

the preamble is agreed to, and the motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.

The resolution (S. Res. 374) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. RES. 374

Whereas Ronald Wilson Reagan, the 40th President of the United States, was born on February 6, 1911, in Tampico, Illinois, to Nelle and John Reagan and raised in Dixon, Illinois;

Whereas as a lifeguard at Rock River in Lowell, Illinois, a young Ronald Reagan saved the lives of 77 swimmers;

Whereas Ronald Reagan enrolled in Eureka College where he played football, acted in amateur theater, and graduated with a bachelor's degree in economics and sociology;

Whereas Ronald Reagan landed his first job as a radio announcer for WOC in Davenport, Iowa, and went on to become a popular sports announcer;

Whereas Ronald Reagan launched a movie career that spanned 50 movies, including his most famous role as the football legend, "The Gipper";

Whereas Ronald Reagan, who received more fan mail than any other actor at Warner Brothers Studios except Errol Flynn, served as president of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947 to 1960;

Whereas on March 4, 1952, Ronald Reagan married his great love, Nancy Davis, who was to become his lifelong confidante and companion;

Whereas Ronald Reagan was the father of 4 children: Maureen, Michael, Patti, and Ronald Prescott;

Whereas Ronald Reagan hosted the popular television series "GE Theater" from 1954 to 1962;

Whereas in 1962, Ronald Reagan switched his party affiliation from Democrat to Republican and 2 years later delivered a major televised speech in support of Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater;

Whereas in 1966, Ronald Reagan won the governorship of California and in 1970 was reelected to a second term;

Whereas Governor Reagan campaigned for the Republican nomination in 1968, and again in 1976;

Whereas on July 16, 1980, the former Governor won the Republican nomination and on November 4, 1980, won the United States Presidency in a landslide vote;

Whereas President Reagan appointed the first woman to the United States Supreme Court, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor;

Whereas on March 30, 1981, only 2 months into his Presidency, Ronald Reagan survived an assassination attempt and upon meeting Nancy in the hospital, quipped with characteristic good humor, "Honey, I forgot to duck";

Whereas President Reagan delivered on his promise to cut taxes for American workers in 1981, and achieved the historic tax cuts of 1986 which overhauled the Federal tax code and reduced tax rates for almost all taxpayers, including removing 6,000,000 Americans from the tax rolls;

Whereas under President Reagan's leadership, inflation fell, interest rates declined, and by the seventh year of his Presidency, the stock market hit an all-time high;

Whereas President Reagan presided over the longest economic expansion in the history of the United States until that time and rebuilt the national defenses of the United States;

Whereas President Reagan won reelection in 1984 carrying 49 out of 50 States—one of

the biggest electoral victories in the political history of the United States;

Whereas during summit meetings with Soviet Union President Mikhail Gorbachev in December 1987, President Reagan signed a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces;

Whereas President Reagan's steadfast opposition to communism, his unshakeable resolve to defeat the "Evil Empire", and his secure belief in government for and by the people, led to the collapse of the Berlin Wall and victory in the Cold War;

Whereas President Reagan's belief in freedom as a God-given right of all peoples led to a democratic revolution across Central America; and

Whereas Ronald Wilson Reagan, father, husband, actor, and dedicated public servant, restored the pride, optimism and strength of the United States and earned the deep respect and affection of his fellow citizens: Now, therefore, be it:

*Resolved*, That the Senate notes with deep sorrow and solemn mourning the death of Ronald Wilson Reagan.

*Resolved*, That the Senate extends its heartfelt sympathy to the wife and family of President Reagan.

*Resolved*, That the Senate commends the former President for his Presidency and its many accomplishments.

*Resolved*, That the Senate calls on all the people of the United States to reflect on the record of the 40th President of the United States during this national period of remembrance.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the former President

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

#### TRIBUTE TO FORMER PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I rise today because a mighty oak has fallen. Ronald Reagan has left his life here on Earth, but oh what a life it was. Born in the middle of our great Republic in the beginning of the last century, his was an American tale from start to finish.

Jack and Nelle Reagan brought a son into the world in Tampico, IL, in 1911. Jack was a shoe salesman with an Irishman's flare for storytelling. Nelle was a devout Christian who made ends meet by doing other people's sewing out of their home. When Jack first saw their healthy baby in his crib, he looked at this little baby and said he looked like a "little fat Dutchman." And the nickname stuck, "Dutch."

Times were hard for the Reagans. He commented years later that:

Our family didn't exactly come from the wrong side of the tracks, but we were certainly within sound of the train whistles.

Even then, it was in Ronald Reagan's character to look for the Sun behind the clouds. Growing up, he lived a typical American boy's life. He was a lifeguard in the summer and a football player in the fall. In the fading years, when Alzheimer's robbed him of most of his memory, he could still summon up his youth in Illinois, proudly recalling the 77 lives he saved as a lifeguard from the teeming Rock River, notching each one on a log on the shore.

In Illinois, he discovered there was more to life than just football and lifeguarding. There was also acting. Connecting with an audience plugged him into a broader world. As he later said:

For a kid suffering childhood pangs of insecurity, the applause was music.

Ambition led him westward out of Illinois; Hollywood, to be exact. There, as we all know, he started his successful acting career and, more importantly, met a young actress from Chicago named Nancy Davis. She became the love of his life. Nancy was focused, smart, and loved her Ronnie. Jimmy Stewart once remarked:

If Ronnie had married Nancy the first time, he would have won an Academy Award.

But gradually his time in front of an audience changed from the stage and screen to the assembly hall. Time constraints prevent me from following his ascent to the highest office in the land. Let me simply comment that for most of us being a successful actor and pitchman, union president, two-term Governor of our Nation's largest State, and a national figure to boot would have been enough of a career, especially at the age of 69. But Ronald Reagan had other thoughts, and so began his run against President Jimmy Carter for the Presidency in 1980.

Neck and neck until the debate a week before the election, Reagan broke it wide open when he closed by asking Americans a simple question: Are you better off than you were 4 years ago?

On election day, Reagan won a smashing victory, winning 44 of 50 States. He would top that mark in 1984, winning 49 out of 50 States.

I have listened to and read countless people reflecting on what President Reagan meant to them and to America. Were there enough time, I would fill up the rest of the afternoon with my thoughts about this great man. But I will limit my observations to what I think will be, in addition to restoring America's faith in itself, the way history will remember Ronald Reagan, the peacemaker.

I want to address the question, What does it mean to have won the cold war? Revisionists suggest that Ronald Reagan had little to do with the Soviet Union's fall which they now claim was just inevitable. I can tell you no one thought that in 1979. Communism was on the rise and freedom was in retreat. The United States was the toothless tiger with the uncertain future. Energy shortages crippled us, and rampant crime hunted us down. Interest rates for homes, cars, and businesses were sky high. Our economy was wrenched back and forth between bouts of recession and inflation, both at the same time. America's decline was marked by new, unfamiliar words. We learned stagflation, "taxflation," and, of course, we learned malaise.

America's economy was not the only thing in decline. So, too, was our foreign policy. Still suffering from a Vietnam syndrome, we watched and did

nothing as Afghanistan was invaded by the Soviets, as hostages in Iran were seized, and as Cuban puppets invaded Africa and Central America. Our Navy was weak. Our planes couldn't fly. Our Army lacked volunteers and morale. The nuclear balance was tipping, and our intelligence services were ravaged by firings and mismanagement.

We were declining and the Soviet Union was rising. Some people were ready to give up. Others suggested the Presidency was too big and complicated a job for any single person. It seemed as if we had lost our nerve. But not Ronald Reagan. You see, he had a vision.

In 1982, he explained his "sick bear" theory:

The Soviet Empire is faltering because rigid centralized control has destroyed innovation, efficiency and individual achievement. . . . The Soviet dictatorship has forged the largest armed force in the world . . . by preempting the human needs of its people and, in the end, this course will undermine the foundations of the Soviet system.

With his customary humor, he had a memorable way of explaining this. He talked of a Soviet citizen who went to a Soviet bureau of transportation to buy a car. After paying and filling out all the forms, he is told by the seller of the car: Come back in 10 years to get your car.

The man asks: In the morning or the afternoon?

The official responds: Well, we are talking about 10 years from now; what difference does it make whether it is the morning or afternoon?

The man replies: Well, the plumber is coming in the morning.

Beneath the humor, President Reagan knew the serious truth. The Soviet Union was as inherently weak as the U.S. economy was inherently strong, a fact too few recognized. So when President Reagan's policies began to revitalize our economy, the confidence restored here was matched by new uncertainty over in the Soviet Union.

Others have and will talk about the Reagan revolution here at home, but in terms of our victory in the cold war, the Reagan economic recovery was the first body-blow that eventually exorcized the demon of communism from the Soviet Union.

The real trouble for the Soviet Union was not Reagan's policies, but Reagan's values, his courage, and his willpower. Before he was ever elected, President Reagan recognized that the Soviet Union was an "arsenal of anarchy" throughout the world. It was a sickness of the human condition, he said. And President Reagan was never afraid to do that which so many leaders lack the courage to do: look at evil and call it by its name. In this regard, Reagan was like Churchill. Reagan was the nemesis of communism, just as Churchill was of nazism. He understood the evil that communism represented and what it would do if unchecked.

Interestingly, Reagan's understanding of this evil did not begin with

the fate of millions, but of just one. In May of 1975, a 5-year-old boy fell into the Spree River, which divided then-Communist East Berlin from free West Berlin. As firemen from West Berlin—firemen, not soldiers—started to go to the boy's rescue, an East German patrol boat barred their entry into East German waters. The boy drowned.

The mayor of West Berlin described that refused rescue as "an incomprehensible and frightful act, placing political considerations before the saving of a human life." But for Reagan, it was the sad personification of a harsh and enduring reality: Communism is a system where every human life is sublimated to the ruthless needs of the state.

Focused on the value of a single human life, Ronald Reagan looked across the globe and saw 600 million people living like slaves under the Communist lash. He did not mince words or deeds. He dubbed the Soviet Union the "evil empire," a description brutally accurate, yet offensive to the tender sensibilities of most of the media and intelligentsia here at home. He called for a massive defense increase—"peace through strength," he called it—and some even in his own Cabinet opposed it.

In the face of criticism, Reagan strengthened our defense. He quoted Demosthenes in dismissing the Soviets' empty assurances of their good intentions on arms control:

What sane man would let another man's word rather than his deeds tell him who is at war and who is at peace with him?

He then translated that demand into a Russian saying of no uncertain words—*doveryai, no proveryai*. In Russian, that means "trust but verify."

Ronald Reagan did not have timid dreams. He wasn't interested in slowing the decline of freedom or just holding its position steady; he wanted freedom to ring across the globe and communism to be relegated to the ash heap of history. So he went to the Berlin Wall to call out in front of that colossal affront to freedom: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall."

He left Reykjavik when it was clear that Mr. Gorbachev was only bargaining for the end of the Strategic Defense Initiative, which matching, the Soviets knew, would spend them into oblivion. Margaret Thatcher notes that Reykjavik, deplored as a loss by Reagan's critics, particularly by the European and American intelligentsia, marked the beginning of the end of the Soviet Union.

Of course, all the significant arms control reductions came after Reagan walked away from Reykjavik. But today, President Reagan is vindicated by some 600 million people who breathe freely because of the collapse of the Soviet empire.

So what does it mean to liberate almost 600 million from fear and terror? It means 49 million Ukrainians will never again worry about a class purge.

It means 17 million former East Germans will never be grabbed in the night

by the STASI, the secret police of Eric Honneker.

It means 38 million Poles will never fear General Jaruzelski attempting to crush the Solidarity free labor movement.

It means 22 million Romanians will never know the tortured madness and human experimentation of Nicolae Ceausescu.

It means 16 million in the Czech Republic and Slovakia will never hear tanks rumbling through their city streets to crush self-rule.

It means tens of millions of former West Germans lead lives oblivious to the cosmic nervousness that gripped their mother's and father's generation.

It means that 5 million in Finland no longer look across the Gulf of Finland with dread at 7.2 million people in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, who lived in slavery as a warning to any neighbors who would dare dissent from the Soviet world view.

In all, 600 million lives were emancipated by the victory in the cold war—the greatest liberation in the history of mankind, and hopefully for all time.

Now, having said all of that, let me just mention how much I miss that sweet-hearted man, especially his sense of humor. I have been reminded from all the replayed speeches just how wonderful he was. For example, during an exchange with the press one day, he said:

I have given my aides instructions that if trouble breaks out in any of the world's hot spots, they should wake me up immediately—even if I am in a cabinet meeting.

It makes you wonder what President Reagan said to Saint Peter. Something witty, no doubt, and delivered with a warm smile.

So now the long goodbye that Mrs. Reagan, his rock and strength and the love of his life, has spoken of so movingly is nearly complete. So I will close with President Reagan's own words in his courageous letter to the American people upon discovery of the disease that would ultimately bring about his fall. President Reagan said 10 years ago:

When the Lord calls me home, whenever that may be, I will leave the greatest love for this country of ours and eternal optimism for its future. I now begin the journey that will lead me into the sunset of my life. I know that for America there will always be a bright dawn ahead.

God bless Ronald Reagan, an American hero.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, our Nation has come together this week to mourn the passing of former President Ronald Reagan. However anticipated his death may have been, it is still a profound loss for the Reagan family. Our thoughts and prayers are with them all and especially with former First Lady Nancy Reagan.

However, knowing the kind of man Ronald Reagan was, knowing his relentless optimism and his sunny disposition, something tells me he would

prefer that Americans spend this week remembering and celebrating his unique character and quality. "America in mourning" just does not seem Reaganesque because Ronald Reagan was always about "morning in America." He always looked at the bright side of every situation or circumstance. I remember the story he told about the little boy who walked into a barn and encountered a huge pile of manure. The boy, who was not the least bit disappointed, broke into a big smile and said: I just know there is a pony in here somewhere. That was the Ronald Reagan we remember and admire.

Iowans relate strongly to Ronald Reagan because his roots were our roots. He grew up next door in smalltown Illinois and spent 5 formative years in Iowa. In fact, this was where the young Ronald Reagan found his voice as the Great Communicator—first as a radio announcer at WOC Radio in Davenport and later at WHO Radio in Des Moines where he became one of the most popular sports broadcasters in the region. That was at the height of the Great Depression.

He remembered this period with obvious fondness. In his autobiography, "An American Life," he wrote:

I spent four years at station WHO in Des Moines and they were among the most pleasant of my life. At 22, I'd achieved my dream; I was a sports announcer. If I had stopped there, I believe I would have been happy the rest of my life.

During his two terms in the White House, I met President Reagan on many occasions, and just about every time he would eagerly tell me he had been an announcer at WHO Radio. He regaled me with stories of how, sitting in his studio in Des Moines, he faked the play by play of the Chicago Cubs baseball game based upon wire reports as they came through. He seemed to have this fixed in his mind, that when he would see me, it was TOM HARKIN and WHO. If this is HARKIN, I am going to tell him about my time at WHO. It sort of became a thing that every time we met, he, again, would tell me some story about his time at WHO Radio. So that was my experience with the Reagan charm.

We disagreed on many important issues, but you could not come into contact with this man and not feel his personal warmth and charm. In fact, I have been struck this week by the bipartisan affection for this former President. He was the genuine article, a man who embodied so many of the traits we hold dear as Americans. We remember his conviction, his courage, his lack of pretentiousness, and, yes, his optimism.

On a personal note, I will always be grateful to President Reagan for signing into law my bill to establish the National Institute on Deafness and Communication Disorders at the National Institutes of Health in 1988. Quite frankly, his advisers urged him to veto the bill, but the President, who

himself suffered from hearing loss, vetoed his advisers. He signed the bill into law. As a result, we have had a series of medical breakthroughs that are helping millions of Americans cope with hearing loss and communication disorders.

Lastly, he and Nancy fought a heroic battle with Alzheimer's disease, and they did a great deal to raise the level of awareness and understanding of this terrible disease. I am especially proud of the courageous leadership Nancy Reagan has displayed in our efforts to find a cure for this deadly disease by her advocating a more expanded stem cell research program in America.

As I said, the most fitting way to pay tribute to President Reagan is not so much to mourn his death as to celebrate his life and to honor his service to our country. As he lies in state at the Capitol this week, a thankful American nation will say farewell to a truly unique American.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I rise today to pay tribute to an American legend, President Ronald Reagan. Like all Americans, I was saddened to learn of his passing over the weekend. I had left our Republican State convention at a time when it was moving across the floor that he might be in his final hours. Of course, all of us started reminiscing. It was a moment of great loss, but yet a recollection of his humor, his contagious optimism, and the historic accomplishments he made for our country really were comforting and engendered so many wonderful moments.

Although I was not a Member of this body while he was in office, I have lived and served under his conservative principles and ideologies. He was in his political prime when I was just beginning in politics. During his first campaign, my husband Ray was chairman of the Texas Republican Party and spent many hours traveling with him across Texas. In 1992, I was honored to be temporary chair of the Republican National Convention in Houston, TX, when he delivered his very important message that turned out to be his goodbye to America. It was there that he left us with these final thoughts:

Whatever else history may say about me when I'm gone, I hope it will record that I appealed to your best hopes, not your worst fears, to your confidence rather than your doubts. My dream is that you will travel the road ahead with liberty's lamp guiding your steps and opportunity's arm steadying your way. . . . May each of you have the heart to conceive, the understanding to direct, and the hand to execute works that will make the world a little better for your having been here. . . . My fellow Americans, may every dawn be a great new beginning for America and every evening bring us closer to that shining city upon a hill.

At a time of great despair in our Nation, Ronald Reagan came into office and restored hope. He was an unequaled champion of freedom, smaller

Government, and market-oriented principles. His philosophies guided our Nation to become the economic and military superpower it is today. Of course, he was often called the Great Communicator for his ability to give a rousing speech that could both rally the troops and yet make an individual in the crowd of thousands feel as if they were having a heart-to-heart talk.

Beyond his optimism, his confidence, and graceful charm was a man of action who implemented great change in the United States of America. Under his leadership, our Nation sowed seeds of prosperity and reduced regulatory burdens on small business. He lowered taxes for all Americans, including reducing the top marginal rate from an oppressive 70 percent to approximately half that, offering new incentives to create wealth and jobs and rebuild America.

He encouraged Americans to embrace their own destiny and realized that Government was not the answer to social ills; people were. Good people working in concert to better their communities and their fellow man could accomplish far more than bureaucracy, from his vantage point.

Perhaps most important, President Reagan took the steps to ultimately win the cold war. He pursued peace through strength and achieved an overwhelming victory that was inconceivable to a generation that was raised with fallout drills and backyard bunkers.

Who can forget the famous challenge he laid down when he cried, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall"? They were indeed great, dramatic words but more importantly words of action. Two and a half years later, what once seemed a permanent divider through the heart of Berlin was torn down piece by piece, section by section, until it was reduced to a pile of rubble.

Visitors to the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center in Washington, DC, can view a section of that wall donated by the people of Berlin in honor of the President and in recognition of his leadership. The segment, which is over 9 feet high and weighs almost 3 tons, is from a section of the wall near the Brandenburg Gate where President Reagan issued that challenge. It stands as a stark reminder of the great shift in global politics that spread freedom in Europe and encouraged new generations to pursue democracy.

Today, we again find ourselves in a fight for freedom. This generation, like their World War II grandparents and cold war parents, has been called to stand and fight for freedom. Today, we are grappling with a new threat: global terrorism, an enemy with no borders, no uniforms, no respect for traditional rules of war, and more importantly no respect for human life.

World War II took bitter years of fighting and sacrifice. The cold war took decades of dedication and patience. This battle against terrorism

requires all that and more. The question is: Will our generation meet the test? Will we have what it takes to win the peace? I believe we do. I believe the strength, perseverance, and patriotism that Ronald Reagan embodied will help see us through.

In 1987, he addressed a joint session of Congress saying:

Let it never be said of this generation of Americans that we became so obsessed with failure that we refused to take risks that could further the cause of peace and freedom in the world.

Since learning of his passing last weekend, elected officials, former Cabinet members, and newspapers across the world have been penning eulogies, remembrances, and tributes to the beloved President.

James Baker, his former Chief of Staff and Treasury Secretary:

President Reagan restored America's source of pride and confidence in itself. He was a wonderful person to work for and a truly great President. His willingness to stick to his principles changed the world.

Former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher:

He will be missed not only by those who knew him, and not only by the nation that he served so proudly and loved so deeply, but also by the millions of men and women who live in freedom today because of the policies he pursued. To have achieved so much against so many odds and with such humor and humanity made Ronald Reagan a truly great American hero.

Secretary of State Colin Powell, who served as his National Security Adviser, said:

President Reagan fueled the spirit of America. His smile, his optimism, his total belief in the ultimate triumph of democracy and freedom, and his willingness to act on that belief, helped end the Cold War and usher in a new and brighter phase of history.

Mikhail Gorbachev, once Reagan's adversary, called him:

A true leader, a man of his word and an optimist . . . He has earned a place in history and in people's hearts.

Finally, his Vice President, later our President, George H.W. Bush, has been giving interviews about how much fun he was and how they had lunch every week together and sometimes they would talk substance, sometimes they would talk policy, and sometimes they would just have a good time. They were very close, and yet he never lost that laser beam focus on the big issues, the things that really mattered that would move us one step toward the peace through strength that was his guiding principle.

Indeed, his lasting place in the hearts of all Americans has been evidenced by the outpouring of love and admiration that we have seen across the Nation and around the world. Ronald Reagan was a leader who touched people with his words, inspired them with his actions, and led by his example.

On November 5, 1994, nearly a decade ago, President Reagan announced to the world that he had been diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease, the illness

that would ultimately take his life. His poise and hopeful spirit, even in the face of the heartbreaking years ahead, were remarkable. He said:

. . . Let me thank you, the American people, for giving me the great honor of allowing me to serve as your president. When the Lord calls me home, whenever that day may be, I will leave with the greatest love for this country of ours and eternal optimism for its future. I now begin the journey that will lead me into the sunset of my life. I know that for America there will always be a bright dawn ahead. Thank you, my friends. May God always bless you.

Standing by his side through good times and bad, his beloved wife Nancy, a beautiful woman, very slight in stature but strong as steel. Theirs was a partnership in every respect and one of the great love stories of our time. Ronald Wilson Reagan was a great President. He left an indelible impression on our country. As we say farewell, our thoughts and prayers are with Nancy and his family. We thank them and we thank the Lord that he gave us Ronald Reagan at a time when our country needed him the most.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. SUNUNU. Madam President, as Americans gather in our Capitol and across the country to remember and pay tribute to President Ronald Reagan, we have been provided a very special opportunity to reflect on his great achievements as our Commander in Chief, as well as the tremendous personal strength which he brought to the Oval Office.

But as we salute President Reagan for his leadership, his integrity, and his vision, I am struck by the very personal nature of so many of these memories and stories. Whether here in Washington or out across the country, whether it is a U.S. Senator or a teacher in a small school, it seems that so many of these recollections begin with phrases such as, "I remember seeing him during his first visit to our State," or "I shook his hand when he visited our factory," or "I recall a story that President Reagan loved to tell," or even "because of Ronald Reagan, I chose to run for office."

These recollections are enormously personal, but I think they are a testament to the way he touched people in a very deep and unique way. He affected the lives of millions of people in America and around the world in countless encounters. Many of these encounters may have been for only a moment or two in a life that spanned decades, but his gift was in his ability to make a strong connection that had real power, the power to bridge genera-

tions, the power to last a lifetime, and the power to change a life as well.

We remember his touch, his smile, and his encouragement, not simply because when he walked into a room Ronald Reagan conveyed a great personal warmth. That was certainly special in and of itself, and something that anyone who had the chance to meet him or see him in person would always remember, but it was because this personal connection conveyed a sense of purpose, a sense of kindness, and an enormous love for public service. That was the power of the Great Communicator, the power of the personal connection that he made.

I consider this the greatest tribute of all. Despite the myriad and extraordinary legislative and foreign policy victories of President Reagan such as cutting taxes and reforming the code, rebuilding our Nation's defenses, turning back the Soviets in Afghanistan, or leading the West to a lasting victory in the cold war—despite the enormous substance of these achievements, Ronald Reagan, in the end, is not remembered first and foremost as a clever politician with great machinations of political strategy or hardball political tactics. Instead, the descriptive words that we heard here and across the country over and over again are integrity, character, courage, and leadership. These are qualities that transcend politics and qualities that transcend time. They are qualities that inspire the young and comfort the aged. They are the qualities of heroes.

Ronald Reagan was fond of describing the heroes he saw in audiences at every speech he made or heroes he would see as he traveled across the country in every corner of America and coming from every walk of life. He saw in these men and women the very strength of character, courage, integrity, and leadership that he knew made our country unique and which kept our country prosperous and free. But by bringing these very same qualities to the Oval Office and drawing on them time and time again to guide our Nation through demanding and even dark times, he left a legacy that shined like the city on a hill which he knew America could be and would again become. It is a heroic legacy, and it is the legacy of a great American.

Thank you, Madam 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. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGEL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in paying profound respects to our late President Ronald Reagan, and I do so with a deep, deep sense of humility.

It is interesting, I walked into my reception room just the other day. No

matter how long one is around here, I think you sort of have to go back and refresh your recollection as to what you put up in your reception room, and I found six different photographs of myself with the good fortune to be in the presence of our former great President.

I think back over my 26 years in the Senate, having had the privilege of working with all the Presidents in that period of time and, prior thereto, those Presidents when I was in the Department of Defense. Again, I say with a deep sense of respect and humility, I believe it is clear in my mind that I had the greatest opportunity to work with President Reagan, and probably had more opportunities to be with him in a professional capacity than any other President.

I was ranking for a period of time on the Armed Services Committee and in every way supported him in his remarkable vision to build and restore the Armed Forces of the United States, which buildup, in my judgment, was a major contributor, if not the major contributor, to the eventual demise of the Soviet Union.

There are several pictures of when he visited my home, which was a farm in Virginia, a farm in an area where I grew up in the summers as a very young man. He loved coming down to the farm. My farm was adjacent to the home of former President Kennedy, and the owner at that time was Bill Clements, who was a former Deputy Secretary of Defense. I served under him as Secretary of the Navy. He and I were very close friends. I introduced him to that countryside, and he bought the Kennedy home, which is a very small, modest home, reconstructed, so to speak, and enlarged by President Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy, his lovely, dear wife.

President Ronald Reagan and Bill Clements set it up so he could come down there and spend some quiet downtime. And he loved to ride horses. In those days, I had a pretty good collection of horses, and I was happy to share them with him on occasion. He rode around on my farm. I certainly enjoyed being with him on several occasions. I have one of the pictures of the two of us riding together.

I mention that because in that informal setting when there was just the two of us riding horses—I remember one time Mrs. Reagan was with us—this particular time I remember very well. We rode high up on the hill on the back of the farm. The hill has a vista down into the valley of Virginia. We checked the horses and began to talk about his great admiration for Stonewall Jackson and the various campaigns Jackson had up and down that valley during the Civil War.

I was so impressed with his remarkable knowledge of the facts of that period of history, and in later years, in other discussions with him, again he would frequently make reference to the history of the United States. His

knowledge was really second to none. He had a magnificent command of American history.

But on this particular day, he reflected on a little self-deprecating humor, which he was very good at. He told me when Pearl Harbor occurred, he was a lieutenant in the Army Reserve Cavalry, again because he loved horses, he loved to ride. He promptly went down, Pearl Harbor Day or the day after, whatever the case may be, and said: I want to be activated. And sure enough, he was eventually activated. He wanted to take, as we say in the horse world, the bit in his teeth and charge—"Send me right away out to the front."

I remember he gestured with his hand. But, no, they sent him to an old cavalry post, which was down in one of the Indian territories, and he laughed and joked and said: When we put those posts out there, the primary thing was to secure the settlers and to hopefully strike a peaceful balance with the Indians and make life such that those territories could be developed.

But he said: I did a little homework—as he always did—before I went to this cavalry post and studied who the commanding officer and the other officers were.

Well, in those days, the custom in the military, particularly the Army, was that when a soldier reported, perhaps with his wife, whatever the case may be, the commanding officer would have them over to pay their respects, to get to know each other as soon as they arrived on the post. In the old days with the covered wagons, it was a long journey. By the time they reached their destination, they were pretty well exhausted—food and otherwise. So this was a chance to introduce them.

Reagan described the evening with great humor. He said: I walked in and there was the little colonel. He was a rather short fellow. He was all dressed in his uniform, with his riding boots, his Sam Browne belt. I was there in my lieutenant's uniform. He greeted me very warmly. He looked at me.

And President Reagan had a remarkable way of cocking his head. His body language was extraordinary. His walk, his mannerism, it was a great part of his character that I admired, how he conveyed so much feeling with just the way he would use his hands and his head, his stride. It emulated such tremendous confidence he had in himself.

But anyway, the colonel said: Now, Reagan, where have I seen you? Do I know you?

Lieutenant Reagan said: No, sir, we have never met.

The colonel failed to guess. He circled back again and said: Look here, young man, I know somehow I have seen you. Let's figure out where that was. What do you do?

And Lieutenant Reagan said: Well, sir, I am involved in making movies.

Suddenly this colonel became silent. Then he said: That is where I have seen you. You were in that movie called

"Brother Rat," which was about the Virginia Military Institute, and that movie didn't exactly, in my judgment, properly characterize the magnificence of that institute. As a matter of fact, I think it reflected dishonor upon that institute. And I remember you were in that movie. Lieutenant, your duty on this post is over. I will transfer you.

In due course the President said he was transferred off the post, but I mention that because those of us who had the opportunity to be with him, particularly in informal settings, remember so well the magnificence of this man, the lessons he taught each of us.

Again, going back to those days in the buildup of the Soviet Union, he was very conscious of the fact that the Soviet Union was on pretty shaky financial status at that stage and that the cold war posed a threat to the United States—intercontinental missiles, the threat to the standard forces of NATO, the Warsaw Pact nations, all of which are now, save one, members of NATO.

Those of us who worked in the Senate—I remember John Stennis and Barry Goldwater, Scoop Jackson, John Tower, to name but a few—formed a group to work with the President in a bipartisan way on trying to strengthen America such that we could send a strong signal to the world, particularly the Soviet Union, that we mean business. Don't ever entertain the idea of striking out against the free world, be it the United States or our NATO allies.

And the rest is history. "Tear down that wall, Mr. Gorbachev." And that wall did come down. Those were extraordinary days I was able to share with him, and I say that with the deepest sense of humility. But I don't want to prolong my remarks.

I do want to tell one other chapter. Just a few days ago I was a part of a delegation that went over to the Normandy 60th anniversary. Senator AKAKA was with me and the distinguished Senator from New Jersey and his lovely new bride were with me. So there were three of us who had some experience in World War II, of the six here in the Senate. We spent a wonderful day at the ceremonies. But the next day we took time to go out to Pointe du Hoc. It was fascinating.

There on June 6, 2004, I had been on that same spot of land 20 years before with Ronald Reagan. I remember the delegation. Strom Thurmond led it. Three of us went with him. Of course, Senator Thurmond had made a landing on the beaches on D-day. Other Senators, the Senator from Nevada, and Howard Cannon had likewise participated in the D-day landings. Of course, I was at that time the youngster, 17 years old, in that group back in the United States getting prepared to take our training and become replacements someday. That is all history. There I stood on that ground, and he had passed away within that 24-hour period.

So I thought today I would read some of the remarks he made.

I ask unanimous consent to print the entire speech, a very short speech, in the RECORD.

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

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPEECH IN NORMANDY  
ON D-DAY 40TH ANNIVERSARY  
JUNE 6, 2004

We're here to mark that day in history when the Allied peoples joined in battle to reclaim this continent to liberty. For four long years, much of Europe had been under a terrible shadow. Free nations had fallen, Jews cried out in the camps, millions cried out for liberation. Europe was enslaved, and the world prayed for its rescue. Here in Normandy the rescue began. Here the Allies stood and fought against tyranny in a giant undertaking unparalleled in human history.

We stand on a lonely, windswept point on the northern shore of France. The air is soft, but forty years ago at this moment, the air was dense with smoke and the cries of men, and the air was filled with the crack of rifle fire and the roar of cannon. At dawn, on the morning of the 6th of June 1944, 225 Rangers jumped off the British landing craft and ran to the bottom of these cliffs. Their mission was one of the most difficult and daring of the invasion: to climb these sheer and desolate cliffs and take out the enemy guns. The Allies had been told that some of the mightiest of these guns were here and they would be trained on the beaches to stop the Allied advance.

The Rangers looked up and saw the enemy soldiers—at the edge of the cliffs shooting down at them with machine-guns and throwing grenades. And the American Rangers began to climb. They shot rope ladders over the face of these cliffs and began to pull themselves up. When one Ranger fell, another would take his place. When one rope was cut, a Ranger would grab another and begin his climb again. They climbed, shot back, and held their footing. Soon, one by one, the Rangers pulled themselves over the top, and in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs, they began to seize back the continent of Europe. Two hundred and twenty-five came here. After two days of fighting only ninety could still bear arms.

Behind me is a memorial that symbolizes the Ranger daggers that were thrust into the top of these cliffs. And before me are the men who put them there.

These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent. These are the heroes who helped end a war.

Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life . . . and left the vivid air signed with your honor". . .

Forty summers have passed since the battle that you fought here. You were young the day you took these cliffs; some of you were hardly more than boys, with the deepest joys of life before you. Yet you risked everything here. Why? Why did you do it? What impelled you to put aside the instinct for self-preservation and risk your lives to take these cliffs? What inspired all the men of the armies that met here? We look at you, and somehow we know the answer. It was faith, and belief; it was loyalty and love.

The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beach-head or on the next. It was the deep knowledge—and pray God we have not lost it—that there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of

force for conquest. You were here to liberate, not to conquer, and so you and those others did not doubt your cause. And you were right not to doubt.

You all knew that some things are worth dying for. One's country is worth dying for, and democracy is worth dying for, because it's the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised by man. All of you loved liberty. All of you were willing to fight tyranny, and you knew the people of your countries were behind you.

Mr. WARNER. I thought I would read part of this very moving speech. It starts midway in the speech and lays out the history of the brave men who participated in D-day landings, and in particular the Rangers.

Behind me is a memorial that symbolizes the Ranger daggers that were first thrust into the top of these cliffs. And before me are the men who put them there.

These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent. These are the heroes who helped end a war.

Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life . . . and left a vivid air signed with your honor". . .

Forty summers have passed since the battle that you fought here. You were young the day you took these cliffs; some of you were hardly more than boys, with the deepest joys of life before you. Yet you risked everything here. Why? Why did you do it? What compelled you to put aside the instinct for self-preservation and risk your lives to take these cliffs? What inspired all the men of the armies that met here? We look at you, and somehow we know the answer. It was faith and belief; it was loyalty and love.

The men of Normandy had faith that they were doing what was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beach-head or on the next. It was the deep knowledge—and pray God we have not lost it—that there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. You were there to liberate, not to conquer, and so you and those others did not doubt your cause. And you were right not to doubt.

You all knew that some things are worth dying for. One's country is worth dying for, and democracy is worth dying for, because it's the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised by man. All of you loved liberty. All of you were willing to fight tyranny, and you knew the people of your countries were behind you.

The Presiding Officer, with his distinguished military service, understands, as do I, those words. The vision that he had not only for America but the free world, the strength of his convictions, the strength of his actions—it reestablished the strength of the Armed Forces which today have carried on, since that speech, with missions in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq, and other areas of the world.

It takes time to restructure and build up a military. I find this President is doing just that, President Bush. I am happy and privileged to be a part of the team that is working in the Senate to achieve that. As a matter of fact, the bill for the Armed Forces in 2005 is the current business before the Senate.

Before I leave the speech, I was privileged, because of Senator Thurmond

and the other Senators with me, we were not more than 15, 20 yards from the President when he gave the speech, right on this little spit of land that I visited 2 days ago.

And suddenly you saw the Secret Service men sort of break and go off and quickly perform the duties they have to protect the President. There was this figure which came up the cliff unexpectedly, unannounced, because there had been a reenactment with men of the Armed Forces currently on duty to scale the cliffs for all to see. So that part was over. Yet suddenly there appeared another individual who had scaled the cliffs and the Secret Service tackled him. I remember the President, always composed, stood there and looked at this scene. Suddenly, an aide went over and whispered in his ear and the President went over and grasped this man and gave him a hug. He was one of the original rangers who scaled that cliff. He wanted to show the President and the world that he was still able to do it. He had bits and pieces of his own uniform on.

Last, what are the ways in which we can honor this great President? Our hearts are so filled with gratitude and a sense of deep remorse at his loss. But it was his wisdom and foresight that strengthened America's military, and I think that requires some special recognition. I don't have all the answers now. I will be happy to work with others.

I am not trying to be the sole author of anything, but some thought has been given to the Department of Defense—and I went back last night and did a little research, and this morning I called the former Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, a very dear and valued friend, under whom I served as Secretary of the Navy, and we reminisced about our days and some of the initiatives he took. He mentioned one specifically. There was some thought about naming the Department of Defense building for President Eisenhower. After some very considerable thought, the decision was made not to do that. One of the main reasons—and I remember this very well—is that that building stands as a symbol of the bipartisanship that must be present as we work with the men and women in the Armed Forces. I strive to achieve that, as does the Presiding Officer and many others.

I am proud of the committee on which I have served—Armed Services—for 26 years, under a series of chairmen and ranking members. We have always tried to put partisanship aside and we have been successful. But it is important that the building be viewed as bipartisan.

Therefore, I remember Secretary Laird saying the naming of the building was not, in his judgment, what we should do. He confirmed that this morning, and I shared that feeling. He said he conceived the idea of naming a corridor for General Eisenhower. There is a technical thing there. The corridor



is named after him as a general of the Armed Forces, a five-star general. His picture in uniform and many other pieces of memorabilia are along the corridor by the office of the Secretary of Defense. Previous Secretaries of Defense have honored the commanders in chief, the Presidents. So there is a corridor set aside for the commanders in chief, with portraits of every President since George Washington. Five living Presidents are there. You have Ford, Carter, George Herbert Walker Bush, President Clinton, and our current President Bush. All of their portraits are there. The way the Department of Defense has handled this in the past is to treat with equality the Presidents and their portraits, the recognition being bipartisan in nature in that building.

We will have to put our minds together to see how best to do it. There is no question that Ronald Reagan gave a tremendous impetus to the concept of defending this Nation against missiles—missiles fired in anger or accidentally. Those things happen. He had the star wars concept. I was on the committee and we looked at this program. We began to do the initial work in the Congress to give support to the President's program. But eventually, from the standpoint of technology and costs, we looked at different ways to achieve our defense against missiles. It started way back under President Reagan when we put emphasis on this situation. Some of the thinking preceded President Reagan on how to defend this country against missiles. Today, we don't have a thing to interdict an intercontinental ballistic missile that would be fired in the direction of our 50 States. That is a separate matter.

Therefore, I think we have to give a lot of careful thought and be ever mindful of how we recognize our commanders, with five still living, in terms of their contributions to the defense of this country. We will come up with an idea. I hope we can, in some way, appropriately recognize this great President for his extraordinary accomplishments in strengthening America.

I conclude my remarks with the deepest sense of humility and gratitude toward the recollection, modest friendship, and the teachings I received from this great President.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The distinguished Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, today and this week, as we pause to reflect on the life of Ronald Reagan and his role in leading our Nation and the State in

which I lived when I was in the Navy, I was thinking back and talking with my children this week about my first recollection of Ronald Reagan.

My first recollection was when I was about their age, early in my teenage years, seeing him on television. I may have seen him earlier than that as a kid in the movies, but I do not remember. I remember fully—and the Presiding Officer is probably too young to remember this—a television show called "Death Valley Days" and watched later, I remember, a television show called "GE Theater." He was the host and introduced each week's segment. My family would watch those shows, not religiously, but regularly. I enjoyed them as a kid growing up in Danville, VA.

At the time, Ronald Reagan, who, I guess, was maybe in his fifties at that time, or maybe forties, had a reasonably successful career in motion pictures, certainly a lot more successful than any of us, except for former Senator Fred Thompson. But he had a reasonably successful career. We were in this in-between place where television was coming of age and playing a role with respect to "Death Valley Days" and "GE Theater."

I remember my first thoughts of him were that he was a nice-looking guy, a handsome kind of rugged fellow. He seemed to be amiable. He came across as amiable and exuded a certain warmth and also a sense of sincerity that came across clearly on that small television screen that we owned back in those days.

I remember being surprised in 1964. I think I was 17 years old. I was about to enroll in Ohio State University. I was going to be a Navy ROTC midshipman. I was at the age of 17 a young Republican for Barry Goldwater. I do not know how I ended up on this side of the aisle. Churchill said: If you are young and not liberal, you don't have a heart; if you are old and not conservative, you don't have a brain. Somehow I ended up as a 17-year-old supporting Barry Goldwater.

I remember watching the convention which was in San Francisco at the Cow Palace. Ironically, another one of our colleagues was there as a Goldwater supporter, too. She was there as a "golden girl." Her seat is right behind me. It is ironic we both ended up where we are in the U.S. Senate. I remember watching on television the 1964 Republican Convention and actually watching the Democratic Convention that year.

I remember being surprised to see Ronald Reagan speak and address the convention. I knew he had been a film star. I knew he played a role on these two television shows I watched as a kid growing up, but I had no idea. I heard he had been involved in the Actors Guild, sort of a labor union for actors, but I had no idea he was involved in politics to any extent and that he would end up with a major role at that convention speaking on behalf of Barry Goldwater.

He came across in this speech a bit differently than he did in his other roles on television, but he did project a great deal of sincerity, a lot of conviction.

He also suggested a good-naturedness and a certain warmth I have always found refreshing and enduring about him.

We learned that evening, as we watched that speech, that this was a man who had some strong convictions and gave a powerful speech and one who got a lot of people to think about him as a future leader. Not long after that, he was elected Governor of California, served there for the most part with distinction and then ran against Gerald Ford for President, lost and came back a couple of years later, ran against Jimmy Carter and won.

It is interesting, conventions were different then. The first convention I ever remember paying much attention to was in 1964. It was a convention with serious questions about who was going to be the President.

We had the Republicans. Conservatives were supporting Barry Goldwater and we had the Rockefeller Republicans. There was a lot of give and take, and real primaries. It was hard fought right up until the convention.

I remember in 1968 I was a supporter for Eugene McCarthy who was running for President. I respected both McCarthy and Goldwater because they were standup guys. They were willing to take tough positions and not mince their words. I respected them both for that. Conventions were different than they are today.

Although I was impressed by the speech that then-citizen Ronald Reagan gave, I never imagined he would be Governor of California, and I certainly never imagined he would be President of the United States. I never imagined I would be a Congressman, Governor, or Senator, either. I am probably more surprised by that than I am about him ending up as Governor and President.

As luck would have it, he ended up as President of the United States and I ended up here serving with our Presiding Officer, and that is something I enjoy very much.

Before I was Governor, I served in the House of Representatives for 10 years. Ronald Reagan was elected President in 1980; I was elected to the House in 1982. I had a chance to interact with him from time to time during limited opportunities as a Democratic Congressman. He had qualities I admired all those years ago when he was hosting those television shows. His warmth, his sincerity, his good humor, those were qualities he possessed in the real world off the TV screen.

Sometimes the folks we see or admire on television and film or other venues do not turn out to be quite the same when we meet them in person. He was very much the same.

While I did not always see eye to eye with him on environmental issues, for

example, and I had concerns about the budget deficits we were starting to rack up, and questions about deploying space weapons, star wars, and the way we conducted our business in Central America, there was a lot he wanted to do and sought to do with which I did agree. He was an early proponent of welfare reform. He was a guy who believed work should pay more than welfare. We have all heard of the earned income tax credit. He was a major proponent of the earned income tax credit because he felt people who worked ought to be better off than folks who were on welfare.

He presided over big tax cuts in the early 1980s, 1981, and later on, faced with ever-growing tax deficits, he presided over some of the largest tax increases that were adopted in our Nation's history.

He was a staunch opponent of communism, but a fellow who could reach out not just across the aisle but across the world to Gorbachev to become friends, and they embraced one another at the end of their tenures as they together helped to change the world in a better way.

I find in Ronald Reagan that he was someone who would stake out a position; he would adhere to that position with his convictions for as long as he could, and at the end, if he had to change, he would. He was willing to do that, but he did not back off easily or readily. He was willing in the end to compromise.

In reacting to folks in my own State in Delaware this week who asked me for my reaction to what he was like, I said, well, whether or not you liked the man's policies, it was hard not to like the man.

Since his death, there has been a fair amount of conjecture about what we should do to pay tribute to him and his memory. Some people have suggested we ought to rework Mount Rushmore and find a way to put his image on Mount Rushmore. We have had a few people suggest maybe Ronald Reagan's picture should be on the \$10 bill instead of Alexander Hamilton. I heard our Republican leader suggest yesterday that maybe we should rename the Pentagon in honor of Ronald Reagan. I do not know that those are good or bad ideas. I have not given those a lot of thought.

I ask we consider a couple of other legacies that might even be more important and more enduring. One of those deals with the disease that dogged him for the last years of his life, Alzheimer's disease, a disease my mom also suffers from. She lives in Kentucky. I visited her over the weekend. She does not remember much. Actually, she remembers a few things that happened a long time ago, but she does not have any recollection of Ronald Reagan and all of those years we watched him on television when I was a kid growing up.

My mom is going to be 82 years this August and my hope is she will live to be as old as Ronald Reagan. I do not

think that is likely, but that would be wonderful if it happened. My mom is one of 4 million people in the world today who suffers from Alzheimer's disease. It was something we saw the first signs of 5, 6, 7 years ago, and we knew where it was leading. Her mom suffered the same fate. Her grandmother had suffered the same fate as well.

While there are roughly 4 million Americans today who suffer from Alzheimer's disease, by the year 2020 we are told there could be as many as 14 million Americans who suffer from Alzheimer's disease. It is a tough disease not so much for the person who suffers from it but certainly for their families and those who love them and who are unable to have the kind of relationship we once did.

I know Senator MIKULSKI is going to be leading the effort, I think with Senator BOND, for us to focus anew as a Congress, as a Senate, on providing meaningful increases in funding to find a cure for Alzheimer's disease; not simply a way to treat the symptoms, but a way to stop it dead in its tracks. I commend them for their actions and I stand fully ready to support them. I hope others will as well.

The other legacy I suggest that may be as important or we may be inspired to address and do something about other than dealing with Alzheimer's disease is civility. I am not the first person who has noticed this of late, but there has been a huge loss of civility not only in Washington, DC, but shortly after I heard of President Reagan's death I was flipping through the radio channels in my car and I came across one of these right-wing talk shows. There was pure vitriol coming out of the speaker on my radio. I find it hard to listen to that stuff so I turned it off. I find it hard to watch the television shows anymore because it seems there is no meaningful discourse; they are really shouting matches.

Ronald Reagan, for whatever faults he may have had, was a civil person, he was a gentleman, and at a time when that kind of behavior characterizes too little of what not only goes on here but what takes place in politics throughout our country, he is a good role model in that the way he treated people was the way he would like to have been treated. It is a lesson that was good and meaningful then and it is one we can certainly take again today.

I have heard our own leader, TOM DASCHLE, begin to speak of late of a new civility, and we need a new civility. We need some civility, not going through the formalities, but treating one another the way we would want to be treated; not just in this Chamber, not just in this Capitol, but throughout this country, even in a Presidential election year.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. President, as one of the two Senators from Illinois, I am very proud of Ronald Reagan and

his contributions to this country. Ronald Reagan is the only American President who was, in fact, born in Illinois. Many people think of Abraham Lincoln as having been born in Illinois, but he was actually born in Kentucky and later moved there. Of course, I think there is no question that Ronald Reagan will join Abraham Lincoln as one of our Nation's greatest Presidents. I only want to say a few words about him.

I didn't actually serve in the Senate when he was President. I didn't ever have the opportunity to get to know him. I did, however, get the opportunity to meet him once as a very young man, when I was about 20 years old or so and he was campaigning for President in 1980.

But my first real recollection of him came from watching his address on television in 1976 at the Republican National Convention. He had lost the primaries to incumbent President Gerald Ford but had nonetheless had a very strong showing. He gave a speech at that 1976 convention that literally brought down the house and fired up the delegates. I remember watching that at home and thinking, What an outstanding leader. You could see that this man certainly still had a great contribution to make.

He won against all the odds. All the pundits and many of the commentators dismissed Ronald Reagan. They thought he was too old. They thought he was too conservative to run and be elected President in 1980. But he proved them all wrong.

I think a pivotal moment came in 1980 during his primary elections. At that time he lost the Iowa caucuses and he had a lot of pressure on him to win the New Hampshire primary. Many of us will recall that New Hampshire primary debate where he grabbed the microphone as they tried to shut it off. He grabbed the microphone and said: "Mr. Green, I paid for this microphone." He wanted his other opponents to be allowed the opportunity to speak at that debate, as opposed to just having a one-on-one debate with George Bush, who later became his Vice President and succeeded him as President.

I remember watching that Nashua, NH, debate in 1980 from the basement television room of my fraternity house in Hanover, NH, at Dartmouth College. I was very much paying attention to that primary because it was happening in New Hampshire where I was attending college. I will never forget seeing Ronald Reagan in that debate and his remarkable performance.

Later, in 1980, I had the opportunity to meet him when he came to Illinois to campaign for a U.S. Senate candidate in October of 1980, about a month before Reagan was elected President. I was actually an intern on the campaign of a fellow by the name of Dave O'Neal who was running for the Senate in Illinois. He actually lost. But as an intern on that campaign, I had the opportunity to meet Ronald



Reagan and to welcome him into the back room before we had the dinner in honor of Dave O'Neal.

I will never forget Ronald Reagan. Everybody called him Governor at that time. That was the most recent office he had. They didn't call him President Reagan yet. But when he walked into the holding room, the bartender immediately told him: Governor Reagan, we have squeezed some fresh oranges for you. We have some freshly squeezed orange juice for you. Would you like some of this?

Governor Reagan looked at him and said: I'll take it if you put a little vodka in that.

I was struck immediately at the time by his charm and his sense of humor and his relaxed nature, even though he was just a few weeks out from the election day in what everyone thought would be a very close election with President Carter. But, of course, as we know, Ronald Reagan went on to win in a landslide.

He had a remarkable career. He was an enormous source of inspiration to me as I was finishing college and going on to law school. I was very proud at the time to be a Republican and to have him as the leader of our party, but also to be an American and have him lead our country and represent us in the world. I thought he handled himself with incredible poise and dignity.

His achievements are monumental. You will recall that he had few allies in Congress. The other party controlled both Houses of Congress while he was President. Yet he was able to work his will through Congress by calling upon the American people to lobby Congress for some of his important initiatives, such as lowering taxes. President Reagan succeeded in lowering the highest tax rates, which at that time were up to 70 percent. He dramatically lowered the tax rates and unleashed a flurry of economic activity that is with us today.

He went on to achieve major arms control agreements, and also, with the threat of his willingness to spend whatever it took to defend our country—his will in that regard, his sheer will to succeed in defeating what he saw as an evil ideology, communism—in ending the cold war with the Soviet Union, he ultimately succeeded in doing that. No one has a greater claim on ending the cold war than Ronald Reagan and, as Margaret Thatcher has said, he did so without firing a single shot.

I think one of his greatest accomplishments occurred in his second term, and that was the simplifying of the Tax Code. If you recall, we went for a time where we got rid of a lot of the Swiss cheese loopholes and deductions that are in our Tax Code. We dramatically simplified the Tax Code, collapsed the rates, and it held for a few years. We have gone back now and allowed all the special interests to fill up the Tax Code with all sorts of special interest loopholes and giveaways to politically connected interests. Some-

times I wish we were rereading what Ronald Reagan said at the time about the necessity of cleaning up that Tax Code.

One of the most cherished treasures in the State of Illinois is the boyhood home in which Ronald Reagan grew up in the 1920s, in Dixon, IL. That home has been purchased and lovingly restored by a foundation and by members of the Dixon, IL, community. It is a wonderful place for Americans who want to pay their respects to Ronald Reagan and his legacy, to go by and visit on Interstate 88 in Dixon, IL, just off Interstate 88. I certainly hope a lot more Americans who are interested in the history of Ronald Reagan will visit that home.

Ronald Reagan himself went back to visit it, I believe, after he left the White House even. He has recounted many tales of his growing up there.

He was actually born in Tampico, IL, in an apartment above a commercial building in downtown Tampico, and later moved to Dixon, IL. Some of his fondest memories are of growing up in Dixon, along the Rock River.

Of course, many people will remember Ronald Reagan talking about one of his proudest accomplishments in life was actually saving 77 people from drowning over the 7 years that he was a lifeguard along the Rock River in Dixon, IL.

If you go to Dixon, IL, you can see this wonderful small town that shaped Ronald Reagan, his character, his values, his common sense, his Midwestern way of thinking, of looking at the world. I don't think that ever left him.

There is also an interesting story not many people are aware of, but President Reagan wrote about this in his biography. He graduated from Eureka College, about 130 miles south of Dixon, in Illinois. After graduating from college, he went back to Dixon and he applied for a job in the sporting goods department, I believe, at a Montgomery Ward store in Dixon, IL.

Guess what happened. Montgomery Ward turned down Ronald Reagan for that job. That set him off in different pursuits, and he ultimately went to Iowa and became an announcer, did Cubs games from a regional radio station there. But he wrote in his biography he wonders what would have happened had he actually gotten that job at the Montgomery Ward store in Dixon, IL. He suspected he might never have left Dixon, IL.

We need to thank somebody who failed to hire Ronald Reagan at Montgomery Ward in 1932, I think, because it was that little twist, that little turn in his life that turned out for the better, not only for him but certainly for our entire Nation and the world.

I ask that we not forget the example of Ronald Reagan and his cheerful optimism about our country and our future. No one could communicate their thoughts as well as Ronald Reagan, in my judgment. I know of no equal he had in public service in terms of com-

municating with people. He was an inspiring leader.

Ronald Reagan came to the presidency of a self-doubting nation, a nation more suspicious of its power than inspired by its possibilities. And he understood—as magnificently as any American leader—the restorative force of faith, of conviction, of pride. He was the Great Communicator, not because he mastered the sound bite, but because this midwestern man of 10,000 handwritten letters knew that words matter—words with simple, self-evident integrity, words that reach into the vagueness of a volatile democracy and perfectly describe the essential goodness of our character.

Ronald Reagan returned us to ourselves. He did not work miracles. But he emboldened us to see the grace of God in the destiny of our great Nation. He enabled us to hear the still, small voice in the clamor of great historical conflicts. He reminded us to treasure the simple miracles of life, laughter and love.

This man, who survived into the 21st century, embodied as perhaps none other the panoramic sweep of America's 10th century. Reagan was born in the small town of Tampico, IL. It was 1911, the year of the first coast-to-coast airplane flight, a 49-day ordeal with 69 stops and 16 crash landings. It was also the year of the first aircraft landing—crude though it was—on a ship anchored in San Francisco Bay. A series of ropes stopped the aircraft. Ninety years later, on March 4, 2001, the United States christened the Navy's newest Nimitz-class aircraft carrier, the USS *Ronald Reagan*, a 90,000-ton nuclear-powered fighting ship, and the pride of the most powerful navy in the world.

Ronald Reagan fundamentally changed the face of American politics—and profusely contributed his name to the new political lexicon. What American before or since Ronald Reagan has become the popular namesake for a theory of economics, a political and electoral sea change, and a decisive partisan crossover? I speak of Reaganomics, the Reagan Revolution, and Reagan Democrats.

The man was that large. He had strong and distinct views which he was able to communicate with remarkable effectiveness. He had an irresistibly winning personality and was irrepressibly optimistic. Though the establishment of both political parties often ridiculed his beliefs, the people somehow always seemed to have faith and confidence in him. In fact, they loved as perhaps they have loved no other President in modern history.

Conventional intellectuals and comfortable pundits were aghast when President Reagan spoke so freely of "evil" in the world. In a world where "evil" is neatly banished because it is too judgmental, the moral declarations of Ronald Reagan were inevitably revolutionary. The Great Communicator

understood perfectly well that communication without a moral compass becomes all talk. And so we are the heirs of a more civilized and less menacing world because Ronald Reagan had the courage to maintain firm beliefs and to stand up for those beliefs.

As a Senator from Illinois, I am proud to remark briefly and comparatively about another great son of Illinois, the only President to be elected from Illinois, Kentucky-born but Illinois-settled Abraham Lincoln, whom our history honors as few others. Lincoln and Reagan both grew up humbly and gained a natural comfort with people from all walks of life. They were both frequently underestimated by opponents who imagined themselves intellectually, culturally or socially superior. They both possessed an equanimity and fortitude that kept them serene while navigating treacherous waters. They both loved the United States of America. And they both cherished American freedom and staked their public lives on the resolute promotion of it—for Lincoln, against the forces of disunity and enslavement at home, and for Reagan, against a godless imperial tyranny abroad. I am proud to hail from the State of Illinois.

When we finally measure the worth of a statesman, the words of political or ideological adversaries can speak volumes. And here Ronald Reagan—a statesman with many more converts than implacable enemies—is a shining beacon in his own shining city. When President Clinton announced in 1996 that “the era of big government is over,” it was homage to the durable influence—across the political landscape—of Ronald Reagan’s faith in the American people. When Mikhail Gorbachev recently said of Ronald Reagan, “he was sincere,” he captured with fitting simplicity the worldwide power of the American dream in the hands of America’s finest dreamer.

Ronald Reagan stayed the course, throughout and after his presidency, until a progressive illness consumed him. Indeed, sliding irretrievably into forgetfulness a decade ago, Ronald Reagan remembered to say goodbye to his beloved American people. “When the Lord calls me home, whenever that may be, I will leave with the greatest love for this country of ours and eternal optimism for its future,” Reagan wrote. “I now begin the journey that will lead me into the sunset of my life. I know that for America there will always be a bright dawn ahead. Thank you my friends. May God always bless you.”

May God rest his soul, and may God bless Nancy Reagan, who is also from Illinois, and all the Reagan children and their families.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUNUNU). The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I join my colleague from Illinois in paying tribute to the late President Ronald Reagan.

Today the Senate passed by an overwhelming vote a resolution commemorating Ronald Reagan for his service to America and recalling his legacy.

There has been a lot said on the floor about President Reagan. I come to this task with a little different perspective than some. Were it not for Ronald Reagan, I wouldn’t be in the Senate today. I say that because I made three vain and futile attempts to be elected to public office. In 1982, I ran for the House of Representatives against an incumbent Republican Congressman. Were it not for the sorry state of the economy in Illinois after the first 2 years of President Reagan’s Presidency, I would have lost. But because of the economy and the troubles faced at that moment in time, I was successful in my campaign against a long-time Republican incumbent Congressman.

I will not mislead anyone before making these remarks. I will tell you that while a Member of the House of Representatives during the 6 remaining years of President Reagan’s Presidency, there were very few things I agreed with in reference to him. In fact, over 90 percent of the time we didn’t see eye to eye. I had some very strong philosophical differences with President Reagan on economic policy, foreign policy, and many other things. But I will tell you this: He was an extraordinary person, and I think even those of us who disagreed with him politically respected him very much.

I recall when I was elected in one of the largest new classes of Congressmen since Watergate, in 1982, that President Reagan and Mrs. Reagan invited all of the new Members of the House of Representatives and their spouses to come for a dinner at the White House. It was an amazingly heady experience to walk in as Congressmen-elect with our wives and shake hands with the President and Mrs. Reagan, realizing full well that most of the people in the room were new Democratic Congressmen who had been running against President Reagan and his policies. But he was gracious to a fault and could not have been more cordial to all of us who gathered that evening. One of my great memories of that period of time between the election and being sworn in was sitting there in the White House at this dinner hosted by President Reagan and Mrs. Reagan. At the same table was my Senate colleague, then-Congressman MIKE DEWINE, and his wife Fran, who had made the trip from Ohio for that special dinner with the Reagans and new Members of Congress days after she had given birth to a little baby girl, whom she brought to the same dinner in a basket which she had right next to the table. We have laughed about it all the time, because obviously after 23 years that little girl has grown up to be a remarkable young woman.

But those are some of the memories I have of President Reagan opening the door and welcoming in some new Congressmen who had spent months running against him and his policies.

The same thing held true when it came to his State of the Union Addresses. I can remember so many different times when I marched to the House of Representatives’ Chamber for the State of the Union Address by President Reagan. After a while I came to understand what the rules were. The rules were these: You didn’t have a chance as a Democrat to say anything critical and be successful the night of President Reagan’s speech. He had such a magical style and was so affable and friendly and approachable that after he concluded his State of the Union Address, the best for the loyal opposition was to wave and leave the stage because he was so good. He was one of the best. We did learn that after 24 or 48 hours had passed, perhaps a closer look at what he said could lead to some constructive criticism. But we knew right off the bat when President Reagan took to the floor of the House of Representatives for the State of the Union Address and walked up those stairs, the best thing the loyal opposition could do was to be quiet.

There was another aspect of Ronald Reagan which I miss so much. It is part of the political life which unfortunately we don’t have enough of. He was President in an era of some great people—Tip O’Neill, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Bob Michel, Republican minority leader from Illinois. They brought to this business of politics a certain humanity and civility which we have lost almost completely.

I can recall the bitter battles we had on the floor of the House of Representatives with President Reagan over very contentious issues and the debates going on for days. Ultimately, someone would prevail, and many times it would be President Reagan and his position. Without fail, when it came to those critical votes, Tip O’Neill, then Speaker of the House, the leading Democrat, would pick up the phone, call the President and congratulate him. It was a gesture, but it was an important gesture to say that, frankly, we have both given it a good fight; the decision has been made; now let us move on to the people’s business.

President Ronald Reagan understood that, Tip O’Neill understood that, and Bob Michel understood that. I wish our generation of leaders could understand that more, that even though we disagree, and disagree with a great deal of conviction, we should try to look for that human side we can all share. I think time and again President Reagan did that. I commend him for it.

Even though you have disagreed with him during the course of the debate, when it was all over, you knew you would be treated with respect.

Time and again, my wife Loretta and I would go down to the White House for the Christmas party, the barbeques and picnics. It was always a warm welcome and greeting, even though the President was of a different party where there were very serious differences.

I would like to reflect, too, for a moment on the former First Lady, Nancy Reagan. She has been a pillar of strength since it was announced that the late President was suffering from Alzheimer's; 10 years watching the man she loved the most of any in the world slip into darkness. She said in a few interviews since President Reagan passed away, the worst part was the advancing years and not being able to share memories anymore because President Reagan was afflicted with Alzheimer's disease. That takes a toll.

We have had friends who have gone through it. It takes a special commitment and sacrifice to make it through that terrible illness. My heart goes out to Nancy Reagan and her family, all of them, for what they have endured for 10 years, standing by the former President while he was afflicted with this disease.

My colleague Senator CARPER mentioned earlier that many people are now talking about tributes to President Reagan, and he is deserving. Despite my differences with him politically, I voted for the renaming of the Washington National Airport in his memory. I thought that was appropriate for someone who had served our Nation as President of the United States. Now people are trying to think of other things they can do. They are kind of upping the ante: Well, you know, not the 50-cent piece, maybe the \$10 bill; no, maybe Mount Rushmore. I would like to suggest to them the most enduring legacy for this President would be to help others in his name. I can't think of anything more important to ask for when the time comes for those to consider what to do in his memory than the contribution suggested by our colleagues Senators MIKULSKI and BOND, one which I think is worthy of our immediate consideration. They called for the establishment of the Ronald Reagan Alzheimer's Breakthrough Act of 2004. They believe we are near a breakthrough in treating Alzheimer's and they want us to put special attention and special resources and special efforts in that regard. That not only will serve the memory of President Reagan and his courageous family who stood by him, but it will also serve to help 4½ million Americans afflicted with Alzheimer's disease today, and their husbands, wives, children, and their loved ones who stand by helplessly at their side as they drift into the darkness of this dreaded disease. That would be such a great tribute to President Reagan. I hope we can do it on a bipartisan basis with the civility and humanity which President Reagan demonstrated during the course of his life.

I might also add that the First Lady's commitment to stem cell research is an exceptional statement on her part. She has broken with some members of the Republican Party on this issue. I know her position is controversial, even within this administra-

tion, but she understands, as many do, that unless we are committed to medical research, including stem cell research, the chances that we can successfully deal with Alzheimer's, diabetes, spinal cord injuries, and other terrible afflictions will be diminished. I salute the First Lady and I hope we will, in recognition of her commitment and in memory of President Reagan, also decide we will step forward in this critical area of medical research involving stem cells.

I am honored that President Reagan was a friend, at least in passing, on a political basis. I am happy he came from Illinois and happened to believe that perhaps his Midwestern roots might have helped him in his various careers. It certainly helped him serving this country as President.

He had an amazing record of victories. I know because I was on the losing end of a lot of those campaigns. I campaigned for his opponents with little or no success. He carried 44 States in the first election and 49 States in the second. Probably few Presidents in history have had a mandate that substantial when they were reelected. It is a tribute to the fact that America loved that President, America wanted Ronald Reagan to serve, and he served our Nation so well.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, over the past few days, more than 100,000 Americans have stood in line in California for 12 hours or even more to pay their respects to President Ronald Reagan. This great show of respect and affection will be repeated during the coming days in Washington.

This overwhelming outpouring cannot be explained by merely citing the traits for which he was so well-known—his likability, his wit and optimism, his courage when attacked by a would-be assassin's bullet or, at the end of his life, by a devastating disease, or even his skills as the Great Communicator. Americans are standing in line because of President Reagan's ideas and the principles and convictions that gave those ideas their power: The God-given right to freedom, responsibility for one's own actions, and charity toward others—the very ideas that are the foundation of this great Nation were the foundation of President Reagan's character.

President Reagan became President at a time when the world had begun to question the strength of that foundation. It was a time when freedom, balanced by personal responsibility and justified by charity, was in danger of becoming just one of the many ways in

which human society could be organized. Rather than appease or accommodate communism, he confronted it and exposed its moral bankruptcy.

President Reagan emboldened freedom-loving people everywhere—those behind the Iron Curtain and those in danger of being enveloped by it—and gave them faith and strength. He believed, as he said in his first inaugural address, that no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. He was right.

President Reagan became President at a time when America had begun to question its place in the world and the values upon which this great Nation was built. He opened the gate of the American spirit. He tore down the wall of doubt.

Ronald Reagan was a great communicator because he had something great to communicate. He was the right man for his time; and now he belongs to all time.

He will be missed, but President Reagan's ideas will always be part of the American experience.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CRAIG. 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. CRAIG. Mr. President, I have, for the last day, listened to a good number of my colleagues reminisce about the late President Ronald Reagan, many of them quoting from his speeches, many of them quoting from books written about him, about his phenomenal life, and his phenomenal presence in this city as one of our Presidents. So I would guess that by this moment nearly everything that can be said about Ronald Reagan has been said but, then again, not everyone has said it.

I find myself in that situation in these moments just prior to the adjournment of the Senate and hours before a coffin bearing President Ronald Reagan will arrive at the Rotunda of our great Capitol.

What I might do for just a moment is reminisce about a couple of personal experiences I had the privilege of having with the late President that, to me, speaks volumes about the gentleman's personality, his style of Presidency, and what he meant to my State of Idaho.

Idaho, by its conservative character and its independence, was always a strong Reagan State. It spoke out loudly for the President. It voted in large numbers for the President. There was never a question where Idahoans would be when it came to supporting Ronald Reagan for his Presidency.

My relationship with him began at the very time he came to Washington. I was a freshman in the House of Representatives in the winter of 1981. Both

President Reagan and I were elected at the same time. I was one of those of the large class of 54 Republican freshmen who entered the U.S. House, many of them because of the strength of Ronald Reagan, and we all became known as "Reagan babies." I suspect that is a title that at the age of 58 I still bear with some pride. Because we came at a time when we had a President who was speaking of change; and the American people were wanting it, demanding it, and his Presidency embodied it.

The situation I want to relate for the record this afternoon occurred during the first budget process of the Reagan administration. David Stockman, a Congressman, had just been appointed Director of OMB. Of course, the major tax cut that our President was so well known for—that began to stimulate the economy and turn the American people back into entrepreneurialism—was all at hand. But there were deficits. So David Stockman came up with the idea that we should sell off our strategic minerals stockpile.

Well, that is something you do not hear talked about hardly at all today, but following World War II, Congress had passed legislation saying that we should stockpile silver and magnesium and titanium and zinc and a variety of other metals in case we got in another war, so we would have these supplies of metals available for industrial purposes.

By 1981, it was largely determined on the part of the Reagan administration and David Stockman that they were just not necessary any longer. It was probably true that some Members of Congress believed the same thing. So when the announcement of the sale of these stockpiles became public—and the money then from their sale was to return to the Treasury, and that money would offset some of the deficits that might occur as a result of the tax cuts—the silver market plummeted. The price of silver on the world market dropped because the large supply of silver being held by our Government was going to enter the market at some point. So the market out there was beginning to adjust and prices fell.

Because Idaho at that time was a primary silver producer, not only did prices fall in Idaho, but when they fell, many of our mines closed. There were 400 or 500 miners—men and women—out of work in the Silver Valley of Idaho, known as the Coeur d'Alene mining district, that was in part a direct result of this announcement.

I was a freshman Congressman. That was my congressional district. I had people out of work. This was largely still an old line labor Democrat stronghold in north Idaho, and the hue and cry was very loud. These men and women were out of work because of President Ronald Reagan.

I had thought that if Ronald Reagan really understood the impact of what he was doing, he might change his approach. But because it was a directive from OMB, because it was a part of the

budgetary policy of this administration, my small voice simply was not getting heard.

I appealed one evening in a conversation to the then-Secretary of the Interior, Jim Watt. I said: Secretary Watt, how do I get to the President? How do I tell my story, our story, Idaho's story, about this particular problem?

He said: Well, Larry, you have to get to the President directly. Obviously, David Stockman is not interested in hearing your story. The sale of the strategic metals, the sale of the stockpiles, is his idea. He's not going to be your champion. So if you're ever down at the White House, see if you can get the President's ear.

Well, freshmen Congressmen do not often go to the White House. But because of the key tax votes that were coming up, I got invited to the White House to visit with Ronald Reagan. I had presented on one, small sheet of paper, on one side, a very brief, clear explanation of the impact of the sale of the silver stockpile out of the strategic metals stockpile on the people of Idaho. I put it in an envelope, and wrote across it "To President Ronald Reagan," and stuck it in my pocket.

Now I am down at the White House and conversations go forward. At the end of the conversation, I say: Mr. President, here is a note I would like to have you read. It's important to my people in Idaho. By your actions, you have put 500 Idahoans out of work.

He said: Really?

I said: Yes, selling off the strategic metals.

He smiled and said: We are?

Well, that did not surprise me. The longer I am here in Washington, I know not everybody knows every detail about everything. That is why you hire and have around you competent people, and Presidents are certainly no different than many of us.

He kept the note. I saw it go into the breast pocket of his suit coat. A day and a half or two later, I got a call from the White House saying: Congressman CRAIG, can you come down and visit with the President about your problem in north Idaho and the sale of the silver stockpile?

My, I was impressed. I went to the White House. There in the Oval Office was the President and David Stockman, the Director of OMB, the man who had established the policy of selling off the stockpiles to bring money to the Treasury. We discussed it at length. In fact, David Stockman and I had a small debate in front of the President about the pros and cons of doing so.

What I said at that time was: Mr. President, I am not opposed to you selling off the stockpile of silver, but it's how you are approaching it, and how you are approaching it has had a dramatic impact on the market. As a result of that, it has dropped the price of silver worldwide, and men and women in Idaho are now out of work.

He said: Well—in his inevitable way—let me think about that.

A week later, there was a very small but very important announcement that no longer would there be any more sale of the silver stockpile, and, of course, the prices came back and the men and women in north Idaho went to work.

What is the message? The message is that when this President, Ronald Reagan, understood the impact of an action—if it was hurting people or impacting them adversely, or if it was doing something that was against his market ideas and his philosophical belief in limited government and that government should not be the arbiter nor should government infringe upon the well-being of citizens—he would make changes. And he did. And of course, I have told that story many times in Idaho. It was very clear to Idahoans that the market changed because Ronald Reagan saw what he was doing or saw what his administration was doing and was willing to make a very important change to impact people's lives.

Lastly, I remember coming to the U.S. Senate in 1990, certainly after President Reagan had left this city. The first office I took in the Hart Building had on a conference wall a very large map of the world. It filled the whole wall, and it still had the Socialist Republics of the Soviet Union written across that map. That will tell you how old it was in 1990. I remember at the time looking at that map and saying: Thank you, Ronald Reagan. You have made that map of the world obsolete. You as the President—not single-handedly but certainly by the force of your beliefs and by the force of your efforts—have made the Soviet Union obsolete in such a way that it simply withered and died, almost without a whimper. And that, of course, is one of the great legacies of our President, and many of our colleagues have spoken about that.

We are not going to let revisionist historians suggest that the Soviet Union would have crumbled anyway. There was a reality they had to face. The reality was Ronald Reagan and the national resolve of this country in the cold war, built on the strength and the beliefs of a great President by the name of Ronald Reagan, that we not only could overcome communism but we would, in essence, arm ourselves and build a military ready and capable of defeating the Soviet Union. That combination of efforts, put together with his willingness to deal with Gorbachev and others, obviously changed the dynamics of world politics and the environment I grew up in as a child, known as the cold war.

I will attend the ceremony in the Chamber tonight, and I will mourn the loss of Ronald Reagan. But more importantly, I will celebrate. I will celebrate a great President, a President who came to our country's call at the right time in our history, to lead us with optimism and enthusiasm and vision in a way few Presidents have. So while I will certainly miss the presence

of the man, I celebrate his record and the history that will be written about him.

I send my prayers and the prayers of my wife Suzanne to Nancy Reagan and all of the Reagans. They stand with a great legacy they are obviously very proud of, as we all are as Americans.

To Ronald Reagan I say: Thank you, you built a place in history that is well deserving of the actions you took as President of the United States.

I yield the floor and 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. LAUTENBERG. 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. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I wanted to be sure to have an opportunity to make some comments about President Reagan before we went out of session tonight. I will take the opportunity to do so right now.

I join with my colleagues, so many of whom have already spoken, in tribute to our Nation's 40th President, Ronald Reagan. My first term in the Senate coincided with the last 6 years of his Presidency. I had the opportunity to work with him on several occasions. As someone who came from modest beginnings and a working-class family, I understood the fact that he rose from his humble beginnings to become one of the crucial world leaders. He was respected greatly. I had a chance to work with him on several occasions, not the least of which was something as simple as raising the drinking age to 21 across the country, thereby saving thousands of families a year from having to mourn the loss of a young person in their household. The bill was signed in the morning at the White House, and I was pleased I was able to return from a convention in San Francisco in time to be there and share those good moments with President Reagan and then-Secretary of Transportation ELIZABETH DOLE.

We did a lot of good for families across America with that legislation, and also offered support to say to those who would pollute our environment, "If you pollute, you must pay to clean it up," and that was Superfund. It had a very important beginning in those days.

President Reagan is appropriately being remembered for his overpowering sense of optimism and rock-solid faith in the fundamental goodness of America. Many of his actions stand as examples of ideas that we ought to consider as we carry out our responsibilities in Government. There was no doubt that he was the Great Communicator, and his ideas and his words will long be remembered.

I just returned yesterday from the D-day celebration and commemoration in Normandy. No one will ever forget

President Reagan's speech 20 years ago at Normandy commemorating the 40th anniversary of the D-day invasion; it will be permanently etched in our memories. Or his poignant remarks when the Space Shuttle *Challenger* exploded, and how he helped America recover from that terrible national tragedy. Or who can forget his insistence that helped break the iron grip of the Soviet Union on millions of people around the globe?

President Reagan was known for his ideological zeal. But the interesting thing about him at the same time was that he ultimately was a pragmatist. Perhaps the clearest example of his pragmatic side is what happened after he pushed through a massive tax cut in Congress in 1981. One thing that President Reagan disliked enormously was Federal budget deficits. He thought the idea of borrowing from future generations was truly repugnant.

On the campaign trail in 1980, he promised he would work to balance the budget. When he took office, he argued that a tax cut was necessary to stimulate the economy. He believed the Federal Government would end up with more, not fewer, revenues. But when the revenues didn't materialize as predicted, and the Federal Government began running huge annual budget deficits, his pragmatism took over and he followed his 1981 tax cuts with tax increases that were necessary in 1982 and 1984, determined to reduce the burgeoning budget deficits. His tax increases were a tacit admission that the plan wasn't working as expected. He was pragmatic enough to change the course.

His personality was so unique for someone in that high office. As Mikhail Gorbachev wrote in Monday's New York Times op-ed page, President Reagan was ultimately someone with whom you could negotiate. His suggestion was that he was human enough, he was collegial, funny, and gracious, and you could discuss serious issues with him and accomplish goals.

One of President Reagan's last great acts of public service was to acknowledge 10 years ago to the American people and to the people of the world that he was suffering from Alzheimer's disease.

He handled his affliction with his customary grace, saying that he was sharing the news with the public in the hope that it might "promote a greater awareness of this condition." That was a courageous thing to do. He went on further to say that he hoped it might encourage a clearer understanding of the individuals and families who are affected by it. He really brought a focus on the disease that ultimately consumed his remaining years.

One truly meaningful way that we can honor President Reagan is to pursue the kind of research that might produce a treatment, or even a cure, for Alzheimer's disease and a host of other illnesses, something his beloved wife Nancy has called for. Since we

witnessed the pain of the deterioration of this great individual, we have to be mindful of that for the future.

His life yielded so many more things, besides those obvious ones, during his service as President of the United States.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I pay tribute to President Ronald Reagan, a man for whom I had the utmost respect.

A strong, principled leader, President Reagan used his optimism and humor to help the Nation feel better in a post-Vietnam, post-Watergate country coping with an energy crisis and high inflation.

He brought strong leadership and could relate to people from all walks of life very, very easily. Democrats controlled the House during both of his terms, and the Senate during his last 2 years in office. In order to advance his priorities, he had to bridge the partisan divide and work with members of the other party. He was also very proud of his good personal relations with Tip O'Neill and other Democratic leaders. The proof of his good personal relations with Tip O'Neill and other Democratic leaders. The proof of his appeal was his ability to carry a Democrat stronghold like my state of Rhode Island in the 1984 election. He was the last Republican Presidential candidate to do so.

With tremendous vision and dignity, President Reagan will ultimately be remembered for ending the cold war and promoting freedom and democracy throughout the world in a peaceful way.

In closing, I recall a large color photograph on my father's office wall. It is a picture of merriment, Senator Robert Dole having just cracked a joke, with President Reagan, Alan Simpson and John Chafee standing by, smiling from ear-to-ear.

Later, my father obtained a copy of the photo and at a later meeting with the President, slid it down the table towards him and asked if he would sign it. Without hesitation, Reagan penned a line and slid it back.

It read simply, "John—some times it is fun, isn't it?"

Some times it is fun, isn't it? Ronald Reagan, with unflinching good humor and optimism, made Americans feel good about their country again. I believe that is his lasting legacy.

The Chafee family offers our sincere condolences to Nancy, and the Reagan family.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise today to offer words in memory of America's 40th president, Ronald Wilson Reagan.

Ronald Reagan was elected President on the same day that I was first elected to the United States Senate. I was somewhat of an anomaly that year, being one of only two freshman Democrats elected to the Senate, compared with 16 Republicans.

Over the years, there is no question that when it came to matters of policy, Ronald Reagan and I disagreed, in a

very fundamental way, on a great many occasions.

But in today's very partisan atmosphere, it is easy to forget that personality can be much more important than agreements and disagreements. Many of the qualities that distinguished Ronald Reagan—as a president, as a leader, as an individual—went beyond policies and politics.

Ronald Reagan was one of our Nation's most personable presidents. His congeniality, wit and trademark sense of humor could bring a smile to the face of even the most ardent political opponent. And he had the uncanny ability to communicate his thoughts to the American people.

As a Member of the opposite side of the political aisle, I had a particular appreciation for Ronald Reagan's openness. As we all know, President Reagan was a man of great conviction. It wasn't easy to change his mind. But he was willing to sit down and talk. He was open to listening to views that were different from his own, even if he ultimately chose to disagree with them. Ronald Reagan was able, as the saying goes, to disagree without being disagreeable.

Though we had our differences on many issues, I would never doubt for a minute Ronald Reagan's commitment to this Nation, just as I don't believe he doubted the patriotism of his political adversaries. Ronald Reagan believed deeply in our country and in its values, and in its place in the history of humankind. He correctly saw the former Soviet Union, with its regime of repression, imprisonment, and stifling of the individual spirit, as antithetical to everything in which we believe. He presided over a historic time period during which we witnessed the beginnings of a dramatic, global political sea change.

Ronald Reagan was a leader who reflected the optimism and spirit of this great Nation. At the time he was elected president, our country was experiencing a crisis of confidence. Many wondered if America's best days were behind it. Ronald Reagan had an unflagging belief in America, and he helped restore a sense of possibility in our land.

As a society, we often elevate our public figures to practically mythological proportions, and our presidents are no exception. Towards the end of Ronald Reagan's life, though, we were reminded of his humanity. All of us, particularly those of us who have watched a loved one struggle late in life, were inspired by the dignity, grace, and courage with which he and his family battled a terrible and devastating disease—a disease that ultimately took Ronald Reagan, in the words of his wife Nancy, to a place where she could no longer reach him.

Many tributes have been and will be paid to President Reagan's memory. But I can't think of a greater tribute than to commit our Nation to fully researching the causes of, and cures for,

diseases like Alzheimer's that cause such great suffering for such great numbers of people.

At this difficult time, my heart goes out to Nancy and the entire Reagan family. America celebrated with you on so many happy occasions. This week, we all join you in your sorrow.

I yield the floor.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in remembering our Nation's 40th President, Ronald Reagan, who passed away last weekend at his home in Bel-Air, CA.

Of course, much has already been said, both in this Chamber and in the media, about the legend of his large life. His career in movies, his entry into politics and, of course, his two terms as President during a most tumultuous time have been well documented in the past several days.

By all of these accounts, Ronald Reagan was a most admired politician, and while he and I had our policy differences, I have always shared in that admiration.

Ronald Reagan held true to a strong conservative philosophy, which often made it hard for the two of us to find common ground. I was a Member of the House of Representatives during his 8 years as President, and you might say I was often a thorn in his side. We were on opposing sides when it came to many issues, most notably tax cuts and funding for the arts.

But through all of our sometimes heated discussions and debates, it was so evident to me that President Reagan held a deep and abiding passion for his country, and an equally deep conviction for what he believed was right.

As Americans take time this week to honor the life of President Reagan, it is that passion and conviction that they will remember and reflect upon. I believe, that those memories of our Nation's 40th President will inspire our future leaders.

I extend my condolences to his wife Nancy, and to the entire Reagan family on the passing of President Ronald Reagan. May the memories of his life's accomplishments sustain them in their time of grief, and may the Nation's prayers bring them comfort.

Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to former President Ronald Wilson Reagan, our Nation's 40th President.

Like many Americans, I admired President Reagan's eternal optimism and his belief in America and her people.

I am struck by the numbers of mourners who have paid their respects to our former President. The outpouring of respect and grief is a testament to the great impact that he had on so many Americans. I am sure that one of the reasons so many have taken time to honor President Reagan is because of the great optimism and purpose that he showed. His trust in the fundamental decency and goodness of the American people is a guide and inspiration to us all.

I admired his sense of civility and his ability to disagree with his opponents without being disagreeable. He fought hard for the policies in which he believed, but after the fight, he shook hands and moved on. We need more of that kind of statesmanship in Washington today. And I hope my colleagues will join me in trying to follow his example.

During one of our Nation's greatest challenges—the cold war—President Reagan was a strong voice against the enemies of freedom. His leadership and vision helped us to overcome our enemies.

In the final years of his life, he and Mrs. Reagan were an example of the kind of sacrifice and love that we should all seek to emulate. Mrs. Reagan's quiet dignity and support for her husband during the most difficult of times should be an inspiration to us all.

My thoughts and prayers go out to his wife, Nancy, his sons, Michael and Ronald, Jr., and his daughter, Patty.

Ronald Reagan lived a full life and was a great American. His contributions to the American political system and to our way of life will not soon be forgotten.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Ronald Reagan, our Nation's 40th President. First, my condolences and prayers go out to Nancy Reagan, the Reagan family, and all of those who are mourning his passing.

Ronald Reagan was an optimist. He was the best kind of optimist—a living example of the fulfillment of the American dream. From a small Midwestern town, he rose to become leader of the free world and was respected around the world by both our allies and our Soviet bloc opponents alike.

President Reagan was called the Great Communicator for a reason. Many of his speeches touched the heartstrings of all Americans. Whether it was his speech at the Berlin Wall or his 1984 tribute to those who died on D-Day, President Reagan always conveyed a positive, optimistic sense of our shared destiny. His words will long be remembered.

President Reagan loved America, and this love for our country shaded every word he spoke to the Nation as President. He always wanted our country to be the "shining city" on a hill.

I also pay tribute and convey my genuine respect to our former First Lady Nancy Reagan, a woman whose unwavering commitment to her husband not only provided a testament to their love but also extended hope and empathy to countless Americans who share in the role of caregiver.

As we begin now to consider ways to pay proper tribute to our admired former President, let us go beyond the erecting of a monument or the etching of a portrait. Instead let us act to help the many Americans who needlessly suffer from the debilitating effects of Alzheimer's disease.



We should increase research funding for Alzheimer's and expand stem cell research, which Nancy Reagan supports.

I am pleased to be a cosponsor of a Mikulski-Bond bill that will double our investment in Alzheimer's research and refocus our efforts to find a cure. This bipartisan measure, if passed, would leave a lasting legacy to President Reagan.

Earlier this month, I joined with 57 other Members of this body, both Republican and Democrat alike, to urge President Bush to broaden the current Federal policy regarding stem cell research. By expanding stem cell research beyond those stem cells derived by August 9, 2001, we will take the necessary first step of helping millions of Americans who are plagued by Alzheimer's—Americans, who like President Reagan, live out their daily lives traveling an unknowable journey of solitude.

If we allow the medical experts to do stem cell research, we can begin the work Mrs. Reagan so steadfastly promotes: finding a cure to this devastating disease.

To find a cure of Alzheimer's would indeed be the greatest tribute we could ever give to President Reagan.

In this time of grief, let us evoke President Reagan's gentlemanly service, swift wit, jovial candor, and unconditional patriotism. With differences in philosophy and politics aside, let's all praise a man whose decorum and distinguished character exemplified the office for which he held.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I want to take a few moments today to join my colleagues in celebrating the life of our 40th President, Ronald Wilson Reagan.

In many ways, Ronald Reagan embodied the American dream. He was born in the small town of Tampico, IL, and grew up 30 miles down the road in Dixon, another small town. His was a normal, middle class American family, and he was the all-American boy-next-door: Good-looking, popular, an actor, and an athlete. And from that modest background he fulfilled the American democratic ideal that anybody can grow up to become President of the United States.

That ideal—that anyone can grow up to become President—captures America's optimism, so it is fitting that the word that comes most to mind when remembering President Reagan is exactly that: optimism. President Reagan was an incurable and infectious optimist when it came to America. By insisting that, as he said, it was morning again in America, he connected with Americans, lifted their spirits, and restored their confidence in our future.

This power to communicate and connect with Americans from all walks of life was central to his success as President. He could sway skeptics and charm supporters with his simple eloquence and self-deprecating wit. People

came to know him and feel comfortable with him; and they were moved by his simple, clear messages. President Reagan perfected the art of selling his policies to the American people and using that ability to pressure Congress to work his will. Not surprisingly, the Great Communicator, as he came to be known, left office with the highest approval rating of any recent President.

President Reagan was one of the truly larger than life figures of the post World War II era. He brought a new conservative philosophy to the White House, and he championed freedom at home and abroad. One of the reasons for his success, I believe, was his willingness to compromise, to put aside partisan politics and ideological purity to do what was right for the country. When his 1981 tax cuts caused deficits to skyrocket, President Reagan supported tax increases in 1982 and 1983 to contain the damage. After tagging the Soviet Union as the Evil Empire, he negotiated historic arms control treaties with the Soviets, coining the famous phrase "trust, but verify" in the process. He had, as his chief of staff Howard Baker once put it, "a capacity to surprise."

And throughout it all, he was a wonderful man, someone who you couldn't help but enjoy being with. I met with President Reagan several times during the last years of his presidency. The last time I was with him, President Reagan was telling two or three of us in the White House an Irish story full of warmth and wit. I believe that best describes President Reagan himself—a man of endearing wit and great personal warmth.

As America mourns his passing, my thoughts and prayers are with Nancy and the rest of President Reagan's family and many, many friends. It is my hope that their memories of his life, laughter, and legacy will be of some small comfort in these days and weeks ahead.

Mr. CORZINE. Mr. President, on Saturday, June 5, 2004, President Ronald Wilson Reagan, the 40th President of the United States, passed away after a decade-long battle with Alzheimer's disease. I extend my deepest sympathies to the members of his family, who have suffered a terrible loss, and I want them to know that Americans throughout our Nation, regardless of their political party or ideology, share in their loss and mourn with them.

Ronald Reagan was an exceptional national leader who loved this country and its people. He will long be remembered for his infectious optimism and his faith in America's future. To President Reagan, America was always a shining city on a hill—a beacon of hope for all mankind. He understood just what a great country America is, and always remained a committed advocate for the ideal of freedom that helps define us as Americans.

President Reagan was known as the Great Communicator, and he richly deserved the accolade. Few politicians, if

any, have had his ability not just to connect with the American people but to inspire them. His speeches didn't just make a point, they touched a chord. He talked to Americans in a powerful and personal way.

As is widely understood, Ronald Reagan had strongly held views about public policy, from his support for lower taxes to his strong anticommunism. But as is less widely appreciated, President Reagan was not inflexible or dogmatic. He actually was a practical and pragmatic leader who was willing to adjust his approach, sometimes dramatically, when circumstances called for change.

For example, after pushing through a large tax cut at the start of his Presidency, he reversed course and increased taxes when the deficit started to explode. Perhaps most importantly, after denouncing the Soviets as an "evil empire," he was willing to work closely and cooperatively with Mikhail Gorbachev, helping not only to end the cold war but to liberate millions of people and change the course of world history. In doing so, he was not following his party. He was not following the polls. He was following his conscience. And the entire world community owes him a deep debt of gratitude for his vision and his leadership.

There were many issues about which I strongly disagreed with President Reagan. But I always had great respect for him personally and for the way he conducted himself while in office. President Reagan knew how to disagree without being disagreeable. He knew that those in the other party were not enemies. He knew that, at the end of the day, we are all Americans and, though we may disagree about particular policies, we all share a love of our country and a commitment to its future.

President Reagan's life was marked by his fundamental personal decency and his sense of dignity. That was never more evident than when he announced to the world his struggle with Alzheimer's disease in 1994. His and Nancy Reagan's courageous fight against this debilitating disease brought a new awareness to the devastation that accompanies this illness. I hope it also will bring a new commitment to do what it takes to find a cure for this horrible affliction.

In conclusion, Americans throughout our Nation are saddened at the passing of President Reagan, and our hearts go out to his family. Ronald Reagan was an extraordinary man whose impact on our Nation, and our world, will be felt for generations to come. Today, we join together to honor his memory and to give thanks for his historic service on behalf of the country he loved so deeply.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, Robert Robb is one of the great columnists in American journalism today, and his tribute to Ronald Reagan is among his best work. I ask unanimous consent to have the following article printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Arizona Republic, June 9, 2004]

MY FIRST FAN LETTER WAS SIGNED  
"REAGAN"

(By Robert Robb)

Ronald Reagan wrote my first fan letter. When he announced for president in 1976, I was editor of the student newspaper at Occidental College in Los Angeles.

The Los Angeles Times had developed an obsessive dislike for Reagan. And it pounded on his announcement speech, denouncing it and him for superficiality and a lack of specifics.

Of course, it's standard fare for announcement speeches to enunciate broad themes. And the only thing that would have unhinged the Times more than a lack of specifics from Reagan would have been if he had been specific.

And so I wrote a column for the student newspaper having a bit of sport with the Times' hypocrisy and disequilibrium.

Not much later, I was astonished to receive a letter from Reagan. Apparently being defended in a student newspaper was an unusual enough event to catch the attention of his campaign.

Reagan thanked me for my "generous words," and allowed that "a great part of my pleasure was your masterful handling of the Times."

That purposeful understatement was characteristic of Reagan in political combat. He was far more inclined to give his opponents a gentle and humorous poke in the ribs, rather than a rhetorical knife in the stomach—a restraint he maintained even as the invective and bile against him mounted.

Bill Buckley invented modern American conservatism—a sometimes uneasy blend of anti-communism, free-market economics and traditional cultural values inspired and informed by religious faith. Barry Goldwater launched it as a political movement.

But Ronald Reagan embodied the conservative movement. He was the glue that held its factions and strands together long enough, for a time, to be politically triumphant.

This was no small feat. American conservatism is more naturally a dissenting movement than a governing one.

Yet Reagan not only governed, he transformed the country, indeed the world.

What began as Reagan Democrats are now simply Republicans, and the Republican Party now competes with the Democratic Party for majority status, rather than the semi-permanent minority role the party seemed consigned to before Reagan.

To complete with Reaganism, Democrats had to overcome their legacy from the 1960s and 1970s, a belief that there was as much wrong as right about America. Democrats reconciled themselves to America's essential goodness, as well as its defining institutions and values: free markets, enterprise, faith and family.

Bill Clinton was a reaction to Reaganism, and today's Republican Party, unfortunately, is as much a reaction to Clintonism as it is a legitimate heir to Reaganism.

Winston Churchill believed that history was the story of great men altering its course. In his *History of the English Speaking Peoples*, writing about Alfred the Great, who united much of modern-day England in the ninth century, Churchill described his "sublime power to rise above the whole force of circumstances."

As much as Reagan dominated and transformed the domestic political landscape, his greatness—his sublime power to rise above

the whole force of circumstances—was in the way he managed the Soviet Union and communism.

Early in his presidency, Reagan described the Soviet Union as an evil empire and said it and Marxism-Leninism would be deposited on the "ash heap of history."

This was denounced by foreign policy sophisticates at the time as naive and dangerously provocative.

Yet he quickly embraced Mikhail Gorbachev, who gained power in 1985, and his perestroika reforms. This made conservatives highly nervous, and they openly wondered whether Reagan was being had.

But Reagan, having lived through the Hungarian and Polish rebellions, intuited that the Soviet Union could not both liberalize and remain intact.

Reagan also knew the moment to apply pressure, as in 1987, when he stood before the Berlin Wall and, against the advice of his entire foreign policy team, famously called upon Gorbachev to tear it down.

A few years later, I was in Berlin, after the wall had been torn down figuratively, but not yet physically. You could travel freely in eastern Berlin, but it was like Dorothy stepping from black-and-white into the colorful land of Oz, only in reverse—from the vibrant feel of a free people into the still-stale desolation of the repression of the human soul.

You could visit the wall and even take a blow against it yourself. So, I clawed loose a few chunks and brought them home.

They're mounted now, pieces of history's sadness and joy. I can never look at those chunks of concrete without thinking about Ronald Reagan, a champion of freedom for our time.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the late President Ronald Reagan.

We were of different parties and very different political philosophies but I respected him as a strong leader—a man of principle and dignity. He was also good-natured and affable, never letting political differences drag him down into bitter partisanship.

I was always impressed with President Reagan's ability to communicate and persuade and his talent for soothing our Nation in difficult times. In good times and bad, he sought to appeal to the best in all of us, to our hopes and better instincts, not our doubts and fears. And while he enjoyed a good political fight, he never demonized his opponents or accused those who differed with him of being unpatriotic. Ronald Reagan seemed to understand that we could disagree without being disagreeable and that we all love our country, even as we debate the best way to move toward a more perfect Union. All of us can learn from his example.

As we pay tribute to our 40th President, this man who rose from humble beginnings to the greatest heights, I offer my condolences to Nancy Reagan and the Reagan family. I join my colleagues in saying farewell to Ronald Reagan, a modest man who was larger than life.

Thank you, President Reagan, for your service to our Nation and for the important example you set for us all.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on Saturday, our Nation lost a good man and a great American, the 40th President of

the United States, Ronald Wilson Reagan.

A former sports announcer, actor, television performer, and Governor, this man from a small mid-western town was eventually elected to our Nation's highest office, not once, but twice, in landslide victories. His was a success story, an American success story. He demonstrated that the key to the American dream is still determination, hard work, and perseverance. He did it by appealing to our "best hopes," not "our worst fears."

Historians will study and evaluate the impact of the Reagan administration—his role in ending the cold war and the results of his domestic policies.

What is beyond debate was his uncanny ability to connect with the American people. He knew where he wanted to take the country and attempted to do it with remarkable determination and charm. He restored a much needed sense of optimism in America, and he did it with a cheerfulness that was absolutely contagious.

His optimism was prevalent and penetrating and inspiring even during the darkest moments of his administration. With the *Challenger* explosion, we grieved and despaired, but when President Reagan spoke of how those courageous astronauts reached out and "touched the face of God," suddenly all of us realized that we, as a country, would make it through this grievous hour, and the American adventure into space would go on. He was truly the Great Communicator.

I came to know and work with Mr. Reagan from a unique and important perspective. I was the leader of the opposition party in the U.S. Senate during both of President Reagan's terms.

From this position, I came to understand and appreciate, probably even more than his strongest supporters, his hold on the American people, and the importance of the leadership that he provided.

In fact, I found him to be as charming in person as he was when speaking to an audience or appearing on television.

Never once did I hear him engage in personal attacks on his challengers.

When we disagreed, which was more often than not, it was always in civil tones. He was always smiling, patting you on the back, asking you about your family, and wishing you the best. You simply could not help but like him. He seemed not to confuse differences of opinion with differences of ideals or values. After all, he liked to point out, "we are all Americans."

That is the way American politics is supposed to be. That was the decency of Ronald Wilson Reagan. He might consider me a political opponent, but never a personal enemy. Just as I understood his difficulties as the leader of the free world during 8 years of trial and turmoil, he understood my role as the loyal opposition.

As much as I admired and respected him when he was President, never was

my appreciation for him and his wife Nancy stronger than in their dealing with his last and greatest struggle—the struggle he eloquently and heartbreakingly called the “journey” that would lead him “into the sunset” of his life—his battle with Alzheimer’s disease. He and Nancy confronted this cruel, crippling disease with an openness and dignity that inspired a Nation.

Mr. President, my wife Erma and I extend our most heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Reagan. She has been an inspiration to America, gracefully fulfilling the role of loyal, loving spouse even as she has watched her greatest love drift away into the fog of Alzheimer’s. In the years when they should have been able to enjoy the warm memories of their storybook life together, she endured personal emotional tortures that are difficult to imagine. In these last years, the vigilance and caring she displayed throughout their marriage led her to become an outspoken advocate for medical research, a role for which she has earned the immense respect and gratitude of the Nation.

#### A SUNSET FANCY

(A poem by an unknown author)

I saw the sun sink in the golden west  
No angry cloud obscured its latest ray;  
Around the couch on which it sank to rest  
Shone all the splendors of a summer day,  
And long—though lost of view—its radiant light  
Reflected from the skies, delayed the night.  
Thus when a good man’s life comes to a close,  
No doubts arise to cloud his soul with gloom;  
But faith triumphant on each feature glows  
And benedictions fill the sacred room;  
And long do men his virtues wide proclaim,  
And generations rise to bless his name.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and 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. FRIST. 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. FRIST. Mr. President, for the information of Senators, we are going to do our wrap-up business, have a couple of closing statements, and then we will adjourn for the ceremony tonight.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### JUDGE RICHARD MILLS DELIVERS MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

• Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, one of the most articulate and literate members of our Federal judiciary, U.S. District Judge Richard Mills, recently delivered an extraordinary Memorial Day address in my hometown of Springfield IL. I share it with my colleagues because I believe it is not only insightful but because it comes from a person uniquely suited to speak to the historical impact of World War II.

Judge Mills is a major general in the Illinois State Militia and a retired colonel in the U.S. Army. He served for 14 months in Korea with the 3rd Infantry Division and headed counterintelligence for the 65th Infantry Regiment and the Greek and Belgian Battalions attached to the 3rd Division. Among his decoration are the Bronze Star, Meritorious Service Medal, Joint Service Commendation Medal, Korean Service Medal with battle star, and both the U.S. and Republic of Korea Presidential Unit Citations. General Mills retired after 33 years in the military, Active and Reserve.

I am honored to count Judge Mills as a friend and hope you will value his remarks as much as I do.

I ask that the remarks of Judge Mills be printed in the RECORD.

The address follows:

##### ADDRESS OF MAJOR GENERAL RICHARD MILLS

In 1935, when the Italian fascist military machine invaded the undeveloped and primitive nation of Ethiopia on the African continent, Emperor Haile Selassie issued this mobilization order to his people: “Everyone will now be mobilized and all boys old enough to carry a spear will be sent to Addis Ababa. Married men will take their wives to carry food and cook. Those without wives will take any woman without a husband. Women with small babies need not go. The blind, those who cannot walk, or for any reason cannot carry a spear are exempted. Anyone found at home after the receipt of this order will be hanged.”

The imperial edict of the Conquering Lion of Judah, although admittedly harsh, was unquestionably effective. And its very tenor reflects the ultimate hopelessness of a nation invaded by a far superior force and struggling to survive in military conflict. The conscription laws of this country, of course, have never been so elementary, desperate or severe, yet they shared an identical purpose—to provide immediate manpower to defend the nation!

Since July 1, 1973, not a single person has been drafted into the armed forces of the United States. Since then, the Selective Service System has operated in its prescribed standby role. And since then we have been an all-volunteer military force in a peacetime capacity, and the role of the Selective Service System is, and will continue to be, one of simply assuring that necessary military manpower will be available in case of an emergency.

The Selective Service System, more commonly referred to across the country as “the draft”, is nothing new because men have been drafted since Biblical time. It is related the Book of Numbers in the Old Testament that God ordered Moses to take a census of men 20 years of age and older. When he and Aaron had accomplished this, they found an army of over 600,000 men. Under Julius Caesar in the Roman Empire, men were drafted for military service for 10 years and had to supply their own equipment. The Greek City States required military service of all male citizens, regardless of age, and thereby maintained their independence. But the first really modern draft was instituted by Napoleon, and when he told his generals, “I need up to 25,000 men a month”, universal military training established itself in France. As a matter of fact, this very policy was adopted after the Napoleonic wars by most European countries, with the exception of Great Britain.

During World War I and before the end of the war in 1918, nearly 3,000,000 men had been

inducted and 24,000,000 had been registered. And in World War II, more than 50,000,000 men were registered and 10,000,000 of those were inducted into the armed forces. I am confident that many of you present today answered the call in this manner.

The veterans of America, what kind of people are they?

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur answered this question in his famous speech before the U.S. Military Academy’s corps of cadets in May 1962: “Yours is the profession of arms, the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory, that if you lose, the nation will be destroyed, that the very obsession of your public service must be duty, honor, country.”

The May 22, 1941 edition of Army Field Manual (FM) 100-5, Field Service Regulations: Operations, which was republished in 1997 by the U.S. Government Printing Office in Washington, DC, spells out the battlefield doctrines used to fight and win World War II. Here is what it says: “Man is the fundamental instrument of war; other instruments may change but he remains relatively constant. In spite of the advances in technology, the worth of the individual man is still decisive.”

World War II was the most important and far reaching event of the 20th century.

The total number of people killed, wounded or missing can never be calculated. More than 10 million Allied servicemen and nearly 6 million military men from the Axis countries lost their lives. More than 50 countries took part in the war and the whole world felt its effects.

America suffered nearly 300,000 U.S. forces and merchant seamen killed and almost 700,000 wounded. We had 157 navy ships and submarines sunk and 866 merchant ships sent to the bottom.

At Pearl Harbor, the heart of the U.S. fleet—18 ships—was destroyed in about 100 minutes. As historian John Keegan wrote, “It killed 50 million human beings, left hundreds of millions of others wounded in mind or body, and materially devastated much of the heartland of civilization.”

World War II became a war of liberation after three decisive turning points: Midway, North Africa and Stalingrad.

By autumn 1942, the Allies also were on the offensive in the European theater, successfully landing in North Africa and beginning the trek toward Rome. “Now this is not the end,” Winston Churchill said as 1942 closed. “It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.”

The Allies invaded Sicily. Then came Anzio Beach and the terrible bloody battle for Monte Cassino, and on up through Italy. The greatest naval armada of all time was assembled for the invasion of Normandy on D-Day, June 6, 1944, where we suffered 14,000 killed in action and 63,000 wounded.

In the Pacific, it was a bloody invasion, island by island, “leapfrogging” toward Japan. Iwo Jima and Okinawa took heavy tolls. General MacArthur did return to the Philippines as he had promised, but 14,000 were killed and 62,000 were wounded in the battle of Luzon.

The crucial year was 1945. For Nazi Germany and the 1,000-year German Reich, it was the end.

In Italy, communist partisans captured “Il Duce”—Benito Mussolini—and his mistress. They were executed and hung by their feet at a Milan gas station on April 28th. The very day Mussolini died, Adolph Hitler married his longtime mistress, Eva Braun, in his bunker. Within hours the same day, Hitler shot himself with the same pistol he carried when he first tried to seize power in a Munich beer hall years before.

Also in 1945, America took its final giant steps across the Pacific to victory. Submarines strangled the home islands of Japan.