

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 1 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 1:22 p.m. when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. DODD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

SENATOR HERMAN TALMADGE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I take a few moments today to recall the days of yesteryear.

I came to this body in January of 1959, after having served in the other body, the House of Representatives, for 6 years. When I came to the Senate, I came into the midst of a chamber that was made up of men and one woman, Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. These men were "tall men, sun crowned, who live(d) above the fog in public duty and in private thinking," men like Richard B. Russell of Georgia. Senator Richard Russell had never married, but he had a bride. His bride was the Senate. There was none other like him.

In my service in the Senate, this man from Georgia, Richard Brevard Russell, was the uncrowned leader, as far as I am concerned, of the Senate. There were men like Lyndon Johnson, Everett Dirksen, Lister Hill of Alabama, John McClellan, William Fulbright, Norris Cotton, and I could go on; John Pastore of Rhode Island, Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming. They are all gone now.

I look about me today and I see the desks and the chairs. They were here then. Then one after another, as I look about me, I can see those Senators, Wayne Morse, Wallace Bennett, Jacob Javits, and Herman Talmadge.

I stand alone in this Chamber as in a great banquet hall where men have come and gone, fallen like winter's withered leaves. There is only one other Senator today who was here when I came here: STROM THURMOND.

The Senate is a far different place, far different from what it was when the Senator who is presiding over this Senate today, Senator CHRISTOPHER DODD, was a page boy; a different Senate. Yes, it is a different time. But the memories of those men and that woman who gave her "Declaration of Conscience," Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, are still in my heart.

I begin now to make a few remarks about one of those Senators whose names I have mentioned, the late Senator Herman Talmadge. We heard the distinguished Senator from the State of Georgia yesterday, Mr. ZEL MILLER, speak of the passing of Herman Tal-

madge. As a colleague of the late Herman Talmadge, I say these few words in memory of him.

Mr. President, there was once a saying in the state of Georgia that "if you were not a Talmadge man, you were a communist."

That saying spoke so well of the high regard, the esteem, and the respect that the people of that proud southern State, which was one of the original 13 States, possessed for the Talmadge family and why the Talmadges were such a politically prominent family for so many years.

The Talmadge dynasty began in 1926—I was a little boy in a 2-room school house in southern West Virginia that year—when Eugene Talmadge was elected Commissioner of Agriculture. He was later elected Governor of Georgia to an unprecedented four terms.

It continued with his son, Herman Eugene Talmadge whose death we mourn today. Herman Eugene Talmadge served the State of Georgia first as Governor, 1948–1955, and then as a United States Senator, 1957–1980.

He had been in this body 2 years when I came and when the father of the Presiding Officer today, the late Thomas Dodd, came to the Senate with me. We came together from the House where we had previously served together.

During the Talmadge tenure, other powerful political leaders emerged in that great state, and obtained state and national offices. These included Senator Richard Russell, who sleeps peacefully today under a southern sky in a lonely cemetery in Georgia. I stood in that cemetery, at the grave of the late Senator Richard Russell.

Then there was President Jimmy Carter. I served as majority leader in this body during the years of his Presidency. Then there was Senator Sam Nunn, whom we all know, remember, and respect, and for whom we have an enormously high regard.

But the Talmadges were always there!

Some maintain that the Talmadge reign ended in 1980 when Senator Herman Talmadge lost his bid for reelection. But I can't help but believe that it did not end until this past Wednesday night when this sharp-witted man of simple values, who spent so much of his life in public service and who did so much to make his State and our Nation better, passed away. His passing should serve to remind all of us how much we need people who are dedicated to public service.

Herman Eugene Talmadge's public service began during World War II. Now listen to this: he was serving in the Navy when Pearl Harbor was attacked. He immediately requested combat duty, and participated in a number of important naval engagements during the war, including the invasion of Guadalcanal and the Battle of Okinawa. He was present at the Japanese surrender in Tokyo Bay.

Upon the death of his father, Herman Talmadge became Governor of Georgia, and his administration is regarded as

one of the most progressive administrations in the history of that great state of Georgia.

In 1957, he took a seat in the Senate. I can see him standing over there, a man of few words. He was like John Pastore. Those two men were among the sharpest witted Senators with whom I have ever served.

In 1957, Herman Talmadge began an extraordinary career, which included serving as chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, where he became known as the "champion of American agriculture" because of the imprint he left on almost all farm legislation that was passed during his tenure as chairman. He authored legislation to expand and improve the School Lunch Program. He helped to develop the Food Stamp Program. As chairman of the Agriculture Committee and a crusader for rural development, Senator Talmadge established a rural development subcommittee and led the enactment of the Rural Development Act of 1972.

He was a member of the Senate Finance Committee—there was a sharp brain on a great committee, the Senate Finance Committee. I have never seen men or women in this Senate whose brains were more sharp than that of Herman Talmadge.

He was also very active on welfare legislation long before it became a popular issue to promote, and he authored a provision giving tax credits to private businesses to provide job training. There was a pioneer!

Talmadge was always a powerful proponent of programs calculated to get people on their feet, and to give them the means with which to secure their future and the future of their children. He was just as adamantly opposed to programs he felt perpetuated cycles of dependency, "You gotta have more people pulling the wagon than riding," he was fond of saying. He could say it crisply, succinctly, right to the point.

Senator Talmadge came to national attention in 1973, when he was appointed to serve on the Watergate Committee. According to an article on him in the Georgia Historical Quarterly, Senator Talmadge:

... thought the Watergate investigation was one of the most important events in the history of the United States [because] it demonstrated how a republican form of government [This is not a democracy, it is a republic; it is a republican form of Government] could correct the conduct of public officials and alert others not to make the same mistake.

It was during the Watergate hearings that the American people were able to observe for themselves the penetrating, get-to-the-heart-of-the-matter style of Senator Talmadge, and I am sure they were impressed.

Despite Senator Talmadge's productive and historic achievements in the Senate, his life was not without adversity. While serving in this Chamber,

Senator Talmadge suffered the tragic death of one of his sons, and endured other personal and professional misfortunes.

Nevertheless, in his memoirs (*Talmadge, A Political Legacy, A Politician's Life: A Memoir*), he wrote:

In looking back over my life, I suppose I have the normal share of regrets. But if I had it all to do over again, I wouldn't hesitate to enter politics. The rewards far outweigh the price one has to pay. When I speak to a civic club or just walk down the street, I invariably run into someone who has benefited in some way from my three-and-a-half decades in public life. Yes, it was a good life.

Mr. President, Herman Eugene Talmadge served his country and he served it well, in war and in peace. He served his State and the people of America very well with his extraordinary career in the Senate. His was indeed a "good life" and one for which all of us can be grateful. So:

Let Fate do her worst, there are relics of joy,
Bright dreams of the past, that she cannot
destroy;

Which come, in the night-time of sorrow and
care,

And bring back the features that joy used to
wear.

Long, long be my heart with such memories
filled!

Like the vase in which roses have once been
distilled,

You may break, you may shatter the vase, if
you will,

But the scent of the roses will hang round it
still.

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

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

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, at the request of the majority leader, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess awaiting the call of the Chair.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 1:50 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 3:34 p.m. when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. JOHNSON).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—S. 565

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I am about to propound a unanimous consent request on behalf of the Democratic leader. This consent request has been cleared on the Republican side as well as the Democratic side. Let me read it, if I may.

I ask unanimous consent that the majority leader, in concurrence with

the Republican leader, may resume the consideration of S. 565, the election reform bill; that debate on the bill be limited to 2 hours equally divided in the usual form; that the following be the only remaining first-degree amendments in order, and that debate on each amendment be limited to 30 minutes equally divided in the usual form unless otherwise listed; further, that no second-degree amendment be in order prior to a vote in relation to each amendment; further, that second-degree amendments must be relevant to the amendment to which it is offered and debate be limited to 30 minutes unless otherwise listed; further, that any pending amendment not listed be withdrawn; that upon disposition of the listed amendments, the bill be read the third time and the Senate vote on passage of the bill; and that upon passage, the title amendment, which is at the desk, be agreed to and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, all without further intervening action or debate; further, that no call for the regular order be in order with respect to this bill:

Senator LEVIN, provisional balloting; Senator CLINTON, residual ballot benchmark; Senator ROCKEFELLER, overseas voters; Senator WYDEN, voting by mail and first time voter; Senator NELSON of Florida, DOJ request; Senator NICKLES, confidentiality voter lists; Senator ROBERTS, provisional balloting notices; Senator HATCH, Internet study; Senator THOMAS, sense of Senate on rural concerns; Senator GRASSLEY, use of Social Security numbers; Senator SMITH of New Hampshire, election media reporting; and Senator DODD and Senator MCCONNELL, managers' amendment.

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

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, let me express my very sincere gratitude to both leaders, first of all to Senator DASCHLE and his very fine staff who were immensely helpful in pulling this together. I thank the Republican leader, Senator LOTT, for his wonderful leadership. He has been tremendously helpful to us in putting this agreement together. I also thank Senator MCCONNELL and Senator BOND and their staffs for making it possible. Senator LOTT's office worked very closely with their offices in bringing us to this point.

We have had an awful lot of amendments. This bill had already handled some 35 or 40 amendments. We then had to lay the bill aside, and there was still an outstanding list of 40 or 45 amendments. This is a much more abbreviated list, and it will allow us to get to final passage on this bill.

I am very optimistic we will end up with a positive vote in the Senate on this very important issue of election reform. It has been a little more than a year since the election of 2000. As we have said, this bill is forward looking. It is not about what happened in 2000; rather, what had been happening for many years in regard to the deteriorating condition of our election struc-

ture in the country. Florida merely highlighted for many Americans what had happened in many of the States as well.

This bill, while not a complete answer, will put us on a very strong road to resolving a lot of the outstanding issues that occurred then.

I am very grateful to the staffs of all those Senators involved—Senators SCHUMER and TORRICELLI. I thank my own staff, Veronica Gillespie and Kennie Gill of the Rules Committee, as well as Shawn Maher of my office, who have worked very hard. We are not done yet. We have work to do on this unanimous consent agreement to deal with the remaining amendments and then a conference with the House.

But this unanimous consent agreement, which took the cooperation of all Members of this Chamber, brings us very close to final passage of a good bill, my firm hope is, so that resources in the discretionary funds of this bill might even be available for the 2002 election, if we can get this done sometime over the next several months; that is, the final conference report.

The purpose of this bill, as has been stated by many, is to make it harder to defraud the system but, just as importantly, to make it easier for people to cast their ballots: the provisional voting provisions, statewide voter registration, making sure people who are disabled will have access to voting, being able to check your vote, not overvoting, as well as the antifraud provisions and the provisions dealing with the establishment of a permanent commission on elections.

All Members in this Chamber have been extremely cooperative on seeing to both of those twin goals: easier to vote and harder to defraud the system. Without the cooperation of everyone in this Chamber, we would not have arrived at this unanimous consent agreement.

So it is a great compliment to Members from all across the country that we have been able to arrive at this unanimous consent agreement, the disposition of these amendments, and final passage of the bill that will make it possible for us to say we have made it easier to vote in America and harder to defraud the system. If that is achieved in the final product we produce, we will have responded to the challenge posed to us by what occurred not only in the 2000 national election but what had been occurring across the country for many years. I express my gratitude again to all involved.

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

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