

that explodes the national debt, a \$1 trillion stimulus that failed to hold unemployment down to the levels we were told it would, a health spending bill that is already leading to higher costs, and a raft of other bills that expand Washington's role in people's lives.

With just 3 days left in the Democrat's 2-year experiment in expanded government, they want to make a good last impression with a bill they know has no chance of passing and which they have no interest in passing. So this is about as pure a political exercise as you can get. In my view, it is an insult to the millions of Americans who want us to focus on jobs.

Democrats made a very clear choice. They chose to ignore the concerns of the American people and to press ahead with their own agenda over the past year and a half. In the last 3 days of the session, they have decided they can at least pretend to be concerned. This is nothing short of patronizing. But in some ways it is the perfect way to end a session in which the American people have taken a backseat to the Democrats' big government agenda.

As for the specifics of this bill, even if this were a serious exercise, it is a bad idea. Even the Democratic chairman of the Finance Committee said this bill could hurt American competitiveness. As a number of my colleagues pointed out yesterday, the way to get U.S. businesses to produce more here isn't to tax them even further, it is to stop punishing them with our high corporate tax rate. If American businesses are going to compete with foreign corporations, we should have competitive tax rates. It is that simple.

Moreover, the companies this bill targets, by and large, are not opening overseas subsidiaries to make products for Americans. They are moving overseas to serve foreign markets in addition to the markets they already have in place, and that creates jobs right here in the United States. When these additional markets overseas are opened, it creates jobs right here in the United States.

This bill is not a serious attempt to address a problem. It is a purely political exercise aimed at making a good impression. Unfortunately for Democrats, the impression they have made over the past year and a half has stuck—and for good reason.

#### REMEMBERING SENATOR TED STEVENS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, at 1 o'clock this afternoon our dear friend, Ted Stevens, will be laid to rest, with honors, across the river at Arlington National Cemetery. So the Senate will be thinking of Ted Stevens today.

Ted was a legend in his own lifetime and the American people would have remembered him even if he had not gone on to serve as the longest serving Republican in Senate history. A recipient of the Air Medal and the Distin-

guished Flying Cross for his service in the Army Air Corps during World War II, Ted was, during his earliest days, an adventurer, a fighter, and a patriot. He lived an incredibly full life, most of it in service to his Nation and more specifically to his State.

His colleagues in the Senate admired and even sometimes feared him, but Alaskans loved him without any qualification. To them he was just "Uncle Ted," a title I am sure will live on.

I have been to Alaska a number of times over the years at Ted's invitation and one of the things that becomes clear to anyone who goes up there, as I said at Ted's funeral last month, is that Alaska ironically is a pretty small place—in the sense that everybody seems to know each other, and everybody knew Ted Stevens. From the airport in Anchorage to the remotest villages, Ted is omnipresent up there. That is saying something in a State that is bigger than California, Texas, and Montana combined.

The reason is simple: In Ted's view, if it wasn't good for Alaska, it wasn't good. He devoted his entire adult life to a simple mission, to work tirelessly and unapologetically to transform Alaska into a modern State. He was faithful to that mission to the very end. It is hard to imagine that any one man ever meant more to any one State than Ted Stevens.

One of the stories I like about Ted is the one about his former chief of staff and his first trip to Alaska with Ted. When he showed up at Ted's house to pick him up at 6 o'clock in the morning, Ted had already gone through the briefing book he had been given the night before, read all the daily papers, and had already been on the phone to Washington for a couple hours. By the end of the trip, he said he needed a vacation after doing, for 2 weeks, what Ted had been doing for 39 years.

But Ted would always say he worked so hard because there was always so much work to do. Part of that, of course, was making sure that all of us knew about what Alaska and Alaskans needed. So everybody got invited up there—not necessarily because he liked you but because he wanted us to appreciate the unique challenges Alaskans faced day in and day out, and turning down an invitation from Ted Stevens was not recommended.

Ted poured himself into Alaska and he poured himself into the Senate. He mentored countless young men and women who worked for him over the years. He mentored countless new Members from both parties.

It was an honor to have known him, and it was a privilege to have served alongside him in the Senate for so long.

We have missed him the past 2 years, and we honor him again today.

I yield the floor.

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

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

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business until 11:10 a.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

#### SENATOR TED STEVENS

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I have sought recognition to join in paying tribute to Senator Ted Stevens, who was in this Chamber from 1967 until early 2009, and his presence is still felt, so pervasive was his impact on this body.

My first contact with Senator Stevens was shortly after my election, when I was in the process of selecting my committee assignments. I had said during the campaign that I would seek the Agriculture Committee, but when the first round came up and there was a spot left on Appropriations, I decided that was the best committee to select for the interests of my State.

I did not get the Ag Committee. Appropriations has a subcommittee, Ag Appropriations, and it was filled. But Ted Stevens generously opened the spot, taking another subcommittee assignment so I could maintain, in part, my statement that I would seek influence on the agricultural issues.

Ted Stevens had a reputation for being tough and demanding. He had a famous Hulk tie which I proudly have in my closet and wear on occasions when it is appropriate. But behind that tough exterior, there was a heart of gold and a very emotional man. He said that he did not lose his temper, he would "use" his temper, that he did not lose his temper, he always knew where it was.

I recall one session of the Senate in the middle of the night. During Howard Baker's term as majority leader, he would sometimes have all-night sessions. It is amazing how much you can get done and how short the debate is at 3 a.m. An issue had arisen as to residency. I believe it was Bill Proxmire who had made some statements about living in Washington, DC. That infuriated Ted Stevens, and he rose, and in a loud, bombastic, explosive voice, he said he did not live in Washington, he lived in Alaska, and because of his affection for Alaska, he could not consider living in Washington. This was part-time duty to handle a specific job.

In 1984 after the elections, Senator Baker retired, and the Senate leadership was up. At that time, we had the most hotly contested battle for leadership during my tenure here and perhaps of all time. There were five top-notch candidates: Senator Stevens, Senator Dole, Senator McClure, Senator Domenici, and Senator LUGAR. It finally boiled down to Bob Dole and Ted Stevens, and Bob Dole won, 28 to 25. When the vote was taken, I happened to be sitting with Senator Dole.

We had lived in the same town—Russell, KS—and had been friends for decades. When Ted Stevens came over to congratulate Bob Dole, I was in the picture—a photo I prize until this day.

Senate leadership elections are complex, and there was later consideration that perhaps Bob Dole's leaving the leadership of the Finance Committee opened the door for Bob Packwood, whose vote was for Dole, and perhaps Senator Packwood's leaving the leadership of the Commerce Committee chairman opened it up for Jack Danforth. That was a watershed election.

Senator Stevens and I did not always agree on matters, such as the outcome of the Iran Contra matters, but there was also a collegiality and cordiality. I was the beneficiary of one of the famous Alaska trips with Ted Stevens. I caught a king salmon, 29 pounds—toughest 15 minutes of my life—and it hangs on a shelf. The stuffed salmon hangs proudly in my Senate office. Great fish to eat. They have ways of preserving the carcass so that you can stuff it. You can have your fish and eat it too.

Ted Stevens was a mentor. During the Alcee Hastings impeachment proceedings, where I was cochairman of the committee assigned to hear the evidence and later making a floor speech, I thought there ought to be a standard for impeachment. Ted Stevens wisely counseled me against that. He said: Don't do that. Don't try to establish some standard. It is a matter of each Senator's individual judgment. And when the impeachment proceeding of President Clinton came up, Ted Stevens was one of the 10 dissenters. He voted no on one of the bills of impeachment.

During the course of Ted Stevens' problems with the Department of Justice and the investigation, I talked to him about those matters, some of the implications in the criminal law case. I responded to an inquiry shortly before the 2008 election, was on Alaska radio cautioning the voters not to consider Ted Stevens a convict because the case was in midstream and there were very, very serious questions which had to be adjudicated, and I said I didn't know all of the details, but I had reviewed enough of the file to know that it was an open question. During the confirmation hearings of Attorney General Eric Holder, when we had our private talks—I was then ranking—I called the issue to his attention, and he promised to make a thorough review and later did so. And the rest is history. Ted Stevens was exonerated and the issue was dismissed.

After that event took place, I was talking to Larry Burton, who worked years ago for Ted Stevens, a squash-playing partner of mine. A few of us crafted a resolution honoring Ted Stevens and saying what a tremendous force he had been here, but we were asked by the lawyers to hold up because some action might be pending in the Department of Justice, so that should be delayed.

Today, we will lay Ted Stevens to rest, and with him a really great American. His family—Catherine, a devoted wife, an outstanding lawyer, a great public servant in her own right as an assistant U.S. attorney. When my class was elected in 1980, their daughter Lily was an infant, and she grew up in the Senate and now is a fine young woman, is a practicing attorney, and is now 30 years old. And Catherine, Joan, Ted, and I spent many pleasant evenings over a martini and a dinner and some of Ted Stevens' really great red wine.

He was extraordinary in his devotion to his State, and no Senator has ever done more for their State than Ted Stevens did for Alaska. So he leaves a great record, a great reputation, and he will be sorely missed.

In the absence of any other Senator in the Chamber seeking recognition, I ask unanimous consent for 15 minutes to proceed as in morning business.

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

#### A GRIDLOCKED CONGRESS

Mr. SPECTER. Mainstream Americans must march to the polls this November to express themselves forcefully to stop extremists financed by undisclosed contributors from stifling our democracy. The Congress is gridlocked, leaving the Nation's business floundering. Fringe candidates with highly questionable competency are winning primary elections. Moderates and some conservatives are falling because they fail the test of ideological purity.

In the past 10 years, both parties have taken advantage of procedural rules-gimmicks to thwart needed congressional action. During the administration of President George W. Bush, Democrats mounted so many filibusters against judicial nominations that the Senate was on the verge of changing an important rule requiring 60 votes to cut off debate. During the Obama administration, Republicans have exceeded the prior extremism of Democrats on filibusters. In addition, the leaders of both parties have abused procedural rules to stop Senators from offering important, germane amendments to pending legislation in a Chamber where the tradition had allowed any Senator to offer virtually any amendment on any bill to get a vote to focus public attention on important national issues.

The partisanship has reached such a high level and comity such a low level that there is not even the pretense of negotiation or compromise in almost all situations. Within days of the start of the Obama administration, literally before the ink was dry on his oath of office, Republicans openly bragged about plans to "break" him and to engineer his "Waterloo." Announcing that ideological purity was more important than obtaining a majority, the prevailing Republican motto was: We would rather have 30 Marco Rubios in the Senate than 50 Arlen Specters.

Moderates and some conservatives, too, have fallen like flies at the hands of extremists in both parties. Senator ROBERT BENNETT's 39 percent conservative rating was insufficient for renomination in Utah. Senator LISA MURKOWSKI was rejected by Alaska's tea party's dominance in their Republican primary. In perhaps the most stunning election, an opponent whom conservative Republicans characterized as incompetent beat Congressman MIKE CASTLE. These elections were presaged by the surprising defeat of Senator JOE LIEBERMAN, who was not sufficiently liberal to represent Connecticut's Democrats.

The Senate is a vastly different place than it was when I was elected in 1980. In that era, Howard Baker and Lloyd Bentsen worked together. Bob Dole and Russell Long could reach an accommodation on tax issues. Bill Cohen and "Scoop" Jackson found compromises in the Armed Services Committee. The Nunn-Lugar initiatives were legendary. DAN INOUE and Ted Stevens perfected bipartisanship on the Appropriations Committee.

I think it is fair and accurate to say that the Republican Party has changed the most ideologically from the days when the steering committee, led by Senator Jesse Helms, represented the conservatives and the Wednesday moderate luncheon club was almost as big, with Mark Hatfield, "Mac" Mathias, Lowell Weicker, John Danforth, Charles Percy, Bob Stafford, John Heinz, John Chafee, Bob Packwood, Alan Simpson, John Warner, Warren Rudman, Slade Gorton, and ARLEN SPECTER, in addition to Baker, Dole, Stevens, and Cohen. By the turn of the century, the group had shrunk to Jim Jeffords, OLYMPIA SNOWE, SUSAN COLLINS, LINCOLN CHAFEE, and me. After the 2008 election, only SNOWE, COLLINS, and I remained.

By the fall of 2008, the economy was in free fall. More than half a million jobs were being lost each month, and the unemployment rolls were nearing 4 million. President Bush formulated a \$750 billion so-called bailout called TARP, the Troubled Asset Relief Program. Resistance to the proposal was high. The House of Representatives rejected it on September 29 by a vote of 228 to 205. The stock market fell 778 points on the Dow Jones average. Nothing could be done immediately since many in Congress—myself included—were in synagogues across the country celebrating Rosh Hashanah on that evening and the next day. The Senate came back into session on October 1 to vote on TARP.

Vice President Cheney met with the Republican caucus to urge acceptance of the President's plan. Dick Cheney had an earned reputation for being a dry, factual, unemotional speaker, low key, direct, here it is, take it or leave it.

Before the Senate vote, in the Senate Mansfield Room, immediately off this Chamber, the Vice President was impassioned. He said if you don't pass