born-again protectionists who address the symptoms and not the illness plaguing our economy. Whether through local-content legislation or export subsidies, they would scuttle free trade and risk a global war, with tariffs and other trade barriers as lethal weapons. Wrong as they may be in their prescription, these new economic isolationists have struck a responsive chord in a nation deeply worried

about present and future employment. Again, the trade issues provide Republicans at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue with the potential to reach out to working people, to demonstrate not only verbal concern but practical solutions.

The nation's headline writers like to call President Reagan The Great Communicator. Historians, I'm convinced, will label him the Great Reformer. It is his willingness to question this city's conventional (and costly) wisdom that Republicans must emulate as we tackle priorities too pressing to put off. No one is more eager to extend the Reagan revolution and to avoid political trench warfare in the coming session than Congressional Republicans.

The atmosphere within which the new Congress convenes will be shaped by perceptions that, in politics, are sometimes the equivalent of reality. And it is as a supporter of the President's objectives that I express concern about perceptions of his program. Clearly, they will not be improved so long as the Congress, public and news media discern an imbalance between human needs and military hardware. When the Constitution mandated the Federal Government to provide for the general welfare, it said nothing about the generals' welfare.

The problem of perception might also be improved by a closer partnership between the White House and its natural allies on Capitol Hill. A modest but useful first step would be more frequent and constructive give-and-take sessions with G.O.P. leaders. For we, no less than his own department Secretaries and other personnel, belong to the President's official family. And we, no less than they, wish the next two years to be as successful as the last two.

Certainly, tackling Social Security and trade issues will engender controversy. But the alternative is momentum surrendered and an anxious public disillusioned. This President has always insisted that purely political considerations will not affect his judgment. That is one more reason why he is free to propose and achieve reforms on a historic scale. By doing so, he insures that he will not have to wait for history to express gratitude.

Those who say that the bloom is off the rose for Ronald Reagan forget that the rose is a perennial. With a little imaginative gardening now, it will blossom handsomely in 1984.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, note that paragraph about Social Security. "... The system can be saved."

I had read it. I went up to Senator DOLE on the floor and said, "Bob, if you think that, and I think you are right, oughtn't we give it one more try?" He asked me if I could meet with him the next day. Both of us were planning vacations, but this came first. At 4 o'clock next, Tuesday, January 4, we met in his office. I give you now the events of the next 13 days. They are written from my daily schedule, but think Bob DOLE all along.

Tuesday, January 4, 1983, 4:30 p.m.: Senators Dole and Moynihan meet with Robert J. Myers re Social Security.

Wednesday, January 5, 2:00 p.m.: Senator Moynihan meets privately with Alan Greenspan, Congressman Conable and Robert J. Myers re Social Security.

4:30 p.m.: Meeting at James Baker's residence with Senator Dole, Cong. Conable, Robert J. Myers and Alan Greenspan.

Friday, January 7, 8:30 a.m.: Meeting at Blair House re Social Security.

2:30 p.m.: Senators Dole and Moynihan meet with Robert J. Myers.

Saturday, January 8, 9:30 a.m.: All-day confidential meeting at residence of James Baker—also with Richard Darman.

Tuesday, January 11, 5:15 p.m.: Confidential meeting at Blair House.

Wednesday, January 12, 3:15 p.m.: Meeting re Social Security at Blair House.

Friday, January 14, 10:30 a.m.: Meeting with David Stockman, Richard Darman and Robert Myers in Senator Moynihan's office.

Saturday, January 15, 11:00 a.m.: All-day meeting re Social Security at Blair House—Agreement reached.

Monday, January 17, 7:10 a.m.: Senators Dole and Moynihan, and James Baker interviewed on ABC "Good Morning America" re Social Security.

Indeed, I have a handwritten note in my Economist Diary, "Noon Jan. 3, 10:00 p.m., Jan. 15, 13 days."

Thirteen days that changed the world for a good many Americans. They were Dole days and should never be forgotten.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, though I cannot join my Republican colleagues in wishing Senator DOLE success in his next endeavor, I join with Senator DASCHLE and all of my colleagues in wishing the distinguished majority leader and his wife and daughter good health and every happiness in the future. To leave his beloved institution after such a long and illustrious public service career—for whatever reason—is, I am sure, difficult, but there is no greater reward than the legacy of honorable public service.

Though we may not have agreed on many issues in the time we have served together in this body, there is one in particular we agreed on and we worked together to make it happen. The Brockton, MA Little League became a national model for the establishment of a challenge division for little leaguers with disabilities, thanks to the efforts of Senator DOLE. He is a fellow veteran and a man of proven personal courage and deep political conviction. He has been an integral part of the history of this institution and he will be missed.

Whatever our politics, whatever our philosophy of Government, this Nation, the democratic process, and the U.S. Senate are well served by those who have both the courage to survive against the odds in the face of extraordinary personal hardship, and the common sense to seek reasonable compromise for the survival of the Nation. The distinguished majority leader's life has indeed been one of personal courage and political compromise. His record of public service speaks for itself, and as he leaves here today, we wish him well. As colleagues, we must put politics aside for a moment, remember the man and his career, and say to the distinguished major leader: Thank you for the lesson in service and democracy that you have given us.

"THE MEASURE OF A MAN"

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, today we recognize the departure of a great friend and colleague, Majority Leader ROBERT DOLE, from the U.S. Senate. In honor of his departure, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the

RECORD a poem by Albert Caswell, a longtime guide for the U.S. Capitol, which pays tribute Majority Leader ROBERT DOLE.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MEASURE OF A MAN  
(By Albert Caswell)

What is the measure of a man?  
Today, high atop the Senate we sit and understand.  
What is the measure of a man?  
It's not power, wealth, or looks, but how we conduct our lives.  
This alone, is what put us in the record books.  
What is the measure of a man?  
In the Senate this day, comes a great leader of character and class,  
Who climbed every mountain the Lord put in his path.  
What is the measure of a man?  
For against all odds, time and again, his back to the wall,  
One Robert Dole, heart of a lion, has always stood tall.  
What is the measure of a man?  
Yet for all his strength and all his glory,  
His warmth, kindness, and humor tell the story.  
What is the measure of a man?  
He walks in, stillness in the gallery, listen closely, hear the silent tears.  
Historians and friends sadly know, a man of his stature will not come our way for many years.  
What is the measure of a man?  
For on this day, June 11, 1996, Robert Dole gives up his greatest love of all,  
To answer our nation's cry for leadership, he hears the call.  
Today, we see and understand,  
What is truly the measure of a man.  
Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST—  
H. CON. RES. 178

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that debate now begin on the conference report to accompany the current budget resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 178, and that once the Senate receives the conference report, it be considered as having been read and all time consumed be considered used as part of the statutory 10-hour time limit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that request be vitiated. We need to get one final clearance on that.

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

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, we are hoping that the Senate can momentarily begin debate on the budget resolution and conference report. All interested Senators, interested in coming to debate the budget conference report, are encouraged to do so this afternoon. Hopefully, we will have an agreement here momentarily where we can get started. I know the distinguished Senator from Nebraska is ready to begin the discussion. I know the chairman of the Budget Committee is going to be here momentarily. We hope to go ahead and start discussing this very important conference report.

It is our intention to adjourn this evening, if we can get an agreement worked out, at a relatively early hour, 7:30 perhaps, or earlier, if no further Senators would be seeking time to debate on the floor at that time. We do not anticipate any further rollcall votes occurring during the remainder of today's session. We expect that there will be a rollcall vote at some time to be determined on Wednesday. The two leaders will be talking with the ranking members on the Budget Committee to get a time specific.

As soon as we get final approval, we will ask consent to go ahead and begin that debate.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT  
DOLE

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, today has been a very interesting day for our former leader, BOB DOLE. While the U.S. Senate suffers what I believe is a tremendous loss today with the departure of the majority leader, Senator ROBERT DOLE, I can tell you it is a great day for America. I believe that. For, while Senator DOLE leaves behind a legacy of extraordinary leadership and commitment to this institution, his departure promises the American people a much more important commitment to this country. But, perhaps more important, his departure gives the American people a better opportunity to learn more about a man that I and many of my colleagues greatly admire and have come to know. So I would like to spend just a few minutes to describe the man that I have come to know, with whom I have worked, and I hope the American people will come to know over the next few months.

BOB DOLE, Senator DOLE, is a man of his word. You can trust him. He is a

plain speaker and not one for flowery oratory. He believes in what he says. He means what he says. He does not try to be everything to everybody. He stands for a few important principles—not everything.

Senator DOLE is honest and he is very straightforward. He is loyal. He is a doer and he is not a talker. His values are constant; they do not change from day to day. He knows who he is, where he comes from, where he wants to go, and his word is his honor. He is a man who chose sacrifice over self, finding strength at an age when others sought the leisure of self-expression.

Briefly, BOB DOLE is a man of courage, a man of character, a man of integrity. These measures of the man are what sets BOB DOLE apart and what has led his colleagues in the Senate to entrust him with leadership time after time.

It will be these same characteristics that will distinguish for the American people who they should trust to lead them in the years ahead. While it may be easy for others to constantly change what they stand for in order to distinguish themselves on the issues, character, courage, and integrity are not mantles of convenience. They cannot be adopted at will, converted by choice, or otherwise assumed. They are bedrock principles.

They are like a fingerprint, intractably a part of you, easy to trace and difficult to fake.

Over the next few months it will be for the American people to ask the same question that the Senate has, who do they trust to lead this Nation? I believe the answer will be the same ultimately. It will be Senator DOLE.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, we will shortly be moving to the budget resolution, but I understand the Senator desires to speak up to 5 minutes as in morning business on a statement regarding Senator DOLE.

Mr. DEWINE. That is correct. It could be 7 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. I ask unanimous consent that he be granted 7 minutes as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

A LEGISLATIVE GIANT

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from New Mexico. On behalf of the people of Ohio, I join all my colleagues in paying tribute to a legislative giant who left the stage of the U.S. Senate just a few moments ago.