

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A CELEBRATION OF THE LIFE OF THE HONORABLE THOMAS S. FOLEY, FIFTH DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON, SPEAKER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**HON. JOHN A. BOEHNER**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, November 18, 2013*

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Thomas S. Foley, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, died on October 18, 2013. The House took several steps to honor the former Speaker. Following House tradition, the Speaker's chair on the rostrum was draped in black and the Speaker's gavel rested on a black pillow. Outside the House chamber, Speaker Foley's official portrait in the Speaker's Lobby was draped in black. On October 22, 2013, the House adopted House Resolution 383, expressing the condolences of the House upon his death. On October 29, 2013, a memorial service was held in Statuary Hall celebrating the life of Speaker Foley. The following is a transcript of those proceedings: (The Honorable JOHN A. BOEHNER, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives)

Speaker Boehner: Ladies and gentlemen, let us begin today by acknowledging a great friend of this institution, Mrs. Heather Foley.

(Applause.)

Speaker Boehner: Mrs. Foley, thank you for giving us this chance to try to express the depth of gratitude that we owe to Tom.

An English poet once wrote, "The noblest work of God is an honest man." Well, Tom Foley was that and more. A leader grounded in decency, in principle, he brought honor to himself, to his family, and to this House. He did all these things a public servant should do and, frankly, did many of them better than the rest. Ask any of his peers and they will tell you this, especially those who didn't share his politics.

Listen to Bob Dole, who around the time Tom became Speaker called him "a man of total integrity." Or ask Alan Simpson, who said, "Tom can tell you to go to Hell and make you feel good about going there." And Henry Hyde, as fierce a conservative as they come, who said of the man, "I wish he were a Republican."

There's also this from President George H.W. Bush, "Tom Foley represented the very best in public service and our political system." One class act tipping his hat to another.

Yes, the span of Tom's service and his record is impressive, as is the sequence of his rise: Ag Committee chairman, majority whip, majority leader, and Speaker.

But it was his sense of fairness, his port-a-storm bearing, that will always stand out for me. It's how he held this institution together at a very difficult time, and it's why those who come after us, who seek to know what it means when we use that phrase, "man of the House," or just what it means to leave something behind, should look up the name Thomas S. Foley.

Today, we gather in the old Hall, joined by Presidents, Vice Presidents, Speakers, and so many of our colleagues and diplomats that Tom served with and to reminisce about this man's service and a toast to his life.

Welcome, and thank you all for being here. (The Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, S.J., Chaplain of the United States House of Representatives)

Reverend Conroy: God of Heaven and Earth, the work of Your hands is made known in Your bountiful creation and in the lives of those who faithfully live in Your grace.

Today we especially remember the life and work of Tom Foley, son of the very proud city of Spokane. His commitment to furthering education in his own district, Washington's Fifth, is testified to by the Ralph and Helen Higgins Foley Library at Gonzaga University, his alma mater. It is named in honor of his parents, who clearly did something right in raising such a son.

Tom Foley was a modest man whose impact on the public weal beyond his district far exceeded any projection of ego strength. May we all be inspired by his example to be men and women impelled to improve the lives and prospects of our fellow citizens while eschewing any honor or glory for ourselves, and as he did, do our part to increase understanding and respect across cultural divides.

Be present with us this day, O God, as we mark his life and remember his legacy. Bless this gathering and comfort us as we comfort one another in remembering a great American and a genuinely good man.

Amen.

(The Honorable Norman Dicks, United States House of Representatives, Sixth District of Washington, 1977-2013)

Mr. Dicks: Tom Foley was my friend, mentor, and colleague in the House of Representatives.

I first met Tom Foley at the University of Washington Law School in 1965 during his freshman term. He was a brilliant young man with a warm and friendly smile. It was his intellect and love for this country that made him an outstanding leader.

He served as chairman of the House Agriculture Committee and worked hard on the farm bill and food stamp legislation. Bringing these two issues together allowed Chairman Foley to build support in the House for both.

Tom believed in, and practiced, civility and bipartisanship. His view was that, after the elections were over, Democrats and Republicans should work together to deal with the national legislative agenda.

Seeing Tom Foley's strong leadership qualities and belief in getting things done for the American people, Speaker O'Neill appointed Tom to be the majority whip. He was then unanimously elected to be our majority leader and then our Speaker in 1989.

As Speaker, Tom worked closely with Bob Michel, the Republican leader from 1989 to 1995. They remained great friends after they left Congress. Later, President Clinton named Speaker Foley to be our Ambassador to Japan.

As a staffer to Senator Warren T. Magnuson, I worked with Tom on the Spokane World's Fair in 1974. This project created dramatic change for Spokane, the largest city in the Fifth District.

Tom was so proud to represent the people of the Fifth Congressional District for 30 years. He always thought this was his most important responsibility.

It was a great honor for me that Tom Foley supported me in my campaign to Congress in 1976. I was then privileged to work with him and to receive his support as a Member of the House, and I will always thank him for being such a good mentor.

We will always remember the legacy of Tom Foley. He believed in the Congress, and he believed that this institution could produce positive results for the American people.

His loving wife, Heather, supported him throughout his career and took wonderful care of him during his long illness.

May God bless you, Heather, and the entire Foley family.

(The Honorable Jim McDermott, United States House of Representatives, Seventh District of Washington)

Mr. McDermott: Good afternoon. I am Jim McDermott. I am a House Member from Washington's Seventh Congressional District, which is mostly Seattle. I knew Tom Foley for more than 40 years, and throughout that time, he was a wonderful friend and a sage mentor.

In 1971, when I was a freshman State legislator, he took me out to dinner in Seattle and suggested I run for Congress. I was pleased by his regard for my career, but I knew better since I was a freshman legislator. So I rejected it and ran for Governor. I got creamed. Tom never said a word.

Chastened, I returned to the legislature, determined to learn as much as I could about the realities of governing effectively and the challenges of the legislative role.

When I finally ran for Congress in 1988, Tom was the majority leader of the House. As I arrived for my first term in 1989, Tom was about to become Speaker. I know now that he was about to become the last Speaker of the whole House. He believed that the Speaker was the Speaker for the whole House, and he lived that to his very core.

Today many will note Tom's devotion to the House of Representatives and his learned knowledge of the history of this organization. Sitting down with Tom and letting him tell stories, you learned enormous amounts. He appreciated the role of the House in our balanced structure of government. He knew well the challenge of maintaining that fragile balance.

So when he assumed the Speakership, he brought to it a scholar's depth of understanding and a disciple's passion. He led the House with fairness and comity, a style of leadership we haven't seen—we recently have looked for it—but we have not seen what Tom was able to do with both sides.

Tom understood that the House could not perform its constitutional function without evenhandedness and respected the role of the minority. Tom was a Democrat, no question about it. He was very clear about why he was a Democrat. He believed in the legitimacy and the value of government. He knew that government's duty was to improve the lives of Americans, and he saw it as a noble obligation and worthy of one's very best efforts at any time.

When he became Speaker, he abandoned none of these principles. He added to them a very nuanced appreciation of the role of

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

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

Speaker, and his certainty that the leadership of the House required not a flame-throwing partisan but a measured, steady pilot enlightened by an unmatched knowledge of, and love for, the House of Representatives.

Tom Foley's district was a sprawling, largely rural swath of eastern Washington state; yet its essentially very conservative voters reelected him for 30 years. They took an urban internationalist and sent him back again and again. They did so, and that was a persistent reaffirmation of his unshakeable integrity, his superb legislative skills, and his deep connection with the people of the Fifth District. He always started his speech by saying, "My highest honor was to be elected Congressman from the Fifth District." I believe that the voters recognized him as a great American.

We share that sense of wry Irish humor, but Tom's charm and wit were all his own. He was an extraordinary person and an irreplaceable friend. I am grateful to have known him.

Rest in peace.

(The Honorable John Lewis, United States House of Representatives, Fifth District of Georgia)

Mr. Lewis: Mrs. Foley, bless you.

There was a great minister, scholar, and abolitionist who lived in New England in the 19th century. His name was James Freeman Clarke, and he once made this statement: "A politician," he said, "thinks only of the next election; a statesman thinks of the next generation."

Speaker Tom Foley was a true statesman. He believed it was an honor to serve the public good, and he brought respect for the dignity of our democracy and the inspiration of our mandate as a Nation to every moment of his service. He believed it was our calling as Members of Congress to do what we could to preserve and help create a more perfect Union that has been in the making for almost 300 years.

In all of my years knowing Speaker Foley and seeing him on the floor or in small meetings, I never heard this man, this good man, speak or say a bad word about anyone. I just have a feeling that he was one who believed, if you couldn't say something good about someone, don't say anything at all.

As a leader, he believed he should build and not tear down, reconcile and not divide. He stood for the principles of diplomacy and mutual respect, even toward his opposition. He did not subscribe to the politics of personal destruction.

He knew that his work as Speaker, as a representative of the great State of Washington or as a legislator was bigger than his own personal values and ambition. He wanted to leave a record of accomplishment that would have a lasting impact on our society for generations to come. When he left the Speaker's chair, it was the end of an era, a period, in our history.

Maybe, just maybe, his passing at this moment in our history is just an elegant reminder of one simple truth: no leader is greater than the cause he serves, and when our lives are over, we will be remembered not for fame or fortune, but for how we helped or how we harmed the dignity of all humankind.

I will never forget this prince of a man who led by example and struggled to turn the tide of partisanship in Congress back to constructive debate on the great issues. Every leader, whether in politics or in the larger society, but every leader in America could do well to take a page from Tom Foley's book.

(The Honorable Nancy Pelosi, Democratic Leader of the United States House of Representatives)

Minority Leader Pelosi: Heather, Mr. President, Mr. President, Mr. Vice President,

Mr. Vice President, how wonderful that Speaker Foley has two Presidents, two Vice Presidents, and the good wishes of President George Herbert Walker Bush that our distinguished Speaker quoted earlier. He could never probably have imagined that when he came to the floor on the first day to make his first floor speech. He said, "Public service is a free gift of a free people and a challenge for all of us in public life to do what we can to make our service useful for those who have sent us here." Few fulfilled that charge with more courage, more conviction, more civility than he.

I take great pride in the fact that he's the first Speaker to hail from west of the Rocky Mountains. He brought to Congress a fresh perspective and a powerful voice that would open doors of leadership to Members who represent the diversity of our country.

His first campaign was legendary in its civility. Before the election was even over, his opponent, Congressman Walt Horan, released a statement calling the campaign the cleanest he had ever seen in his 22 years in office. In that spirit, when Tom Foley came to Congress and as Speaker Foley, he made campaign finance reform a priority. He sent legislation to the President's desk that would ensure that our democracy was a government of, by, and for the people. Unfortunately, we could not override the President's veto, but Speaker Foley's commitment to a just democracy and fair elections serves us as an enduring challenge to this day.

Known for his ability to build consensus, Speaker Foley never compromised on the conviction to do right by the American people. When tragedy struck at the Fairchild Air Force Base Hospital in his district, this longtime defender of gun rights saw the need for sensible gun violence prevention laws. Speaker Foley brought that bill to the floor. He helped enact it—those bans—knowing that it would not be well received in his district. But he did what he believed, and he did it with courage.

He matched that dedication to principle and courage with a gift for diplomacy. Nearly 20 years ago, I was privileged—I don't know why I was on the list, but I was invited to attend a special dinner at the British Embassy to honor Speaker Foley for his leadership. As fate would have it, President Clinton, that was the day that you announced that you were going to grant a temporary visa to Gerry Adams. Just a coincidence.

Needless to say, the mood of the evening was tense. Speaker Foley, with his characteristic grace, reasoned that this step—no matter how disconcerting at the moment to them—was crucial to delivering an ever-elusive peace to Northern Ireland, Ambassador.

That remarkable ability to build bridges across great divides would serve him well as Speaker and, later, as U.S. Ambassador to Japan—something he took great pride in, as I know you did, Mr. Vice President. His judgment was impeccable and was respected, and many of us benefited from it.

For me, in September 2008, I attended a G-8 meeting of heads of Parliament, or Speakers—whatever they're called in their particular country. All of the participants were invited to lay a wreath at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial. I immediately called Ambassador Foley, as I called Vice President Mondale, to ask what I should do. He replied, "You must participate. You will be the highest-ranking American official." up until then, "to lay a wreath at the memorial. You cannot say no."

Now, that may seem easy now, but at the time, that was very strong judgment, as, again, the Vice President also gave me.

Such is the nature of a great man who believed, above all, in the purpose of public service. It's about respect. Diplomat, leader,

Speaker—Tom Foley was the quintessential champion of the common good. He spoke for the House he led and the country he so loved.

In his farewell speech—I started with his opening speech—in his farewell speech to the House, he said, "Congress is the place where we come together to speak the voices of America and democracy, and it is the voice that is found to echo resoundingly throughout the world." Throughout the world.

Heather, I hope it is a comfort to you that so many people mourn your loss throughout the world and are praying for you at this sad time. To you, Heather, and to the Foley family, thank you for sharing Tom with a grateful Nation. His voice will forever echo in our hearts, to all who strive to make a difference through public service.

As we count our blessings as a Nation, we know that God truly blessed America with the life and leadership of Speaker, Ambassador, and leader, Tom Foley.

(The Honorable Mitch McConnell, Republican Leader of the United States Senate)

Senate Minority Leader McConnell: Thank you all for being here. And, Heather, we honor you today. You were there all along, guiding and accompanying Tom across all the peaks and the valleys right to the end. We thank you for your spirit, your generosity, and your example, which enlivened this House, as well as your own, for many years. Welcome back.

Now, given Tom's famous equanimity, it is somewhat ironic that he decided to run for Congress in the first place. He actually did it in a moment of anger. The day was July 16, 1964. The Beatles had just returned to Liverpool after their first U.S. tour. President Johnson had recently signed the Civil Rights Act and was on his way to a landslide victory against Barry Goldwater that November. And a 35-year-old Tom Foley was having lunch at the Spokane Club in downtown Spokane.

A gifted lawyer from a prominent local family and a trusted aide to Scoop Jackson, Tom mentioned to the guys he was eating lunch with that he was thinking seriously about running for Congress—not this time, but the next time around. At which point, one of his lunch companions bluntly dismissed the idea out of hand and said:

"You'll never do it. You're like all young people. You think the party's going to come to you with a Tiffany tray and an engraved card and say, 'Please, we humbly beg you, run for Congress.' And that isn't the way it happens. People get to Congress by wanting to run for Congress. You've got excuses this year, and you'll have excuses next year and the year after that."

Well, Tom didn't like this little piece of armchair psychology one bit, and he was determined to prove them wrong. So he got up from the table, walked over to the library across the hall, stuffed himself into a phone booth, and called Western Union. Within minutes, a telegram had been sent to Senator Jackson back in Washington saying that Tom had just resigned his job and was headed to Olympia to file for a run.

Then Tom called his bank and found out he didn't have any money. His cousin Hank had to loan him the filing fee.

Oh, and the filing deadline was the next day.

So Tom had no cash, no plan, and virtually no time.

But he had the smarts. He had a sterling reputation. He had the backing of Senator Jackson. And now, he had the motivation.

And he did it, and for the next three decades, Thomas Stephen Foley would devote his life to the people of eastern Washington's Fifth Congressional District—with grace, intelligence, wit, and a profound respect for others, including his political adversaries,

and an abiding gratitude for the trust and confidence of the people he was elected to serve, from Walla Walla to Northport and all the wheat country and timber towns in between.

Tom always looked the part. Even his classmates at Gonzaga High School called him "the Senator." And I dare say that if most Americans were asked to conjure up in their minds the image of a Congressman, the man they'd like to see would be him. To most people, it seemed as though Tom were born to serve here. And in a remarkable 30-year congressional career, he proved they were right. He proved that he didn't just look the part, he knew the part, and he played it well.

Tom and I weren't on the same side on most issues. His faith in government was, shall I say, a little more robust than mine, but we shared a deep respect for the institution and a belief that working with the other side, particularly at a time of divided government, is no heresy when it enables you to achieve some good for the Nation.

That kind of comity is sometimes viewed as old fashioned around here, but that's never been true. The parties have always disagreed, but it hasn't kept them from working together from time to time to solve problems that we all recognize.

Tom knew that. He practiced it. He took flak from time to time for being a little too friendly with Republicans, but I don't think he ever doubted the wisdom of his approach, even in defeat. As Tom often said, "The first vote you need to earn is your own." It was a principle that served him very well, and it's one that I think says a lot about what the legacy of the gentleman from Spokane will be. We honor his service and his memory.

May we draw all the right lessons from both. (The Honorable Harry Reid, Majority Leader of the United States Senate)

Senate Majority Leader Reid: For 4 years, I served in the House of Representatives with Speaker Tom Foley. During the time I served there, he was the majority whip. I also served with the man who would succeed Speaker Foley as leader of the House, Speaker Newt Gingrich. Newt and I don't agree on too much, but when he wrote in last week's Time magazine that Tom Foley was a pragmatic man, a person of great integrity, and a genuine patriot, I couldn't agree more with Newt.

This is what Speaker Gingrich wrote: "I have nothing but fond memories of serving with Tom Foley. We worked together when we could, competed when we had to, and cooperated for the national interest as far as possible."

I, too, have fond memories of my time serving in the House with Tom Foley. I offer my condolences to Heather who, as we all know, had a strong voice in the House, at least when I was there. She was tremendous, always there available to help us; and she was his greatest influence politically in his whole life.

Tom learned his practical style of politics from his mentors, Senators Scoop Jackson and Warren Magnuson, who were both from the State of Washington. Speaker Foley gained his pragmatism from being a Member, as we've heard from Norm Dicks and others, as a Member and then chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, one of the Chamber's most bipartisan committees.

But I credit much of Tom's down-to-earth demeanor to his Western upbringing. You see, he was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives to be born west of the Rocky Mountains. He cut an imposing figure. He was a big man physically and had this wonderful smile and great voice. He was always gracious to young Members like me.

One day, when I reflect back, as we get a little older, and we've all had that experi-

ence, or most of us, you can't see like you used to, and somehow he didn't bring his reading glasses with him. And he was desperate. He had to read there. He was managing what was going on on the floor and he couldn't see. So I was the first person he saw, and he said, "Find me some glasses. I don't care where you get them." And I wanted to adhere to his wishes, so I didn't care where I got them. Somebody left them laying on a desk, and I grabbed them, and he was so happy to get those glasses because, as has happened to all of us, he just couldn't see and he needed to see. Well, it was my honor and pleasure to find him some glasses to help him see that day.

But a vision as to where the country needed to go he always saw clearly.

(The Honorable Robert H. Michel, Minority Leader of the United States House of Representatives, 1981-1995)

Mr. Michel: Heather, members of the family and President Clinton, President Obama, and all my former colleagues and friends of Tom, all of you, it was my good fortune to have visited Tom with my former right-hand man Billy Pitts a few days before Tom died. I am so grateful to Heather for making that visit possible.

We thought it was going to be just a visit of a couple of minutes, and it ended up we were speaking for an hour about the days gone by, not unlike so many others we had over a relationship of more than 40 years. We both were able to say our piece in an atmosphere of mutual respect, open-mindedness, and, most of all, trust.

As I said in an article in The Post the other day, when Tom became Speaker, he suggested that we get together once a week, talk over the affairs of the House, one week in my office and the next in his, something that had never been done before. While we disagreed over policy and jostled with each other politically, the meetings were highly productive because underlying them was the faith and trust we had in each other. We could talk about anything, knowing that our discussions would remain private unless we decided otherwise. I don't think there is anything more important in the relationship between political leaders than trust.

Never was that bond tested more than it was in January 1991 when I implored Tom to bring to the House floor a resolution that Steve Solarz of New York and I had introduced authorizing then-President Bush to engage in military action in Operation Desert Storm to drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. I was convinced that Tom opposed military intervention, and I know that a good many of his caucus were strongly opposed as well. It was an exercise of political courage and personal decency for Tom to agree to bring the resolution up for an open debate and recorded vote under those circumstances, but he did.

We had one of the most spirited, but civil and informative, debates in which I had been privileged to participate in all my 38 years in Congress. We prevailed in the final outcome that day, but I would have been proud of the House and proud of our Speaker regardless, because the House demonstrated to the world that it was truly a deliberative and democratic body.

Tom and I always struggled to find common ground between our two sides. When there were issues upon which we could not agree, we could at least use common courtesy in the way we conducted our politics. That isn't just good manners; it is good politics.

But win, lose, or compromise, the way we argue can be as important, in the long run, as the decisions we reach.

I so admired Tom's grace and civility. I also admired his understanding and natural

feel for the personality and the distinctive culture of the institution. He was so dedicated to its preservation and protection. Tom was chosen to lead the House in a very difficult time. Through it all, he was a gentleman of the House and a fair and honest broker and a worthy adversary.

And maybe we both knew that our days were numbered. We were too conditioned by our personal and political upbringing to assume that we had the market cornered on political principle or partisan superiority. We knew, too, that there would always be a distinction and separation between campaigning for office and serving in office. We were, I guess, pupils of the old school.

Tom knew that a House Member has three essential jobs: to deliberate, to debate, and to be effective. He knew that if we wanted to be effective in the House, you just can't go around shouting your principles; you have to subject those principles to the test of open debate against those who do not share those principles. But true debate is not possible unless the Golden Rule is applied, which simply means that you treat your fellow Members the way you, yourself, want to be treated. Tom believed in that rule, and he practiced it from the day he came to the House and all during his time as Speaker of the House.

Tom Foley was proud to be a Member of this House. I share that deep pride in this great institution, and I guess that is one reason we were able to work together. We both saw the House of Representatives not as a necessary evil, but as one of the great creations of a free people.

On our last day in Congress, on November 29, 1994, Tom did me the great honor of inviting me to the Speaker's podium to preside over the House while he gave his farewell remarks from the well. Incidentally, that was the first time in 40 years a Republican had been on that rostrum. When we stood side by side at the podium on that last day of the 103rd Congress, we knew that we were icons, I guess, of a bygone era. As we visited for the last time 20 years later, I think we felt good about that. We both took great pride in knowing we had made things happen, that we found good ways to solve difficult problems and make the House a working institution.

Now Tom takes his place among the great public servants immortalized in this Hall of Statues. He is most worthy of a presence here. I know, because of his great love for this institution, that his spirit will dwell here forever. I only hope that the legislators who now walk through here each day, so consumed by the here and now, will feel his spirit, learn from it, and be humbled by it.

That's what I have to say in honor of my dear friend, Tom Foley.

(The Honorable William J. Clinton, 42nd President of the United States)

President Clinton: Mr. Michel may be 90 years old, but he has the spirit of a man half his age and the wisdom of one 10 times his age. We thank him for his remarks.

Heather, I thank you, and, Mr. Speaker, I thank you for giving those of us who worked with, knew, and cared about Tom the chance to be here today. I thank you, Heather, for all you did to make his work possible and better.

Mr. President, thank you for being here, and Mr. Vice President, Vice President Mondale, and all the others who have spoken before me.

Shortly after I was elected President, I invited Speaker Foley and Leader Gephardt to come to Arkansas to see me to tell me everything I didn't know that was about to happen to me, which Tom Foley proceeded to do in that calm, restrained, balanced, lyrical way.

Tom told me not to be lulled by Bob Michel's friendliness, that he was a very

tough adversary, but I could make a deal with him. He told me not to be intimidated, Mr. Speaker, by your bellicosity because you were a brilliant politician, but in the end, we would find a way to do business. He turned out to be right about both things.

His leadership made possible things that mattered to me a lot. Being President is a matter of trying to do what you promised to do when you ran, trying to respond to legitimate impulses that are coming out of the political system across the range, and trying to deal with the unanticipated developments. And if you ignore any of them, you cannot prevail. And if you can't work with the Congress, it's very difficult.

Tom Foley, therefore, was pivotal in our landslide victory for my economic plan and deficit reduction plan, because we won by one vote in the House. And that runaway victory was made possible by the Speaker and everybody else that voted for it. But also, we just celebrated the 20th anniversary of the Family Medical Leave law, the 20th anniversary of AmeriCorps. They are now part of the pillars of our sense of common citizenship.

Now, I have had Republicans and Democrats come up to me and tell me what a difference the family leave law made for them; young people who belong to both political parties who believed in citizen service and participated in AmeriCorps. He helped make those things possible, too.

And one of the things that I always appreciated about him and marveled at how he could be brutally honest in the kindest way.

It is true, as Leader Pelosi said, that he had a conversion of sorts on the whole question of assault weapons because of an experience he had, but he was very clearheaded. He told me when we succeeded, in no small measure thanks to the leadership of then-Senator Biden, and putting the assault weapons ban back in the crime bill, he said, "You can leave this in here but there will be a lot of blood on the floor if we pass this. Many of us will not survive."

I will never forget the argument I had with him. I said, "Tom, I'm from Arkansas. Both my Senators voted for this. I'm still going to carry it next time." He said, "Yeah." He said, "In 4 years. It's the same thing with your economic plan. People will see that it works and people will see that they did not lose their guns and they still got to defend their homes and go hunting and be in sports shooting contests, but we all have to run before they know any of that. We have enough uncertainty now. If you put this in there, there will be a lot of carnage."

And I thought he was wrong, but he was right. And he lost that election by 4,000 votes. I would be a wealthy man if I had a dollar for every time in the last 20 years I have found my mind drawn to that conversation.

Was it worth his public service? We had 8 years of declining violent crime for the first time in the history of the country. We did prove that it did not interfere with people's Second Amendment rights, but the price was high.

What I want to tell you is, appropriate today, that Tom Foley, as nice as he was, as civil as he was, as much as he loved his colleagues of both parties, was one tough guy. This is a man who took up martial arts in his sixties. Now that I am there, I respect it even more.

He risked the broken bones and the torn ligaments and everything. He was tough and he walked clear-eyed into the House, and we put those votes together and the crime bill passed. And those of us who supported it at least think America was much better off as a result. But he knew that, even in the spirit of bipartisanship and compromise, being in public service and making difficult decisions

was inevitable and not free, and he paid the price.

Before I came here, I read all the letters that Tom Foley and I wrote to each other. That is a great thing about having a library. Somebody will dig that stuff up for you. Now, here is the one that means the most to me. It says the most about him. He loved being in the House. It hurts to lose anytime, but it really hurts if you're the Speaker, and he knew his district, it turned out, way better than I did, at least 4,000 votes better than I did.

Bob Michel talked about what they did on November 29, 1994. This letter was written to me on November 16, 1994, signed by Tom Foley and Dick Gephardt and Bob Michel and Newt Gingrich, asking that the administration send to the lame-duck session of Congress the legislation to implement the general agreement on terrorism and trade which established the World Trade Organization which I believe has played a major role in lifting more people out of poverty in extreme circumstances in very poor countries, in the last 20 years, than anything else.

He was, in short, dying inside, heartbroken, and he still showed up for work, and he still believed that the purpose of political service was to get the show on the road.

I will never forget this letter as long as I live. Dick was hurt, too. He was going from majority to the minority, but Tom Foley had lost his seat in a district he loved. I talked to him about the wrinkles and curves of that district I don't know how many times. But he was doing his job.

I asked him to go to Japan, just as I asked Vice President Mondale to go to Japan, for a very simple reason. After our wartime conflict, they became one of our greatest allies and one of the greatest forces for democracy and security and freedom and growth in the world. They had a tough time in the 1990s. They had their collapse well before we did, and I always believed that the rest of the world was underestimating the Japanese people, their brilliance, their creativity, their technology, their resilience, and I wanted them to know that America still cared.

And when Fritz Mondale was there and when Tom Foley was there, they knew America cared.

So I leave you with this. I think they had a good time there, and I think they enjoyed it. I know he did. There were seven Japanese Prime Ministers in my 8 years as President. We are not the only people that have turmoil. The best politician was Prime Minister Obuchi. Tragically, as a young man he had a stroke. He endured for 43 days after his stroke, and when he died I suppose in a busy world full of things to do, it was something of an anticlimax. I was appalled when I was the only leader of a major country that came to his funeral. But I flew all the way to Japan, spent 7 hours, so that I could go. I liked him, I admired him, and I thought he had set forth a direction that gave Japan the best chance they had to succeed until Mr. Mori took office.

At the end of the funeral, young Japanese women appeared with trays of flowers, and in the site, his ashes were on a high wall that was totally made of flowers of the rising sun, and every person there, beginning with his wife, went up and bowed to his ashes and put a flower on the table until thousands and thousands and thousands of flowers were there creating a great cloud.

He was succeeded as Prime Minister by one of his close allies, and the ally said this—Tom Foley and I stayed there for hours and then we went home and watched the rest of it on television until every person had put their flower there, a testimony to the importance of citizenship and believing in the in-

stitutions of your country. But the current Prime Minister said this of his friend, "I wonder if he ever dreamed, and if my friend dreamed, I wonder what his dreams were. Whatever they were, I hope they have all now come true."

I did not know Tom Foley well enough to know if he ever dreamed, or if he did, what he dreamed. But I know when he sat with me that day and watched that sacred experience, I saw the well of common humanity we all share across all of our interesting differences.

He gave his life to our country, and I hope his dreams have all come true.

(The Honorable Barack H. Obama, President of the United States)

President Obama: To Heather and the Foley family, to Tom's colleagues and friends, President Clinton, Vice President Mondale, former Speakers, and those who preceded me, I am honored to join you today to remember a man who embodied the virtues of devotion and respect for the institution that he led, for the colleagues that he served alongside, and, most importantly, for the citizens that he had the honor to represent.

Unlike so many of you, I did not have the privilege of knowing Tom personally. I admired him from afar. But like millions of Americans, I benefit from his legacy. Thanks to Tom, more children get a head start on success in school and in life, more seniors receive better health care, more families breathe easier because they know their country will be there for them in times of need. And all of them—all of us—are indebted to that towering man from Spokane.

I think, in listening to the wonderful memories that have been shared, we get a sense of this man, and we recognize his humility. He often attributed much of his success to good luck—and he may have had a point. Leader McConnell told the story about his first race. There were a couple of details that got left out. On the way to Olympia to file the paperwork for his first congressional campaign, apparently Tom blew out a tire, so he and some friends hitchhiked to a service station to get it fixed. And then, as they approached the outskirts of the city, they ran out of gas, so they pushed the car up the hill, coasting into town just before the deadline. And Tom went on to win that race by a resounding 54 votes.

So there's no question that there may have been some luck of the Irish operating when it came to Tom Foley, as well as incredible stamina. But what led him to make history as the first Speaker of the House from west of the Rockies was not luck. It was his hard work, his deep integrity, and his powerful intellect, and, as Bob Michel so eloquently and movingly stated, his ability to find common ground with his colleagues across the aisle. And it was his personal decency that helped him bring civility and order to a Congress that demanded both and still does.

Which brings me to a final point. At a time when our political system can seem more polarized and more divided than ever before, it can be tempting to see the possibility of bipartisan progress as a thing of the past—old school, as Bob said. It can be tempting to wonder if we still have room for leaders like Tom; whether the environment, the media, the way that districts are drawn, and the pressures that those of us in elected office are under somehow preclude the possibility of that brand of leadership. Well, I believe we have to find our way back there.

Now, more than ever, America needs public servants who are willing to place problem-solving ahead of politics, as the letter that President Clinton held up indicates, as the history of the crime bill shows. We are sent here to do what's right, and sometimes doing

what's right is hard and it's not free; and yet that's the measure of leadership.

It's important for us who feel a responsibility to fight for a cause to recognize that our cause is not advanced if we can't also try to achieve compromise, the same way our Founders saw it—as a vital part of our democracy, the very thing that makes our system of self-government possible. That's what Tom Foley believed. That's what he embodied. That's the legacy that shines brightly today.

On the last day that he presided as Speaker, Tom described what it should feel like to serve the American people in this city. He spoke about coming to work in the morning and catching a glimpse of the Capitol. And he said that it ought to give anyone a thrill, a sense not only of personal satisfaction, "but very deep gratitude to our constituents for the honor of letting us represent them." And Tom never lost that sense of wonder.

It's interesting—as I read that passage, what he wrote, the first time I visited Capitol Hill, Tom Foley was Speaker. I was a very young man and I was doing community work, and I remember seeing that Capitol and having that same sense of wonder. And I think now about Tom Foley being here, doing that work, and inspiring what might have ultimately led me to be interested in public service as well.

When we're standing outside these magnificent buildings, we have that sense of wonder and that sense of hope. And sometimes the longer you're here, the harder it is to hang on to that. And yet Tom Foley never lost it—never lost that sense of wonder, never lost the sense of gratitude. What a privilege he felt it was to serve. And he never forgot why he came here—on behalf of this Nation and his State and the citizens that he loved and respected so much.

And so, as a country, we ought to be grateful to him. And to Heather and to the people of the great State of Washington, thank you so much for sharing Tom with us.

God bless Tom Foley. God bless the United States of America.

Speaker Boehner: Mr. President and to all of our speakers, thank you for your testimonials.

In keeping with tradition, at this time, I would like to ask Leader Pelosi to join me as we present Mrs. Foley with a flag flown over the Capitol on the day of the Speaker's passing and a copy of House Resolution 383, a resolution expressing the House's sincerest condolences.

(Presentation made.)

(Mrs. Heather Foley, wife of the Honorable Thomas S. Foley)

Mrs. Foley: Thank you, President Obama and President Clinton. I so appreciate you coming to honor and celebrate Tom's life.

Thank you, Norman Dicks and Jim McDermott, our wonderful friends. Let me acknowledge Congressman Lewis and former Congressman and Republican leader Bob Michel, who have both always been great friends to Tom and me.

And of course, I thank Senator Harry Reid and Senator Mitch McConnell for traveling a long way from the Senate to the House to remember my husband.

Also, I want to thank the Special Envoy from Japan, Minister Masahiko Komura and Ambassadors Sasae, Anderson, and Westmacott, plus the diplomatic delegations, for coming.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Speaker Boehner for making this memorial service possible. Without his caring and competent staff, this event would not have happened.

When my husband was Speaker, we had about one person who handled this kind of work. The Speaker has been most gracious and helpful, and I applaud him for that.

I want to say a few words about my husband. As you probably know, I worked for him for years as an unpaid staffer. I did not plan to do this when I married him in 1968. I was sort of wooed into being a volunteer for just a little while to see how things go, and I remained for the full time he was here. I should say that I stayed here unpaid, and that it was a great adventure. Every time I thought of leaving, he would suddenly assume a new position, and it was a great good fortune of my life to be along for the ride and to see what happened next.

Early on, I discovered that my husband was a wonderful teacher. David Barner has written the nicest note about this, and I think he was right on the mark. I can look back and say that his father taught him about fairness, patience, and all the virtues everyone has mentioned today.

There was a story that Tom's father, who was a superior court judge, could sentence you to death and you would thank him. But when I think back, and what I thought at the time is I'm not sure where his good judgment came from, how he understood the limits of power—and there are enormous limits to power—that we must all work together and how much courage he often displayed when defending what he believed was right. Some of it must have been the result of his Jesuit education and his experience as a debater.

A friend of his is here who knew him and debated with him, and he told me that at 16 he was just a wonderful, great man, even though he was just a young man at that time. I never knew really exactly why he always knew the right thing to say and do. Perhaps it was his honesty and his resolve to keep his word. I don't know.

I think back on our almost 45 years together, and I think of the long, long meetings that perhaps best displayed his ability to reason with people. One of them was in the late 1960s at Shadel Park High School in Spokane. Tom had accepted the challenge of a man whose name I think was Virgil Gunning who was opposed to any form of gun control, and he claimed that Tom was for every form of gun control. So Tom agreed to appear at this forum in this local high school, and Virgil ran ads in the newspapers and was able to attract—I think he also ran them on the radio and television—an audience of about 700 people. Tom stood on the stage for 5½ hours and answered all of Gunning's allegations with reasons that I never would have thought of. There were endless questions in the audience. There were bumper stickers waved about the Hungarians limited their guns and that's why they lost their freedom, something to that effect.

I can remember Tom saying that he was not for repealing laws that limited a citizen's use of cannons and rockets, that he didn't think you were entitled to have a missile silo right there in the backyard of your house.

At first, the audience was hostile, but at the end, Gunning made a fatal mistake. He asked everyone to stand up and then he pleaded for money to pay for the hall and the ads, and people who were already standing, they just walked out.

I had spent a good deal of my life overseas at this time, and I was mesmerized to watch this. It wasn't like, you know, dealing with the Pakistanis or going to school there or living in Greece or Egypt, as I had done. It was something very different.

I learned over the years, and I was able to see Tom reason with all kinds of people and with all kinds of interesting arguments. He could always see another side to something. I got to see him in action with Presidents and politicians on both sides of the House and both sides of the Capitol. He was some-

how able to walk others through their demands and show them where they were asking too much and where they might be right. He was not afraid to take a position that a constituent or a colleague might oppose and explain why.

I can remember the Pacific power administrator who came to get more goodies being told that it was time that the Pacific Northwest perhaps limited its demands and look in other directions to get more power. I'm sure they are still here asking for it, but anyway. But at the time, they agreed.

He was a man of principle. He was not afraid to compromise. He believed there was honor in compromising. When he nearly lost the election in 1980, he did not retreat to the life he enjoyed as chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, as many would have done. Instead, he became Democratic whip and started his climb up the leadership ladder.

I was appalled. I had gotten used to his position as chairman, and I was on good terms with the staff. Suddenly, all of these people were going to lose their jobs. We couldn't take all of them with us to the whip office. The budget was not that large. So I got used to it, and then he moved up the ladder again and again.

It would have been the easy thing to stay as chairman of the Agriculture Committee, and I should have known that this extraordinary man was destined for extraordinary things. I'm afraid I've kept you too long. Thank you so much for coming to salute the life of a great man.

Thank you.

Reverend Conroy: Dear Lord, as we close our time together, send Your Spirit of peace and consolation upon us, who mourn the loss of the honorable former Speaker of the House, Tom Foley.

He was a glowing example, an icon of what it means to be a man for others. His decades of service to his home State of Washington, and to our great Nation, will be long appreciated by those whose lives are forever blessed by his life's work and dedication.

May Your angels come to greet our beloved Tom, and may those who mourn him here be consoled with the knowledge that for those who love You, everything is turned to good. Amen.

## RECOGNIZING THE GARY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

HON. PETER J. VISCLOSKY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 18, 2013

Mr. VISCLOSKY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I recognize the Gary Chamber of Commerce as the organization celebrates the 6th annual Lakeshore Classic basketball tournament. In honor of this historic event, the Gary Chamber of Commerce is hosting a celebratory event and basketball tournament on Friday, November 29 and Saturday, November 30 at the Genesis Convention Center in Gary, Indiana.

The Lakeshore Classic will not only recall a remarkable moment in basketball history but will also remind us of the profound effect it had on society for generations to come. In 1955, the Indianapolis Crispus Attucks High School and the Gary Roosevelt High School basketball teams faced off in an astonishing game that left the sport of basketball changed forever. It was the first time in the history of our nation that two African American high