

would watch from the living room as his dad sat at the dinner table surrounded by Democrats and Republicans alike—both sides at dinner working together. Those memories left a mark. TOM would spend his time in Congress trying to do much the same. TOM's work with Senator Vitter led to one of his greatest accomplishments in office: the first major revision of the Toxic Substances Control Act in 40 years. At the time, it was the most significant environmental law to pass Congress in over 20 years.

TOM also had become one of the Senate's leading authorities on Tribal policy, cosponsoring over a quarter of the bills that passed through the Indian Affairs Committee on their way to being signed into law. Legislation to improve Tribal access to affordable healthcare and funding to support Native American language preservation programs and boost support for Native American entrepreneurs all bear the Udall stamp.

When it comes to protecting our environment and public lands, no one commands greater respect than the senior Senator from New Mexico. TOM helped increase funding for the Department of Interior by 25 percent, including billions to protect our national parks and expand our wildlife preserves. Through the Great American Outdoors Act, TOM helped secure permanent funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund—a fund his dad helped establish over 40 years ago.

One of TOM's favorite authors, Wallace Stegner, once wrote:

Something will have gone out of us as a people if we ever let the remaining wilderness be destroyed. . . . We simply need that wild country available to us, even if we never do more than drive to its edge and look in.

Well, TOM did a whole lot more than “look in.” He preserved, he conserved, and he expanded the great American wilderness for generations hence.

These highlights, impressive as they are, are only the tip of the iceberg. Over his 12 years in office, TOM's legislative accomplishments ran the gamut of consumer protection, conservation policy, climate change, the protection of Tribal nations, and, most recently, a principled stand against the current administration's attempts to roll back critical environmental protections. Through it all, TOM has been unendingly civil, decent, and kind. He has deep friendships, real friendships, long-lasting friendships in our caucus and across the aisle. He prefers to solve problems, no matter who gets the credit, sometimes resisting the urge to make a splash in public.

Kidding aside, TOM is as down-to-earth as they come. There is just no artifice about him. He is a decent Senator and a man. You couldn't find any better. Other Senators will attest to these qualities, I am sure, and so will his staff—a tribute that is perhaps even greater. The respect and loyalty that Senator UDALL commands from those who work for him day in and day out is something extraordinary.

We don't know when a Udall will next grace the halls with their presence, but I do know this: Our country needs more leaders like TOM.

Senator UDALL once said his father and his uncle were lifelong role models because they had the right mix of inspiration and perspiration. He said: “They were both visionaries, but they were also doers.” I can think of no better description of TOM UDALL himself—a visionary but also a doer.

TOM, as you move on to the next chapter in your life, I wish you and Jill the very best of luck on the road ahead.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

Mr. UDALL. Madam President, I thank Senator SCHUMER for those kind remarks earlier.

As you know, I announced last year that I wasn't running for reelection, and if I had known everyone was going to be so nice to me, I might have announced it earlier.

I am not the only Senator who is giving a farewell speech. Many of us got to hear LAMAR ALEXANDER last week. LAMAR is the perfect example of what a U.S. Senator should be. Before I was wet behind the ears in the Senate, in my first week here, LAMAR invited me and Jill, my wife, to dinner. There it began. Jill and Honey, LAMAR's wife, became fast friends, and LAMAR and I grew closer, building the kind of friendship that is essential here in the Senate. We worked together to get things done for our States in bolstering our National Laboratories and conserving our great outdoors. Something else we shared was Mario, our barber in the Senate barbershop. To be honest, that is the best place to learn the wisdom of the Senate—by sitting in Mario's chair.

Friendships like I have with LAMAR and Mario are what I will miss most about the Senate. It is the friendships because, as any good Senator will tell you, friendships are what get you over the finish line. I will cherish the friendships I have forged over the last 12 years.

I will miss serving the people of New Mexico in Congress. The greatest honor of my life has been doing that, and I am confident that New Mexico will be in good hands with my friend Senator HEINRICH, my great partner over the last 8 years. With his dedicated advocacy for our communities and his love of the land—all of that—MARTIN has been an inspiration, and Senator-Elect BEN RAY LUJÁN, whom I have the privilege of calling a friend, I know will fight for New Mexico families every single day in the Senate.

I will miss the righteous struggle we take up in these Halls to build a more perfect Union, and I will miss all of you—my staff, colleagues, and everyone who works around the clock—and the unsung heroes who keep the Senate running, people like John, Leigh, Mary

Anne, and all of the folks who are here in front of you. There are too many to thank.

First and foremost, I thank my staff. Every Senator here knows we are only as good as the people on our teams, and as my friend PATRICK LEAHY says, we Senators are often just a constitutional impediment to the staff. Over the years, I have been blessed with staffers who are full of talent, skill, drive, and heart.

I don't want to leave anyone out, so I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a list of all of my staff who have been part of Team UDALL.

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

Ned Adriance, Anna Alexander, Beverly Allen, Anna Apodaca, Gabe Apodaca, Lauren Arias, Michael Bales, Paloma Arroyo-Lefebvre, Jonathan Black, Greg Bloom, Jessica Borchert, Billy Busch, Rene Camacho, Xochitl Campos, Jack Carpenter, Nick Carter, Sameer Chintamani, Dorcas Cisse, Leeanne Clark, Sarah Cobb, Emma Coghlan, Jennifer Collins, Michael Collins, Clinton Cowan, Tiffany Cox, Laura Creech, Walter Cross, Kevin Cummins, Cal Curley, Laura Davidson, Reyes De La Cruz, Sabrina De Santiago, Leticia Delgado, Francesca Di Palma, Kristine Dietz, Meredith Dixon, Noelle Dominguez, Elizabeth Driggers, Pablo Duran, Roger Duran.

Bobbie Ferrell, Rachel Fleischer, Meagan Foster, Tannis Fox, Claudette Frausto, Julia Friedmann, Jenna Frosch, Adam Fullerton, Ariel Garayar, Jack Gardner, Renée Gasper, Cara Gilbert, Fern Goodhart, Melanie Goodman, Marco Grajeda, Jessica Grubescic, Stephenne Harding, Jesse Hale, Emma Hamilton, Miranda Hernandez, Sierra Howlett, Cynthia Hull, Carolyn Ice, Michele Jacques-Ortiz, Stephen Jochem, Michael Johnson, Alex Jordan, Michelle Kavanaugh, Edward Kellum, Sean Kennedy, Caroline Klaff, Stephanie Kuo, Talia Lapid, Jeffrey Lopez, Michael Lopez, Yesenia Luna, Jeanette Lyman, Rachel Marchand, Crystal Martinez, Jaime McCarthy.

Jake McCook, Amber McDowell, Everette McKoy, Matt Miller, Elisa Morales, Donda Morgan, Rachel Montoya, Raven Murray, Tom Nagle, Ben Nathanson, Matt Nelson, Casey O'Neill, Annie Orloff, Steven Ortega, Bianca Ortiz Wertheim, Marissa Padilla, Matthew Padilla, Olivia Padilla, Russell Page, Carmela Quintana, Anna Rael Delay, Eddie Render, Alyssa Roberts, Kelly Romero, Rene Romo, Ken Rooney, Zachary Rosenberg, Carlos Sanchez, Joshua Sanchez, Ben Salazar, Laura Salgado, Alethea Scally, Alicia Schreiner, Anthony Sedillo, Kelly Seibert, Leo Sheehan, Sam Simon, Alyson Sincavage, Joshua Sisneros, Jeffrey Stein.

Jake Stewart, Kristina Swallow, Tomas Talamante, Jennifer Talhelm, Michael Thorning, Xochitl Torres Small, Patsy Trujillo, Lisa Van Theemsche, Roberto Vasquez, Anna Vavruska, Andrew Wallace, Daniel Watson, Zoe Wilson-Meyer, David Williams, Devon Wohl, Bill Woldman, Timothy Woodbury, Veronica Yoo, Jan Zastrow.

Mr. UDALL. I want to say thank you from the bottom of my heart to each of you for your hard work, your public service, and your commitment.

I want to thank my family—my parents Stewart and Lee Udall, who instilled in me the will to do good and to be good.

To my brothers, sisters—my sister Lori, who is here—and cousins who

have supported me throughout my three decades in elected office, thank you.

To Amanda, our daughter, who is my forever campaign manager, and to Judge Jim, our son-in-law and just recently a judge in New Mexico, I thank them for their constant love and support.

Most importantly, thank you to my brilliant and beautiful partner of 42 years, Jill Cooper Udall. Jill has been my rock. She has been my chief counsel. She has been my everything, and I couldn't have asked for a better partner with whom to have this public adventure.

It has truly been an adventure for this son of the West, for after 20-plus years, it is time for me to go back home. As the great western writer Wallace Stegner wrote, "It is not an unusual life curve for Westerners to live in and be shaped by the bigness, sparseness, space, clarity, and hopefulness of the West—to go away for study and enlargement and the perspective that distance and dissatisfaction can give—and then to return to what pleases the sight and enlists the loyalty and demands the commitment."

Stegner said that we fall into two categories. We are either boomers or stickers. Boomers "pillage and run." Stickers are "motivated by affection, by such a love for place and its life that they want to preserve it and remain in it."

I am telling you here today that I am a sticker. I am also an optimist. I want to be more accurate: I am a troubled optimist. I have tried to open my eyes to the challenges we face, while never losing conviction in our ability to meet those challenges.

As the scientist Rachel Carson said, one way to open your eyes is to ask yourself, "What if I had never seen this before? What if I knew I would never see it again?"

I believe this Nation has arrived at a moment when we are opening our eyes to the enormous challenges before us and also to their solutions. Our planet is in crisis—facing mass extinction and climate change. Our people are in coronavirus—ravaged by a pandemic that has laid bare the inequities of our society. Also, our democracy is in crisis as the people's faith in their government is shaken.

We cannot solve one of these crises without solving the others, and that is why I am troubled, but all I have to do to be optimistic is to look around me. I look at the young people across this country who are calling for change, for climate action, for voting rights, for immigrant rights, and for economic, environmental, and racial justice. They have held sit-ins in my office—probably in yours too. They are demanding that we do better, and their determination gives me hope. I am optimistic as I look back on the small acts of kindness and the big acts of progress that define my time in the Congress. I believe that there are lessons in these accomplishments.

Now, you may know me as someone who wants to reform the filibuster, but to be clear, I have always supported the talking filibuster. So, if you will indulge me—and by the rules of the Senate, you have to; you can leave, but I get to keep talking—

(Laughter.)

—I would like to talk about a few of the highlights of my career and what I have learned from them.

As you know, protecting America's outdoor treasures is a cause close to my heart. It is something of a family project. My family homesteaded in the West almost 180 years ago, and like generations of Udalls before me, I grew up with a special connection to the land—to the gorgeous, untamed beauty of the West, to the 60-mile vistas, to the snow-covered, rugged mountains, alpine lakes, and abundant wildlife. MITT ROMNEY knows this, for our great-grandfathers settled the same small western community. Stegner called the West the "geography of hope." It sure is for me. It is what has inspired much of my public service, and that is why I am so proud of what we have accomplished together to conserve our natural heritage.

On the Appropriations Committee, we have worked together for resources for our public lands and environmental protection, on a bipartisan basis, in the face of massive proposed cuts, and we have held off anti-environmental riders that have had no place in these bills.

Thank you to my friend LISA MURKOWSKI, who has been the best partner I could ask for in this work. In New Mexico, where public lands are central to our way of life, we have had enormous success unlocking tens of thousands of acres of enchanted land for all of us to enjoy—and for MARTIN to hunt on every now and then. Each of these efforts was collaborative and community-driven, and that collaborative work has culminated in one of the biggest conservation victories in American history—the passage of the Great American Outdoors Act. Thanks to the determination of a grassroots coalition and many champions here in Congress, we got this bill over the finish line.

For the first time, we have realized the promise of the Land and Water Conservation Fund—the promise my father envisioned almost 55 years ago, when he helped to create our Nation's most successful conservation program. After more than 20 years of fighting for this in Congress, I am thrilled we have gotten it done, and we have gotten it done together.

The law is a model for how conservation and economic recovery can go hand in hand. It will help us to achieve the urgent goal of protecting 30 percent of our lands and waters by 2030. Enacting the Great American Outdoors Act, at a time of immense division, is a tremendous feat, and it tells us a lot about what we are capable of. It tells us that conservation is popular—a political winner. Environmental protection can be an area of cooperative ac-

tion, and it must be if humanity is to survive and prosper.

As I talk about my love of the land, I cannot neglect to acknowledge how much I have learned from the original stewards of this land—Native Americans, indigenous people. I got my start in politics by working with my father in fighting alongside the Navajo uranium miners who had been hurt and many who had died. They had been hurt by this Nation, by our nuclear weapons program. My work as vice chair of the Indian Affairs Committee has been the honor of a lifetime and another area in which this committee has achieved bipartisan progress.

I thank my chairmen, Senator HOEVEN and Senator BARRASSO before him, for their partnership and friendship. We have worked together as a committee for better healthcare, education, housing, and urgently needed resources for Native communities, especially as they battle this pandemic.

The Federal Government's obligation to uphold its trust and treaty obligations is sacred. Some of my proudest achievements have been the result of working with Tribal leaders to advance the Indian Country's priorities and to support New Mexico's 23 Tribes.

Recently, a bipartisan coalition passed legislation to strengthen the principle of Tribal self-governance, provide Native entrepreneurs critical resources, and secure investments in Native language revitalization.

The achievements I remember most fondly are ones like these—those we did together. Indeed, those are the only kinds of achievements that are possible in this body.

Take the Frank R. Lautenberg Chemical Safety for the 21st Century Act—our landmark reform of the Toxic Substances Control Act. It was the biggest environmental reform in a generation. I was proud to lead that effort to protect our families from toxic chemicals. It was hard work, and it took years. But if you can get a project where JIM INHOFE and ED MARKEY are working for the same goal, you can get a lot done around here.

It is another example of how friendships get you over the finish line. My friendship with David Vitter, my partner on TSCA reform, was sort of like Ted Kennedy and Orrin Hatch's friendship, a political odd couple—me, the son of Mormon pioneers; David, a son of New Orleans—two very different political backgrounds and different views on the big problems before us.

But I will never forget the dinner we had after Frank Lautenberg passed away, when we decided to take on TSCA reform. We looked at each other after that dinner and shook hands and said: We are going to get this done.

And we did. It passed the Senate unanimously. We agreed that there was a problem, and we found common ground on a solution. That is still possible in the Senate.

But I didn't come here to just list accomplishments. You can check my

Twitter feed if you want to see more of that. I do want to share some final thoughts about challenges our Nation faces before I leave the Senate.

I believe that, for all of us here, public service is a calling. It certainly is for me. In my life I have had the privilege of learning from many dedicated servants. One of them was Senator John McCain.

Senator McCain was a friend to me and a friend to my family. When John first came to the House, my Uncle Mo—big Uncle Mo, 6 feet 5 inches—took him under his wing. John did the same for me, and we worked together on issues like campaign finance reform, Native American issues, and others.

John often said to me: “We disagree in politics—but not in life.” Let’s remember that. “We disagree in politics—but not in life.”

My great-grandfather helped settle St. John’s, a small farming and cattle community on the Arizona-New Mexico border, in the 1880s. He had an embroidery that hung on his frontier home that read: “If the good folks don’t get into politics, the scoundrels will take over.”

I believe there are a lot of good folks here in the Senate, but the system we are caught in makes it too hard to work together. We need to remember that we disagree in politics but not in life.

I am not the first to say in a farewell address, and I won’t be the last. But the Senate is broken. The Senate is broken, and it is not working for the American people.

We are becoming better and better political warriors. We are good at landing a punch, at exposing the hypocrisy, and at riling each other up, but we aren’t fostering our better angels. Our peacemaking skills are atrophied. Every hurt takes time to heal, and each time we hurt each other, it sets us back.

But, unfortunately, the structures we have built reward us for hurting one another. We need to reform those structures or we will never make that progress we need to make.

I have proposed Senate rules changes when I was in the minority and when I was in the majority to make sure this institution does not remain a graveyard for progress.

The Founders did not envision a Senate requiring 60 votes to act. The filibuster came to be through historical accident, and it is now woven into the institutional framework. The promise of the filibuster is that the majority will find common ground with the minority, but the reality of the filibuster is paralysis—a deep paralysis.

On top of this, we have a campaign finance system that is out of control. John McCain told you that over and over again, and he called money the cancer growing on our democracy. And John McCain knew a lot about cancer.

Secret money floods campaigns to buy influence instead of letting the

voters speak. Voting rights are under attack. We can do our best to be good people in a system like that, but it is no surprise that America’s faith in government is declining.

These structures are antidemocratic. They reward extremism. They punish compromise.

Our government is supposed to respond to the will of the majority while protecting the rights of the minority. Instead, we have “the tyranny of the minority.” That tyranny is super wealthy, politically powerful, and dangerously out of touch with the American people.

The majority of Americans support pandemic relief, healthcare for every American, action on global warming, racial justice and police reform, and so many other priorities that don’t see much progress in the Senate.

People are losing their faith in the system—rightfully so. We have to do something to fix this.

If we are to take bold action necessary to tackle the urgent problems before us, we must reform our democracy. We must make it easier to vote. We must end the dominance of Big Money, and we must root out corruption.

And we do not have any time to waste. We have no choice but to be bold because the crises before us demand bravery. Hundreds of thousands of Americans are dead from a pandemic—a pandemic that this administration has callously ignored, a consequence of its continued rejection of science. In New Mexico, we have surpassed 108,000 cases, over 1,700 are dead, and tens of thousands have lost their jobs.

Meanwhile, our Nation is facing dual climate and nature crises of epic proportions. Earlier this year, much of the American West was engulfed in wildfire. As an arid State, New Mexico is in the crosshairs of climate change. We lose a football field’s worth of nature every 30 seconds.

A million species are at risk of extinction because of human activity. Our planet’s life support system is under threat. As the climate crisis worsens, ecosystems are destroyed, and as ecosystems are destroyed, we emit more harmful greenhouse gases. We cannot solve one crisis without solving the other.

Protecting nature is about protecting humanity. It is just that simple. And marginalized communities, communities of color, low-income communities, and indigenous people are bearing the worst consequences of the environmental destruction and pollution caused by the rich and the powerful.

We have the power to solve these crises—the power and the obligation. All it takes is clear eyes and political will and remembering that we may disagree in politics but not in the future that we want for our children.

When I was a young man, I spent the summer of 1969 in the mountains of Colorado, teaching students wilderness skills. Each night, we would look up

and open our eyes to the Moon. It seemed impossibly far away.

I am reminded of Rachel Carson’s words: “One way to open your eyes is to ask, what if I had never seen this before?”

When we emerged from the wilderness, we learned what *Apollo 11* had achieved. We had landed on the Moon—the Moon that seemed so impossibly far away.

We should never forget that we can do—we, all of us, can do—the impossible when we open our eyes to the challenge and work together to meet it.

So as I return home to the West, I am clear-eyed about—even troubled by—how far away our destination is. But I am optimistic that we will get there, like we always have.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. HEINRICH. Madam President, it is my honor today to commend the senior Senator from New Mexico, my longtime partner in this Chamber, my good friend TOM UDALL, for his years of service to our great State of New Mexico and to our Nation.

Before I speak about Tom, I would like to quickly take a moment, too, to recognize the service of Congresswoman XOCHITL TORRES SMALL over these last 2 years.

Congresswoman TORRES SMALL actually served for a time in Senator UDALL’s office in Las Cruces, and for these last 2 years in the House of Representatives, she has dedicated herself to delivering resources for the people of southern New Mexico. And I am so very grateful to have served alongside XOCHITL in our congressional delegation, and I am greatly looking forward to seeing how she will contribute her heart and her talents to New Mexico next. She certainly learned a great deal from our senior Senator.

TRIBUTE TO TOM UDALL

Now, let me tell you a little bit about our senior Senator, TOM UDALL.

One of the first times I ever spent any serious time with TOM UDALL was actually on horseback. Tom was serving at the time as the Congressman for northern New Mexico’s Third Congressional District, and I was leading a group called the Coalition for New Mexico Wilderness. Together, we rode into rugged mesas and canyons east of Las Vegas, NM—that is the original Las Vegas—that I hoped would soon be designated as the Sabinoso Wilderness.

It was clear right away that Tom shared my sense of wonder in the outdoors and wild places and a strong commitment to protect those precious landscapes for future generations, and despite his day job walking the Halls of Congress, he was pretty comfortable on that horse of his—much more so than myself.

More than a decade later, Tom and I would repeat that horseback ride in Sabinoso, alongside President Trump’s then-Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke.

We were both serving in the Senate by this point. We had successfully