

because of events, such as the departure and the demise of President Reagan, and others because of other issues.

It is my understanding that there will not be a unanimous consent request tonight in terms of the order of business. I am not going to make one. I thank Senator REID for acknowledging that I do have several amendments pending. I am anxious to call up the amendments. I will agree to time limits on debate so this will not go on for a lengthy period. I would just like to bring the matters to the floor for resolution.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, does the Senator from Illinois have the number of the amendment he is likely to propose in the event the sequence of events as outlined by the three Senators here, momentarily, evolves?

Mr. DURBIN. I thank the Senator from Virginia. I spoke to him earlier about an amendment relative to the policy on torture. That is amendment No. 3386. But I would like to defer that until the Senator from Virginia has had a chance to review it, in the hopes he will be supportive.

Another amendment is No. 3196, reservist pay. This is an amendment which passed the Senate with a 96-to-3 vote last year, which I am hoping we can make a part of this bill. Finally, I have an amendment relative to the sale of dietary supplements on base exchanges, amendment No. 3225. Those are the three amendments I have pending.

Mr. WARNER. I say to the Senator, thank you.

Now, Mr. President, I think that concludes the matters with regard to this bill for tonight. I believe we can now proceed to wrap-up session.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

TRIBUTE TO FORMER PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I pay special tribute to Nancy Reagan who has been indispensable throughout the public life of the Reagans, and particularly during this past decade. It was my privilege to sit beside Mrs. Reagan during several White House and Republican Party events and to understand her strength and shared dream for America.

The service of President Reagan to our country can only be approached by understanding how wide he cast the net of potential achievement, and fulfillment of dreams, hopes and visions.

President Reagan actually believed and articulated that our country had a special destiny, that no barriers were

insurmountable because we are Americans. He actually believed and said that the Soviet Union was an evil empire, that its political and economic institutions were disintegrating, and that if its leadership and people knew the alternatives which our country presented, they would choose democracy and market economics.

President Reagan was prepared to invest an increasing portion of our national treasure in military defense with the certainty that we would negotiate successfully with our adversaries from a position of strength. He shocked foreign policy and defense specialists by proposing that all intermediate nuclear missiles be destroyed, a negotiating position labeled universally as a bizarre arms-control non-starter.

He affirmed the staying power of NATO by deploying Pershing missiles to Germany and cruise missiles to Italy even after the Soviets declared that such deployment would end all arms control negotiations and stimulate Soviet nuclear buildup.

Add to this, President Reagan's startling proposal that the United States should develop a Strategic Defense Initiative to protect our country against incoming missiles fired upon us. He contended that we should and could try to defend ourselves against the so-called balance of terror.

He proposed to President Gorbachev that the United States and the Soviet Union ban all nuclear weapons. In fact, he was confident that if he could take Gorbachev on an extended tour of America that Gorbachev would want to shape the Soviet Union into many of our successful traditions.

Meanwhile, President Reagan knew that substantial new growth must occur in our domestic economy to pay for the special leadership role he had envisioned in foreign policy. He was confident that substantial cuts in individual marginal tax rates and a host of investment incentives would establish and sustain the longest peacetime prosperity we had ever enjoyed. Our prosperity underwrote the magnificent gains in free and fair trade which he championed and world wide wealth grew abundantly.

When Ronald Reagan stood on a balcony of the Reichstag in Berlin and challenged Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall, he could see white crosses just below where courageous persons seeking freedom had lost their lives in that pursuit. Everything still appeared to be so locked up and grim, and sophisticated observers were barely patronizing in comment on his Berlin wall challenge.

The "evil empire" crumbled, the Berlin wall and other walls fell, all of the Intermediate Nuclear Force weapons were destroyed exactly in three years as the INF Treaty provided, and the United States became the only superpower with the strongest economy and the ability, uniquely, to extend military authority around the world.

All of this occurred because President Reagan persuaded the Congress

and his countrymen to build our armed forces, to build our economy through the growth incentives termed "Reaganomics," to maintain the successful strategies of our NATO alliance, to utilize military force to support foreign policy as required, and to commence Strategic Defense Initiative research.

We now know that the Soviets were much weaker than experts estimated. We now know that they could not keep up the pace and that desperate attempts to do so led to the collapse of the Soviet Empire and then to the collapse of the Union, itself.

President Reagan advocated two more things which were inspiring and critically important in world history.

First, he rejected the Brezhnev Doctrine, the idea that territory which socialism had occupied could never be reclaimed. When he advocated this roll back of the iron curtain, he created deep anxiety and alarm among most international foreign policy advisers who loved liberty a lot, but loved stability even more.

U.S. Stinger missiles shipped to the expert ministrations of the Mujahidin in Afghanistan were a major instrument of the Soviet roll back, and the world watched in awe as the Soviet troops withdrew to a smaller Socialist world.

Second, President Reagan enunciated a new policy in a statement sent to the Congress after the Philippine election and revolution. He stated that henceforth, we would oppose tyranny of the left and tyranny of the right, that we were for democracy developed by people who sought to know and enjoy democracy and human rights. This statement was severely criticized by experts who suggested that in the "real world" a good number of dictators were friendly to the U.S. and certainly useful in waging the cold war against Communism.

In articulating his vision on the roll back of the Iron Curtain; in identifying with nations all over the world who applauded our passion for building democratic institutions; in celebrating human rights and free market principles; in all of these areas, Ronald Reagan was far ahead of the prevailing wisdom. Yet he ultimately brought other leaders in America and around the world to his point of view in a relatively short interval.

President Reagan was courageous and on the right side of history. He performed these deeds in a very public way which instructed and inspired others. Those of us in public service learned much from President Reagan as we watched him speak and act. He was charismatic, he was determined and consistent, and he enjoyed a remarkable batting average of being right.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, at sunset last Friday, the 40th President of the United States was laid to rest on a hill overlooking the Pacific Ocean. The consummate optimist, who etched the promise of a "shining city upon a

hill" into the Nation's conscience, leaves behind a legacy that beckons us to stay true to the American spirit.

Whether folks agree with his political philosophy or not, the actor-turned-politician-turned-statesman from the Midwest helped usher in the dawn of a new day for millions of jobless Americans and to those living in oppression behind the Iron Curtain.

Through bold, buoyant leadership, Ronald Wilson Reagan, 1911-2004, persuaded his fellow citizens that it was "morning again in America" by restoring the promise of peace and prosperity.

The outpouring of support during last week's remembrance for the former President reflects Reagan's ability to bring out the best in people and unite America.

The pageantry evoked patriotism. The solemnity of the events underscored the public's appreciation and respect for this leader who championed the cause of freedom all around the world. For 8 years, he served as a beacon of hope for those cast under the dark shadows of totalitarianism.

The "Great Communicator" arrived in the Oval Office when America was licking wounds left by Watergate and Vietnam. Stifled by a sinking economy, joblessness and sky-high inflation, the national mood also wavered under the uncertainty of the Cold War. Americans yearned for brighter days.

Elected to his first term in November 1980, President Reagan exuded optimism, charm and kinship with ordinary Americans. His good-natured disposition, self-deprecating humor and can-do attitude launched a new era in American politics. Like Reagan, I won an upset victory over an incumbent in that election.

He and I shared a conservative political philosophy rooted in core beliefs spelled out by the Nation's Founders and agreed much more often than not. Now 24 years after the "Reagan Revolution," I am privileged to continue advancing our shared principles: Big ideas instead of big government. Deregulation to foster free enterprise. Tax relief that encourages productivity, growth and individual ingenuity. Self-reliance rather than self-pity.

Reagan's policies proved that economic and political freedom bring about peace and prosperity. As Reagan said in his 1989 farewell address to the Nation: "Democracy, the profoundly good, is also the profoundly productive."

Many people grossly underestimated the strength of Reagan's convictions and the foot soldiers who helped sweep him into office. With a steely determination coupled with folksy charm, Reagan masterminded the efforts that liberated Eastern Europe in 1989.

Eight years earlier, he had predicted the end of Communism as the "sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written." Reagan's leadership helped change the course of history for the better.

On June 5, 2004, Reagan lost his 10-year battle with the Alzheimer's disease. A decade earlier, in a handwritten note to the American people, Reagan again looked on the bright side: "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."

President Reagan valued the gift of life. He used his to expand human freedom. His legacy shapes America's character and lights our way as we continue the "march to freedom" against evil in the world.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I rise today in great sadness, to speak on the passing of President Ronald Wilson Reagan. It is a sad time for our Nation; a monumental figure in the history of the United States has gone to his rest. The response to his passing in our Nation's capital and across this country has been overwhelming and a fitting tribute to this giant of 20th century politics.

First, I would like to offer my heartfelt condolences to Nancy and the Reagan family in this difficult time. Mrs. Reagan was not only an incredible role model for faithfulness to her spouse, but was always the rock that he leaned on when the entire world leaned on him.

In speeches on this floor, we have heard much about President Reagan's vision and leadership on foreign and economic policy, which indeed continue to bear fruit. Yet, I come to the floor to speak about an aspect of the Reagan Presidency that is less commented upon: President Reagan's legacy on social policy, which stands still as a moral compass for our Nation's future.

As has been remarked, President Reagan was a fabulous optimist. He worked to create a society where good and evil, life and death, are recognized for what they are, and are not obscured by the gray tones of moral relativism. After years of lingering malaise following Vietnam and Watergate, Ronald Reagan came forward and proclaimed that America was "in the midst of a spiritual awakening and a moral renewal." That was a message of hope that America sorely needed to hear.

He believed that America's strength came not just from military might, but also from its moral superiority. As much of a priority as he made foreign and military policy, he strived just as hard to ensure that our Nation's roots as a people of faith, who value life and each other, was not diminished. It was that social foundation that made us different from the godless Soviet state that oppressed the Russian people.

President Reagan spoke forcefully and brilliantly about the importance of family, the religious foundations of American democracy, and the tragedy of *Roe v. Wade*. He knew that strong families were a key to America's continued success as the land of opportunity. This conviction is clear in a

proclamation he issued one Father's Day, where he asserted:

There is no institution more vital to our Nation's survival than the American family. Here the seeds of personal character are planted, the roots of public virtue first nourished. Through love and instruction, discipline, guidance and example, we learn from our mothers and fathers the values that will shape our private lives and our public citizenship.

His political beliefs were greatly shaped by the sensible religion he grew up with in small-town Illinois, which permeated all aspects of daily life. He found the attempts of some to excise religion from the public square wrong-headed. He knew that Founding Fathers barred not only the government establishment of religion, but also any law "prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

As President Reagan told those gathered at the Ecumenical Prayer Breakfast during the Republican National Convention in Dallas, TX:

Without God, there is no virtue, because there's no prompting of the conscience. Without God, we're mired in the material, that flat world that tells us only what the senses perceive. Without God, there is a coarsening of the society. And without God, democracy will not and cannot long endure. If we ever forget that we're one nation under God, then we will be a nation gone under.

I began this speech by stating I would focus of President Reagan's moral and social legacy rather than on the tremendous impact he had in bringing down the Iron Curtain and freeing Eastern Europe. But in truth, these different areas of policy all flowed from the same wellspring of faith and conscience.

In a particularly moving speech before the National Religious Broadcasters Convention in 1984, President Reagan tied together these seemingly separate strands. He told listeners:

Our mission stretches far beyond our borders: God's family knows no borders. In your life, you face daily trials, but millions of believers in other lands face far worse. They are mocked and persecuted for the crime of loving God. To every religious dissident trapped in that cold, cruel existence, we send our love and support. Our message? You are not alone; you are not forgotten; do not lose your faith and hope because someday you, too, will be free.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a larger excerpt of this speech be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. (See exhibit 1.)

Mr. SANTORUM. Ronald Reagan was a champion of the pro-life movement and believed that abortion was a grave threat to the liberties we cherish as Americans. When President Reagan came to office, the shock of *Roe v. Wade* was still fresh. It was commonly believed that the Supreme Court had had the final say on abortion, and that there was no hope in turning back the tide of the abortion-on-demand culture. The conventional wisdom was that enacting legislation to regulate abortion was politically impossible.

But President Reagan chose to use the one tool that the Senate could not stall and the House could not block: his voice. His voice was strong and reassuring, and it reached the American people in their living rooms, bypassing those in Washington who thought they knew much better. Even his own advisors urged him not to speak out on abortion, yet he would not be silenced. He always spoke his conscience on the matters that weighed heavily on his heart, and no one could convince him to do otherwise.

On the tenth anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, President Reagan spoke from the heart against the abortion-on-demand culture, to poignant effect. That day, he said:

I too have always believed that God's greatest gift is human life, and that we have a duty to protect the life of an unborn child. Until someone can prove the unborn child is not a life, shouldn't we give it the benefit of the doubt, and assume it is?

Perhaps the only President to publish a book while in the Oval Office, President Reagan's 1984 volume, entitled *Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation*, stood as a thoughtful and moving essay that inspired the growing pro-life movement. This message of this book was hopeful. "As a nation today, we have not rejected the sanctity of human life," he writes. "I am convinced that Americans do not want to play God with the value of human life."

Given his remarkable legacy on foreign and economic policy, I am not surprised that his moral agenda is less commented upon. Yet in his March 8, 1983 "evil empire" speech, President Reagan devoted as much time talking about the sanctity of all human life as he did addressing foreign policy. On abortion, he told the audience:

Human life legislation ending this tragedy will someday pass the Congress, and you and I must never rest until it does.

Sadly, President Reagan has gone to his rest without being able to see that glorious day when we again recognize the full and equal value of all human lives. But those of us who proudly follow in his footsteps will tirelessly continue the struggle until we correct this grievous wrong.

President Reagan, that day, I know you will be smiling down on us from above.

EXHIBIT 1

"AMERICA IS HUNGRY FOR A SPIRITUAL
REVIVAL . . ."

(BY RONALD REAGAN)

An excerpt from President Reagan's address January 30, 1984, at the National Religious Broadcasters Convention in Washington D.C.

I was pleased last year to proclaim 1983 The Year of the Bible. But, you know, a group called the A.C.L.U. severely criticized me for doing that. Well, I wear their indictment like a badge of honor. I believe I stand in pretty good company. Abraham Lincoln called the Bible, "The best gift God has given to man. But for it," he said, "we could not know right from wrong."

Like that image of George Washington kneeling in prayer in snow at Valley Forge,

Lincoln described a people who knew it was not enough to depend on their own courage and goodness. They must also look to God their Father and Preserver. And their faith to walk with Him, and trust in His Word, brought them the blessings of comfort, power, and peace that they sought.

The torch of their faith has been passed from generation to generation. "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever." More and more Americans believe that loving God in their hearts is the ultimate value. My experience in this office I hold has only deepened a belief I've held for many years: within the cover of that single Book are all the answers to all the problems that face us today—if we'd only read and believe.

Let's begin at the beginning. God is the center of our lives: the human family stands at the center of society; and our greatest hope for the future is in the faces of our children. God's most blessed gift to His family is the gift of life. He sent us the Prince of Peace as a babe in a manger. I've said that we must be cautious in claiming God is on our side. I think the real question we must answer is, are we on His side?

Our mission stretches far beyond our borders: God's family knows no borders. In your life, you face daily trials, but millions of believers in other lands face far worse. They are mocked and persecuted for the crime of loving God. To every religious dissident trapped in that cold, cruel existence, we send our love and support. Our message? You are not alone; you are not forgotten; do not lose your faith and hope because someday you, too, will be free.

If the Lord is our light, our strength and our salvation, whom shall we fear? Of whom shall we be afraid? No matter where we live, we have a promise from Jesus that can soothe our sorrows, heal our hearts and drive away our fears. He promised there will never be a dark night that does not end. Our weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. He promised if our hearts are true, His love will be as sure as sunlight. And, by dying for us, Jesus showed how far our love should be ready to go: all the way.

"For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life . . ." Helping each other, believing in Him, we need never be afraid. We will be part of something far more powerful, enduring and good than all the forces here on earth. We will be part of a paradise.

May God keep you always and may you always keep God.

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor and remember the greatest President of the 20th century, Ronald Wilson Reagan.

Ronald Reagan is widely known for taking some of the most courageous stands on behalf of our Nation and for truly changing the course of the world, but Ronald Reagan may have never known the impact that he had on so many individuals, including me.

I was in college when Ronald Reagan swept through our country in 1980—on a mission to empower Americans by reducing taxes, shrinking the Federal bureaucracy, and instilling a sense of hope for the future. Until that point, I had always considered myself a Democrat. Ronald Reagan's straight talk and emphasis on common sense and individual empowerment changed the

way I looked at politics. As Ronald Reagan used to say—and he would know—I became "a former Democrat who saw the light." He opened my eyes to a philosophy that I truly felt could change the direction of our country.

I was not alone. President Reagan's popularity while in the Oval Office for two terms showed that Americans—Republicans, Democrats, and independents—were inspired by him the way I was. More impressively, tens of thousands of Americans are mourning his death and reflecting on how he touched and changed their lives. The endless line of mourners, waiting for hours to walk past his coffin and pay final respects, is unparalleled. The most heartwarming for me is to see parents with their children, teaching them about the legacy of this great President and hopefully instilling a dose of Reagan optimism in the next generation.

There are many lessons to teach our children about Ronald Reagan. I know I will teach them to my own children.

Respect for others: Many of the stories that are being shared by those who knew Ronald Reagan revolve around his respect for all people. Whether it was someone who washed dishes in the White House or the leader of another Nation, Ronald Reagan treated each with the same amount of dignity and respect—and loving humor.

Commitment to principles: Ronald Reagan never shied away from his principles. His steadfast commitment led to monumental changes in the world landscape—making it a better place for all of us. On Memorial Day 1986, President Reagan said at Arlington National Cemetery:

If we really care about peace, we must stay strong. If we really care about peace, we must, through our strength, demonstrate our unwillingness to accept an ending of the peace. We must be strong enough to create peace where it does not exist and strong enough to protect it where it does. That's the lesson of this century. . . .

And that is a lesson from our 40th President.

Mutual love and admiration: I would be remiss if I did not note the relationship that Ronald and Nancy Reagan shared. Reading some of their old love letters, watching them together during his presidency, and seeing her devotion over these most trying last 10 years, one cannot help but be touched by the feelings that emanated from their marriage. Nancy Reagan was every bit Ronald Reagan's partner in the White House, and his legacy is theirs. Today Nancy Reagan grieves—she has lost her soul mate. And we grieve for her loss.

Optimism and hope for tomorrow: If nothing else, I hope that Americans today are inspired by Ronald Reagan's eternal optimism. He believed in this country and its people with every fiber of his being. He once told a gathering of youth in 1985 that:

True wealth, and the real hope for the future comes from the heart—from the treasure of ideas and spirit, from free people with a vision of the future, trust in their fellow men, and faith in God. The better future that