

The same could be said for my service here. It has had its challenges, its triumphs, its disappointments, but everything was worth doing. And I am grateful for every moment.

I love history, and there is wonderful history about the relationship between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. They were rivals, but they respected each other. And that respect grew as they left office and began correspondence that today is some of our most treasured writing.

In one letter to John Adams, Thomas Jefferson wrote, "I like the dream of the future better than I like the history of the past." So it is with me. I have loved these years in the Senate, but I like the dream of the future.

It is with heartfelt gratitude to the people of South Dakota, with great respect and admiration for my colleagues, and with love for this institution and the power it has to make this Nation even greater that I say farewell and look to the future with great optimism, with hope and anticipation.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic whip is recognized.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 5:10 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 5:16 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

TRIBUTES TO RETIRING SENATORS

TOM DASCHLE

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, what we just heard on the floor of the Senate captures the essence of this remarkable, remarkable body, the leadership, which dictates the character, which dictates the fabric of the body that all of us have the real privilege of participating in.

I know several Members want to speak, so I will be very brief. I take a moment to pay tribute to a truly exceptional leader with whom I have had the honor to serve alongside, and whom I have had the opportunity to serve with over the last year. We first began working together 2 years ago, when I suddenly became majority leader of the Senate. Oftentimes, we have been on the opposite side of issues. But I want to say how much I deeply respect his abilities and his judgment as a Senator, as Democratic leader, and as a person.

This environment is fiercely competitive, and as leaders, both he and I are thrust into that competitive environment. Yet Senator DASCHLE has always, always, without exception, handled each and every situation in that

competition with class and with honesty, with integrity, with forthrightness, and with true grace.

Clearly, I have had the opportunity to learn from him much more than I could have ever possibly given him in any way. I was the beneficiary of that each and every day. From that very first day that I became majority leader, he has treated me in that position with respect and with that very same grace. For that, I will forever be grateful.

I wanted to pay tribute to Senator DASCHLE and close with one reference. The great Daniel Webster once remarked that the Senate is a community of equals, of men of individual honor and personal character. Indeed, Senator TOM DASCHLE is no exception. He is the epitome of that and a great credit to this venerable institution. On behalf of all of our colleagues, I wish all the best for TOM and Linda and their entire family in the years ahead.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip is recognized.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, all of us in the Senate have just had an opportunity to hear an extraordinary speech by the outgoing Democratic leader. We are indeed in a very tough and competitive business. On the other hand, when we enter this Chamber, we take on public responsibility and have the obligation to deal with each other in a civil and forthright manner. I think Senator DASCHLE has always met that standard. We all admire his work here. He is one of the longest serving leaders in the history of the Senate. We wish him well in the coming years. He can look back on his extraordinary career here with great pride.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, you can learn a lot about a person by the way he handles winning, and you can learn even more about someone by the way he handles and accepts defeat. TOM DASCHLE does not know that I know this, but I saw an e-mail he sent recently to someone on his staff.

TOM DASCHLE was concerned about a man with whom he talked one day late in the campaign when he was calling undecided voters in his home State of South Dakota. The man was not rich or powerful. He was just an average South Dakota citizen.

This man used to work for the Government. He received many awards at his work. This is what TOM DASCHLE wrote in that e-mail:

One day, the man started to suffer extreme stress and even depression. The psychiatrist told him he had to retire from his work . . . under a medical discharge. Afterwards, (the government) denied him a medical retirement. They said it can only be for physical reasons.

He was denied medical access and retirement pay. He has since also had a heart attack. He asked me for help in getting a medical retirement. I told him we would be happy to try and would follow up.

TOM DASCHLE in his e-mail went on to say:

Could you have someone contact him and look into this? It just doesn't seem right.

The date on that e-mail was November 8, 6 days after the election, 6 days after what had to be one of the most heartbreaking losses in his life.

The reason TOM DASCHLE got into politics in the first place, the reason he ran for leadership positions in the Senate, and the reason he worked his heart out for this job was never to get rich or to get attention. He tried to bring power to help the powerless, the average person, the people to whom life had given some unfair breaks.

Even now, until the minute he has to relinquish his power, TOM DASCHLE is using his power to help people who still look to him as their last best hope.

Golda Meir once famously told a political rival:

Don't be humble. You're not that great.

But TOM DASCHLE is great enough and good enough to be truly humble. He will never talk about all the people he helped, all the people to whom he has given hope, but I can tell you there are people all across South Dakota and all across America whose lives are better because TOM DASCHLE was in the Senate.

"It just doesn't seem right"—that is what TOM DASCHLE wrote in that e-mail, and it just doesn't seem right that we are going to have a Senate without TOM DASCHLE to keep fighting for what is all good and decent about America.

My consolation is that I know TOM and Linda and their family will find another noble way to continue serving this Nation, defending the values we cherish and making life better for people who need a champion.

Someone noted that this is a cruel business, and it is. There are three ways to leave the Senate. Two of them are not very good. In this situation, we have seen a man who has given 26 years of his personal life to South Dakota and to the Nation, and he made a decision a year ago to retire. In the past year, I am sure there would have been a succession of tributes, dinners, schools, and highways and bridges being named after him and maybe statues and plaques commissioned. But instead, he stood for election. He had the courage to stand again. Although he did not succeed, I hope the people of South Dakota realize that he was a man who loved them throughout his political life and those of us who were honored to call him a friend and a colleague love him and will miss him.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, when the 109th Congress convenes this coming January, the Senate will be a poorer place for not having TOM DASCHLE among its Members.

By nature, TOM DASCHLE is a South Dakotan to the core, born and raised and regularly returning to his hometown of Aberdeen, with a population today of not quite 25,000. He was the

eldest of four children in a family who knew the meaning of hard work and family. He went to college, the first in his family to do so, at South Dakota State University, some 150 miles from his home. When his colleagues elected him Democratic leader, TOM DASCHLE asked an old friend back in South Dakota, as he told us on the floor only a few moments ago, for advice, and was promptly told: Never forget where you came from.

That was something TOM DASCHLE knew without being told. If he had set out to forget where he came from, he could not have done it. The unscheduled driving tour that he made every year around South Dakota was a kind of pilgrimage. It did not create his close ties to South Dakota and its people; rather, it reflected them. As an editorial published on November 6 in TOM's hometown newspaper, the Aberdeen American news, noted, "Personal stories abound of how DASCHLE and his staff have been able to get things done for the average South Dakotan."

The editorial concluded with a tribute worth quoting:

On behalf of all the thousands of people you have helped, we would like to offer you our deep gratitude and respect. With quiet dignity, you fought for the State that raised you and which still so obviously holds a special place in your heart. Thanks, TOM, and good luck.

If by nature TOM is a South Dakotan, by choice he is a public servant. After receiving his college degree in 1969, he served 3 years in the Air Force Strategic Air Command, one of the relatively small number of Members now serving in the Congress who served in the military in that period. And he has remained a forceful advocate for veterans throughout all his years in public office.

He entered the House of Representatives after a vote so close that it took a recount almost a full year, and TOM became known as "landslide" DASCHLE.

Following his service in the House in 1986, he was elected to the Senate. In his 18 years in this body, TOM's agenda for action on behalf of the people of South Dakota has focused on health care, education, the outdoors, security and safety, economic opportunity, and rural life. Any State would be doubly fortunate to have an agenda and an advocate as dedicated and skillful as TOM DASCHLE.

By temperament, TOM DASCHLE is a Democrat in the fundamental meaning of that word—respectful of others, a scrupulous listener, seeking consensus in the middle ground on complex and controversial issues.

Time magazine has accurately described his instinct for courtesy, reputation for humility, a willingness to compromise, and a sense of Midwestern civility.

TOM DASCHLE's steadiness and reasonableness made him especially well-suited to assume the responsibilities of majority leader in that painful period when the country was dealt successive

hammerblows by a recession, the crisis in the capital markets, and, above all, the tragic attacks of 9/11 and their aftermath.

While others shouted at fever pitch, TOM DASCHLE never raised his voice because it is not in his temperament to do so. His calm manner was profoundly reassuring to worried Americans, as was the strength of his resolve.

In the end, it is TOM DASCHLE's own words that tell us all we need to know about him.

They explain why he is so respected around his State and here in the Senate. His November 3 statement to the people of South Dakota who support and love him speaks again and again of gratitude—gratitude for the opportunity to serve, gratitude to his family, gratitude to his devoted staff, gratitude to the State that is his extended family. It speaks of belief in our people, in the future, in what can be accomplished by people working together. It speaks of work—of work yet to be done. And it speaks of hope.

On November 3, TOM compared the sunset over the mall with the sunrise over Mount Rushmore and concluded, "Having seen sunsets and sunrises, I like sunrises better."

There is no question of TOM's public service having ended; the only question is the direction it will now take. TOM DASCHLE has honored Teddy Roosevelt's dictum that "Far and away the best prize that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing."

It has been my privilege to work with so dedicated and honorable a public servant, a dear friend. I like to think that our work together on behalf of the people of this great country will continue as we move on into the future.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in complimenting Senator DASCHLE for his years of service. I did not really know TOM DASCHLE when he served in the House. I have had the pleasure of serving with him for the last 18 years in the Senate. Many of those we were both in leadership, and I will just say our relationship has always been very good.

Having the pleasure of working with TOM DASCHLE and HARRY REID, both for whom I have great respect, many times we were political adversaries, but we were always friends. We never had a heated exchange, maybe elevated on occasion, but we always were friends and we could always shake hands at the time we might have somewhat of a heated discussion. We would always remain friends, and he continues to be my friend to this day.

I compliment him for his many years of public service to his State of South Dakota, for his service in the House of Representatives, his service to the Senate, and his service as the Democrat leader. He is a very competent individual, speaker, and representative of his viewpoint, and he happens to be my

friend. I wish TOM DASCHLE and his wife Linda all the best for the future.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I am going to be very brief. For many of us who knew TOM DASCHLE and know TOM DASCHLE, we never thought this day would come. We never thought TOM would really be defeated in an election. I thought a lot about that. Why? I mean, this man is such a good man. He is such a good friend. He is a good leader. I do not know anyone who cares more about their State and who has worked harder.

He talked about the State's energy sufficiency, and it was TOM DASCHLE's sheer will of support to develop an ethanol industry for the State. I know because I tangled with him year after year because from a California perspective this was not such a good idea; from a South Dakota perspective, it was. For TOM, his State always came first.

I thought he was unbeatable. He is for the little people. I remember being in the State. I remember hearing him talk about the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and the state of the people in Pine Ridge and how deeply he felt. When he feels very deeply, his voice gets that quaver and it drops low.

This is a very hard day for many of us. As I went down the aisle to embrace TOM, two people said this really is a tough business. And, in fact, it is a tough business.

I also want to say that TOM DASCHLE was a great leader for our caucus. Many of us on many days watched him convince, cajole, push, and bring us together when we had to be together. We watched him on the Senate floor in the middle of the night, early in the morning, late in the day, always gracious, always patient, always articulate. We never had to worry about TOM DASCHLE's integrity or his credibility.

I still wonder, how could he be beat? This is such a good man, such a good leader, such a good State representative. For me and my husband he was a personal friend. When Dick was in Washington, early in the morning he would run with TOM and they would talk about all kinds of things. The run was always a good one and my husband would come home and always say what a great guy TOM DASCHLE is.

I think for all of us we wish him all the best. For me, I do not believe this man has reached his potential yet. I think he still has enormous gifts to give to this Nation, to his State, and I believe he will, perhaps in a different way. Perhaps we will see him come back in a different form. For TOM DASCHLE, these 10 years were very special years and for us we were so privileged because we had an opportunity to be led by a good man, by a great friend, and by a great leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, I first join the voices of my friends and my

colleagues in talking about our dear and great friend, TOM DASCHLE, with whom I had the privilege to serve for the last 6 years, and to be led by for the last 6 years. I have never known a better human being or a better public servant than TOM DASCHLE. He is a good, honest, decent, and honorable man. The Senate will miss him. The country has benefited from his long and extraordinary service to this country.

FAREWELL

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, life has a great way of handing us moments that are bittersweet. I am sad today to rise for the final time to represent the State of North Carolina as their Senator, but I am also filled with a great deal of joy because I will be heading home to the place and the people and the family I love so much. I also want to thank everyone who is listening and all Members of the Senate and the staff who have been so extraordinary about my wife Elizabeth for their prayers and their support.

Elizabeth and I and our family draw so much strength from all of you. We are comforted by your words and your prayers.

We are grateful to the more than 50,000 people who have sent e-mails and letters to Elizabeth. As Elizabeth's brother said when he was asked about it, he would not want to be cancer inside of Elizabeth's body, and I agree with that.

She is the love of my life and a woman of great strength. I am sure she will be successful in this fight. Both of us hope and pray that by talking about it in the way that Elizabeth has, and with the grace and courage that she has shown, it will help other women who are faced with the same kind of struggle so they can avoid the same kind of struggle.

Sometimes when hardship comes, one feels alone, but thanks to all of you and our family in the Senate, we know that we are not alone. We are blessed to have the love, affection, and support of our friends and our family, our great staff in Washington, DC, in the Senate office and back in North Carolina and our Senate offices there, and also the staff in the Senate.

Those who serve on the floor of the Senate who have been wonderful friends and so much help and support for all of us, we thank all of them. To Marty and to Lula, whom Elizabeth and I adore, who have been wonderful friends to us and have advised us and shown us our way around here, we appreciate both of them. To the people in the cloakroom who have helped us and taken care of us for the last 6 years, and to the men and women—and I hope they will hear my voice—who take us up and down the elevators, whom we see as we go in and out of these office buildings and the Capitol, who serve all of us and who are wonderful, extraordinary people, I have to say, since I

have come back from the campaign trail, to a person they have spoken their support and affection for Elizabeth and for our family and what we are going through. I just want them all to know how much they mean not only to us but to all of us who serve in the Senate.

And, of course, to all the men and women I have had the privilege to serve with here in the Senate. To those who think the men and women who serve in this institution do not work hard, I wish they could spend one day here and see how hard it is and how devoted everyone who serves in the Senate is, and how much they want to do good things for the country—whatever our disagreements are. We have many and they are strong. The truth is, everyone here serves because they love their country and they want to do good things for their country.

All of you, you keep us strong. You keep us going. You remind us, in good times and in bad, when we work together, everything is still possible here in America. It is the North Carolina way. That is the way I like to look at it. I have never loved my home State or my country more than I do today. We have had some triumphs, we have had some tragedies over the last 6 years. But one thing is clear: I will never stop representing the people of North Carolina, the values they represent and the values that I grew up with there and the values I believe in. The truth is, it is who I am.

It is what I learned in Robbins, NC growing up, watching my father and the men and women who worked alongside him in the mill for all those years. It is what I learned from going to church, from going to our schools, and from going to all 100 counties in North Carolina, which I am proud to have done, and listening to the people of North Carolina. It is what I learned when I shook the hands of the people who came on Tarheel Thursday, which we had on Thursday when we were here in the Senate. I will never forget you.

I will never forget the first struggle we had in the wake of Hurricane Floyd, hard-working people like Bobby Carraway. He owned a restaurant in Kinston near the Neuse River. It sat under 3 feet of water for days. He lost everything. He and so many like him didn't want a Government handout, they wanted a hand up and a chance to do what they were capable of doing and a chance to go back to work, which is all he and his family had ever known their entire lives. What we did then for so many, and this year, too, in the western part of our State, which has been hit by hurricanes and flooding, is we worked together, we picked ourselves up, we dusted away the disappointment, and we got back to work to make North Carolina stronger.

I will also never forget the men and women who worked at Pillowtex. They did everything right. They took care of their families. They went to work every day, some of them for days and

years, some of them for decades. They still couldn't stop their jobs from moving overseas.

I met one woman whose question I hear over and over—I heard it over and over again as I traveled around the country. She looked at me and said: What am I supposed to do now? Have I not done what is right in America? I worked hard, I raised my family, I was responsible. Now my job is gone and what am I supposed to do?

Together we fought to help her pay for health care and get training for a new job but, most importantly, we fought to keep North Carolina jobs in North Carolina where we need them so badly. We stood up against tax breaks that shipped our jobs overseas. We fought for fair trade that gave our workers and businesses a chance to compete, and represented the values we believe in.

I will also never forget Dr. Clay Ballantine. He works at Mission St. Joseph's Hospital in Asheville, NC. Every day he sees kids and adults and seniors who come in with respiratory problems, problems with asthma. He told his story as we fought the battle to protect the quality of our air for our children and for our seniors.

I will never forget the farmers and the men and women who live in our small towns, our rural areas where I grew up. That is who I am. The truth is, you are the heart and soul of North Carolina. When our farmers were struggling, especially our tobacco farmers, I am proud in the end we were able to do something, to do something to help them, because they deserve it. They have done so much for their towns and their communities and for my State. They deserve something, finally, to be done to help them and support them. All of us together were able to do that.

It also matters, it matters to good, hard-working people like Blythe and Gwendolyn Casey. They have had a family farm for decades. They did their part and they never dreamed they would be close to retiring, mired in debt, debt they can never recover from. Together we helped them and we maintained family farms across our State of North Carolina.

I will never forget the mothers and the fathers, the husbands and the wives, the brothers and the sisters who wanted nothing but to make sure their loved one got the care they needed in their darkest hour. Together with Senator JOHN MCCAIN and Senator KENNEDY, my friends and my colleagues, two men for whom I have enormous respect and affection, we went to work on something that matters—making sure you and your doctors could make your own health care decisions, especially when they were important to you and your family. It wasn't easy. There were lobbyists all over this place from every drug company, HMO, and big insurance company. They prowled these halls, but we did it and we got the Patients' Bill of Rights passed in the Senate. I have absolute faith that