

had the type of district that encouraged her and helped her and pushed her to represent the people as they wanted to be represented in the Congress of the United States. So if you understand where people come from and understand their background and who they represent, I think it helps you understand how people of different positions can be friends, because they are truly trying to represent their States the best they can. It is not just because of their politics but because of where they are from.

Let me say one other thing that I think we need to pay attention to in this body, the Senate. That is, we should not let outside forces dictate to us how we treat each other and how we work together. Many times, when Democrats have a caucus lunch on Tuesday right outside this Chamber, Republicans are having theirs separate from us at the same time. Many times, we hear people call in from the outside who are in public relations, PR men and women and pollsters, who spend an inordinate amount of time telling us how we can take actions that will show how the other side is wrong and we are right. Right across the hall, the Republicans are hearing some of the same type of public relation firms arguing to them how they can posture themselves to be able to blame the Democrats for failure.

Back in the old days, we used to do all this together. People would stand up and give their position, and the other side would give theirs and find out we are trying to accomplish the same thing, coming at it from slightly different venues and in a slightly different direction. I always feel that if you only listen to yourself, you are only going to hear an echo and you are never going to disagree. That is why it is so important to hear the other side, listen to what the other side has to say, understand what they say. You don't have to agree with them, but I think you are a better person if you understand and your position becomes stronger if you know what the other side is going to argue. It makes your position better and stronger.

But you also must realize that neither party has a monopoly on the truth. Both sides have good ideas. The real answer to this body and the House, and for democracies everywhere, is trying to take the best of what both sides can offer and blend them in a package that simply makes Government work for all of us. People back home are not so much concerned about who wins and loses as they are about whether we are getting the job done. Congress does not have to be like a Super Bowl. In the Super Bowl, you have to have one team that is going to win and one that will lose. If there is a tie, they have a play-off and go into overtime until one team wins and one team loses. There is nothing wrong with the Congress trying to find ways to reach agreement and blending the best from both sides and coming up with something so that ev-

erybody wins. Then we can argue and fight over which team won. That way, I can go back to Louisiana and tell them look what I did, and somebody from Texas or Illinois can go back to their State and say look what I did. And that is fine, because we can argue about success and not debate over failure and whose fault it was. The American people would be better served if the debate here could be a debate about how we accomplish something as opposed to why we didn't get anything done.

I leave with a great deal of appreciation for everybody who helped me, including my staff, many of whom are in the gallery. They helped me every day over and above the call of duty. I also thank the people on the floor with me, including Diana Bostic and so many of the friends we have worked with, like Lula, who was with Senator Long before, and all of the other people. This has been a joint venture, to say the least. I leave with a great deal of optimism.

I am not leaving because I am unhappy or because I am mad. I have enjoyed every single minute of it. I have to admit that some minutes I have enjoyed more than others, but by and large it has been a great and wonderful experience. I give nothing but the very best to my colleagues and wish them nothing but the very best in the future.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

TRIBUTES TO RETIRING SENATORS

JOHN BREAUX

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I am fortunate enough to have been here to hear my colleague from Louisiana give his farewell speech. It was my good fortune to have served with him both in the House and in the Senate. He is one of the favorites of both sides of the aisle. It is an amazing tribute to JOHN and his political career that he does have so many friends in the Senate. From the liberal wing to the conservative wing, Republicans, Democrats, North, South, East and West, you like JOHN BREAUX. You like him because he is a genuine person and also because he comes from a State that is a lot of fun and he is a lot of fun. Some of my best memories of JOHN are his hard work here and then his hard play at home.

When he would invite us to New Orleans for a Democratic leadership conference and other meetings and show us his major city in his home State, it was always a treat.

Then occasionally he would export a little bit of Louisiana to Washington and to the site of the Democratic Convention, and it was always a sellout event. People wanted to be there. JOHN never let them down. I saw him at the Los Angeles Convention where he gave a little party—and I use that term advisedly. It was not little at all, it was a big party. He was dressed in a cos-

tume for Mardi Gras that would have put Elvis Presley to shame. It was an amazing array of gold and sequins, the likes of which I have never seen. He looked so much at home in that outfit.

I said to him: How do the people back in Louisiana take to that kind of dress?

He said: You know, they would throw me out of office if I didn't do these things. They expect that of me.

I also went down to New Orleans with him and saw him in a musical performance with a zydeco band. He has musical talent most people don't know about.

I tell you these things because people who follow the Senate, hear the speeches, look at positions on issues and look at the party labels, forget that behind each and every one of us is a real life story.

I love the story of your family coming to Washington, JOHN. It is a beautiful story of packing up the kids and your first impression. Every one of us has that story to tell. There are new Senators coming and saving up those stories in their own minds for the day they stand behind that desk to say what it means to be one of the few Americans given a chance to serve in this great Chamber.

We are going to miss JOHN BREAUX and all that he brought to the Senate and all he brought to this Nation. He has been a problem solver. He has tried to reach across the aisle over and over to create bipartisan coalitions. Sometimes I was with him; sometimes I was not. It did not make any difference because it was a good-faith effort on JOHN BREAUX's part to serve his State and this Nation.

He has had a great career in the House and the Senate. His departure will leave a gap in terms of quality that many of us will work hard to fill. JOHN, I am honored I could serve with you and that I could hear your parting remarks this evening. I wish you and your family the very best.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Fritz Hollings

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I would like to take a few minutes to talk about our departing colleagues. I am going to start with the senior Senator from South Carolina, the senior Senator after many years of waiting in the wings, and that is Senator FRITZ HOLLINGS.

I first got to know FRITZ HOLLINGS after I came to the Senate in 1986. My wife Annette and I have worked with FRITZ and his wife Peatsy. We have traveled around the United States with them. We have been with them in their home. We visited them in Charleston. We traveled around the world with them.

He is a unique individual, to say the least, but he has had, as the Presiding Officer knows, a distinguished career as a State Senator in his native South Carolina and then lieutenant governor

and Governor of his State before he came to the Senate I believe in 1966.

He has had a distinguished career as chairman of the Commerce Committee for many years and as a senior member of the Appropriations Committee and chairman for many years, and ranking member now, of the Appropriations subcommittee dealing with State-Justice.

FRITZ, we are going to miss you. We are going to miss your humor. We are going to miss your frankness. We are going to miss your wisdom. And we are going to miss your wife Peatsy about whom we all care and love. You have invited a lot of us to visit you in Charleston. I hope you add some more rooms to that house there because a lot of us will be coming to see you. You have been a great American.

In addition to public service to his State and to the Nation, FRITZ HOLLINGS was a young graduate of the Citadel in his hometown of Charleston before the Second World War, and he served with distinction as an officer in Europe for a long time through many battles.

I respect you, FRITZ. I commend you for your service, and I look forward to visiting you both here and in Charleston in the years to come.

DON NICKLES

One of my other colleagues we all care about and work with is DON NICKLES of Oklahoma. He came here as a very young man in 1980. He has been here 24 years. He was the whip, assistant majority leader. He was right here on this floor. He spent many days, many hours trying to herd us together as one of our leaders. He is now at the moment the chairman of the Budget Committee, and that is a feat in itself. He is a senior member of the Finance Committee.

We wish you had stayed around, but you chose to leave the Senate on your own volition. DON, we will see you, we will miss you, and I commend you for your service to the Nation and to your great State of Oklahoma.

JOHN BREAUX

JOHN BREAUX was just on the floor a few minutes ago. I first met JOHN BREAUX when I came to the House of Representatives in 1978. He had preceded me, although he is a little younger. He was a young man in the House of Representatives. He was very involved and was one of the first people I met there.

He tried to work with both sides, the Democrats and Republicans. He has been involved in the forging of a lot of compromises—meaningful ones—over the years. He has represented his State of Louisiana both as a Congressman and as a Senator well, I believe, for many years. JOHN, we wish you and your wife Lois the best. We know you are not going to go very far, but you have a lot of friends in the Senate on both sides of the aisle, and you know that.

TOM DASCHLE

TOM DASCHLE will be leaving us. He served this Nation well. He served in

the U.S. Air Force as an intelligence officer. He served as a staffer, and then he was in my class in 1978 as a member of the House of Representatives. That is where I first met TOM and worked with him and respected him. Sometimes we would be on other sides of the issues, but nevertheless, I always thought in his dealings with me and others he was a very honorable, decent person.

He is a relatively young man. He served us well, I thought, as majority leader. He was always fair and up front with us. He will go on to good things, I am sure. I wish TOM and his wife Linda the best.

BOB GRAHAM

Senator BOB GRAHAM is a friend of mine, a Democrat, a former Governor of Florida for two terms. He came to the Senate in 1986 when I did. We worked together on many committees, but we worked closely together on the committee you serve on today, Mr. President, and that is the Intelligence Committee.

I was the chairman of the committee and then he became the chairman when the Democrats got control of the Senate, and I was the vice chairman. I found BOB GRAHAM to be working day in and day out, to be a very upfront man, a very honorable man, a man of his word. I certainly wish him well in whatever he does in the future.

BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL

My friend Senator CAMPBELL, BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, you talk about somebody unique. He is a unique American. He is a Native American. He is proud of who he is. He has represented the State of Colorado, both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, very well. I wish him the very best. He will certainly not go away in the future.

ZELL MILLER

Senator ZELL MILLER, the colleague of the Presiding Officer, is a distinguished Senator from Georgia. He served as Lieutenant Governor of Georgia, I believe, State senator, and then Governor of Georgia for at least two terms. He came to the Senate and distinguished himself. He is someone for whom I have a lot of respect, for his integrity, for his forthrightness, for his grit, for his perseverance, and also his foresight.

ZELL, we will miss you in the Senate. But we will see a lot of you. I hope to visit you in north Georgia. You tell me what a beautiful place it is, and it is not too far from my State of Alabama, so I hope you have a room for us there. We will come see you, especially when the apples are ready to pick and you are ready to show us around.

JOHN EDWARDS

We have also Senator EDWARDS from North Carolina. I first met JOHN EDWARDS 6 years ago when he came to the Senate. He is a very accomplished lawyer, a very engaging person. He was the Democratic nominee, as we all know, for Vice President of the United States.

JOHN EDWARDS is a young man, a man with a lot of talent, and I am sure we will hear from him in some respect, political or otherwise, in the future as life goes on.

PETER FITZGERALD

Senator PETER FITZGERALD from Illinois is a very young man, one of the youngest men to come to the Senate. He chose to serve only one term. I think he has been involved in some of the big issues of the day. He is a man of integrity. He is a man who wants to do the right thing. He is always going to be involved in the issues of the day, as he has been.

PETER, we wish you and your family the best as you go back into the private sector where you have excelled and done things so well and for so long.

We are going to miss all these Senators, on both sides of the aisle, because collectively they bring a lot of experience and a lot of wisdom to the Senate. They have served, as I said, with distinction and honor here.

TOM DASCHLE

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I want to take some time today to pay tribute to one of my closest and best friends in the U.S. Senate, our Democratic leader, TOM DASCHLE.

It is hard to put into words how much I will miss Senator DASCHLE when he leaves the Senate at the end of this session. Senator DASCHLE and I were both first elected to the Senate in 1986. He immediately became a friend, and that friendship has only grown stronger over the years. Senator DASCHLE had already served South Dakota in the House of Representatives for many years when he came to the Senate, so he was able to help show me the ropes when I first arrived in Washington in 1987. His advice and counsel were given freely. But what really drew me to TOM were his genuine delight in seeing and greeting friends, staff and colleagues; his selfless passion for serving the people of South Dakota; and, above all his wonderful, self-effacing sense of humor. Put simply, Senator DASCHLE was able to take on issues very seriously without taking himself too seriously.

Over the years, we have served together on the Agriculture, Finance and Indian Affairs Committees. We have fought side-by-side in numerous battles to serve the interests of the people of the Dakotas.

On the Agriculture Committee, Senator DASCHLE was a tireless advocate for the interests of the northern plains producers we both represent. We fought together for targeted farm assistance to ensure that scarce Federal dollars for commodity programs would most benefit average size family farms. We fought together against concentration in the agriculture industry. We fought together against unfairly traded imports of Canadian grain. We fought for disaster aid time and time again. And we joined to make sure a new farm bill was enacted in 2002.

It is safe to say that without the active leadership and support of Senator

DASCHLE, we would not have had a new farm bill in 2002. And if we had not written the bill in 2002, I firmly believe that mounting budget pressures would have made it virtually impossible to write good legislation in 2003 or 2004. So family farmers all across this country, many of whom might not ever have heard of TOM DASCHLE, have lost a champion.

On the Finance Committee, Senator DASCHLE fought passionately for better health care for all Americans. We fought together to strengthen the Medicare program and improve payment rates for rural health care providers. We fought to preserve the Medicaid program, which provides a health care safety net for the most vulnerable among us. We fought to create the State Children's Health Insurance Program, which expanded health coverage for children who otherwise would have no insurance. And Senator DASCHLE again and again took the lead on trying to reform our health care system to make health care affordable and accessible. So average workers all across the country who worry about losing their health coverage or skyrocketing health costs have lost a champion.

And Senator DASCHLE took a special interest in working on behalf of Native Americans. He has fought to bring attention to the terrible epidemic of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome among Native Americans. And he has led the fight to secure increased resources for the Indian Health Service to help end the health care rationing that occurs on too many reservations. He also has been a strong proponent of the tribal colleges. His efforts have helped put a college education within reach of many Native Americans who might not otherwise get the opportunity. Finally, Senator DASCHLE stood up and gave a voice to the thousands and thousands of individual Indians seeking a full accounting of their trust assets and fought to make sure that the Federal Government fulfilled its trust obligation. So Native Americans all across the country have lost a champion.

As Democratic leader, he continued to work on all these issues. And because he was leader, he delivered real results for real people, time and again. That was especially the case when it came to causes important to South Dakota. Senator DASCHLE tirelessly used his clout to ensure that South Dakota's interests were protected.

But Senator DASCHLE's role as a Senator and as a leader cannot be summed up in a simple listing of the causes and issues he championed, often without fanfare or great recognition. The job of leader has often been compared to herding cats. It is not easy, but Senator DASCHLE did an outstanding job. Senator DASCHLE was a strong leader—and a great Senator—because he didn't just listen to people, he heard their concerns. He didn't just propose compromises, he built consensus. It took enormous patience, great flexibility, strong persuasive skills—and a liberal

dose of good humor and humbleness. It also meant that much of what Senator DASCHLE accomplished was done quietly behind the scenes. Too often, he did not get the public credit he deserved for the painstaking hours he spent building consensus and moving issues forward to benefit the American people. Instead, he quietly stepped back and let others take credit.

You cannot be successful as a Senator, and especially as a leader, if other Senators cannot trust you. Senator DASCHLE may at times have left our colleagues on the other side of the aisle frustrated by his mastery of Senate rules and political tactics. But they always knew he was someone they could deal with in good faith. They always knew they could trust his word. And they always knew he would work hard to achieve the result he had committed to.

At the end of the day, that is the ultimate measure of Senator DASCHLE's values—the values he and I learned growing up in the Dakotas. He was honest, fair and hard working. He gave credit to others. And he genuinely respected his colleagues and enjoyed their company. South Dakota, the Senate, and the Nation are losing a true champion, in every sense of the word.

As Senator DASCHLE goes on to other things, my wife Lucy and I wish all the best to TOM and his wife, Linda.

BOB GRAHAM

Mr. President, as the 108th Congress draws to a close, the Senate will lose one of its most distinguished and accomplished members, Senator BOB GRAHAM. Few Senators have had such an outstanding career in public service. BOB GRAHAM served as a Florida State legislator between 1967 and 1978; as Governor between 1978 and 1982; and as U.S. Senator from 1987 to 2004. I am honored that Senator GRAHAM and I were in the same class following our elections to the Senate in 1986.

Throughout his years in public service, Senator GRAHAM has taken a leadership role in protecting our environment, advocating on behalf of seniors and children for adequate health care, working to make certain that our children achieve their highest potential in schools, and making certain that our country lives up to its obligations to veterans and active duty military personnel.

Early in his career as Governor of Florida, Senator GRAHAM launched one of our Nation's most significant efforts to protect the environment through the Save Our Everglades Program. In 2000, Senator GRAHAM achieved his goal of restoring the Florida Everglades through an unprecedented partnership among Federal, State, and local officials along with private industries. This initiative was a significant step to ensure protection of a critical wetland environment, the Florida water supply and endangered species. Senator GRAHAM's efforts were key to preservation of one of America's most important and environmentally sensitive natural treasures.

Throughout his career in public service, Senator GRAHAM has also taken a leadership role on behalf of public education. Long before the enactment of the No Child Left Behind Act, Senator GRAHAM worked to improve Florida public schools by making certain that children have the highest quality public education system. He advocated on behalf of rigid student testing for competency in academic courses, worked to reduce class size, to improve the learning environment through new school construction and to provide more opportunities for higher education assistance for college students.

Through our years together in the Senate, I was privileged to work with Senator GRAHAM closely on health care and Social Security issues. As a colleague for 10 years on the Senate Finance Committee, I noted, with admiration, his concern for the health care needs for the elderly, especially the need to strengthen Medicare and provide a prescription drug benefit for the elderly. Senator GRAHAM authored Medicare reform legislation to provide a prescription drug benefit and other preventative health care benefits. His Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement and Modernization Act of 2003 was cosponsored by one third of the Senate.

When it came to Social Security and Medicare, Senator GRAHAM took a long view. He missed no opportunity to urge all of us to make a priority of ensuring the long-term solvency of these two crucial programs. His concern was not just the current needs of his Florida constituents, but the importance of these programs for the income and health security of generations to come.

Last, Senator GRAHAM assumed a leadership role on behalf of our Nation's veterans and active duty military personnel in his capacity as Ranking Member of the Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs. While he focused considerable attention to the needs of our aging veterans population, working tirelessly to increase funding for VA medical care, he has also been sensitive to the needs of veterans living in rural America. Senator GRAHAM supported my efforts to improve access to VA medical care for rural veterans and to improve the quality of care for veterans at the Fargo VA Medical Center and through the expansion of outpatient clinics in rural communities. For this understanding and support for rural veterans, North Dakotans will be forever grateful.

There are many achievements by Senator GRAHAM that I could cite throughout his career in public service. The few accomplishments that I have noted demonstrate remarkable dedication to our country—dedication to improving the lives of our children, the elderly and our veterans. Senator GRAHAM represents the finest example of a dedicated and compassionate public servant. I hope that Senator GRAHAM's career will inspire young Floridians and other young people

across our Nation to service for our country. I have been privileged to serve with Senator GRAHAM and thank him for his distinguished service to our country.

TOM DASCHLE

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I would like to say a few words about the man from which I have stood across this aisle the past 2 years—TOM DASCHLE.

TOM, as we all know, is a good and decent man. He has a big heart for the people of South Dakota, for every Member of this body, and for all of the American people.

He has devoted his life to public service—from serving as an intelligence officer in the Air Force to serving four terms in the House to serving three terms in the United States Senate.

That is seven times TOM DASCHLE has been reelected statewide in South Dakota.

TOM has been such a successful leader, because he has always put others first. This selflessness, this sacrifice is the quality that I admire most about TOM.

Every year TOM returned to South Dakota for an “unscheduled driving” tour. He would travel without staff or a schedule—going wherever the road and the people of South Dakota would take him.

This driving tour helped him travel to each of South Dakota’s 66 counties—which he did every year.

But, most importantly, it was his way of staying in touch with the people who sent him time and time again to Washington to represent them.

TOM has served as the Democratic Leader for 10 years now. And those have been no easy 10 years for the Senate or for America.

The Senate itself has switched hands and back again. And we have helped lead the Nation through wars and recession and the horrific September 11th attacks.

But throughout this Congress and throughout his career, TOM DASCHLE has handled his job with grace and dignity. And I have always seen in him a gentle, yet stirring passion.

I wish TOM and Linda and their family all the best in the many years to come.

JOHN EDWARDS

Mr. President, JOHN EDWARDS came to the Senate just 6 years ago. Yet he has won us all over as friends for his sunny disposition, his positive attitude, his intelligence, and his hard work.

JOHN can make anyone smile. He forms a personal bond with nearly everyone he meets. No doubt this quality comes from the fact that he always remembers his roots.

The first member of his family to go to college, JOHN grew up the son of two textile workers, moving from town to town.

This upbringing shaped JOHN EDWARDS. It instilled in him a burning desire to improve the world and a strong commitment to populist values.

He became a lawyer. And with ardent trial advocacy, hard work, and genuine concern for others, he scored astounding success.

A terrible tragedy—the death of a child—marked a deciding point in his life. He did not let it destroy him. Never forgetting the terrible pain, JOHN turned tragedy into triumph.

He set out to change America for the better. A political unknown, he faced long odds, but he overcame them.

In the halls of the Senate, JOHN has won new laws to protect patients, increased funding for public schools, and improvements to our banking system.

He and Elizabeth, Catherine, Emma Claire, and Jack have been delightful additions to our Senate family.

And our prayers are with them as they strive to overcome the difficulty of Elizabeth’s recent diagnosis of breast cancer.

JOHN EDWARDS has already played a vital role in American public life. And whatever he chooses to do next, we wish him and Elizabeth and their entire family all the best for a bright future.

DON NICKLES

Mr. President, Senators follow many different paths on their way to this Chamber. Some come from the professions, others from a life in public service.

Few have lived the American dream the way DON NICKLES has.

At age 20, DON NICKLES was paying his way at Oklahoma State University, living in a trailer home, working as a janitor, and raising his growing family.

A few years later, he returned to his hometown. There he pulled his family business from the verge of bankruptcy. Pretty soon his neighbors elected him to the Oklahoma Senate.

Then, in 1980, at the age of 31, when few expected it, he became a U.S. Senator.

DON did not let his early success go to his head. He worked hard to keep our country a place where men and women can dream big and live those dreams.

In the Senate, he has been a friend to taxpayers, an opponent of overbearing regulation, a voice for traditional values, and an ardent advocate for Oklahoma.

DON NICKLES has worked to keep America a land of opportunity—a place where everyone has a valued place and nobody lacks the opportunities to succeed.

Through all of his hard work, through all of his toil, he has always put family first. He and Linda have been married for 36 years. And they have raised four wonderful children.

In DON’s favorite Bible chapter, Galatians 5, the Apostle Paul lists a godly man’s attributes. A godly man, says Paul, work hard and live a life of “love, joy and peace . . . kindness, goodness, faithfulness.”

I could not think of a better description of DON NICKLES. He has had an amazing career—and I take comfort in that he is just hitting his stride.

We all wish DON and his family the best in what will certainly be a bright future.

FRITZ HOLLINGS

Mr. President, FRITZ HOLLINGS is a passionate advocate for the people of South Carolina, a true statesman, and a fine gentleman. He is one of the most senior members of our body and, to all of us, he is a friend, a mentor and a guide. He has devoted his life to public service.

FRITZ HOLLINGS has always shown courage, conviction, and an ability to get things done. His work has touched every corner of our country and every American’s life.

FRITZ helped our Nation confront its spiraling budget deficits, maintain a strong posture against the Soviet Union, integrate our schools, and create the WIC program. His work has helped protect our coastal ecology, preserve our oceans, and defend our transportation networks from terrorists attack. And, when a family eats dinner without interruption, free from never-ending telemarketing calls, well, we can all thank FRITZ for that too.

On trade, on spending, on taxes, on military issues, and on Senate pay, he has never been afraid to speak his mind, even when his own party, or sometimes even most of the Senate, disagrees with him. In the end, he has always been a winner thanks to his grace and honor. A summary of FRITZ’ legislative achievements reads an astounding eight single-spaced pages. He’s always campaigned on the creed that: “Performance is better than promise.” And he has lived up to it.

We’ll all miss FRITZ: His friendship, his principles, and his willingness to tell it like it is. We wish FRITZ and Peatsy all the best and want them to know that they will always have a home, a family and a place in the history of the United States Senate.

BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL

Mr. President, BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL is a man of many talents. He is an Indian chief, a Korean war veteran, a champion quarter horse trainer, an Olympic judo competitor, a rancher, and a jewelry designer.

After his service in the military and a series of athletic victories, BEN settled down to run his ranch and design jewelry. But, by pure accident, politics entered his life. Colorado, the Senate, and America would never be the same.

In 1982, BEN attended a meeting to support a friend’s bid for Sheriff. He made a stunning impression and walked away drafted as a candidate for the Colorado State legislature. BEN served the people of Colorado there and in the House of Representatives. And 12 years ago, they elected him to the Senate.

More than 20 years after that fateful evening, BEN has left an indelible mark on the Senate. He has taken the lead on critical agricultural issues, fought excessive spending, argued for a balanced budget, and sponsored Federal drought relief for farmers. From drug

policy to natural resources conservation, he has advocated for Colorado interests, and he has brought home what the people of his State elected him to do. He has also sponsored or co-sponsored 54 Indian-related bills that became law. And he is the first American Indian ever to chair the Senate Indian Affairs committee. Without him, the spectacular Museum of the American Indian that graces our National Mall would not have become a reality.

BEN is as leader who stands firm by his beliefs and works hard for the people of Colorado and Americans everywhere. We wish him and his wife, Linda, all the best for the future.

JOHN BREAUX

Mr. President, the people of Louisiana first sent JOHN BREAUX to serve in this Capitol in 1972. He was only 28 years old. For the next 32 years, he would serve as one of the most respected and admired public servants—from both sides of the aisle—anywhere in American government.

JOHN BREAUX has been a superb United States Senator. He is not inextricably wedded to one ideology or one party's line. He is thoughtful. He is independent. He is deliberative. He is experienced. He always wants to do the right thing for Louisiana and for America.

What I admire most about John is his consensus-building skills. He never gives up on bringing people together. In fact, he has helped bring this body together on landmark pieces of legislation over the past two decades—from welfare reform to health insurance reform to balancing the budget.

I have enjoyed working with JOHN to reform Medicare. We proposed the first Breaux-Frist reforms in 1999. And we followed up with Breaux-Frist II in 2001. And we toiled together on the Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare, which JOHN so ably chaired. Breaux-Frist laid the foundation for bipartisan work to come and, ultimately, the most comprehensive and meaningful improvements to Medicare since the program's creation.

JOHN's departure is bittersweet for me—as I am sure it is for every member of this body. We will miss him as a leader we all love and all can work with. But he still has many of his best years ahead—which he will no doubt enjoy spending with Lois and their wonderful and growing family.

PETER FITZGERALD

Mr. President, PETER FITZGERALD has devoted his life to public service.

He first ran for office before the ink on his law degree had dried. And, in the last 6 years, we have come to know Peter as a man of integrity, as a man of honor, and as a friend.

In the Illinois Senate, he was a staunch opponent of corruption. He often had to go it alone. But he still got results.

He continued his mission in the United States Senate—where he arrived in 1998 as our youngest member.

In only 6 years, he has made his mark. He helped uncover the dev-

astating corporate fraud and accounting scandals. And he helped us pass tough new regulations to prevent them from reoccurring.

He has been an ardent advocate for Illinois farmers and businesses, always working to make sure that markets are open and barriers are low.

Whether working to appoint honest federal prosecutors or taking a hard look at major federally-supported projects, he has always stood for doing the right thing.

PETER has made sure that we have tax relief that helps families and creates new jobs. And he has helped protect our children with tough new child safety seat laws.

Our Senate family will miss PETER, Nina, and Jake. They have each enriched our lives, their State, this Senate, and our country. And we wish them all the best in the future.

BOB GRAHAM

Mr. President, during his first campaign for the United States Senate in 1986, *People Magazine* compared BOB GRAHAM's mind to a Florida thunderstorm; resolute and impossible to deflect.

But as a member of this body for 18 years, BOB GRAHAM has shown that while he may have the energy of a lightning storm, his works are guided with far greater purpose and direction.

In 40 years, BOB has never lost a statewide election. He is one of Florida's most beloved politicians. And that is for good reason.

Always looking for ways to connect with his constituents, Senator GRAHAM uses his "workdays" to toil alongside everyday Floridians to understand the problems they face.

A true American patriot, he has consistently put country before party.

On the Senate Intelligence Committee he has helped us tackle the monumental task of overhauling America's intelligence agencies. We will all miss his knowledge, his expertise, and his ability to clarify difficult issues.

BOB and his wife, Adele, have been treasured members of the Senate family—as much for who they are as for what they have done. For a couple who has accomplished so much in their lives together, that's saying something.

I want to thank Senator GRAHAM for his valued contributions to our body and to our country. And we wish him and Adele the best in all their future endeavors.

ZELL MILLER

Mr. President, ZELL MILLER commands a certain respect. He has guts. He has integrity. He speaks simple truths. He is as good and honest a man as I know.

ZELL is the type of leader that takes a stand and doesn't yield an inch of ground—no matter how hard the political winds blow.

America saw this first-hand with his unwavering support of President Bush in the most recent election.

At the Republican Convention, ZELL described the President perhaps better

than anyone in our own party. He said the President is: "a God-fearing man with a good heart and a spine of tempered steel."

Those same words also describe Senator MILLER.

As a former Marine, ZELL has never wavered in his support of the men and women in uniform who defend our liberty—or the values he shares with them. And he has worked hard and steadfast to end the unprecedented filibuster of judicial nominees.

More than anything, ZELL loves his wonderful wife, Shirley, and their family. Of course, by family, I also include Gus and Woodrow, his two Labrador Retrievers.

ZELL will always be a touchstone of good ole' common sense for this body. He will forever remind us that all we need to do is what is right—nothing more, nothing less.

ZELL MILLER is one of the most colorful Senators ever to grace the halls of this Capitol. And he and Shirley have been two of the most valued members of the Senate family.

We will miss them both, sorely, as a special part of our daily lives.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

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

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

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes, we are.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, on Tuesday the President announced the nomination of National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice to be the next U.S. Secretary of State.

I admire Dr. Rice's obvious intellectual gifts and her communication skills. I also believe that the President has the right to appoint Cabinet officers who reflect his ideology and his perspective. Barring serious concerns about a nominee's qualifications or ethical record, and in keeping with Senate practices and precedents, my inclination is to give the President substantial deference in his Cabinet choices.

But I am deeply troubled by the signal that this nomination appears to send—a signal suggesting that the modest moderating influence of the State Department over the last 4 years will disappear, and that the next 4 years will be guided even more closely by the voices that shouted loudest in the first term, and that led our country into seriously flawed foreign policies. Our country cannot afford to continue down the foreign policy path that was forged during the first term of the Bush administration.

Over the past 4 years, we have witnessed the greatest loss of a very valuable type of American power in our history: our power to lead, to persuade and to inspire. As Joseph Nye has pointed out, this power will not convert the extremists who oppose us no

matter what. Those people must be eliminated, pure, and simple. But it can thwart their plans, by denying them new recruits, undermining their appeal and their message, and unifying, rather than dividing, Americans and the rest of the international community. Rather than bolstering this asset, which has helped to make us the most powerful country on earth, we have squandered it.

In March, the Pew Research Center found that one year after the start of the war in Iraq, "discontent with America and its policies has intensified rather than diminished" across the world. Majorities in Pakistan, Jordan, Morocco and Turkey believe that the U.S. is exaggerating the terrorist threat, doubt the sincerity of the U.S. war on terrorism and say that it is an effort to control Mideast oil and dominate the world. The Center found that:

At least half the people in countries other than the U.S. say as a result of the war in Iraq they have less confidence that the United States is trustworthy. Similarly, majorities in all of these countries say they have less confidence that the U.S. wants to promote democracy globally.

Our motives are questioned, our public justifications and explanations viewed with skepticism, and our post-9/11 public diplomacy efforts have missed the mark, substituting pop music broadcasts, brochures and videos for the kind of respectful dialogue and engagement that could convince generations of angry young people that their humiliation is not our goal.

We have had over 3 years since September 11, 2001, to think strategically about how to win the fight against terrorism. But we have little to show for this time.

We have relied upon a doctrine that fails to recognize that our enemies do not rely on explicit state sponsorship of terrorism. By focusing almost entirely on possible state sponsors of terror, the administration failed to realize that our terrorist enemies operate effectively in weak and failing states and without the backing of national governments. This is a new enemy waging a new war against us, but the administration appears still to be stuck in an old cold war mindset.

We have muddled our language and our focus by conflating other priorities with the fight against terrorism, costing us credibility around the world and shattering the unified and resolved global coalition that emerged to support us in the aftermath of 9/11. By choosing to fight the war in Iraq in such a divisive and astronomically expensive fashion, we have diverted resources away from the fight against the terrorist networks that seek to destroy us and undermined our ability to win the hearts and minds of many whose support we will need to succeed in the long run.

We have recognized the dangers of nuclear proliferation in an age of terrorism, but have then pursued policies that may well create incentives for

states to develop nuclear weapons as quickly as possible.

We have developed essentially no measures of success or failure when it comes to one of our most urgent priorities, as the 9/11 Commission underscored—preventing the continued growth of Islamist terrorism. In fact, we do not even know where we stand today in this vital struggle.

We have not given any serious thought to how to avoid the mistakes of the cold war, when we gave a free pass to forces of repression and brutality, as long as they did not come with a Communist bent. Those mistakes, as we all know, helped to make Afghanistan the brutally repressive terrorist haven that it was on 9/11.

We have not made an adequate investment in bolstering our diplomatic resources and engagement around the world. From Northern Nigeria to Eastern Kenya, we have virtually no presence. In Somalia, despite knowing that al-Qaida-linked terrorists have operated in the country, we simply failed to develop any policy at all.

While the administration's policy was failing on all of these fronts, the President's team was devoting its time and attention to selling the world and the American people a war in Iraq with fundamentally flawed intelligence, manipulative and misleading characterizations, and rosy predictions that provided horribly, dangerously off-the-mark. The administration's Iraq policies in the first term painted a picture of an American government that isn't so sure it rejects torture; that isn't competent and careful enough to properly vet intelligence presented in major speeches and briefings; that willfully rejects the lessons of history and advice of its own experts; that is surprised when disorder results in massive looting; that misleads taxpayers regarding the costs and commitments entailed in its policies; that spends billions upon billions without any effort to budget for these predictable costs; and that is willing to politicize issues fundamental to our national security in the ugliest possible way.

We deserve better. Certainly the brave men and women of the U.S. military who are fighting every day to make this effort in Iraq work deserve better. We do not honor them by accepting lousy, irresponsible policy in the halls and hearing rooms of the Capitol and then leaving them holding the bag on the ground, when policy collides with the hard truth.

The administration's record of the past 4 years suggests a foreign policy careening out of control, driven by ideologies who want to test their theories in the laboratory of the Middle East one minute, by domestic political considerations the next, and by spiteful attempts to punish those who disagree with their methods the next. Where is this going? Who is in charge? No one ever seems to be held accountable for the blunders, the failures, the wildly inaccurate presentations and projec-

tions or the painfully ineffective initiatives.

Congress cannot simply accept more of the same, keep our heads down and hope that somehow we will muddle through. The stakes are far too high. Our national security, the stability of the world that our children will inherit, our troops—even our country's honor—are on the line. Congress has an obligation, not to oppose every administration effort, but to reassert our role in steering the ship of state wisely rather than recklessly. I look at our foreign policy over the past 4 years, and I know that America is so much better than this.

I look forward to the opportunity to raise these concerns with Dr. Rice when she testifies before the Foreign Relations Committee, and to receiving some assurance that she will work with Congress to put our country's foreign policy on a better, more effective footing.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

IN MEMORY OF KOMNINOS "GUS" KARELLAS

Mr. TALENT. Mr. President, I rise today with a heavy heart, to mourn the loss of Komninos "Gus" Karellas, who was known and loved by so many in the community of Mexico, MO. Though cut tragically short, his was a life surrounded by a strong family and a strong community, and he was a great example of an immigrant who came to America and took advantage of every opportunity this country gave him.

Gus was a native of Greece, and he ran away from home as a teenager with only a few cents to his name. He emigrated to American in 1965 via Oakland, CA, and even though he did not speak English very well then, he managed to succeed against all odds. He ended up in Iowa working at a pizza restaurant, where he met Jimmy and Angelo Aslanidis, who became his good friends. They ended up moving together to Columbia, MO, where Gus worked at the University of Missouri for a short time before the three of them helped start the G&D Steakhouse.

In 1971, Gus Karellas and his wife Mary moved away to help manage a new G&D Steakhouse in Mexico, MO. Gus bought the restaurant one year later and spent nearly every single day there, becoming a familiar fixture to the residents of Mexico for the next three decades. His popularity with people led some of his family to give him the affectionate nickname of "Governor Gus."