

replied it was the diligence beyond duty shown by all who are part of this Chamber—Democrats, Republicans, and independents. Staff, parliamentarians, clerks, pages, security officers, maintenance workers, elevator operators, all spend long hours serving America. For the most part, their names, their selfless deeds will go unrecorded, but their life and work demonstrate a deep devotion to duty.

In recognition of the loyalty and exemplary work of my own staff, I ask unanimous consent to have their names printed in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mrs. CARNAHAN. At this time I recognize sadly that two great towers of strength will be missed in this Chamber. My friend and colleague, MAX CLELAND, from his wheelchair stands taller than most men ever will. The Senate will be greatly diminished by his absence. And that we will no longer hear the spirited voice of Paul Wellstone summoning us to stand up and fight will likewise diminish the fervor of this body.

Our Nation and my party have been further blessed by the courageous leadership of Senator DASCHLE and Senator HARRY REID. They have shown the grace under pressure that marks true greatness.

I would be remiss if I did not mention the women of the Senate whose friendship has blessed and brightened my life. I am grateful, too, for the wholehearted and unwavering support of my Democratic colleagues in my every endeavor, and I especially appreciate those from the other side of the aisle, though far fewer in number, who graciously encouraged me as well.

Tradition affords those of us who leave the Senate, either by our own will or the will of the electorate, the opportunity to reflect on the time in this historic Chamber, to perhaps even engage in some unsolicited advice. I could not pass up that opportunity. My advice comes not as a seasoned insider but as one who came for a season to serve among my colleagues. Mine are simple maxims that spring from the heart, a heart filled with love for the Senate and for my country.

First, when my colleagues think on the role of government, seek a balance. Seek a balance between one that does everything and one that does nothing. And where there is talk of war, let there be the free and open debate that becomes our great Nation. And when there are judges to be appointed, let them be selected for their temperament and jurisprudence and not for political ideology that satisfies a special interest group.

When we lay out our energy and environment policy, let it not be for short-term gain but for the well-being of our grandchildren and the survival of our planet. And when my colleagues speak of leaving no child behind, let that not

be a mantra but a mission, fervent and funded. When health care is thought about, the health care needs of children, family, and seniors—and I hope that will be often—I urge my colleagues to lay aside partisanship and heed the plight of the hurting and the helpless in our society.

I will vote for the homeland bill, as I have each step of the way, for we must make certain the information disconnect that allowed a 9/11 to occur never happens again.

During an earlier global conflict, President Roosevelt called for stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom and truth. Well, that is what I am hoping this consolidation and coordination of effort will help us to accomplish.

As I vote for this bill, I do so with a caution. The pursuit of terrorists and the protection of basic freedoms will be our greatest challenge in the years ahead. In the quest to uproot terrorism, let us take care to preserve those precious liberties upon which our Nation is founded and upon which democracy depends. I have no doubt that in this good and godly work we will ultimately succeed.

Let me conclude by saying that this farewell to the Senate is a bittersweet moment for me, one that churns up a mixture of memories and emotions. One such memory was of a visit I made to the Corcoran Art Gallery to see the Jackie Kennedy exhibit. One of the displays was a handwritten letter that Mrs. Kennedy sent to a friend after completing an extensive project at the White House.

She wrote:

How sad it is . . . when a work we love doing . . . is finally finished.

I know how she felt.

I still believe, as did my husband, that public service is a good and noble work worthy of our lives. Perhaps a former Member of this Chamber said it best. He was not of my party, but he certainly was of my principles. Senator Lowell Weicker wrote:

For all the licks anyone takes by choosing public service,

. . . there is the elation of having achieved for good purpose what none thought possible.

And such feelings far exceed . . . whatever the hurt . . . for having tasted the battle.

I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

Current Staff of Senator Jean Carnahan:
Isiah Akin, Legislative Aide
Amy Barber, Legislative Assistant
John Beakley, Special Assistant to the Senator
Ann Bickel, Assistant to the State Director
Todd Britt, Director, Eastern Missouri
Michael Carrasco, Office Manager
Chad Chitwood, Southwest Area Regional Coordinator
Qiana Combs, Deputy Director, Western Region
Sonja Cureton, Constituent Services Representative
Julie Egermayer, Constituent Services Representative
Sarah Elmore, Staff Assistant
Bradley Epperson, Special Advisor
Alex Formuzis, Press Secretary

Sandy Fried, Legislative Assistant
Rosie Haertling, Casework Supervisor
Stacy Henry, Assistant Scheduler
Margaret Hsiang, Legislative Correspondent
Lisa Jaworski, Legislative Aide
Amy Jordan-Wooden, State Director
Michele Ludeman, Caseworker/Administrative Assistant

Bryan Mitchell, Legislative Correspondent
Jeff Morrison, System Administrator
Stephen Neuman, Legislative Assistant
Tom Neumeyer, Southeast Area Regional Coordinator

Neal Orringer, Military Legislative Assistant

Alison Paul, Staff Assistant
Caroline Pelot, Deputy Director, Eastern Missouri

Jason Ramsey, Director, Central Missouri
Ryan Rhodes, Scheduler/Executive Assistant
Garon Robinnett, Staff Assistant
David Schanzer, Legislative Director
Raymond Schrock, Special Projects Coordinator

Vance Serchuk, Legislative Correspondent
Jan Singlemann, Regional Aide
Rachel Storch, Deputy Chief of Staff
Stephen Sugg, Legislative Assistant
Roy Temple, Chief of Staff
Cindy Townes, Data Entry Clerk
Pam Townsend, Staff Assistant
Courtney Weiner, Legislative Correspondent
Rogerick Wilson, Constituent Services Representative

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator gave the most eloquent statement. I can't say how much I appreciated being here.

The Senator from West Virginia.

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

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

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have a series of parliamentary inquiries. As I understand the situation on tomorrow, Tuesday, there will be 90 minutes of debate before a vote occurs at 10:30; during that 90 minutes of debate there will be 30 minutes under the control of Mr. LOTT, 30 minutes under the control of Mr. DASCHLE, and 30 minutes under the control of Mr. BYRD; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, at 10:30 it is my understanding—and I would like to inquire if I am correct in my understanding—the first vote will occur on the Daschle-Lieberman second-degree amendment No. 4953; a second vote will occur on the Daschle-Lieberman first-degree amendment No. 4911; a third vote will occur on the Thompson substitute, House bill No. 4901; the fourth vote will occur on cloture on H.R. 5005; am I correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair but let me continue.

As I understand it, the Thompson substitute, House bill No. 4901, that is

the substitute which was passed by the House of Representatives, sent to the Senate, and called up and laid before the Senate. That is the bill which first saw the light of day in the Senate, as I understand it, on or about the early morning hours of this last Wednesday, this past Wednesday of last week. Is that the amendment, the Thompson substitute amendment, that is the House bill which I, on a number of occasions, have referred to as being a bill of 484 pages?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment does contain that number of pages.

Mr. BYRD. I just wanted to be sure to establish in my own mind and call to the Senate's attention that that will be the third vote, then, on that bill as we come to tomorrow morning, Tuesday of this week.

Now, Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry: Am I correct in stating that cloture on the bill, H.R. 5005, is not vitiated by question of the adoption of the substitute?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Cloture on the bill is not vitiated by that action.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

Further parliamentary inquiry: Is it not a fact that if cloture is invoked on H.R. 5005, under the rule, 30 hours then will ensue under that cloture measure?

If cloture is invoked, there will be 30 hours on H.R. 5005, am I correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Cloture under this consideration is 30 hours.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair. In this instance, if the Thompson substitute, the House bill No. 4901, if that substitute is adopted and cloture then is invoked on H.R. 5005, will amendments be in order during those 30 hours?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The adoption of the Thompson substitute precludes amendments.

Mr. BYRD. I thought that was the case.

The adoption of the Thompson substitute means as far as further amendments are concerned, the ball game is over; am I correct in putting it in that form?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD. I say all that, Mr. President, to say this: On last Friday when the Senate invoked cloture, what was cloture invoked on, may I ask of the Chair? On what did the Senate then invoke cloture?

I see my loss of memory is not too bad after all. It seems to be shared by others. Of course, I am 85—almost.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are checking the record.

Mr. BYRD. I say that with all respect, due respect and ample respect to the Chair, the Parliamentarian, and others.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Cloture has been invoked on amendment No. 4901, the Thompson amendment.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

Now, Mr. President, the point I am trying to make here is—and I wanted it in the RECORD, and I wanted Senators to be aware of what they did when they voted to invoke cloture on last Friday.

The distinguished occupant of the chair did not vote to invoke cloture, nor did this Senator, who now is speaking.

There were 29 Democrats who voted against cloture last Friday. There were 17 Democrats who voted for cloture last Friday. As I note—and this may have been a cursory examination I have made—but I have noted, in a cursory examination, I believe two Republicans who were absent would have voted with me against cloture and I believe four Democrats who were absent would have voted with me against cloture.

In any event, had 6 of the 17 Democrats who voted for cloture voted against cloture last Friday, we would not be under cloture at this point because the number of Senators voting for cloture on last Friday would have been only 59 and the number, therefore, would have fallen 1 vote short of cloture.

Now, I tried to get my fellow Democrats to vote against cloture because I felt that we ought to have more time to discuss this homeland security bill, which had been dropped on our desks virtually out of the shades of the early morning as they were lifting and the golden fingers of dawn were streaking across the land. I tried to get several Senators to vote against cloture, my plea being: "Don't vote for cloture today. Give us a little more time. If we don't vote for cloture today, it will be voted next week"—meaning this week, which we have now started. "Don't vote for cloture today."

One or two Senators listened to my importunings and voted against cloture.

Mr. President, I ask for an additional 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senator is granted an additional 3 minutes.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, one or two Senators listened and voted against cloture. Some others listened and didn't vote against cloture but voted for cloture, which was their right to do. But let me just show what happened there.

They voted for cloture. Cloture was invoked. Some of those Senators with whom I talked said: "You have 30 hours in which amendments can be offered, and some of the problems that you outlined, you can get a vote on them, and possibly those can be amended and corrected."

As we have seen, only one amendment—one amendment—was offered. It filled up that particular tree, so that no other amendments could be offered while that amendment was pending. But our good friends on the other side said: This far, no farther. You have offered an amendment—meaning Mr. DASCHLE had offered an amendment on behalf of Mr. LIEBERMAN; that amendment was pending—you have offered this amendment. That's the amendment we are going to vote on. You are not going to get to to offer any more amendments. The 30 hours will be run on that one amendment.

So I hope Senators in the future will remember. Of course, I knew that could be done. But I have to say I think that is the first time in my memory—and I have been here during the great civil rights debates of the 1960s—I believe that is the first time—and I don't say it critically of the Republicans; they had that right, they played by the rules. Our problem is we don't all know the rules. But they played by the rules. We have one amendment. The 30 hours will be gone Tuesday morning, and that one amendment is it, and I mean "it."

Now, when cloture is invoked on H.R. 5005, as amended, if amended, we won't be able to offer any amendments. We can talk, but the ball game is over when we adopt the Thompson substitute. That substitute wipes out everything. It wipes out H.R. 5005, as far as that is concerned.

So the point is, we voted cloture on ourselves. We did it to ourselves on this side. I knew every Republican would vote for cloture, but I hoped that at least enough Democrats would vote against cloture—we only needed six more votes in opposition. But we did it. We did it to ourselves. We have had a chance to offer only one amendment. That is it. The Republicans say: That is it, no more amendments, and we will vote on Tuesday.

I just say this so that our friends on my side of the aisle in particular will know what their vote for cloture on Friday has done to defeat our chances to have other amendments voted on.

I thank the Chair and I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I have spoken to the two leaders. There will be no cloture vote this afternoon, and likely no other votes this afternoon. Members will have all the opportunity they want to debate the Shedd nomination or, of course, the homeland security matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEVIN). The Senator from Texas.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We have 1 minute and a half left in morning business.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I might have 10 additional minutes in morning business.

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

HOMELAND SECURITY

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I wish to talk for just a moment about where we are on the homeland security bill. I wish to talk about the amendment on which we will be voting tomorrow morning because I think it is important for people to look at the issue, in terms of understanding the full picture, at least given each of our abilities to see the full picture.