



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 108<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 150

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 2004

No. 80

## Senate

The Senate met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore, Mr. STEVENS.

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Eternal God, author of true freedom and shelter from life's storms, as our Nation pays its final respects to former President Ronald Reagan, we look again to You, the source of our hope for years to come.

In a world of change and decay, You remain the same yesterday, today, and forever. Undergird this land with a foundation of right living that exalts a nation. Deliver us from the evils that bring national decline. Surround our military with the shield of Your presence and give wisdom to all warriors for freedom. Guide our lawmakers as they seek to keep America strong. Strengthen them with Your spirit and inspire them with Your precepts.

In these challenging days, we place our confidence in You, for Your steadfast love and faithfulness sustains us.

We pray in Your strong Name. Amen.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

### RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

### SCHEDULE

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, this morning the Senate has convened again to allow Members to pay tribute to the life of Ronald Wilson Reagan, our 40th

President. Later this morning, at 11:30, the Senate will honor that life by voting on a memorial resolution regarding President Reagan. I expect that to be the only vote of the day.

### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

I ask unanimous consent that the final 10 minutes prior to the vote be equally divided and reserved for the two leaders.

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

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, we will conclude our business by 3 p.m. today in order to allow the Capitol to prepare for this evening's services. The Rotunda service will begin at 7 p.m. tonight, and all Senators are asked to be in the Senate Chamber at 6:15 p.m. in order to depart at 6:25 p.m. to take our place in the Rotunda for the ceremony. Each Senator's office has received a fairly extensive memo outlining today's and the rest of the week's events, including plans for the Friday service, and that memo provides details for the Senators.

A final note. In looking ahead to next week, when we finish today, we will adjourn until Monday. On Monday, we will resume consideration of the Defense authorization bill, and it is my expectation to have multiple votes on Monday, probably stacked in the afternoon. We will need to make considerable progress on Monday on the Defense authorization bill in order to finish the bill as early as possible next week.

I thank my colleagues who have come to the floor in the last several days to give eloquent remarks regarding the life and legacy of Ronald Reagan.

### RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

### VOTES ON MONDAY

Mr. REID. Mr. President, if I can, through the Chair, does the majority leader think those Monday votes will start around 5 o'clock, or has he made a decision?

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, we will be in discussion with the Democratic leadership, but I think around 5 o'clock or not before 5 o'clock. I think it is important we make substantial progress Monday. We set aside, very appropriately, this entire week in honor of President Reagan, and it means that if we are to finish the business before us, we will need to start fairly early Monday and work hard through the day and the week.

### TRIBUTE TO FORMER PRESIDENT RONALD WILSON REAGAN

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I wish to make a few remarks regarding President Ronald Reagan. It was in January 1977, as Jimmy Carter prepared to take the oath of office as President, that Ronald Reagan met with the man who would become his chief foreign policy adviser for the next several years, Richard Allen.

The two spent several hours together discussing in detail the vast array of issues. As Allen recalls—and some people have heard this on the news—as he has recounted it, Reagan said a whole range of memorable things, but none was more profound than this:

My idea of American policy toward the Soviet Union is simple and some would say simplistic. It is this: We win and they lose. What do you think of that?

Ronald Reagan's words would have been shocking to the trained ears of any foreign policy expert of that day. The consensus was the cold war simply could not be won. We could not defeat communism. That is what people thought. That is what they felt. All we could do was to hope to contain the Soviet Union and chip away at the fringes of its influence.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



Printed on recycled paper.

S6639

After his meeting with Ronald Reagan, Richard Allen never looked at the world in the same way. When Ronald Reagan entered the White House and laid out his vision for winning the cold war, America never looked at the world the same way. And when Ronald Reagan left the White House and events he helped put in motion came to pass, the world, indeed, would never be the same.

What were the reasons for Ronald Reagan's historic foreign policy success? How did he come to leave a more indelible mark on the world than any American President since Franklin Delano Roosevelt?

First, Ronald Reagan believed in a strong military to defend our Nation and to protect peace. He marshaled the resources from this body for a remarkable 35-percent increase in defense spending during his Presidency. Critics accused Reagan of unnecessarily provoking the Soviet Union and putting America on a path to nuclear war. But for Ronald Reagan, a strong national defense was an instrument for peace. It was Government's first and foremost duty to its people. He knew the Soviet Union could not match our capacity to fund our national defense, and should the Soviets attempt to keep pace, as they did, the Communist state would be unable to sustain itself.

Second, Ronald Reagan believed that America, our allies, and our common values were on that winning side of history. The destiny of mankind was not to live in the shadow of tyranny, dictatorship, but to be guided by the light of liberty, by the light of democracy. That was the destiny.

As Reagan said in his watershed Westminster speech:

The march of freedom and democracy . . . will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history as it has left other tyrannies which stifle the freedom and muzzle the self-expression of the people.

Third, Ronald Reagan viewed the world through a lens of moral clarity. He believed there was right and wrong and good and evil, strength and weakness, but, most importantly, he was not afraid to talk about the world as he saw it or use his words to help shape the world in that vision.

He called the Soviet Union the "evil empire." Why? Because the Soviet regime was repressive and godless and imperialist.

In 1987, he stood before the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin and challenged the Soviet leadership:

Mr. Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization, come here to this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

Within months, the wall was torn down. The cold war was won, and the new and lengthy era of peace for America and among the major powers of the world was born.

In this week of tribute to the life of Ronald Reagan, let us remember the

simple ideas upon which his foreign policy was based: a strong military as an instrument of peace; liberty and democracy as the destiny of mankind; and the moral clarity to see the world as it was and what it should be.

Let us also remember that without the courage and the character of Ronald Reagan, his ideas would have remained just ideas, and the world would have remained the same.

As Reagan once wrote of his determination to stand up for what he believed:

But bearing what we cannot change and going on with what God has given us, confident there is a destiny, somehow seems to bring a reward we wouldn't exchange for any other. It takes a lot of fire and heat to make a piece of steel.

I yield the floor.

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will be a period for the transaction of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The Senator from Massachusetts.

#### TRIBUTE TO FORMER PRESIDENT RONALD WILSON REAGAN

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in paying tribute to Ronald Reagan. As all of us who had the privilege of working with him know, he brought a special grace to the White House and the country in everything he did. We often disagreed on specific issues, but he had an undeniably unique capacity to inspire and move the Nation.

The warmth of his personality always shone through, and his infectious optimism made us all feel that it really was "morning in America." It was impossible not to respect and admire the way he revived the spirit of the Nation in that era, restored the power and vitality of the Presidency, and made it a vigorous and purposeful place of effective national and international leadership.

It was no coincidence that he opened his 1984 re-election campaign year by citing two Democratic Presidents, John F. Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his State of the Union address. Nor was it a coincidence that at the Republican Convention that year, not the Democratic Convention, the band played "Happy Days Are Here Again."

He governed as a conservative Republican, often very conservative. But he had a special genius for reaching out to all Americans. Somehow, the hard edges of his policies always seemed smoother when he discussed and defended them. He was willing to step

back from them when necessary, such as when it proved impossible to cut taxes, increasing spending for defense, and balance the budget at the same time.

He was an intense competitor who wanted to win, not just for himself but for his beliefs. But his goal was to defeat his opponents, not destroy them. He taught us that even though the battle would inevitably resume the next morning, at the end of each day we could put aside the divisions and debates. We could sit down together and laugh together, especially at his endless stream of stories. He took issues seriously, but he had a sense of perspective that never let him or us take ourselves too seriously. As a leader, he was a President of large principles, not small details. Some criticized him for that, but it was often the source of his strength.

On foreign policy, he will be honored as the President who won the cold war, and his famous words "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall" will be linked in history with President Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner." He came to office convinced that we could not trust the Communists, or perhaps even negotiate with them, and his commitment to a strong national defense was never doubted by Soviet leaders.

But he also understood the importance of working with our allies to protect our security, and he also understood the madness of "mutually assured destruction." He had an instinct that Michail Gorbachev might be different, and was quick to respond when I learned on a visit to Moscow in 1986 that President Gorbachev was prepared to negotiate a separate arms control treaty on the critical issue of nuclear missiles, in Europe. The Intermediate-Range Nuclear-Force Treaty they negotiated the following year eased tensions in Europe, and became the needed breakthrough in U.S.-Soviet relations that made it possible to see light at the end of the long dangerous tunnel of the cold war.

President Reagan was never afraid to be controversial, to confront when he had to, and lead where he believed. There were intense disagreements with many of his policies, then and now. But beyond all that was a defining reality. He came to power at a time of self-filling pessimism, a pervasive belief that public policy could barely move molehills, let alone mountains. The true achievement of the Reagan Revolution was the renewal of America's faith in itself.

It was more than the fact that he was a superb communicator. Some attributed at least part of his success to the fact that he had been an actor. But his deepest convictions were matters of heart and mind and spirit, and on them, he was no actor at all.

He was very generous to the Kennedy family on many public and private occasions. Caroline and John went to see him in the White House early in 1985 to ask if he might be willing to participate in some way in a dinner we were