

sharing stories with them at the reception after the swearing in and that he was one of the last ones to leave.

Like so many others, I have known Ted's graciousness firsthand. Anyone who watches C-SPAN2 could see Ted railing at the top of his lungs against my position on this policy or that policy. What they didn't see was the magnificent show he put on a few years ago in Kentucky at my invitation for students at the University of Louisville or the framed photo he gave me that day of my political role model, John Sherman Cooper. I interned for Cooper as a young man. Ted knew that, and he knew Cooper was a good friend and neighbor of his brother Jack's.

Ted's gregariousness was legendary, but his passion and intensity as a lawmaker would also reach near-mythic proportions in his own lifetime. Even those of us who saw the same problems but different solutions on issue after issue, even we could not help but admire the focus and the fight Ted brought to every debate in which he played a part. Over the years, we came to see what he was doing in the Senate.

When it came to Ted's future, everyone was always looking at it through the prism of the Presidency. They should have focused on this Chamber instead. It was here that he slowly built the kind of influence and voice for a national constituency that was common for Senators in the 19th century but extremely rare in the 20th.

He became a fiery spokesman for liberals everywhere. Ted and I would have had a hard time agreeing on the color of the carpet when we were in the Chamber together. Yet despite his public image as a liberal firebrand, he was fascinated by the hard work of creating consensus and jumped into that work, even toward the end, with the enthusiasm of a young staffer. Ted's high school teammates recall that he never walked to the huddle; he always ran. Anyone who ever sat across from Ted at a conference table believed it.

Ted realized Senators could do an awful lot once they got past the magnetic pull Pennsylvania Avenue has on so many Senators. His brother Jack once said that as a Senator, he thought the President had all the influence, but it wasn't until he was President that he realized how much influence Senators had. It was a similar insight that led Ted to tell a group of Boston Globe reporters in 1981 that for him, the Senate was fulfilling, satisfying, challenging, and that he could certainly spend his life here, which, of course, he did. Then, when it was winding down, he saw what he had done as a Senator and what the Senate had done for him. He wanted others to see it too, so he set about to establish the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate, a place that would focus on this institution the way Presidential libraries focus on Presidents.

The Founders, of course, envisioned the legislative and executive branches as carrying equal weight. Article I is

about Congress, after all, not the Presidency. His life and legacy help restore that vision of a legislative counterweight of equal weight. That is an important institutional contribution every Senator can appreciate. It is something he did through hard work, tenacity, and sheer will. It was not the legacy most expected, but it is the legacy he wrought, and in the end he could call it his own.

Toward the end of his life, one of the great lawmakers of the 19th century, Henry Clay, was asked to speak to the Kentucky General Assembly. Thanks to Clay's efforts, the Compromise of 1850 had just been reached, and Clay had become a national hero through a job he had spent most of his career trying to escape. His speech received national coverage, and, according to one biographer, all acknowledged his privileged station as an elder statesman.

For years, Clay had wanted nothing more than to be President of the United States. But now, after this last great legislative victory, something else came into view. Clay told the assembled crowd that day that in the course of months and months of intense negotiations leading up to the Great Compromise, he had consulted with Democrats just as much as he had with members of his own party and found in them just as much patriotism and honor as he had found with the Whigs. The whole experience had moved Clay away from party rivalry, he said, and toward a new goal. "I want no office, no station in the gift of man," he said, "[except] a warm place in your hearts."

Every man has his own story. Ted Kennedy never moved away from party rivalry. He was a fierce partisan to the end. But over the years, he reminded the world of the great potential of this institution and even came to embody it. We will never forget the way he filled the Chamber with that booming voice, waving his glasses at his side, jabbing his fingers at the air, or the many times we saw him playing outside with his dogs. How many times did we spot him coming through the doorway or onto an elevator, his hair white as the surf, and think: Here comes history itself.

As the youngest child in one of the most influential political families in U.S. history, Ted Kennedy had enormous shoes to fill. Yet in nearly 50 years of service as a young Senator, a candidate for President, a legislative force, and an elder statesman, it is hard to argue that he didn't fill those shoes in a part he wrote all by himself.

It is hard to imagine the Senate without Ted thundering on the floor. It will be harder still, I am sure, for the Kennedy family to think of a future without him. You could say all these things and more about the late Senator from Massachusetts, and you could also say this: Edward Moore Kennedy will always have a warm place in our hearts.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

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

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to a period for the transaction of morning business until 12:30 p.m., with the time equally divided and controlled between the two leaders or their designees.

The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I might use.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is recognized.

REMEMBERING SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I thank Majority Leader REID and Minority Leader MCCONNELL for the time they have set aside for us today to remember Ted Kennedy, our beloved colleague, my senior Senator for nearly a quarter of a century, a friend, a man I met first and who had great influence on me in politics back in 1962 when, as a young, about-to-be college student, I had the privilege of working as a volunteer in his first campaign for the Senate.

It is difficult to look at his desk now cloaked in the velvet and the roses, a desk from which he championed so many important causes, a desk from which he regaled us, educated us, and befriended us for so many years, and even more difficult for us to think of this Chamber, our Nation's Capital, or our country without him.

On many occasions in the Senate, he was the indispensable man. On every occasion in this Chamber and out, he was a man whose heart was as big as heaven, whose optimism could overwhelm any doubter, and whose joy for life was a wonderfully contagious and completely irresistible thing.

Ted loved poetry, and though the verse was ancient, the poet could have had Ted in mind when he wrote:

One must wait until the evening to see how splendid the day has been.

Our day with Ted Kennedy was, indeed, splendid, its impact immeasurable. Just think for a moment what a different country we lived in before Ted Kennedy came to the Senate in 1962 and what a more perfect Union we live in for the 47 years he served here. Before Ted Kennedy had a voice in the Senate and a vote in the Senate, there was no Civil Rights Act, no Voting Rights Act, no Medicare, no Medicaid, no vote for 18-year-olds, no Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday, no Meals on Wheels, no equal funding for women's collegiate sports, no State health insurance program, no Family Medical Leave Act, no AmeriCorps, no National Service Act. All of these are literally just a part of Ted's legislative legacy.

It is why the Boston Globe once wrote that in actual measurable impact on the lives of tens of millions of working families, the elderly, and the needy, Ted belongs in the same sentence with Franklin Roosevelt.

Ted's season of service spanned the administrations, as we heard from the minority leader, of 10 Presidents. He served with more than 350 Senators, including those for whom our principal office buildings are named: Richard Russell, Everett Dirksen, and Philip Hart. He cast more than 16,000 votes. He wrote more than 2,500 bills. He had an important hand in shaping almost every single important law that affects our lives today. He helped create nearly every major social program in the last 40 years. He was the Senate's seminal voice for civil rights, women's rights, human rights, and the rights of workers. He stood against judges who would turn back the clock on constitutional freedoms. He pointed America away from war, first in Vietnam and last in Iraq. And for three decades, including the last days, he labored with all his might to make health care a right for all Americans.

Through it all, even as he battled, he showed us how to be a good colleague, always loyal, always caring, always lively. His adversaries were never his enemies. And his friends—his friends—always came first.

In my office there is a photograph of the two of us on day one—1985—my first day in the Senate. Ted signed it: As Humphrey Bogart would have said: This is the beginning of a beautiful friendship. For almost 25 years it was a beautiful friendship, as I worked at his side learning from the best. And, yes, like any colleague in the Senate, there were moments when we had a difference on one issue or another, but we always found a way to move forward in friendship and in our efforts to represent the State.

Teddy was the best natural teacher anyone in politics could ask for. I may not always have been the best student, but he never stopped dispensing the lessons. I came to the Senate out of an activist grassroots political base, where the coin of the realm was issues and policy positions. Activists are sometimes, as I learned, so issue focused and intent that they can inadvertently look past the personal touch or the emotional connection for fear that it somehow distracts from the agenda. But Teddy, through his actions, showed us how essential all of those other elements of political life are.

Yes, Tip O'Neill taught a generation of Massachusetts politicians that all politics is local. It was Teddy who went beyond that and taught us that all politics is personal. All of us knew the kindness of Ted Kennedy at one time or another, Mr. President.

During my first term in the Senate, I came down with pneumonia. I was then single and tired and Ted deemed me not to be getting the care I ought to

get. So the next thing I knew, he literally instructed me to depart for Florida to stay in the Kennedy home in Palm Beach and be cared for until I got well. Indeed, I did exactly that.

He also showed up at my house the evening of Inauguration Day of 2005, and together with CHRIS DODD we shared laughter and stories from the campaign trail. We were loud enough and had enough fun that someone might have wondered if we were somehow mistaken and thought we had won. He understood the moment. He knew the best tonic was laughter and friendship. Many times that is all he needed to do, just be there. You couldn't help but feel better with him around.

All of us who served with him were privileged to share Ted's incredible love of life and laughter. In the cloakroom, sometimes the roars of laughter were so great they could be heard out on the Senate floor. Once I remember Ted was holding forth—I will not share the topic—and the Presiding Officer pounded the gavel and demanded, "There will be order in the Senate and in the cloakroom." It was the first time I ever heard that call for order.

His pranks were also works of art and usually brilliantly calculated. One night after a long series of Thursday night votes that had pushed Senators past the time to catch commercial flights home to the Northeast, Senator FRANK LAUTENBERG had arranged for a private charter for himself in order to get up to Massachusetts. It turned out a number of Senators needed to travel in that direction, and when FRANK learned of it, he kindly offered Senator Claiborne Pell, Ted, and myself a ride with him. There was no discussion of sharing the cost. Everyone thought FRANK was being very generous.

But the next week, when we were reassembled on the floor of the Senate, official looking envelopes were delivered to each of us under FRANK LAUTENBERG's signature with exorbitant expenses charged for this flight. Senator Pell roared down the aisle, came up to me sputtering about this minor little aircraft and how could it possibly cost so much money. Senator LAUTENBERG was red faced, protesting he knew nothing about it, when out of the corner of my eye I spotted Ted Kennedy up there by his desk with this big Cheshire cat grin starting to split a gut, so pleased with himself. The mystery was solved. Ted had managed to secure a few sheets of Lautenberg stationery, and he sent false bills to each of us.

He once told me his earliest recollections were of pillow fights with his brother Jack and, in the years following, sailing with Jack. At the end of the day Ted's job was the long and tedious task of folding and packing the sails away. In politics and in the great progressive battles that were his life's work, Ted never packed his sails away. Were he here today, he would exhort us to sail into the wind, as he did so many times. There is still so much to do, so

much that he wanted to do, and so much that he would want us to do now, not in his name but in his spirit.

When Ted was 12 years old, he spent hours with his brother Jack taking turns reading the epic Civil War poem "John Brown's Body," by Steven Vincent Benet. It is book length and filled with great and terrible scenes of battle and heartbreaking vignettes of loss and privation and home. It surprises me to read it now and find so much in it that in fact reminds me of Ted. Benet wrote:

Sometimes there comes a crack in time itself. Sometimes the earth is torn by something blind. Sometimes an image that has stood so long it seems implanted on the polar star is moved against an unfathomed force that suddenly will not have it anymore. Call it the mores, call it God or Fate, call it Mansoul or economic law, that force exists and moves. And when it moves it will employ a hard and actual stone to batter into bits an actual wall and change the actual scheme of things.

Ted Kennedy was such a stone who actually changed the scheme of things on so many issues for so many people. Over the years, I have received hundreds of handwritten notes from Ted—some funny, some touching, all of them treasures.

Just before Thanksgiving Ted sent me a note that he would be spending the holiday with his beloved sailboat, the Maya. He added: If you are out on the sound, look for the Maya. She will be there. Indeed, I will never sail the sound again without thinking of the Maya and her big hard skipper.

There is an anonymous quote that I once read, which because of Ted's faith—which was grounded and deeply important to him—I think it describes how we should think of his departure from the Senate. It says:

I am standing upon the seashore. A ship at my side spreads her white sails to the morning breeze and starts for the blue ocean. She is an object of beauty and strength. I stand and watch her until at length she hangs like a speck of white cloud just where the sea and sky come down to mingle with each other. Then, someone at my side says: "There, she is gone!" "Gone where?" Gone from my sight. That is all. She is just as large in mast and hull and spar as she was when she left my side and she is just as able to bear her load of living freight to her destined port. Her diminished size is in me, not in her. And just at the moment when someone at my side says, "There, she is gone!" There are other eyes watching her coming, and other voices ready to take up the glad shout; "Here she comes!" And that is dying.

That is the way Ted Kennedy will live in the Senate—his spirit, his words, and the fight that still comes.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, first, let me thank my colleague from Massachusetts for his eloquent statement which I have had the privilege to hear. Let me make a short statement myself about my friend and colleague, Ted Kennedy.

I came to the Senate in January of 1983, and my first real opportunity to work with Ted came in the Armed

Services Committee at the beginning of that service. Although he had already been in the Senate for 20 years, he had chosen that year to go on the Armed Services Committee. Since we were both going on that year, in 1983, we were considered the two freshmen committee members. Ted and I were able to work together on the Armed Services Committee for many years.

He has been described as a visionary leader, a great orator, the keeper of the faith for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. All of those descriptions, of course, are true. But the Ted Kennedy I came to know and with whom I had the great opportunity to work was a passionate, committed advocate and was the workhorse of the Senate. Frankly, Ted Kennedy set a very high standard for himself in the effort that he made on each and every issue that came up for debate. He set a high standard for the homework he did in preparation for that debate. All of us who served with him found ourselves trying to meet a similar standard. The result was that he raised the level of performance for those of us who served with him by the example he set.

In addition to serving with Ted Kennedy on the Armed Services Committee for many years, in May of 1990, following the death of Senator Matsunaga, I had the good fortune to be assigned to what was then called the Labor and Human Resources Committee—Ted's committee. As chairman, Ted gave a whole new meaning to the word "proactive" in that committee. The volume of useful legislation he was able to move forward through the committee was truly impressive. A major key to his success was the way he found to underscore for all members the importance of what the committee was working on. As chairman, he rightly saw it as his job to put together the agenda and the priorities for the committee's work. But before doing that he would sit down with the rest of us over dinner at his house to get our views on what those priorities needed to be. The serious approach he took to the committee's work inspired those of us who served there to elevate the importance of that work in our own minds as well.

During the course of our work in the Senate, each of us gets the opportunity to interact with many colleagues, to form judgments about those colleagues. During my 27 years I have served with many capable and dedicated public servants who deserve recognition and praise. But it is clear to me none of us exceeds Ted Kennedy in our passion or commitment for accomplishing the work we have been sent to do.

Hendrick Hertzberg wrote a short piece in the *New Yorker* last week that captures well the Ted Kennedy with whom I was privileged to know and serve. Mr. Hertzberg wrote:

The second half of his 47-year senatorial career was a wonder of focused, patient, unwavering service to a practical liberalism

that emphasized concrete improvements in the lives of the poor, the old, the disabled, children, the uninsured, the undocumented, the medically or educationally disadvantaged.

That phrase—focused, patient, unwavering service—is a good description of the Ted Kennedy I knew as my chairman and my friend, and I will miss him very much.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I also want to rise this morning to share some brief thoughts about our colleague from Massachusetts. I want to commend JOHN KERRY and JEFF BINGAMAN for their comments capturing the good qualities of the Senator from Massachusetts.

This is a hall noted for a robust amount of noise, and it seems quiet today because Teddy is not here. So we gather to share a few thoughts.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD some remarks I made at the memorial service for Senator Kennedy at the John F. Kennedy Library.

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

WHAT A GOLDEN FRIEND I HAD

By Sen. Chris Dodd

Tonight, we gather to celebrate the incredible American story of a man who made so many other American stories possible, my friend Teddy Kennedy.

Unlike his beloved brothers, his sister Kathleen, and his nephews, Teddy was granted the gift of time—he lived, as the Irish poet suggested, not just to comb gray hair, but white hair.

And if you look at what he achieved in his 77 years, it seems, at times, as if he lived for centuries.

Generations of historians will, of course, chronicle his prolific efforts on behalf of others. I will leave that to them.

Tonight, I just want to share some thoughts about my friend.

And what a friend he has been—a friend of unbridled empathy, optimism, and full-throated joy.

Examples of that friendship are legion.

I remember, many years ago, a close friend of mine passed away. Teddy didn't know him.

I was asked to say a few words at the funeral.

As long as I live, I will never forget that, as I stood at the pulpit and looked out over the gathering, there was Teddy, sitting in the back of the church.

He obviously wasn't there for my friend. He was there for me, at my time of loss.

That was what it was like to have Teddy in your corner.

When our daughters Grace and Christina were born, first call I received was from Teddy.

When I lost the Iowa caucuses last year, not that anyone thought I was going to win, first call I received was from Teddy and Vicki.

When my sister passed away last month, first call I received was from Teddy, even though he was well into the final summer of his own life.

And two weeks ago, as I was coming out of surgery, I got a call from Teddy, his unique voice as loud and booming as ever. "Well," he roared, "Between going through prostate

cancer surgery and doing town hall meetings, you made the right choice!"

And though he was dying, and I was hurting, he had me howling with laughter in the recovery room as he made a few choice comments, I cannot repeat this evening, about catheters.

As we all know, Teddy had a ferocious sense of humor.

In 1994, he was in the political fight of his life against Mitt Romney.

Before the first debate, held in Boston's historic Faneuil Hall, I was with Teddy and Vicki and his team and, along with everyone else, offering him advice.

"Teddy," I cautioned, "We Irish always talk too fast. Even if you know the answer to a question, you have to pause, slow down, and at the very least appear thoughtful."

Out he went, and, of course, the first question was something like this: "Senator, you've served the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for nearly 35 years in the United States Senate. Explain, then, why this race is so close."

Teddy paused. And paused. And paused. Five seconds. Ten seconds.

Finally, after what seemed like an eternity, he answered.

After the debate, I said, "Good Lord, Teddy, I didn't mean pause that long after the first question! What were you thinking about?"

He looked at me and replied, "I was thinking—that's a damn good question! Why is this race so close?"

In these last months of his life, I have so treasured our conversations.

At 6:30 in the morning of July 16th, the morning after his Senate health care committee finished five weeks of exhausting work on the bill he had written, and that I believe will be the greatest of his many legacies, my phone rang.

There was Teddy, beyond ecstatic that we had finished our work, and that his committee had been the first to report a bill.

Always the competitor.

Teddy was never maudlin or self-pitying about his illness, but he was always fully aware of what was happening.

Over the last year or so, Teddy got to enjoy what is, of course, every Irishman's dream—and that is to attend your own eulogies. That's why we call the obituary page the Irish sports page.

And I know he enjoyed a uniquely Celtic kick out of hearing people who abhorred his politics say incredibly nice things about him.

Volumes, of course, will be published by those attempting to unlock the mystery of why Teddy was such an effective legislator.

Was it his knowledge of parliamentary procedure? His political instincts? His passionate oratory? His staff?

Please let me save the pundits and political scientists some time—and all of you some money—and tell you what Teddy's secret was: People liked him.

Now, he always had a great staff, and great ideas, but that only counts for so much in the United States Senate, if you lack the respect and admiration of your colleagues.

And Teddy earned that respect.

He arrived in Washington as the 30-year-old brother of a sitting president and the attorney general of the United States.

Many people drew their conclusions about him before he spoke his first words in the Senate.

And over the years, he became a target of partisans who caricatured him as a dangerous liberal.

Now, liberal he was, and very proud of it.

But once you got to know him, as his Senate colleagues did, you quickly learned he was no caricature.

He was a warm, passionate, thoughtful, tremendously funny man who loved his country, and loved the United States Senate.

If you ever needed to find Teddy in the Senate chamber, all you had to do was to listen for that distinctive thunderclap of a laugh, echoing across that hallowed hall as he charmed his colleagues.

He served in the Senate, as you all know, for almost a half-century alongside liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans, and he befriended them all with equal gusto.

It's great, of course, to see his friends Senators Orrin Hatch and John McCain here.

It is to their credit that they so often supported Teddy's efforts.

And, I say in some jest, it is to Teddy's great credit that he so rarely supported theirs.

But Teddy's personal friendships with Orrin and John, and so many others, weren't simply the polite working relationships that make politics possible.

They are the real and lasting bonds that make the United States Senate work.

That's what made Teddy one of our great Senators ever.

Some people born with a famous name live off of it. Others enrich theirs. Teddy enriched his.

And, as we begin the task of summing up all that he has done for his country, perhaps we can begin by acknowledging this:

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, inspired our America; Robert Kennedy, challenged our America; and our Teddy, changed our America.

Nearly every important law passed in the last half century bears his mark, and a great many of them bear his name.

Teddy was defined by his love of our country, his passion for public service, his abiding faith, and his family.

His much-adored Vicki, his children Kara, Teddy, and Patrick, his step-children Caroline and Curran, his grandchildren, nieces and nephews—all of you need to know, you brought him unbounded joy and pleasure.

Teddy was a man who lived for others.

He was a champion for countless people who otherwise might not have had one, and he never quit on them, never gave up on the belief that we could make tomorrow a better day. Never.

Last August in Denver, one year to the day before his passing, Teddy spoke at our national convention.

His gait was shaky, but his blue eyes were clear, and his unmistakable voice rang with strength.

As he passed the torch to another young president, Teddy said: "The work begins anew. The hope rises again. And the dream lives on."

He spoke of the great fight of his life—ensuring that every American, regardless of their economic status, is guaranteed the right to decent health care.

We are all so saddened that he did not live to see that won.

But in a few short days, we will return to our work in Teddy's Senate.

The blistering days of August will be replaced, I pray, by the cooler days of September.

And we will prevail in the way Teddy won so many victories for our country: by listening to each other; by respecting each other and the seriousness of the institution to which we belong, and where Teddy earned an immortal place in American history.

As he so eloquently eulogized his brother Bobby 40 years ago, Teddy doesn't need to be enlarged in death beyond what he was in life.

We will remember him for the largeness of his spirit, the depth of his compassion, his persistence in the face of adversity, and the breadth of his achievement.

We will remember him as a man who understood better than most that America is a place of incredible opportunity, hope, and redemption.

He labored tirelessly to make those dreams a reality for everyone.

Those dreams, the ones he spoke of throughout his life, live on like the eternal flame that marks President Kennedy's grave, the flame that Teddy and Bobby lit 46 years ago.

And in all the years I knew and loved him, that eternal flame has never failed to burn brightly in Teddy's eyes.

Now, as he re-joins his brothers on that hillside in Arlington, may the light from that flame continue to illuminate our path forward.

And with the work of our own hands, and the help of Almighty God, inspired by Teddy's example, may we lift up this great country that my friend Teddy loved so much.

Mr. DODD. I was very honored to be asked by Mrs. Kennedy and her family to share some thoughts that evening, and I was proud to do so.

I commend my colleague from Rhode Island, PATRICK KENNEDY, for his comments at his father's funeral, and Teddy's son Edward Kennedy, as well, who made wonderful comments about their father at that funeral service.

A few short thoughts this morning, and a proposal I wish to make to our colleagues as we recognize the contribution of Senator Kennedy. When we consider how to pay tribute to our colleagues, we often try to devise monuments, to celebrate the work of those who served here and made a significant contribution to our country. It is not an easy task. I have tried to think about what would be an appropriate way to celebrate, in some concrete way, the work of Ted Kennedy. He certainly has been, as our colleagues and others have pointed out over these last couple of weeks, one of the greatest Members to ever serve in this body.

I had the distinction and honor of serving as the chairman of the Rules Committee a few years ago. I was asked to complete some of the ovals in the reception room. For those who have not been to Washington, or to the Capitol, there is a room a few feet from where I am speaking here this morning called the reception room. It was designed by the great artist, Brumidi, and he intended that work to celebrate the work of the Senate.

In the mid-1950s, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, then a freshman Senator from Massachusetts, was asked by the leadership of this body to form a committee to identify the five most significant Senators who had served up until the 1950s. Then-Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts went to work, reviewing the contributions of the people who served in this body since the founding of our Republic in 1789. He concluded there were five Members who deserved recognition. The first three were the obvious ones: Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. The last two, Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin and Senator Taft of Ohio, were more controversial, but were accepted as fine contributions to that room that celebrates those who have

contributed the most to this body and our country.

I was asked a couple of years ago to help add a couple more names to that honor roll of renowned Members of this body. We concluded that Senator Vandenberg, who made such a contribution to the post-World War II foreign policy of our Nation, along with Senator Wagner of New York, who back in the 1920s and 1930s and 1940s was the author of much of the social legislation that we celebrate in this country today, were fine additions to those who had already been recognized in this reception room just off the floor of the Senate.

One day it will be appropriate to add our colleague and friend from Massachusetts, who deserves to be in that hall of celebrated heroes, having made a significant contribution to this institution and to the people of our country.

But there are other ways to celebrate him as well. I suspect that Senator Kennedy, if he had a chance to weigh in on how he would like to be recognized and remembered, might choose other means.

There are very few issues over the last half century on which Senator Kennedy did not leave his mark, and a good many of the most significant pieces of legislation that passed this Senate in his time not only bear his mark but bear his name as the author. That, in a sense, is a monument, one with a meaning far broader than anything we might inscribe on any wall.

Across America there are people who might have lacked for an advocate had Ted Kennedy not stood up for them, people who can now stand up for themselves with dignity and hope and a chance to make it in America because they had a friend by the name of Edward Moore Kennedy.

These Americans are also a monument that I think Senator Kennedy might say is fitting enough—that there are people today doing better, living more secure lives, growing up with a sense of confidence and optimism about their future and the future of our country because of his contribution. That in itself is a great monument.

Perhaps we could consider the flood of tributes that have come from across the aisle as well as across the globe, from those who shared in his crusade for social justice and those who spent their careers opposing him, and those who never enjoyed the privilege of working alongside him. All understood how important Senator Kennedy was, not only to this Nation but to millions of people around the globe who today lead better lives because he stood up for them even though they were not citizens of our own country.

He understood that the Founders of our Republic, when they talk about inalienable rights, were not limiting those rights in our minds to those who happen to enjoy the privilege of being citizens of our country but knew that they were God-given rights that every human being is endowed with upon

birth, regardless of where they live. Ted Kennedy understood that intuitively, deeply, and passionately. That in itself, I suppose, could be a great tribute, knowing there are people whom he never met, never even knew what he looked like, who lead better lives today because of his contribution.

Then perhaps we might consider these tributes offered by our colleagues here and others, the literally thousands who lined up in those long hours to pay tribute to their Senator from Massachusetts at the John F. Kennedy Library, the more than 50,000 people in Massachusetts who had known and respected, elected and reelected and reelected and reelected, over and over again, their Senator. They appreciated him immensely for the work he did for them and their Commonwealth for almost 50 years. In itself that is a great tribute. It would be enough, I think, for many of us, being recognized by the people of your State for having fought on their behalf.

Teddy's monument can be found in his talented and wonderful family as well. JOE BIDEN talked about this in the memorial service in the John Kennedy Library. When you consider this remarkable family of Senator Kennedy and those of his brothers, their children, their nieces and nephews, it is a source of inspiration when you think of what each of them has done, the contributions they have made.

A few short weeks prior to Teddy's passing, he lost his sister Eunice, who was a wonderful friend of mine over many years. She did remarkable things as an individual. To think, millions of people who suffer from mental disabilities enjoy a greater respect today because of one individual, Eunice Kennedy Shriver. Teddy's brother Joe lost his life in World War II, defending our country and fighting for freedom. His sister Jean has done a remarkable job with the very special arts in her contribution to the country. And then look at his wonderful wife Vicki, who was such an incredible source of strength and inspiration for him during their life together and particularly over the last 15 months. There is no doubt in my mind Teddy lived as long as he did with brain cancer because Vicki was at his side and took such nurturing care of him and has done a remarkable job providing all of us the opportunity to celebrate his life as we all wished to do.

His children, grandchildren, nieces, nephews all are following Teddy's example by making a difference in this country. His son PATRICK I mentioned already, serves in the other body. His son Teddy is a great friend of mine, lives in Connecticut and is making a significant contribution as citizen of our State. He holds no office, doesn't have any title. He and his wife make a wonderful difference on many issues in our State every single day, and his daughter Kara, for whom he has such great affection, has also made her contributions as well. That in itself can be

a monument. How many would say if your children and family do well and stand up and make a difference in the lives of other people, what better tribute; what higher form of compliment could you have, or form of flattery, than to know that your children, your family, your nieces or nephews, your sisters and brothers are out making a difference in the lives of others?

In a way, it is hard to decide what is an appropriate way to celebrate the life of someone who filled the room on so many occasions, not only with his booming voice—as we all are familiar with here, particularly the staff of the Senate who would, many times, be the only ones in this room as Ted Kennedy would be pounding that podium back in that corner, expressing his passionate views about some great cause of the country. But we remember also his determination that this country live up to its expectations, that it become the more perfect union that our Founders described more than two centuries ago.

Today, I wish to make a suggestion to my colleagues. I talked to the leadership about it and to the Republican leadership as well. Never before in the history of this country have three brothers served in this Chamber: Jack Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and, of course, Teddy Kennedy. That has never happened before in the history of our Nation. One of the rooms that has been of similarly historic significance to our Nation is the caucus room in the Russell Office Building. It has been the site of remarkable hearings and meetings. Since its building almost a century ago, that room has been very important. The hearings on the Titanic were held in that room; the Watergate hearings, going back years ago, were held in that room. It is there that we have commemorated tragedies. We have met to celebrate triumphs in that room. We have gathered as Members with our spouses from time to time to share some quiet moments with each other as we reflected on our responsibilities here as Senators. We have held some of the greatest debates that have ever occurred in that room. It is there that Senator Kennedy's Health Committee, in which I was privileged to act as sort of a fill-in for him over the last number of months, held 5 weeks of hearings and debate and markup of a bill that concluded in the adoption of the health care reform legislation that he authored.

It is in that room that Senator Kennedy's brothers each announced their candidacies for the Presidency of the United States. Both Jack Kennedy and Robert Kennedy, in that very room, announced that they intended to seek that office. And it is there that I propose we affix the Kennedy name, not just as a monument to the things these three brothers did as Senators and as colleagues of ours here, but in the spirit of compassion and compromise, the fierce advocacy and tender friendship that Teddy and his brothers brought to this body.

This was Teddy's wish and desire. I asked him what could we do to recognize him, and he said, I would like to have you recognize my brothers as well for their contribution.

Ted Kennedy believed in impassioned debate. He believed in pounding that podium when it was appropriate. But he also believed that at the end of the day we best serve the people of our great Nation when we respect each other and work together in common cause to solve the problems of our day. Whatever history is made in the caucus room of the Russell Senate Office Building in the next century, I would like to believe it will be guided by that spirit of respect and good humor that Teddy Kennedy brought to this institution for almost a half century. Thus, may the Kennedy Caucus Room stand as one monument to the contribution of a family what has made such a difference to our country. They devoted their considerable talents and energy and their lives to serving our Nation that they loved and that loved them back.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Rhode Island is recognized.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise along with my colleague to pay tribute to an extraordinary American, probably the greatest Senator to serve in this body. I think time will confirm that as we go forward. I particularly want to express my deepest sympathy to Vicki and Kara and PATRICK and Ted Jr. I have had the privilege now of serving with Senator Ted Kennedy but also with Congressman PATRICK KENNEDY, and both of these gentlemen have demonstrated zeal for public service and commitment and passion to help people that has been emblematic of the Kennedy family.

I particularly am proud of PATRICK, his words at his father's funeral. His continued dedication to the people of Rhode Island is not only commendable but inspiring to me and to all of us.

Like so many of my generation, I grew up with the Kennedy family. In 1960, John Kennedy carried the banner of the Democratic Party as the Presidential candidate. He won, but, as we understood then and now, we got the whole family, not just President John Kennedy, and it was a remarkable family—his brother Robert, the Attorney General and later the U.S. Senator from New York, and then, of course, Ted Kennedy.

His contribution to the country and to the world is probably unmatched as we go forward in every area: health care, which was his particular passion and on which President Obama spoke so movingly last evening about his commitment to moving forward in this Congress and finally achieving a dream that has alluded our country for years and years and years; his work with his son PATRICK on mental health parity, which is so important.

On education, I had the privilege of serving with him on the Education

Committee and as a Member of the House to collaborate with him on education bills, and every major education initiative in this country bears his stamp, his input, his inspiration. He worked very closely with my predecessor, Senator Claiborne Pell, for the creation of the Pell grants and for so many other initiatives in education. He not only worked with Senator Pell, they developed a very deep and abiding friendship.

One of the impressive things about Ted Kennedy is that the public persona was impressive, the private persona was equally impressive and extraordinarily endearing. He was someone who had a great sense of camaraderie and friendship and good humor.

I can recall being invited to join Senator Kennedy at the Pells' home in Newport after Senator Pell retired. Every year, unannounced, without any fanfare, Senator Kennedy would sail his boat up into Newport and insist on taking Senator Pell out for a cruise, and then they would all retire to the Pell home for a delightful supper. I was privileged to be there on a couple of occasions.

Toward the end of his life, Senator Pell had difficulty moving around, but Senator Kennedy would insist on coming every summer. The last outing, we literally had to carry Senator Pell aboard. Senator Pell at that time was not communicating as effectively as he was previously, but he didn't have to because Senator Kennedy could take both parts of the conversation—in fact, he could take multiple parts of the conversation. There was never a lost word or a dull moment. It was a great opportunity to see an extraordinary statesman but an extraordinary gentleman at the same time.

He said famously about his brothers that they lived to see the American dream become reality, and he said famously that the dream lives on. But he also, more than dreaming, tried to give substance, shape, and texture to that dream, effectively to try to ensure that opportunity was available to every American family, that they could use their talent to build their family and to secure their future and to contribute to a better America. That was why he led on health care, because without adequate health care, you cannot realize your talents, your potential, and you cannot contribute as much to this great country. He led on education because it is the great engine that pulls this Nation forward and individually gives people an opportunity to move up and to help their families move forward.

On civil rights, he was a strong advocate. In fact, I think it is fair to say that his first major speech was in favor of the 1964 Civil Rights Act because he understood that the talent of America was not restricted to any group and that to meet the challenges of this Nation and this world, we need the contribution and the participation of every American, regardless of race, regardless of gender.

He also was someone who understood that for the working men and women of this country, they needed help, they needed to share in the bounty of this country. What we have seen over the last decade has been growth, up until the crisis of last September, but that growth was not shared fairly or evenly, executives getting huge salaries and bonuses and working men and women were barely keeping up. In order to have a strong, prosperous economy, we need a strong, prosperous middle class. His work in terms of education and health care and labor—all of that had a purpose not only of helping individuals but, wisely, trying to establish an environment for economic growth that we all could share.

He also served on the defense committee with me. And he was very perceptive. He had spent many years viewing the world, and his understanding of not only the military but the forces, economic and cultural, that shape our interaction with other countries was profound in its insights. He was, very clearly, opposed to the operation in Iraq because he understood that it was a strategic deviation from the real task, which continues in Afghanistan, to root out al-Qaida, to stabilize the region, the most volatile region in the country. That is just one example of his insight into the international arena.

There is a story, and it is attributed to either his brother John or to Senator Kennedy, but I think it might be apropos for both. It might be slightly apocryphal, but either John or Ted, according to the story, was standing outside a factory and a worker came up and said: They tell me you have never worked a day in your life.

And Kennedy was taken aback.

Then shortly, the worker said: Don't worry, you haven't missed anything.

A family of great privilege, of great opportunity, in fact worked every day of their lives, and particularly Ted Kennedy, hard, relentlessly to ensure that person coming out of the factory had a chance.

Finally, what I sensed when I was at the funeral service, which was extraordinarily moving and inspirational, the outpouring of affection and regard for Senator Kennedy, not by the dignitaries who assembled but by ordinary citizens of Massachusetts and here lining the route to Arlington, bespeaks a connection and a validation by the American people of an individual who had trials and tribulations but rose above it in constant service to the country, in constant service to the people who do not have a voice, and constant service to those who need a chance to help themselves, to help their family, and to make the Nation a better place. It reminded me of words spoken about Franklin Delano Roosevelt. His cortege was moving through Washington, DC, and a man was visibly shaken and weeping.

A reporter went up to him and said: You know, you are so upset, did you know the President?

He said: No, I did not know him, but he knew me.

Ted Kennedy knew us all. He knew our strengths, he knew our weaknesses, he knew that this government could make a difference, a positive difference in the lives of people. He had shared the same difficulties and challenges we face: children stricken with cancer, the loss of his brothers and one of his sisters in an airplane crash, the human reality.

And because he knew us, he never stopped working for us.

His legacy is extraordinary. It will inspire and sustain us as we go forward. His loss, not just to his family, which is considerable, but for all of us, is balanced by how much he made us better, more attuned to the challenge of serving America and leading the world. We will miss him. But our task now is to take up his work, to continue his effort. That is the greatest tribute we can pay. Let us begin with this debate on health care.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. GILLIBRAND.) The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Madam President, I rise to add my voice to those who have already paid tribute to our friend and colleague, the late Senator Ted Kennedy, who passed away this last month after a courageous battle with cancer.

He was quite an institution. I came into this body in a seat held by an individual who was quite an institution as well. Bob Dole was in this seat. So I know that when people look to the person who follows after Ted Kennedy, you just can't replace an individual like that who was such a towering figure in this body, was the lion of the Senate, as many have noted, and certainly deserved that topic and that accolade.

While Senator Kennedy and I did not see eye to eye on most political issues, I admired him greatly as a colleague and certainly as a dedicated public servant. Ted Kennedy fought for what he believed and did so with passion and conviction and incomparable ability. When he was your opponent on an issue, you knew you had a fight on your hands, and when he was on your side, you knew you had an advocate who worked hard and effectively.

His skills as a legislator were unmatched. I think really what was at the core of that was he really enjoyed working with other people. He had built relationships across the aisle with individuals, so that he could personally go to other individuals with that relationship he had built. Even though there were huge disagreements on policy issues on many other fronts, he had the personal relationships. To him, I think, in many cases, it was a lot more about the person rather than policy. I think that is a good lesson for many of us to learn. He mastered the legislative process, became one of the most effective Members of this body and that this body has ever known. One

of the keys of his effectiveness was his tenacity and perseverance and attending to, in many cases, the unglamorous details and the sometimes tedious work that goes into crafting and passing a bill.

He also understood that getting things done as a politician means compromise. He had a great sense of when to fight on principle and when to reach out to the other side and arrive at an agreement in order to advance the cause for which he was fighting. I think you can probably look back over the last decade or 15 years of this body and no major piece of legislation passed without Ted Kennedy's fingerprints somewhere around or on that piece of legislation.

Despite our political differences, I always found him to be professional, courteous, thoughtful, and a caring individual. He was always looking for ways to find common ground and had a wonderful ability to win others over to his side with that charm, Irish wit, his fellowship, and gregarious nature. And once he made an agreement, you could depend on him to be true to his word and honor in public an agreement he had made in private.

Over the years, I had the opportunity to work on several legislative issues with Senator Kennedy. As many testified, he was the best ally one could ever hope for.

Most recently we worked together to pass the Prenatally and Postnatally Diagnosed Conditions Awareness Act, a pro-life piece of legislation. When I would travel around the country saying that Ted Kennedy and I had introduced a pro-life piece of legislation together, many people would be quite startled. I would explain what this was. It was a piece of legislation that would encourage people, once they had a diagnosis that their child had Down Syndrome in utero, not to abort the child but instead to have the child, put together an adoption registry of individuals who were willing to adopt children with Down Syndrome. We have this terrible plague in the country where 90 percent of our children who are diagnosed with Down Syndrome never get here; they are aborted.

In our office we went to the disability community. We went to his sister Eunice and talked with her about it. And I went to Ted. I remember how effective his sister Eunice would be on lobbying Ted on this piece of legislation. Just this past year, when we were able to move things forward with it, I met with Eunice. She was obviously getting more difficult and failing of health at that point. She said: Is Teddy being helpful? Is Teddy working with you and helping? I would say: Yes, he is, but you can always help us more and push him more. And she did. What an effective team that was on providing help for those especially with mental disabilities, even on this pro-life piece of legislation that I hope will result in more people getting here who have disabilities so that they are not

killed in utero but instead that they get here and, if people can't handle that issue in their families, that they put them up for adoption. We have adoption registries ready to go for people who want to adopt a child who may have more difficulties. Working together we were able to find common ground on protecting the dignity of these precious Americans by providing parents who receive a pre- or postnatal diagnosis of genetic disability with resources, information, and a network of support.

I am so pleased to know Senator Kennedy lived to see this bill passed and signed into law. It stands as an example of how we can find common ground to advance the interests of all Americans in spite of differences. This body truly will not be the same place without Ted Kennedy, without his rhetoric and his strong voice, his abilities as a legislator.

My thoughts and prayers go out to him and his family and friends.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam President, I join today with colleagues to pay tribute to the life and legacy of Senator Ted Kennedy. Each of us has lost a friend with his passing—and all Americans—but especially those in need have lost a champion of government's ability to bring light to dark places. All of us stand in awe of the lengthy record of accomplishment Senator Kennedy leaves us. It was a great privilege to serve many years with Ted Kennedy on the Armed Services Committee and to witness firsthand the traits so well known to Members of the Senate: the tireless preparation, the intimate knowledge of the legislative process, the relentless focus on justice and equality.

Today our citizens are safer, our military more capable, our troops better equipped because of his service.

Senator Kennedy approached his work with diligence and dedication. But he also knew that work goes more smoothly when it is accomplished with friendship and good humor. It was possible to disagree with Ted Kennedy but never to dislike him. His sense of humor was contagious, and his concern for those around him, from fellow Senators to staff, to the many often unheralded people who make the Senate function, ensured that he was loved as well as respected throughout this body. That love extends across lines of party and ideology, in part because of that good humor and genuine concern for others for which he is so rightly known.

But it was not just these qualities that endeared Ted Kennedy to figures of all political persuasions. It was the seriousness and good faith with which he approached ideas that differed from his own. In 1983, this liberal Catholic from Massachusetts traveled to the conservative Liberty Baptist College in Virginia where he told the students:

The more our feelings diverge, the more deeply felt they are, the greater is our obligation to grant the sincerity and essential decency of our fellow citizens on the other side.

Ted Kennedy lived out that sentiment every day. We salute his ability to work across party lines to achieve consensus, to work on a piece of legislation until doubters became enthusiastic supporters. He excelled in transforming nays to yeas. Senator Kennedy was a master of our own specialized world, and his legislative legacy stands with those of the giants of this Chamber. He tackled what some see as the great game of politics with gusto.

But Ted Kennedy's life's work was not a game. Politics was not a contest staged for its own sake or in pursuit of power or prestige. Ted Kennedy was a master not of the politics of the moment but of the politics of meaning.

Ted Kennedy's task was to touch lives. He touched the family whose children have health insurance because of the Children's Health Insurance Program he helped establish; the child who has a better chance at an education because of his work on the No Child Left Behind law. More Americans can fully participate in our democracy because of the civil rights and voting rights legislation he pushed forward.

We saw Ted Kennedy's passion for justice, tolerance, and understanding again recently when we were working on the Matthew Shepard Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention legislation. I quoted him during that debate on that legislation when the Defense authorization bill was on the floor, and I quote him again now. He said:

We want to be able to have a value system that is worthy for our brave men and women to defend. They are fighting overseas for our values. One of the values is, we should not, in this country, in this democracy, permit the kind of hatred and bigotry that has stained the history of this Nation over a considerable period of time.

The children of our men and women in uniform have some of the best childcare available, thanks to the National Military Child Care Act Ted Kennedy championed in 1989. He was actively involved more recently following the outrages at Walter Reed Army Medical Center when we passed the wounded warrior legislation in 2008.

The lesson of Ted Kennedy's life and career is that politics at its best is not a game to be refereed by TV pundits. It is not a contest of poll numbers or a scorecard of grievances to nurse and favors to return. Senator Kennedy struck many deals. He brokered many compromises. He won many votes. But the true majesty of his career is not to be found in this Chamber, though his work was done here. His lesson for us is that democracy is best understood in the homes and lives of its citizens. It is in the homes of families less burdened by want. It is in the minds of children freed by education. It is in the relief of parents who no longer fear for a child in need of medical care. It is in the

souls of Americans who find inspiration in his triumph over tragedy and over his own shortcomings. It is in the hearts of the colleagues he leaves behind who will be inspired to rededicate ourselves to a politics that recognizes our common humanity and seeks common ground in the pursuit of justice.

My wife Barbara and I will always keep in our hearts Vicki, the love of Ted's life, and we will always remember Ted's love affair with the American people.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic whip.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, there was a historic moment on Capitol Hill last night. The President of the United States asked for a joint session of Congress to address one of the most important and controversial issues of our time. Emotions were running high in the House Chamber as Members of the House and Senate gathered to hear the President. We know they ran high because there were expressions of support and disapproval during the President's speech. I sat with Harry Reid and other leaders from the Democratic side in the Senate and watched carefully as the speech unfolded. I thought the President was at his best, even under fire, with the high emotions in the Chamber. I wondered what the ending would be and how it would be received.

If Members will recall, at the end of the speech, the President referred to a letter that had been sent to him by the late Senator Ted Kennedy to be read after the Senator had passed away. As the President referred to that letter, an amazing thing happened in that Chamber filled with hundreds of hundreds of people. The emotions quieted down. At one point, one could have heard a pin drop in the House Chamber as President Obama recalled the legacy and the promise of the life of Senator Edward Kennedy.

I came today to this seat on the Senate floor. It is not my ordinary desk, but it is the row where I sat for a number of years as a new Member of the Senate. It was a particularly good assignment to sit in this row because behind me was Paul Wellstone and then Ted Kennedy. One never had any better back-benchers than those two men. Now they are both gone.

As I reflect on the absence, particularly of Senator Kennedy, I recall for history his first speech on the floor of the Senate. It was April 9, 1964. Here is the amazing fact: This speech took place 16 months after he took his Senate seat. That booming voice and presence, which was so dominant in the Senate for decades, waited patiently for his turn, 16 months after the special election in Massachusetts that gave him the Senate seat once held by his brother John. When he rose to make his first speech on April 9, 1964, he said he planned "to address issues affecting the industry and employment in my home state [of Massachusetts]," a

thoughtful decision by someone recently elected, to make sure that your first speech touches issues important to the friends at home. He said he would make that speech one day. But he decided his first speech would be much different.

On that day, with his first speech, conscience and the cause of freedom compelled Ted Kennedy to speak instead in eloquent support of the bill the Senate was then debating. It was a measure President Kennedy proposed nearly a year earlier. Now, less than 5 months after that terrible day in Dallas, TX, when his brother was assassinated, the youngest Kennedy brother stood at the same desk his brother John had used when he served the Senate, the same desk Ted Kennedy used for the 47 years he served in the Senate. He presented more than a dozen letters he had received from religious leaders all urging Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act and end the evil of segregation in America. That was Ted Kennedy's first speech in the Senate.

He said:

When religious leaders call on us to urge passage of this bill, they are not mixing religion and politics. This is not a political issue. It is a moral issue to be resolved through political means.

He continued.

Religious leaders can preach, they can advise, they can lead movements of social action. But there comes a moment when persuasion must be backed up by law to be effective. In the field of civil rights, that point has been reached.

He concluded by saying:

My brother was the first President of the United States to say publicly that segregation was morally wrong. His heart and soul are in this bill. If his life and death had a meaning, it was that we should not hate but love one another; we should use our powers not to create conditions of oppression that lead to violence, but conditions of freedom that lead to peace. It is in that spirit that I hope the Senate will pass this bill.

That first speech by Ted Kennedy bore so many of the qualities that would define his public career. The moral courage to take on the most urgent moral question of his time no matter how controversial, the determination to pick up his brother's fallen standard, the prodigious amount of work behind the scenes building alliances, and an optimist's unshakable faith that his beloved America would become an even more just and decent Nation.

Listening to Senator Kennedy's speech that day were some of the giants of the Senate—Hubert Humphrey, a man who more than anyone brought me to public life when he allowed me to serve as an intern in his Senate office. The first to speak was a man whom I would come to know well, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois. He said:

I have never heard an address of a more truly noble and elevated tone.

He called the young Senator from Massachusetts:

A worthy continuer of the great traditions of the seat which he occupies in the Senate,

beginning, I believe, with John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster and Charles Sumner and through . . . to his beloved and lamented brother . . .

Senator Wayne Morse stood to speak as well, and he made a prediction on the first day Ted Kennedy spoke in this Chamber. He said:

[I]n my judgment, the junior Senator from Massachusetts has already demonstrated that before he leaves the U.S. Senate, he will have made a record in this body that will list him among the great Senators in the history of the Senate.

That prediction was made 45 years ago by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon.

Edward Moore Kennedy was one of the greatest Senators not only of our time but of all time. There was no better advocate and no more determined fighter for civil rights and human rights. He was a son of privilege, but he was a man, despite that background, who identified with the poor and the dispossessed and the voiceless in America.

His fingerprints can be found on significant legislation of the last half century: health care, voting rights, women's rights, gay rights, immigration reform, worker safety, fair housing, consumer protection, campaign finance reform, sensible gun laws, national service, minimum wage—the list goes on and on.

He was a protector of the vulnerable—of widows and orphans, the wounded and maimed, the grieving and dispossessed. He was a champion of people with disabilities. He believed we should all be judged by what we can do, not by what we cannot do.

When I was asked by my local media in Illinois, after Ted Kennedy's passing, if there was something about him that I knew that other people did not know, I said there was one thing most people did not know. As a result of an airplane crash early in his Senate career, where his broken body was dragged out of the plane by his Senate colleague, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, whose son now serves in this Chamber, Ted Kennedy, with a broken back and ribs, went through a long period of convalescence and a lifetime of problems as a result of that almost fatal accident.

Those of us who were around him every day knew that Ted was in pain a lot of the time—physical pain—because of his back problems. If you had a press conference with Ted Kennedy, you brought a little stool that he could perch on because standing caused pain. You watched him as he labored to get out of a chair trying to make sure he could stand and speak. But never a word of complaint—not one. A physical condition that might have created a total disability for some other people did not stop him. In addition to the intellectual part of this man, there was this physical commitment that he would give whatever it took to serve his people in Massachusetts and serve the causes and values which motivated his public life.

He was an advocate for the elderly throughout his career. Little did he realize his passion would eventually affect him personally, as he served long enough to qualify for Social Security and Medicare.

He believed education was the key to the American dream and he worked tirelessly to extend it, helping to create programs from Head Start for preschoolers to the Direct Lending program for college students.

He helped bring an end to apartheid in South Africa and violence in Northern Ireland.

His office wrote more than 2,500 bills and more than 300 of them became law. In addition, some 550 bills he cosponsored became law. Nearly every major legislative achievement of his was advanced with a Republican partner.

He was a genius at compromise, principled compromise. As someone said, he was able to maintain a sense of idealism in setting goals and realism in achieving them. He had an optimist's willingness to settle for progress, not perfection.

It was from his bother Jack, he said, that he learned the most important lesson: that you have to take issues seriously, but do not take yourself too seriously. As we all know, he was gracious and generous in sharing credit for success. But he also, because of the suffering in his life through his family and personally, developed this heart of gold, this empathy for other people and their own misfortunes.

If one of his colleagues in the U.S. Senate had something bad come their way, you could almost bet the first call they would receive would be from Ted Kennedy, regardless of which side of the aisle you were on. He would be the first to talk about some misfortune or illness in your family. How he learned this so quickly we never figured out, but the Kennedy network was there gathering that information, making certain he always offered a helping hand and a pat on the shoulder if you needed it.

Health care was such an important part of his public career—decent, affordable health care, as a right but not as a privilege. And he did more than anyone in our Nation's history to advance that noble cause.

He voted to create Medicare and Medicaid, protecting those programs for decades. Community health centers were a Kennedy initiative in 1966. How much good that has done for America is incalculable.

He was the chief architect of the WIC program, the COBRA law, and the Ryan White Act. Fewer Americans are forced to make the agonizing choice of keeping their job or caring for a loved one who is sick because Ted Kennedy helped pass the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Eleven million children of low-income working parents are able to see a doctor this year—11 million of our young kids in America—because Ted Kennedy helped create the Children's Health Insurance Program.

He was the driving force behind cancer research and speedier approval of drugs. He helped lead the fight to end discrimination by insurance companies against people with mental illness and addiction, which his son PATRICK has managed to pick up that standard and help, with his father, pass that legislation, a bill which meant so much to Senator Paul Wellstone and so many others, Pete Domenici included.

During the last few months of his life, he expended what little energy he had left to urge us to pass health care, and that is why the President's speech last night struck a chord with so many people. He continued to work hard at his job, even on the phone, during the last days of his life.

His son PATRICK said that while his father was hospitalized this last year for treatment in North Carolina and Massachusetts, he would roam the halls of the hospital—you can just see him—asking other cancer patients and their families how they were doing and how they were managing their bills. Some of the answers, they said, broke his heart.

He was ready to come back and vote on health insurance reform if the vote was needed. Even in the closing days of his life, Senator REID, reaching out to Vicki, knew that Ted would be there if his vote made the difference, even if it was the last physical act of his life.

Just as he implored the Senate in his first speech so many years ago to pass the civil rights bill in honor of his brother, the fallen President, we all know that Senator Kennedy, were he here today, would urge us to finish the cause of his life and make affordable health care for every American a right, not a privilege.

It is our obligation to search in good faith, as he did so often, for the principled compromise that will enable us to finish this urgent moral challenge of our time in the name of Ted Kennedy.

I was fortunate to attend the memorial service in Boston at Our Lady of Perpetual Help—a packed church with hundreds standing in the rain outside, wishing they could attend. Thousands had passed by to see his remains and to pay a tribute to him over the final days. It was a great sendoff to a great man.

I was so touched by his family—that extended Kennedy family—starting with Vicki, his best ally in his life, a woman who stood by him through those tough times in the closing months of his life, his children, nephews, nieces, grandchildren. All of them gathered. As they went to take Communion, JOHN MCCAIN leaned over to me and said: You can see the map of Ireland on all those faces. And you could. It was a great gathering of the Kennedy clan.

I want to express my condolences not only to the family but to the great Kennedy staff, always regarded as the best on Capitol Hill. Ted Kennedy not only did great work, he helped build great people, who continue to serve us

in public careers. They have done so much for this Nation. They will continue to do so, inspired by his example.

We are saddened by his passing, but we are determined to carry on. We know if he were here today his voice would be booming on this floor for the extension of unemployment benefits, making sure COBRA deductions are still there for those who have lost work, not forgetting to increase the minimum wage, making sure health care does not forget the tens of millions who are being left behind without health insurance in this country.

We are going to miss that booming voice, but he is going to continue to be an inspiration to all of us.

Last year, at the Democratic National Convention in Denver there was a little breakfast for Ted. He gave a great speech at the convention, even though there was a question at the last moment as to whether he would be able to physically do it. At that breakfast, Vicki, his wife, came up to me and she handed me this little plastic bracelet, and she said: I thought you might want to have this. It has written on it one word: "Tedstrong."

Well, I put that bracelet on, and I just took it off for the first time since then at this moment. I will not be wearing this bracelet, but it will be in my Senate desk, and each time I open it, I will remember that great man, Ted Kennedy.

Thank you, Madam President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Madam President, the assistant Democratic leader, in his eloquent remarks, mentioned Ted Kennedy's maiden address, which is a tradition we have here in the Senate. We try to wait for an appropriate time before we say much, and then we try to say something we think makes a difference.

I waited an appropriate time and made some remarks on the floor in support of legislation that would help put the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children could grow up learning what it means to be an American. I know the Presiding Officer has a great interest in that subject as well, and she and I have worked on that together. I proposed that we create summer academies for outstanding teachers and students of United States history.

Ted Kennedy was on the floor. He was the chairman or ranking member of the committee that handled that at the time. He came over afterwards and said: I will get you some cosponsors. The next thing I knew, he had 20 Democratic cosponsors for my little bitty bill that I had introduced. However well I thought of him before that, I thought even better of him after that. I think it is a small example of why he was so effective here in what he cared about.

I remember him talking about taking his family—his extended family—once

a year to some important place in America, some place that made a difference. He was especially taken with their trip to Richmond, I believe it was, where they went to the place where Patrick Henry went down on one knee and made his famous address. I guess one reason he was so interested in U.S. history was because he and his family were and are such a consequential part of it, but he made a big difference in what we call the teaching and learning of traditional American history.

On another occasion, he called me up to his hideaway—he had been here long enough to have a great room somewhere; I do not know where it is, but it has a great view of the Capitol—to talk about Gettysburg and what we could do to preserve that.

Then, we were working together, when he died, with Senator BYRD, who has been such a champion through U.S. history, on legislation that would tie the teaching of American history to our national parks, which we are celebrating this year, with Ken Burns' new movie, and with other ways to try to help use those nearly 400 national park sites we have to teach American history.

He and I and David McCullough had breakfast, for example, and talked about David McCullough teaching a group of teachers about John Adams at the John Adams House in Massachusetts, as one example. Then, of course, that turned to what was Ted Kennedy going to do about finding an appropriate place to honor John Adams in Washington, DC. That was another piece of unfinished business Ted Kennedy left that others of us will have to continue to work on. That is why he got along so well here.

When he cast his 15,000th vote, I remember saying the sure-fire way to bring a Republican audience to its feet was to make an impassioned speech against high taxes, against more Federal control, and against Ted Kennedy, and he laughed that great big laugh of his. But it was true. But almost everyone on this side will say there was no one on that side who we would rather work with on a specific piece of legislation because no matter how much we might disagree with him—and we certainly did on many issues—when it got to the point where it was time to decide: Can we do something? he was ready to do something. And his word was good. And his ability to help pass an important piece of legislation was unquestioned. Plus, we liked him. We liked his spirit, and we liked his personality.

My first engagement with Senator Kennedy was as a very young man when I came here in 1967 as a young aide to then-Senator Howard Baker. Senator Baker, who was the son-in-law of Senator Dirksen, then the Republican leader, teamed up with Ted Kennedy, the younger brother of the former President, and they took on the lions of the Senate, Sam Ervin of

North Carolina and Everett Dirksen, and won a battle over one man, one vote. I was the legislative assistant on this side and Jim Flug, the longtime friend and aide of Senator Kennedy, was the legislative assistant on that side.

I am here today, as we all are, to pay our respects to Senator Kennedy. Maybe some of us can help with some of that unfinished business, such as helping to make sure we expand the idea of teaching American history in our national parks to larger numbers of outstanding teachers and to outstanding students of U.S. history; and continuing the effort to do something about the long lines of adults in America who are waiting to learn our common language—English. Ted was very interested in that, as I am. But most of all, what I wish to say is what I believe most of us feel: We will miss him. We will miss his big voice, we will miss his big smile, and we will miss his big presence.

Thank you, Madam President. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I am deeply honored to pay tribute to Ted Kennedy today and to honor his extraordinary legacy.

I will always think of Ted Kennedy as many think of him—as the lion of the Senate. From that seat, in that seat in the back of this beautiful Senate Chamber, he used his powerful voice to speak out for those whose voices were rarely heard. I also have described Ted as the drummer in a large orchestra. Ted Kennedy was a steady drumbeat—a steady drumbeat for justice, for fairness, for compassion, and for progress. On days when the Senate wasn't that interested in listening; on days when maybe the polls were against him; on days when his compassion might not have been in fashion, that drumbeat got louder and louder and louder because Ted Kennedy knew that at the end of the day, the values he stood for would be embraced again.

Ted never let us forget why we are here—never. He always reminded us to be courageous. He always reminded us to be strong in fighting for the causes we believe in, not by lecturing us about it but by being brave, being strong, being courageous, taking on the tough issues. He spent 9 long years standing in the back of the Chamber talking about raising the minimum wage and explaining why people needed it—9 long years—but he knew the drumbeat would go on until we passed it. And we did.

Ted Kennedy had genuine and deep friendships in the Senate on both sides of the aisle. His greatest legislative skill was to know every Senator and to know their passions. When I first came to the Senate in the early 1990s, I had spent 10 years in the House and Senator Kennedy was already an icon, but he knew I was passionate about health issues and, in particular, women's

health issues. So even though I was new to the Senate, he came to me when he was managing a bill on the floor to protect the rights of women who were trying to get into reproductive health care clinics. At that time, protesters were blocking the entrances to the health care clinics so the women could not get in and get treated. So Senator Kennedy wrote a bill that simply said: It is fine to express your views, but you cannot block women or individuals from entering those clinics. It is dangerous, it is wrong, and you are denying women health care. Senator Kennedy asked me if I would be his lieutenant—that was his word, his "lieutenant"—and help him manage that bill on the floor of the Senate. Well, clearly, I was so pleased. It was such a thrill to watch him work and, as did so many of Ted Kennedy's bills, it passed and it became the law of the land and women can get health care without being intimidated and frightened and harmed.

Later, when he was championing the bill to increase the minimum wage—and he did it year after year after year—he asked me and the other women of the Senate to come to the floor and to organize and speak about the impact raising the minimum wage would have on women and families across the country. He said: BARBARA, you know, 60 percent of the people earning minimum wage are women. A lot of our colleagues think it is teenagers. That is not true. It is women. They are supporting their families. Can you help me with this? I said: Senator, I am all over it. I am with you.

The women of the Senate had a special role to come to the floor—unfortunately, for 9 years in a row—until we made the case that it was important America's families, working so hard, can actually afford to live in this, the greatest country of all.

Although Ted had deeply held views, he worked beautifully with Members across the aisle. We have colleague after colleague coming down to speak about their experiences. He was an expert at finding the thread of common ground. Sometimes it was just a tiny little strand of commonality, but he could weave it into something bigger and bigger and come to an agreement without losing his principles.

Ted's legislative work has touched the lives of every American, and I think it is going to take 5, 6, 7, 10 of us to pick up this void he has left. I am so proud that TOM HARKIN, who has come to the floor, will be the chairman of the HELP Committee because TOM shared with Ted those deep feelings about us being here not to champion the voices of those who have a strong voice and are heard but for those who don't have a strong voice: the middle class, the workers, the working poor, the families, the children. They don't have a voice here.

Ted Kennedy worked to help get 18-year-olds the right to vote. He made it easier for Americans to change jobs and keep their health insurance. He expanded Head Start Programs. He wrote

the law creating Meals-on-Wheels. He was the driving force behind the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and the Family and Medical Leave Act. Many of these Senator HARKIN and he partnered up on. He led efforts to reform the Nation's immigration system—never a popular issue, a tough, hard issue. He worked to increase competition in the airline industry. He worked to protect women from violent crime.

Virtually every major health care advance of the last four decades bears his mark—Whether it is the CHIP program, the Ryan White CARE Act, COBRA, the mental health parity bill or increased funding for cancer research. The list goes on and on and on.

Senator Kennedy was once asked what his best quality was as a legislator, and he answered with a single word: "Persistence." Persistence. That is a message to all of us on both sides of the aisle. If you believe something in your heart is right, you don't give up. You don't give up because progress takes time. Piece by piece, every year, for almost half a century, he advanced the causes he believed in: expanding access to health care, educating our children, extending civil rights, helping our society's least fortunate.

I will say, if we were in danger of losing our way in the Senate, Senator Ted Kennedy held steady. He stayed true to his ideals. That is why it is fitting that his new biography is entitled "True Compass." In many ways, he was a compass in the Senate.

I wish to thank the people of Massachusetts for sending Ted Kennedy to us for these last 47 years. He loved his State. He fought for you and he fought for all Americans.

I wish to thank his wife Vicki, who gave him so much joy, and the entire Kennedy family for sharing Ted Kennedy with us.

I will miss his warm and engaging presence, his sense of humor, his belting laughter, and the way he reached out to all Senators in friendship. No one person will ever be able to fill his shoes. No one. He was one of a kind and irreplaceable. But we know how to honor his legacy. We know how to fill this void and that is by continuing his life's work. I believe the most fitting tribute we can give him is to carry on his fight for a quality education for all our children, affordable health care our families can rely on and an economy that works for everyone.

Ted Kennedy came from a privileged and renowned family, but he saw so much suffering in his lifetime, so much loss. He saw what happens in your family when two of your three children have cancer. Even though you have every bit of financial stability to give them what they need, he saw how hard it was. And then to have another child with an addiction and the pain of that. So what Senator Ted Kennedy understood is, if it is so hard for me to see my children suffer, what must it be

like for someone without the financial resources or someone who had an insurance company walk away from them at the time they needed it the most, they needed help the most.

Ted Kennedy could put himself in other people's shoes, and that is what he did every single day. Even when it was hard for him to get up from his chair, he stood and he fought. As he said during his concession speech at the 1980 Democratic National Convention: "For all those whose cares have been our concern, the work goes on, the cause endures, the hope still lives, and the dream shall never die."

I say to Ted and to his family, I believe these words are true. The hope still lives and the dream shall never die.

Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN. Madam President, it is difficult to imagine or accept the fact that Ted Kennedy is no longer serving in the Senate. He was such a presence here, a big man with a big smile and a bigger heart. He was sympathetic to those in need and willing to do all he could to address their needs. He got results, improving and expanding Federal programs to make available education and nutrition benefits to more Americans than ever before.

I first met the Senator from Massachusetts when he was running in his first campaign for the Senate in 1962. It was a happenstance meeting. I was an instructor at the Naval Officer's Candidate School in Newport, RI, and a friend had invited me up to Hyannis Port during the weekend. I ended up at Ted and Joan Kennedy's house. He was there working with his friends from Massachusetts on fund-raising activities. We exchanged greetings. He said: You are in law school?

I said: Yes, I am.

He said: It is hard as hell, isn't it?

I said: It sure is.

Well, that was about all the conversation we had that day and I had no idea, first of all, how his campaign would turn out and certainly the most remote thing in my mind would have been my being a Member of the Senate. But he and his wife Joan were spending the summer in Hyannis Port near the other Kennedy family members, so I was getting to see some of them as well as enjoying the New England weather; the ambiance in the summer was a real treat. But instead of politics, we talked about how hard law school was.

I didn't think I would ever see him again. I had no reason to think I would, much less end up serving in the Senate with him and serving the day he took charge as chairman of the Judiciary Committee from my predecessor in the Senate, James O. Eastland. It was a day that attracted a lot of attention. The hearing room was absolutely full of people. As a matter of fact, the news media was all over the place. It was hard to get near the seats of the committee members.

I remember when Alan Simpson and I were the two most junior Republicans, and as we were trying to get situated there at the end of the row of seats of committee members, one of the camera men bumped Al's head with his camera, and Al told him he should not do that again because he might have a hard time finding his camera—or some words to that effect. But what a day of excitement and interest. That is the kind of excitement Ted Kennedy brought not only to the Judiciary Committee and his leadership as a brand new chairman, but his entire career reflected that kind of exuberance. People responded and reacted to him in a very positive way in the Senate.

We could make a long list of the things he did in terms of legislative accomplishments and political leadership in the Senate. But he was a good person. He was a thoughtful person and generous with his house. He invited all the members of the Judiciary Committee to come out for dinner at his house in Washington. What a nice, thoughtful thing to do, and what an exciting evening it turned out to be. Everyone enjoyed it enormously.

Ted Kennedy became a very determined advocate for serious reforms, and he left an impressive record of legislative accomplishments and protecting and enlarging the civil rights of ordinary citizens.

I came to respect Senator Kennedy and appreciate his friendship over the years we served together in the Senate. His personal qualities, his generosity, and his serious commitment to fairness and assistance for those who needed help from their government will long be remembered and appreciated.

May he rest in peace.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I thank my dear friend from Mississippi for his kind words. I know they will be appreciated by the Kennedy family.

Madam President, when I heard the Senator from Mississippi, and before him the Senator from Illinois, the Senator from California, the Senator from Massachusetts, and others who have spoken, it brought back so many memories. On August 26, very early in the morning, we heard the news about Senator Kennedy. Marcelle and I knew that day was coming. We knew the day was coming and that we would lose a close friend of over 35 years, but our farmhouse in Vermont was still filled with grief upon the learning of the news. We walked back and forth on the road in front of the house, looking out over the mountains and finding it hard to put into words how we felt.

We left Vermont to come down and join Vicki, such a dear and wonderful person, and all of Senator Kennedy's family at the memorial service in Boston, where so many offered touching stories of how they remembered Senator Kennedy.

Ted Kennedy, Jr., gave an incredibly moving tribute to his father. I told him

afterward that was the kind of eulogy Senator Kennedy would have liked. It was so Irish. Ted Kennedy, Jr., made us all laugh, and he made us all cry, almost in the same sentence. How Irish, how Kennedy, but how true were the emotions of every man and woman in that church—from the President, to the Vice President, to former Presidents, to Senators, to Members of the House, to close friends, and to so many of the Kennedy family.

I think of being sworn into this body as a 34-year-old nervous Senator. One of the first people who came up to shake my hand after being sworn in was Ted Kennedy, then Mike Mansfield and Howard Baker. I was awed to think I was in the presence of such people.

After serving with Ted for 35 years and speaking with him almost every single day, I look over at his desk, at something I have seen over the 35 years when we have lost colleagues, but I don't know of any time it has hurt so much to see the black drape across the desk, to see the vase of white flowers. I went by there yesterday and just put my hand on the desk. I will admit I was overcome with emotion and left the floor.

I have so many memories, as we all do, of my friendship with Ted. Senator DURBIN spoke about how Ted Kennedy had a way of—no matter who you were, if you had tragedy in your family or an illness or something had happened, he would call or write, and he would offer help. It made no difference who you were.

I was very close to my father. He had met Ted a number of times. When my father passed away, virtually the first telephone call my mother received that morning was from Ted Kennedy. I remember my mother taking comfort in that.

Senator Kennedy's office is just one floor below mine in the Russell Senate Building. We both have stayed there all these years. On many occasions, especially when he was going for a vote, we could hear his great laugh echoing down the halls, and it would change our whole mood, our whole day. We often talked about the bond of the New England Irish and spoke about that again when we came back from Pope Paul John II's funeral and refueled the plane in Ireland. It was like following the Pied Piper at Shannon Airport. There were paintings of President Kennedy there. The Senator from Iowa remembers that.

As we walked through, Ted Kennedy and CHRIS DODD were telling Irish stories. There are memories of when Ted was walking the dogs outside of Russell Building, and we would talk and chat, saying: How is your family? How is this one or that one?

After Ted died, one of our newspapers in Vermont had a front-page picture that my wife Marcelle had taken back in 1968. It showed a young Ted Kennedy in Vermont campaigning for his brother Robert and talking with an even younger State attorney. We talked

about Robert Kennedy—the two of us—and I gave that photograph to Ted a few years ago because I found it in my archives. He chuckled and talked about how young we looked, and then he asked for another copy so he could sign one to me. That day we sat there and talked about his brothers—obviously, the President, John Kennedy; Senator Robert Kennedy; and also his brother, Joe Kennedy, who had died. I talked about being interviewed by Robert Kennedy, who was Attorney General, when he invited me down to the Department of Justice. I was a young law student, and he talked to me about the possibility of a career in the Department of Justice. That talk meant so much to me, and his brother told me how independent the Department of Justice must be, even from the President of the United States. We never have enough time in this body, and a rollcall started and that conversation stopped. But I remember every bit of that so much.

I remember after that time we campaigned for Robert Kennedy, the next time I saw him was here when I was a Senator-elect. As a former young prosecutor, I walked into his office with trepidation and almost thinking I was going into the inner sanctum. I was going to talk with him about what committees I might go on. This great voice said: Good morning, Senator.

Coming from him, I turned around, assuming another Senator was walking in behind me, and I realized he was talking to me.

Ted's wonderful wife Vicki was part of a small book club, and my wife Marcelle was in that. The days they would meet, Ted would come up and put his arm around my shoulder and say, "PATRICK, we are in trouble today. Our wives are meeting, and tonight we are going to get our marching orders." You know what, Madam President. He was right.

All of the years I served on the Judiciary Committee, until this past year, I sat beside him. I am going to miss him on that committee. I am going to miss his help and advice. I am going to miss him on the Senate floor because not having him with us in the Senate is going to make a huge difference in negotiations on legislation, whether it is on a current issue of health care reform or any other issue.

I remember one meeting with Ronald Reagan when he was President. The President turned to Ted—and several of us, Republicans and Democrats, were meeting with him—and said, "Thank goodness you're here, Ted. You are bringing us together."

That difference extended beyond our shores. He personally made such a difference in bringing peace to Ireland and ending apartheid in South Africa. I remember going with President Clinton after the peace agreement, and everybody—while they would thank the Prime Minister of Ireland and Great Britain and President Clinton, they all wanted to come over and thank Ted Kennedy.

His sense of history and of our country and his firm and constant belief in America's promise and America's future was inspiring. His willingness to spend time with the most junior Senators as with all others of both parties made him a Senator's Senator. I think every single Senator, Republican or Democrat, would agree he was a Senator's Senator.

It is easy in politics to appeal to the self-interests in each of us. Ted Kennedy appealed to the best in us, to the American verities that are written not on water but in stone. He appealed to our sense of justice, to our sense of responsibility to each other, and to our uniquely American sense of hope and possibility. In the Senate, he labored to help reach bipartisan progress on health care, education, civil rights, voting rights, immigration reform, and so much more.

Madam President, the powerful have never lacked champions. Ted Kennedy was a champion for ordinary Americans and for those who struggle, those who do not have a champion. He believed everyone in this great land deserved the opportunity to pursue the American dream.

I thought last night at the President's speech—I talked before the speech with Mrs. Kennedy and after the speech with Senator Kennedy's three children. It was just impossible to fully put into words how much I miss him.

Marcelle and I miss our friend dearly, but we know it was a privilege to call him our friend. It was a privilege to serve alongside such a public servant dedicated as he was to making better the lives of millions of his fellow Americans.

It is a sad passing of an era, but Ted Kennedy would also tell us it is a time to look to the future.

Madam President, I close with this. I always thought when I left the Senate I would say farewell to this body and Ted Kennedy would be here to wish me Godspeed. I wish him Godspeed.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I thank all of our colleagues who have taken the time to come to the floor to speak for and on behalf of our great friend and colleague, Senator Ted Kennedy. I particularly enjoyed the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Vermont who served with him for 35 years. I only served 33 years with Ted. I thank them for the remarks and the reverence most everybody has had for our departed colleague.

I rise today to offer my remarks on the passing of my dear friend and colleague, Senator Ted Kennedy. Over this past recess, America lost one of its greatest leaders and this Chamber lost one of its most dynamic and important Members. I mourn the loss not only of a respected colleague but of a dear personal friend. I think I speak for all my colleagues when I say that Senator Kennedy will be missed and that the Senate is a lesser place without him here.

People have often remarked about the working relationship I had with Senator Kennedy, oftentimes calling us the “odd couple.” We used to laugh about that. But the truth be told, he and I really didn’t agree on a lot of things. Over the years, Senator Kennedy and I were on opposite sides of some of the fiercest battles in this Chamber’s history. While we have long been good friends, we did not pull any punches on one another. If we were opposing one another in a debate, Senator Kennedy would come to the floor and, in his classic style, he would lay into me with his voice raised—and he had a terrific voice—and his arms flailing. Of course, I would let him have it right back. Then, after he finished, he would finally come over and put his arm around me and say: How was that? I would always laugh about it, as we did. We laughed at each other all the time.

That is what set Senator Kennedy apart from many in Washington. For him, politics rarely got personal. He was never afraid to voice his disagreement with the views of a fellow Senator. But, in the end, I believe he always maintained a warm and cordial relationship with almost every one of his colleagues. That is difficult to do sometimes, particularly when partisan tempers flare up, but it always seemed to come easy for Senator Kennedy.

Despite our tendency to disagree on almost everything, Senator Kennedy and I were able to reach common ground on many important occasions and on some important issues.

As I mentioned at the recent memorial service, one of my defining moments as a Senator came when I met with two families from Provo, UT. The parents in these families were humble and hard working, and they were able to provide food and clothing and shelter for their children. But the one necessity they could not afford was health insurance. Their children were children of the working poor. The struggles of this family touched me and inspired me to work with Senator Kennedy to create SCHIP, which continues to provide health care coverage to millions of children of the working poor and others throughout the country and which passed with broad bipartisan support.

Over the years, Senator Kennedy and I worked successfully to get both Republicans and Democrats on board for a number of causes. We drafted a number of pieces of legislation to provide assistance to AIDS victims, including the Ryan White AIDS Act. I named that bill right here on the floor with Mrs. White sitting in the audience. We worked together, along with Senator HARKIN, to craft and pass the Americans with Disabilities Act. There was also the Orphan Drug Act, as well as the FDA Modernization Act, and a whole raft of other bills that would take too much time to speak about, all of which bear the Hatch-Kennedy, Kennedy-Hatch name.

Our final collaboration came just this year in the form of the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act, which I was pleased to name after Senator Kennedy right here on the floor. He came up afterward, and we hugged each other. Then we went back to the President’s Room, and he had pictures, even though he was not feeling well. He had so many pictures with so many people who were involved.

All of our bills passed because of the willingness of Senator Kennedy and myself to put consensus ahead of partisanship—something we see far too infrequently in Washington.

It is axiomatic in politics that timing is crucial. No one understood or practiced that principle better than Senator Kennedy. He had a sixth sense and an open mind to notice when the time was ripe for the key compromise. He knew when to let events sift and when it was time to close the deal. More importantly, he knew when he should stick to his guns and when he needed to reach across the aisle to get the help of his Republican colleagues. He was always able to recognize and work with those who shared his goals, even if they had different ideas on how to achieve them.

I will never forget, after I had made the deciding vote on civil rights for institutionalized persons—it was a Birch Bayh-Hatch bill, and Birch had led the fight on the floor, and so did I.

Later came the Voting Rights Act. I felt very strongly about not putting the effects test in section 2. I had no problem with it in section 5, but I did not want it in section 2 so that it applied to all the other States. I lost in committee. I voted for the bill out of committee because I considered the Voting Rights Act the most important civil rights bill in history.

The day they were going to have the bill signed at the White House, he caught me right inside the Russell Building where we both had offices, and he said: You are coming with us, aren’t you?

I said: Well, I was against the change in section 2.

He said: You voted for it and were very helpful in getting that bill passed, and I know how deeply you feel about it.

I did go down with him. I would not have gone without Senator Kennedy recognizing I did feel deeply about the Voting Rights Act. And even though I lost on what I thought was a pivotal constitutional right, the fact is I voted for the bill.

At the risk of riling my more liberal colleagues in the Senate, I would like to point out that Senator Kennedy shared an utterly optimistic view of the American experiment with President Ronald Reagan. They both deeply believed that whatever the current trials or challenges we must face as a nation, America’s best days were ahead of her. That is something many people do not appreciate well enough about Senator Kennedy.

Because of his optimism and hope for our Nation’s future, Senator Kennedy was, throughout his career in the Senate, a great practitioner of the Latin motto “carpe diem,” “seize the day.” Few worked harder day-in and day-out than Senator Kennedy. As a result, every Senator had to work a little bit harder, either to follow his lead if you were on the same side of the issue or to stand in his way if you were the opposition. I have been in both positions. I am not saying it was inherently difficult to work with Senator Kennedy. But as anyone who has negotiated a tough piece of legislation can tell you, it can be sheer drudgery, even when you agree on most issues. But Senator Kennedy brought a sense of joy even to the most contentious negotiating sessions. And when you were working with Senator Kennedy, you knew he would keep his word. If after these long sessions an agreement was reached, he would stick by it no matter how much heat he would have to take.

All this was no doubt the result of his love for this great institution and his commitment to the American people. Political differences notwithstanding, there can never be any doubt about Senator Kennedy’s patriotism.

Few had a presence in the Senate as large as Senator Kennedy’s. More often than not, you could hear him coming down the hall—a mini-hurricane with a bevy of aides in tow, a batch of amendments in one hand and a stack of talking points in the other. He was almost always effective but seldom very quiet.

I also want to share a few thoughts about his staff. While at the end of the day the full responsibility of the Senate falls squarely on the shoulders of each Senator, it is also true that during the day and often long into the night and on many weekends much of the work of the Senate is conducted by a group of the most committed team of staff members of any institution anywhere. Throughout his career, it was known that the Kennedy staff was comprised of one of the most formidable and dedicated collections of individuals of the Senate. Many of them have gone on to have distinguished careers, including now-Justice Stephen Breyer; Dr. Larry Horowitz, who managed his health care right up to the end and loved Ted Kennedy deeply; Nick Littlefield, who ran the Labor Committee for Senator Kennedy and was an adviser right up to the time Senator Kennedy passed away; and, of course, Michael Myers—just to name four, with no intention of leaving out the others. Senator Kennedy would be the first to recognize how their efforts contributed to his success. I salute them for their hard work over the years. I cannot exactly say I have always been totally pleased with all of the Kennedy staff all of the time, but, as was true of their boss, while we might have been frequent adversaries, we were never enemies.

I am saddened by the loss of my dear friend Senator Kennedy. I will miss

him personally. I will miss the fights in public. I will miss his sense of humor in private and public. And perhaps more significantly, I believe this Chamber will miss his talents as a legislator and, most of all, his leadership.

While I cannot say I hope more of my colleagues will adopt his views on policy, I hope more of us can adopt his approach to the legislative process.

I was in California giving a speech at a fundraiser when they came in with a cell phone and said: Senator Kennedy is on the line, and he sounds very agitated.

So I went out on the plaza and I said: Ted, what is the matter?

He said: Oh, I have great news for you.

I said: What is that?

He said: I am going to get married again.

I said: Do I know her?

He said: No, but you would love her. She is a wonderful, wonderful person, and she has two wonderful children. I am going to adopt them and treat them as my own. And I am so happy.

I said: Ted, why would you call me in California?

He said: Well, her daughter was bragging to her elementary school teacher at that time that her mother was going to marry Ted Kennedy.

The elementary school teacher was married to a Washington Post reporter.

So he said: I wanted you to become one of the first to know. I am very happy. I am going to marry Vicki Reggie.

I have come to know Vicki very well. She has made such a difference in his life and in his family's life. She is a tremendous human being, as are his children. They are terrific.

I was happy to be in the Catholic church where Teddy went to pray for his daughter every day he could when she was suffering from cancer. I know how deeply he feels about PATRICK and Teddy, Jr. I thought they did a terrific job at the mass at his funeral. He has to be very proud of them. I am very proud of them.

I think Vicki Kennedy deserves an awful lot of credit for all of the later happy years of my friend Ted Kennedy. I want her to know that I love her dearly for what she did and as an individual herself.

I love Ted Kennedy's entire family. A number of them have come to me at times where I was able to help them because he could not as a member of the family. I have to say that I was close to a great number of the members of his family, and I really appreciate them as well and the influence they had on him and he had on them.

He had a great influence on me as well. I want to personally thank him for it and say to my dear friend and colleague, as I look at his desk over there with the flowers and the drape, rest in peace, dear Ted, and just know that a lot of us will try to carry on, and hopefully, with some of the things you taught us and helped us to under-

stand, we can do it better than we have in the past.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURRIS). The Senator from Maryland.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I wish to speak about Senator Ted Kennedy. Clearly, I would have been proud to be on my feet to give such a testimonial, but as many of my colleagues know, I had a fall a few weeks ago coming out of church. I am ready to be at my duty station, but I can't quite stand to be 4 foot 11 and give these remarks.

I do wish to speak and speak from my heart, speak from my memory, and speak with my affection. I have known Ted Kennedy a very long time. He has been my friend, my pal, my comrade in arms. I have enjoyed everything from working with him on big policy issues to sailing off the coast of Hyannis. I have been with him in his hideaway while we strategized on how to move an agenda of empowerment, and I have danced at his famous birthday parties. We have had a good time together.

I remember one of the first parties was the theme from the 1960s, and I came with a big wig, hoping I would look like Jackie Kennedy. Ted was a chunky Rhett Butler because Vicki and he were coming as Rhett Butler and Scarlett O'Hara. As we jitterbugged, I said: Do you think I look like Jackie? He said: Well, nice try.

The last party we went to was a movie theme, and I came with one of those big bouffants. It was to be a movie theme, as I say, and I looked like something out of "Hair Spray." I will not tell you his comments, but, again, he said: Your hair gets bigger with every one. I can't wait until my 80th.

Well, unfortunately, there will not be an 80th birthday party, but we will always carry with us the joy of friendship with Ted Kennedy.

It is with a heavy heart that I give this salute to him. I first met him as a young social worker. I testified before his committee. As a young social worker, I was there to talk about a brandnew program called Medicare, about what was working, what were the lessons learned—once again from being on the ground; what was happening in the streets and neighborhoods—and how to help people get the medical and social services they needed. He listened, he was intent, and he asked many questions. Little did I know I would join him in the Senate to fight for Medicare, to fight for health care, and to fight for those senior citizens.

Similar to so many others of my generation, I was inspired by the Kennedys to pursue a life in public service. I chose the field of social work and then went into politics because I saw politics as social work with power. As a Congresswoman, I was on the Energy and Commerce Committee. That was a counterpart to what Ted was doing in the Senate. We got to know each other at conferences working together. Those

were the great days of bipartisanship. As we would come in from the Energy and Commerce Committee, there would be Ted Kennedy and Jacob Javits working to make sure we could pass good legislation. I saw there that good legislation came from good ideas that could be pursued with good humor in an atmosphere of civility.

As we got to know each other, I admired his verve, his tenacity, and he admired me because I could dish it out with the best of them as well. When he ran for President in 1980, he asked me to nominate him at the Democratic Convention. I was thrilled and honored to do so. Remember the drama of that. Jimmy Carter was an incumbent President. Ted Kennedy was an upstart. I backed Kennedy. Well, it didn't work out and Ted called me and said: I am withdrawing from the race. We are going to support President Carter 100 percent. But though you are not going to nominate me for President, I hope you will still introduce me at the convention. I said: Absolutely. But one day I hope to be able to nominate you.

That night, as I took the podium, it was the famous speech that everyone remembers Ted Kennedy giving about the work going on, the cause enduring, the hope still living, and the dream never dying. What was amazing about that speech was the way Ted Kennedy used a moment in his life—which some viewed as a defeat—as a time to redefine himself in public service and to claim the mantle of being one of the best Senators America has ever seen. He used that speech not as a retreat but as a reaffirmation and a recommitment of what he would do.

That night I did introduce him. While all my colleagues were in Boston, and I watched the funeral from my rehabilitation room, mourning his death and feeling sad that I could not join with my colleagues there, I had that speech and I read it then and, as I looked at it, I realized I could give it again and again. Because when I took the floor of the 1980 convention, I first said: I am not here for BARB MIKULSKI. And I am here today for all those people who would like to say what they knew about Teddy Kennedy, and I am going to say some of those words I said then that would be appropriate for now.

I said:

I am here on behalf of a lot of people who want to be here but can't: Old women desperately trying to use their Social Security checks to pay for food and medicine and yet frightened about their energy bills. Students whose tuition has gone up so much they are going to have to work two jobs just to stay in school.

I spoke of small businesspeople trying to just keep their doors open and the returning war vet who is unemployed, and that while his brother has signed up for a tour of duty, he is standing in the unemployment line.

I said during that speech that, day after day, Edward Kennedy has spoken out for those people; that he has been there talking about the economy, energy policy, and jobs, long before many

others. I talked about how Edward Kennedy said that when Black freedom riders were being attacked and beaten, he was the one who fought for racial justice and helped to get the Voting Rights Act through. I said that as a young social worker, working in the neighborhoods during the dark Nixon years, and wondering how old people were going to get the services they needed, Ted Kennedy introduced the first nutrition program for the elderly—a program that guaranteed senior citizens at least one hot meal a day. It was Ted Kennedy, I said, who won the passage of programs such as neighborhood health centers, who fought the war on cancer, who led the fight to save nurses' scholarships and save them he did. In his fight for legislation, he was always there.

In my fight to help battered women, Senator Kennedy was one of the first to be a strong and active ally. He said he knew very early on that all American women work but that too many women work for too little or are paid unequal pay for their work. I said then, and I say again, Ted Kennedy wanted to change Social Security to make it fairer for women and to extend the Equal Rights Amendment so we would be included in the Constitution.

It was amazing the issues he fought for then and that he continued to fight for all his life. In the time I knew him, I knew him not just as a news clip, but I found him to be truly gallant in public and in private—caring about others and modest about himself, always about grace, courage, and valor.

When I came to the Senate, I was the only Democratic woman, and he was there for me, but I saw how he was there for so many other people. In 2004, when we were in Boston, Ted Kennedy and I had lunch in the North End. It was one of our favorite things, to get together for a meal and for conversation. What I realized then—as we enjoyed ourselves with big plates of antipasto; always vowing that we would eat more of the salad and less of the pasta—as we got up and left and walked around the North End, is that his best ideas came from the people. It was his passion for people. I knew he represented those brainy people in Cambridge who went to Harvard and who often came up through the Kennedy School with those great ideas. But as I walked around the neighborhoods with him, I saw he actually listened to people, trailed by a staff person who was actually taking notes.

As we walked down the street, there was the man who came up and who talked about his mother's problem with Social Security. Take it down, he said. Let's see what we can do. We walked down a few feet more. Oh, my grandson wants to go to West Point; how does he apply? He said: He is going to love it and he is going to love my process. Let's see how we can do that. A few feet on down, the small business guy said: Keep on fighting, Ted. You know I can't buy this health insurance.

Can I call you? Always call me, he said. And by the way, don't forget to call Barbara—the legendary Barbara Souliotis. And all of us know Ted Kennedy had an outstanding staff, whether it was the staff in Massachusetts, who took care of casework and projects and day-to-day needs, or the staff in Washington who helped Ted Kennedy take the ideas that came from the people, their day-to-day struggles, and converted them into national policy. That is what it was—people, people, people.

When I came to the Senate, it was only Nancy Kassebaum and I. We were the only two women. He was a great friend, along with Senator Sarbanes. They were people I called my Galahads—people who helped me get on the right committees, show me the inner workings of the Senate. Ted was determined I would be on his Committee on Health and Education to get the ideas passed, but he also was determined I would get on the Appropriations Committee to make sure we put those ideas into the Federal checkbook. He was my advocate.

One of the things that was clear is, he was the champion for women. He was a champion for this woman in helping me get on those committees. And during those sometimes rough days getting started, he would take me to La Colline with Senator DODD, and while he drank orange juice with a little vodka—so no one would know he had a little vodka—he was giving me shooters of Chardonnay to boost my spirits. He and CHRIS would give me a pep talk, and I felt like I was Rocky. They would say: Get out there, fight; don't let it get you down. Pick yourself up. I felt like I was going to spit in the bucket and get back on the floor. He lifted my spirits, just like he lifted the spirits of so many.

The story I wish to conclude with—because there are so many issues we worked on together—is when I went to him and said: Ted, did you know that women are not included in the protocols at NIH? He said: What do you mean? I said: In all the research we do, women are not included in the protocols. They just finished a famous study which said to take an aspirin a day, keep a heart attack away. It included 10,000 male medical students and not one woman. I said: I want to change that. Teaming up with Nancy and Pat Schroeder and OLYMPIA SNOWE and Connie Morella, who were in the House, he helped me create the Office of Women's Health at NIH so women would always be included in those protocols.

Then we spoke out and said: Ted, the health care research for breast cancer is low. That is why they are racing for the cure. He helped us, working with TOM HARKIN, to boost the money for research and to also get mammogram quality standards through so that when a woman would get her mammogram, it would be safe.

But here is one of the most profound things we did, again working on a bipartisan basis. Dr. Bernadine Healy,

who was the head of NIH, wanted to do a study on the consequences of hormone therapy. Ted and I and TOM did not believe we should earmark NIH—and I believe that today—but we made sure we put money and a legislative framework in place so Dr. Healy could institute the famous hormone therapy study. Well, let me tell you the consequences of that. That study has changed medical practice. That study has resulted in breast cancer rates going down 15 percent.

So when someone says: What did Ted Kennedy do to help women? What did Teddy Kennedy do to work with BARBARA MIKULSKI? Tell them we worked together and we worked to save the lives of women, one million at a time. This is my final salute to Senator Kennedy on the floor, but I will always salute him every day in the Senate to make sure we continue what he said about how the dream will continue on.

I ended my speech at the Democratic Convention in 1980 when I said this—and I end my remarks today by saying this: Edward Kennedy has kept his faith with the American people. He hasn't waited for a crisis to emerge or a constituency to develop. He always led, he always acted, he always inspires.

God bless you, Ted. And God bless the United States of America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I would like to take a moment to join with my colleagues, and I see quite a number on the Senate floor now, to pay tribute to Ted Kennedy. He was a truly remarkable force in the Senate, a champion of liberalism—perhaps the Nation's leading champion of liberalism. He believed government could serve the people, and it ought to do more to serve people. On that we sometimes disagreed, but he believed it with a sincerity and he battled for it with a consistency that is remarkable. He constantly sought to utilize the ability of government to do good for the American people, and that is admirable.

He also was a champion of civil rights. He was a force during the civil rights movement, and his activities, his personal leadership, truly made a difference in making this a better country. Without his leadership, things would have been much more difficult for sure.

I have a vivid memory of him—presiding as I did when I first came to the Senate, a duty given to the younger, newer Members—in the night, Ted Kennedy, alone on the Senate floor, roaring away for the values he believed in. It was just something to behold, in my view. I saw nothing like it from, maybe, any other Member. He had served so many years in the Senate—and I learned today from our chairman on Judiciary, Senator LEAHY, that he served on the Senate Judiciary Committee longer than any other Senator in history. But even as his years went by, many years in the Senate, he did

not lose the drive, the will, the energy, the commitment to give of himself for the values he believed in.

As I told one reporter after his death, I would just hope to be somewhat as effective in promoting the values I believed in as he was in promoting those values. If we disagreed, and sometimes we certainly did, people continued to admire him, I think, to a unique degree. There were no hard feelings. You would battle away, and then afterwards it would be a respectful relationship between Senators. I think that is pretty unusual and something that is worthy of commenting on.

He talked to me about being a cosponsor, his prime cosponsor on a bill. He said he wanted to work with me on something important. It was a bill we commonly referred to as the prison rape bill. There was a lot of concern that in prisons, people who are arrested were subjected to sexual abuse. That, in my view, is not acceptable. I know the Presiding Officer, a prosecutor, knows people deserve to do their time in jail, but they should never be subjected to those kinds of abuses. So we passed a pretty comprehensive bill. I was proud of it and proud to be with him at the signing ceremony.

I also talked to him and we met and talked at some length about a major piece of legislation to increase savings in America, savings for the average working American who had not been able to share in the growth of wealth that so many have been blessed with in this country. I thought we had some pretty good ideas. Savings at that time had fallen below zero—actually 1 percent negative use of people's savings which were going away. I guess now we are at 5 or 6 percent savings rate after this turmoil we have had economically. I do not think the idea should go away. Maybe it lost a little steam in the fact that we have seen a resurgence of savings today, but I was very impressed with his commitment to it, the work of his fine staff, and his personal knowledge of the issue.

I see my other colleagues. I will join with them in expressing my sincere sympathy to Vicki and their entire family for their great loss. The Senate has lost a great warrior and a great champion of American values.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the period of morning business be extended to 2:30 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, as I look around this Chamber, I see men and women of remarkable talents and abilities. I also have a strong sense, we all do, that there is a tremendous void now in our midst. A very special Senator, a very special friend, a Member who played a unique role within this body for nearly a half century is no longer with us.

We have had many glowing and richly earned tributes to Senator Ted Kennedy over these last couple of weeks. He was not only the most accomplished and effective Senator of the last 50 years, he was truly one of the towering figures in the entire history of the Senate. Yet for all his accomplishments, for all the historic bills he authored and shepherded into law, for all the titanic battles he fought, I will remember Ted Kennedy first and foremost as just a good and decent human being.

I remember his extraordinary generosity, his courage, his passion, his capacity for friendship and caring, and, of course, that great sense of humor. I remember one time I was in my office and we had a phone conversation. It was about a disagreement we had. It was right at St. Patrick's Day so we were having this discussion on the phone and tempers got a little heated. I think I was holding the phone out about like this. He probably was too. I think our voices got raised to a very high decibel level, sort of yelling at each other, and pretty soon we just hung up on each other.

I felt very badly; I know he did too. So several hours later, when I came on the Senate floor and I saw Ted at his desk, I went up to him, I pulled up a chair next to him. He would get that kind of pixie smile on his face, have a twinkle in his eye.

I said: Ted, I'm sorry about that conversation we had. I should not have lost my temper as I did. I said: My staff is a little concerned about our relationship.

He sort of got that great smile and chuckled. Well, he said, forget about it. I just told my staff that is just the way two Irish men celebrate St. Patrick's Day.

That is just the way he was. He could disarm you immediately and you would move on. He had a great disarming sense of humor.

Ted came from a remarkable family—so many tough breaks, so many triumphs, so many contributions to our Nation—both in war and in peace. Ted and his siblings were born into great wealth. They could have lived lives of luxury and leisure, but they chose instead to devote themselves to public service. They devoted themselves to making the world a better place for others, especially those in the shadows of life.

There are so many things I could focus on this morning in my brief remarks, but I want to focus on just one aspect of Ted Kennedy: all that he did to improve the lives of people with disabilities in our country. I thought about this: With the death of Eunice Kennedy Shriver on August 11, and all she did to found the Special Olympics now being carried on by her son Tim, then the death of Ted on August 25, people with disabilities in this country lost two great champions.

Their sister Rosemary lived her entire life with a severe intellectual disability. The entire Kennedy family is

well acquainted with the joys and struggles of those with disabilities. Those of us who were in the church in Boston at the funeral—and those probably watching on television—heard the very eloquent speech by Teddy Jr. about his battle with cancer at a young age, losing his leg and his confronting his disabilities, and how Ted helped him get through that.

In 1975, Senator Kennedy helped to pass what is now called the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act—IDEA. In 1978 he passed legislation expanding the jurisdiction of the Civil Rights Commission to protect people from discrimination on the basis of disability. In 1980 he introduced the Civil Rights for Institutionalized Persons Act, protecting the rights of people in government institutions, including the elderly and people with intellectual and mental disabilities.

Nineteen years ago he was one of my most important leaders and partners in passing the Americans with Disabilities Act—1990. I will never forget, after I had been in the Senate for 2 years, Republicans were in charge, and then in 1986 Democrats came back, took charge, and Senator Kennedy wanted me on his education and health committee. I sort of played a little hard to get.

I said: Well, maybe, but I am really interested in disability issues. He knew about that. He knew about my work on some of the stuff I had done in the House before I came here, especially for people with hearing problems. I said I would like to come on his committee, but I said I would be interested in working on disability issues.

He got back to me and said: Tell you what, I have the Disability Policy Subcommittee and you can chair it.

I am a freshman Senator. He didn't have to do that for me. I was astounded at his great generosity. So I have always appreciated that. He had already had this great, extensive record on disability issues. Yet he let me take the lead. Then when the Americans with Disabilities Act came up, he could have taken that himself. He was the chairman of the committee.

As I said, he had this long history of championing the causes of people with disabilities. Yet he knew how passionately I felt about it, and he let me author the bill. He let me take it on the floor. He let me be the floor manager of it and put my name on it. He didn't have to do that. He was the chairman. He could have had his name on it. He could have floor-managed it. But he let me do it in spite of the fact that I was just a freshman Senator.

He was an indispensable leader in bringing disparate groups together to get the Americans with Disabilities Act passed. I will never forget that great act of generosity on his part in letting me take the lead.

Ted always insisted that our focus should be not on disability but on ability; that people with disabilities must be fully included in our American family. Americans with disabilities had no

better friend, no tougher fighter, no more relentless champion than Ted Kennedy.

Yesterday I accepted the chairmanship of the Senate HELP Committee, the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee. It is a great honor and a great challenge and, I must add, somewhat daunting to carry on the legacy of Senator Ted Kennedy. He dedicated his life to making our economy work for all Americans, to secure a quality education for every child and, of course, securing quality, affordable health care for every citizen as a right and not a privilege.

In the Democratic cloakroom, there is a page from the Cape Cod Times with a wonderful picture of Ted and a quote from him. Here is the quote:

Since I was a boy I have known the joy of sailing the waters of Cape Cod and for all my years in public life I have believed that America must sail toward the shores of liberty and justice for all. There is no end to that journey, only the next great voyage.

We have heard many eloquent tributes to Senator Kennedy. But the tribute that would matter most for him would be for his colleagues to come together, on a bipartisan basis, to pass a strong, comprehensive health reform bill this year.

It is time for us to sail ahead on this next great voyage to a better and more just and more caring America. So as we sadly contemplate the empty desk draped in black, we say farewell to a beloved colleague. He is no longer with us, but his work continues. His spirit is here. And as he said, the cause endures.

May Ted Kennedy rest in peace. But may we not rest until we have completed the cause of his life, the cause he fought for until his last breath, ensuring quality, affordable health care for every American.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, it is my understanding that we are going back and forth. If Senator LAUTENBERG will let me go, I will not talk long, if that is appropriate.

Today is a day to remember a colleague, a friend, someone whom it was a challenge to oppose and a joy to work with, and I wish we were not here today talking about the passing of Senator Kennedy.

We disagreed on most things but found common ground on big things. And everyone has a story about Senator Kennedy. There has been a lot of discussion about his life, the legacy, his human failings, which we all have, his self-inflicted wounds, and his contribution to the country. But I want to talk about what will be missing in the Senate.

We had a giant of a man who was very principled but understood the Senate as well as anyone I have ever met; he understood the need to give and take to move the country forward.

My experience with Senator Kennedy was, I used his image in my campaign

to get elected, like every other Republican did. We do not want another person up to help Ted Kennedy. And he loved it. He got more air time than the candidates themselves. He loved it.

I remember him telling me a story about Senator Hollings. The tradition in the Senate is when you get re-elected, you have your fellow Senator from that State follow you down to the well. He went over to Senator Hollings and said: I want you to come down and escort me.

He said: Why? I am from South Carolina.

He said: In my campaign you were. You were the other Senator from South Carolina.

Ted got a lot of fun out of that. I think he appreciated the role he played, and Republicans, almost to a person, would use Senator Kennedy in their campaigns.

But when they got here, they understood Senator Kennedy was someone you wanted to do business with. If you had a bill that you thought would need some bipartisan support, Senator Kennedy is the first person you would think of. And you had to understand the limitations on what he could help you with. He was not going to help you with certain things, because it ran counter to what he believe in. But where you could find common grounds on the big issues, you had no better ally than Senator Kennedy.

We met in the President's Room every morning during the immigration debate, and at night he would call me up and say: LINDSEY, tomorrow in our meeting you need to yell at me because you need to get something. I understand that. I will fight back. But you will get it.

The next day he would say: I need to yell at you. It was sort of like all-star wrestling, to be honest with you, and that was fun. Because he understood how far I could go, and he challenged me to go as far as I could. But he never asked me to go farther than I was capable of going. And, in return, he would walk the plank for you.

We had votes on the floor of the Senate on emotion-driven amendments designed to break the bill apart from the right and the left. I walked the plank on the right because I knew he would walk the plank on the left. He voted against amendments he probably agreed with, but he understood that the deal would come unraveled.

The only thing I can tell you about Senator Kennedy, without any hesitation is if he told you he would do something, that is all you needed to hear. A handshake from him was better than a video deposition from most people. I do not how to say it any more directly than that.

Opposing him was a lot of fun because he understood that a give-and-take to move a ball forward was part of democracy, but standing your ground and planting your feet and telling the other side, in a respectful way, to go to hell, was also part of democracy. And

he could do it with the best of them. But he could also take a punch as well as give one.

So what we are missing today in the Senate is the spirit of Ted Kennedy when it comes to standing up for what you believe and being able to work with somebody who you disagree with on an issue very important to the country.

If he were alive today, the health care debate would be different. That is not a slam on anybody involved, because this is hard. I do not know if he could deliver, but I think it would be different and I think it would be more hopeful.

The immigration bill failed. But he told me: I have been through this a lot. Hard things are hard for a reason, and it will take a long time. He indicated to me that the immigration debate had all the emotion of the civil rights debate. And that was not something he said lightly.

We sat in that room with Senator KYL and Senator Salazar and a group of Senators who came and went, and the administration officials, Homeland Security Secretary Chertoff, and Commerce Secretary Gutierrez, and we wrote it line by line with our staffs sitting on the wall.

It was what I thought the government was supposed to be like in ninth grade civics. It was one of the highlights of my political life to be able to sit in that room with Senator Kennedy and other Senators and literally try to write a bill that was difficult.

We failed for the moment. But we are going to reform our immigration system. And the guts of that bill, the balance we have achieved, will be the starting point for a new debate. Most of it will become law one day, because it is the ultimate give and take and it made a lot of sense.

I say his wife Vicki, I got to know Ted later in his life. Through him I got to know you. I know you are hurting now. But I hope that all of the things being said by his colleagues and the people at large are reassuring to you, and that as we move forward as a Senate, when you look at the history of this body, which is long and distinguished, around here there are all kinds of busts of people who have done great things during challenging times.

I will bet everything I own that Senator Kennedy, when the history of this body is written, will be at the top echelon of Senators who have ever served. The point is that you can be liberal as you want to be, you can be as conservative as you want to be, and you can be as effective as you want to be. If you want to be liberal and effective, you can be. If you want to be liberal and ineffective, you can choose that route too. The same for being conservative. You do not have to choose. That is what Senator Kennedy taught this body, and I think what he demonstrated to anybody who wants to come and be a Senator. So if you are a left-of-center politician looking for a

role model, pick Ted Kennedy. You could be liberal, proudly so, but you also could be effective.

What I am going to try to do with my time up here is be a conservative who can be effective. That is the best tribute I can give to Senator Kennedy—being somebody on the right who will meet in the middle for the good of the country.

Ted will be missed but he will not be forgotten.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, this corner of the Senate has become a lonely place. I sat next to Ted Kennedy here for a number of years. We miss him. We miss his camaraderie, his humor, his candor, most of all his courage. And though he will not be here to join us in the future, the things he did will last for decades because they were so powerful. He was a constant presence here. It is hard to imagine the Senate without Ted Kennedy's vibrant voice resounding throughout this floor or his roaring laughter spilling out of the cloakroom.

Without doubt he was one of the finest legislators ever in this Chamber's history. Throughout his more than 46 years of service, Ted introduced 2,500 bills and shepherded more than 550 of those into law. He was a man of many gifts, but his greatest had to be his remarkable affinity for ordinary people.

I saw that gift firsthand in 1982 when I was making my first run for the Senate. A rally was being held for me in Newark, NJ, and it drew a crowd of thousands. I wanted to think that they were there for me, but it was obvious that they were there for Ted Kennedy.

The warmth, the affection with which he was received in this city far from the borders of Massachusetts, far from the halls of power in Washington, was amazing to witness. It was fitting that Ted came to Newark to help me campaign because he inspired me to devote myself to public service. He encouraged my entry into the Senate.

As soon as I joined the Senate, Ted Kennedy became a source of knowledge, and information, and wisdom. He was a seatmate of mine here in the Senate, and freely offered ideas on creating and moving legislation that I thought of or sponsored.

Even though he was born into privilege and was part of a powerful political family, his fight was always for the workers, for justice, and for those often forgotten. He was never shy to chase one down and demand your vote or to call you on the phone and insist on your support. Sometimes he would try to bring you to his side through reason, other times it was through righteous fury. Ted was such a tenacious fighter for a cause in which he believed that he would often put on the gloves no matter who the opponent might be.

But he never let disagreement turn into a personal vendetta. No matter

how bitter the fight, when it was done, he could walk across the Chamber ready to shake hands with his opponents, and was received with affection and respect.

Despite his reputation as a divisive figure, he was at the top of the list of popular Senators beloved by both Republicans and Democrats. He carried a great sense of humor. He liked to play pranks, one of which I saw up close and personal. One Thursday night after a long series of votes, we chartered an airplane to take Ted Kennedy, JOHN KERRY, Senator Claiborne Pell, and me north to join our vacationing families in the area.

A week later we were here in the Chamber, and Claiborne Pell came over to me, hands shaking, with a letter in his hand. I looked at the letter. It was my stationery. On that stationery it asked for Claiborne Pell, a frugal man, to pay a far greater share of the total than was originally agreed to. I was embarrassed, mortified. I quickly declared that it was wrong and apologized profusely. And then I went to Ted to assure him that if he got a letter such as that, the letter was incorrect. Ted turned belligerent. He reminded me of the help he provided in my first election and asked: How could I nickel and dime him after all of that help. He turned on his heel, walked away red-faced, and then I realized it was part of the creation of a plot to embarrass me. The two of us broke into laughter so loud, so boisterously, that the Presiding Officer demanded that we leave the Chamber.

Ted Kennedy's love of life was always obvious in the Senate. Even though he could rise above partisan division, his life's work was deeply personal. It was Ted Kennedy who inherited the family legacy when two brothers were slain by assassins' bullets. He met that challenge by battling the powerful special interests to pass the Gun Control Act of 1968, which made it illegal for criminals and the mentally ill to buy guns.

Together Ted and I joined the fight to keep our streets safe from the scourge of gun violence. For decades, he was a force that shaped the national political landscape. He crafted life-changing legislation year after year, always fighting to shape public opinion toward his causes. He believed public service was a sacred mission and the role of a leader was to make progress. No matter how hard, no matter how long the journey, he persisted.

In fact, Ted Kennedy's signature talent was his precise, unmatched ability to get legislation passed. And he did that through the timeless requirements of this profession: preparation, integrity, fairness, patience, hard work, a little bit of table pounding and a profound respect for his colleagues and his constituents.

I had the privilege of working with Ted Kennedy on many pieces of groundbreaking legislation. We worked closely on fighting big tobacco and their attempts to seduce children into

a lifetime of addiction. We reached the high watermark in that struggle earlier this year, when a law was passed that gives the FDA the power to regulate tobacco. It was something we worked on together for a long time. We stood together on other struggles, from the creation of the Children's Health Insurance Program to the Ryan White Act, to the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Think about it: Without Ted Kennedy, nearly 7 million children would not have health insurance. Think about it: Without Ted Kennedy, half a million Americans suffering with HIV would not be receiving vital services to cope with their disease. Think about it: Without Ted Kennedy, more than 60 million workers would not have the right to take time off from their job to care for a baby or a loved one or even receive personal medical treatment.

And he did more. He gave people assurance that the government was on their side.

Ted Kennedy was the guardian of opportunity. Look at his decades-long campaign to increase the minimum wage.

He will forever be remembered as a leader who persevered despite some frailties, who remained a tower of strength despite crippling personal tragedy.

Nothing symbolized his fortitude more than his first major speech on the Senate floor, which came on the heels of President Kennedy's assassination.

Then, despite all he was facing personally, he fought for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to outlaw discrimination in employment, education and public accommodations.

From there, Ted Kennedy became inextricably tied to the struggle for equal rights.

He was the chief sponsor of the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

Ted Kennedy was also a leader in the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

This law abolished literacy tests at the polls and guaranteed the protection of all Americans' right to vote.

In 1982, he was the chief sponsor of the Voting Rights Amendments Act which led the way to greater minority representation in Congress and state legislatures.

That law, in no small way, made it more likely that Barack Obama would become President of the United States. We are grateful the last Kennedy brother had a chance to see America rise above racism, above prejudice. He had a chance, the last of the Kennedy brothers in office, to see President Obama take that oath. It was a proud moment for him and for all of us.

As his life came to an end, Ted said he saw a new wave of change all around us. He promised us that if we kept our compass true, we could reach our destination. In the days and the weeks and the months to come, the years to come, decades to come, we have to keep Ted Kennedy's cause alive. It is the cause

of breaking gridlock to get things done. It is the cause of expanding health care as a right and not a privilege. It is the cause of bringing hope and justice and prosperity to all.

We are likely never to see the likes of a Ted Kennedy again. But I am confident we can rise to the challenge the people's Senator set for us and carry on for those who remember him, for those, yes, who miss him, for those who loved him, and for those who will always need a champion like Ted Kennedy.

Finally, if there was a demonstration of his humanity, the funeral tribute was one of enormous love and respect. It was enunciated particularly, because I road with other Senators on the bus, by the hoards of people standing by the curbside with signs of gratitude for his contribution to the life and well-being of America. We are thankful for that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, on August 25, a towering figure on our national political landscape left us. Edward Moore Kennedy succumbed to a malignant brain tumor after an 18-month battle for his life. As I look now at his desk, draped with black cloth and covered with flowers, I still have difficulty believing that he is gone. My ebullient Irish-to-the-core friend has departed this life forever. How bleakly somber. How utterly final. How totally unlike Ted Kennedy in life.

Ted Kennedy in life was a force of nature—a cheerful, inquisitive, caring man, who never accepted somberness for long or the finality of anything. His energetic adherence to perseverance, his plain dogged determination, his ability to rise from the ashes of whatever new horrific event accosted him, always with grace, and usually with a liberal dose of humor, were his trademarks. It was almost as if Ted Kennedy were at the top of his form when coping with adversity. Life itself inspired him. He believed that life was a contact sport, but that it should never be played without joy in the game itself. That is how he saw politics as well.

Ted Kennedy and I were friends and, yet, we were the oddest of odd couples. He was the scion of a wealthy and storied family. I am a coal miner's son who had no bottom rungs in my ladder. In earlier years we were rivals.

What Ted and I discovered, though, was that somehow we had many things in common—a love of history; an affection for poetry; a fondness for dogs; a commitment to the less fortunate in our society. Many will speak of Ted's stunning Senate career, his huge and lasting impact on our culture, his domination of the political scene for so many, many decades. By all means, let us never forget Ted Kennedy's extraordinary contribution to this great country. It is largely unmatched.

But I will especially cherish the personal side of this big man, with his infectious laugh, his booming voice, and

his passion for the things and the people that he cared about. I will remember the dog lover who brought Sunny and Splash to my office to visit. I will recall a considerate friend who sent dozens of roses to mark my wedding anniversary or a special birthday. I will again enjoy a very special recitation of the "Midnight Ride of Paul Revere." By habit, I shall immediately look for Ted Kennedy whenever I enter this Chamber. In a thousand ways large and small he will simply be deeply, deeply missed.

My heart goes out to his steadfast wife Vickie and to his wonderful family. His spirit surely lives on in all of you.

Not long ago, I picked up a book of poetry which Ted Kennedy had given to me in July of 1996. It bore this inscription:

"To Bob, the master of our legislative poetry who has already left so many extraordinary Footprints on the Sands of Time." After that, Ted had written, "See page 371."

I close with a few stanzas from "a Psalm of Life" on page 371 of Ted's gift to me:

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.

.....

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time;
Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.
Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. President, I have been very fortunate in my life in public service to witness a lot of historical events, but none parallels the tribute that was just paid by one icon of the U.S. Senate to another Member of the U.S. Senate.

I rise to pay my respects to the late Senator Ted Kennedy. As one of my colleagues said earlier, it is a little bit ironic, when you come to the Senate you find out that those with whom you have significant political disagreements are folks you get to know well and you have the opportunity to work with.

I am sure during my political campaign for the U.S. Senate Ted Kennedy raised me a lot of money by virtue of the fact that I would cite him in my fundraising mailouts because, coming from a very conservative part of the country, it was popular to cite the liberal Members of the Senate and say you needed to be there to counteract them. But when I came to the Senate—and certainly Senator Kennedy and I do come from opposite ends of the political spectrum—I learned very quickly from Senator Kennedy what the Senate is all about.

I was here about, gee, it could not have been but a couple of days—something less than 48 hours—when I was notified that I was going to be on the Judiciary Committee and that I would be the chairman of the Immigration Subcommittee on Judiciary and my ranking member would be Ted Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy came to me on the floor, within a few hours of me being notified of that, and he said: SAXBY, you and I need to sit down. Let's discuss some immigration issues that we want to accomplish during the next 2 years. I just want to talk with you about it, get your thoughts and give you my thoughts.

I said: Well, sure, Ted, that will be great. I will be happy to come to your office and sit down with you.

He said no. He said: SAXBY, that is not the way the Senate works. You are the chairman. I will come to your office.

So the next day, a Senator who had been in office for well over 40 years came to the office of a Member of the Senate who had been here a little over 40 hours and sat down and had a conversation. That was a lesson about the way the Senate works that I will never forget.

We began working together on the Immigration Subcommittee, and we worked for about a year—it was in excess of a year, I guess—on an issue we talked about the very first day in my office. It involved the expansion of the L-1/H-1B visas. At that time, our economy was booming and businesses across our country needed access to more employees who had a specialized expertise.

We were successful in ultimately striking a compromise. It was difficult for Ted because the leftwing of his party was very much in opposition to what we were doing, and it was somewhat, although a little bit less, difficult for me because the rightwing of my party was in opposition to what we were doing.

Ted called me up one day after we had finished our negotiations, and he was laughing, and he said: SAXBY, I have to tell you, we have entered into an agreement on this, and I am going to do exactly what I told you I would do, but, boy, am I ever getting beat up by the far left in my party. They are just killing me. He said: It is to the point where I am up for reelection next year, and you may have to come to Massachusetts and campaign for me.

We kind of laughed about that.

Well, 2 days later, I had been besieged with phone calls from ultraconservative folks from my State, and I called Ted up, and I said: Well, Ted, you will not believe this, but I am getting beat up over that same issue by ultraconservatives in my party. But don't worry, I don't need you to come to Georgia to campaign for me.

Well, he laughed about that like I had never heard him laugh. The very last conversation I had with him to

any extent was when he was here for President Obama's inauguration, and he reminded me of that story. He never forgot that.

I also have a very fond memory of Ted by virtue of the fact that my grandchildren were 8 and 6 years old when I first came to the Senate, and we had this ice cream social out in the park across from the Russell building where his office was and my office is. In fact, his office was directly below mine. I am walking back from the ice cream social with my grandchildren—who were here for that because it happens at the same time as the White House picnic—and Ted is driving off in his car, and he sees me coming across with my grandchildren. He stops the car, gets out, and he says: SAXBY, these must be your grandchildren.

I said: They are.

He said: Well, I want my dogs to see them and them have a chance to meet my dogs.

So he got out of the car and got the dogs out, and my grandchildren just loved playing with those dogs.

Every year after that—I never called him—he called me because he knew that when the White House picnic was going on, my grandchildren would be here, and he would insist on bringing the dogs up when the grandchildren were here so they would have a chance to play with them. That is just the kind of guy Ted was. It was a much softer side than what we have seen so many times with Ted with his passionate debates and whatnot.

Lastly, let me mention another anecdote I will always remember. I was going down to speak to the Hibernian Society in Savannah, which has the second largest St. Patrick's Day parade in the United States. It is a big deal. We have about 1,000 folks who are at the Hibernian Society dinner that I was going to speak to. All you do is you go in and you tell jokes.

Well, I needed a bunch of Irish jokes, so I called up Ted and I told him what I was doing, and I said: I know you must have a book of Irish jokes.

He said: I do. I am going to send it to you. And he said: I will tell you something else you need to do. I know Savannah is a very conservative part of the world, and you are going to see in these jokes that you will have an opportunity to point out somebody to kind of poke fun at. He said: Every time you have an opportunity in telling these jokes, you use my name.

Well, I took him at his word, and I did. And, boy, did I ever get a rousing welcome from all those Irish men in Savannah, GA.

So I have very great and fond memories of a man who certainly came from a different part of the country than where I come from, who came from a very different political background than where I come from, and somebody who certainly had much more political experience than I will ever have. But the thing I appreciated in Ted Kennedy was—and I have said this often—he was

the best legislator in this body. When Ted Kennedy told you something, you could take it to the bank. You never had to worry about it thereafter.

While we disagreed on many things, we agreed on some things and were able to work together in a very unusual way. Even when we disagreed, we were able to walk out of this Chamber and still be friends.

To Vicki and PATRICK and the children, Ted was a great American, a great guy, and he is going to be missed in this body. He was a true inspiration to a lot of us, and we are going to miss that compromising aspect of Ted Kennedy that will not be here even though someone else will take up the mantle.

With that, Mr. President, I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, as I sit here and listen to the remarks of my colleagues and I look over at that black velvet-draped desk, with the pristine white roses, and the poem by Robert Frost, and I think about the past 17 years I have been here and have looked up—and perhaps it is late at night, perhaps it is in the morning, perhaps it is in the afternoon—and Senator Kennedy is at his desk and he is talking about a bill he cares a great deal about—and, as Senator LAUTENBERG had said earlier, he introduced 550 bills that became law. Around here, you can introduce a bill, and maybe it goes somewhere and maybe it does not. You can introduce a bill, and maybe it is a small bill, but introducing a big bill that goes somewhere, that passes the House and is signed by the President of the United States, is not a small feat.

I listened to Senator BYRD, and in the past he has spoken about lions of the Senate. Ted Kennedy was a lion of the Senate.

During 47 years—and this morning in the Judiciary Committee, we learned he had been the longest serving member—during 47 years, if you look at the big bills: the Mental Health Systems Act of 1980, which enabled people with mental illnesses to live in their communities with minimal hospital care; the Children's Health Insurance Program, which has been spoken about, which provided health insurance to uninsured children of low-income families; the commitment to health care reform that did not diminish even as he suffered through terminal illness; his dedication to education, he was a leader in the landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which established the Federal Government's commitment to fund school for poor children in public schools; No Child Left Behind, widely hailed as the greatest example of bipartisan cooperation during the Bush administration; the bill he did with ORRIN HATCH, the Serve America Act, the greatest expansion of national service since the New Deal—it goes on and on and on, big bills, bills that changed people's lives, not just in

a county or a city but all across this great land.

In civil rights, as you look across at that desk, he had no peers. He would stand up, and I would watch: The lower jaw would quiver slightly, and he would begin, and there would be the thunderous tones, either in the Judiciary Committee or here on the floor, that would fill the room, filled with passion, filled with conviction, filled with determination.

He played a major role in every civil rights battle in this Congress for 40 years. Who else can say that? He fought for people of color, for women, for gays and lesbians, for those seeking religious liberty. His amendments to the Voting Rights Act in 1982 led to significant increases in minority representation in elective office. He was a major sponsor of the Americans with Disabilities Act to ensure that millions of disabled Americans could live productive lives. These are not small bills; these are big bills—the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which strengthened civil rights protections against discrimination and harassment in the workplace; again, a big bill which became law.

I was part of that small group of Senators who met on immigration reform hour after hour in small hot rooms. I watched Senator Kennedy with his sleeves rolled back, when he would sit back and wait for just the right time to move or change the tenor of the discussion. True, that was one that was not successful, but it wasn't because he did not try.

Seventeen years ago, JOE BIDEN asked me if I would be the first woman on the Senate Judiciary Committee. I had the honor of doing it. Ted Kennedy was No. 2 in seniority sitting on that committee. I saw his commitment firsthand. It was very special. You see, I was a volunteer in the campaign for John Fitzgerald Kennedy. I was a full-time volunteer for Bobby Kennedy for his campaign. I saw the Nation ripped apart by these double assassinations. I saw Senator Kennedy, in addition to being a lion in the Senate, become a surrogate father to nieces and nephews. I saw him accept this mantle with great enthusiasm, with great love, and with a commitment that spanned the decades. That is very special. It is a very special human dimension of a great individual.

I lost my husband Bert to cancer, and I know well what the end is like. I know the good times that grow less and less and the bad times that become more and more. Ted Kennedy's life was enriched by a very special woman, and her name is Vicki Kennedy. For me, she is a mentor of what a wife should be. I have watched her sitting with him, writing speeches. I have watched her at weekend retreats. I have watched her fill his life with love, companionship, understanding.

I know a little bit about what the last months of a cancer victim are like. I can only say to her that we will do everything we can in this body to end cancer in our lifetime.

Yes, Ted Kennedy leaves very big shoes, shoes that probably will never be filled in quite the same way, from a family that will probably never be replicated.

I wish to end my remarks with a passage in the Prayer Book of the High Holy Day services for Reform Judaism. It was written when I was a teenager by a young rabbi I very much admired, and I wish to share it at this time:

Birth is a beginning and death a destination.
And life is a journey:
From childhood to eternity and youth to age;
From innocence to awareness and ignorance to knowing;
From foolishness to discretion, and then, perhaps, to wisdom;
From weakness to strength or strength to weakness
—and, often, back again;
From health to sickness and back, we pray, to health again;
From offense to forgiveness, from loneliness to love, from joy to gratitude, from pain to compassion, and grief to understanding—
From fear to faith; from defeat to defeat to defeat—
Until, looking backward or ahead, we see that victory lies not in some high place along the way, but in having made the journey, stage by stage, a sacred pilgrimage.
Birth is a beginning and death a destination.
And life is a journey, a sacred pilgrimage—
To life everlasting.

Ted Kennedy leaves a giant legacy in this body and we should not forsake it. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. UDALL of New Mexico). The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, following the passing of President John F. Kennedy, Senator Mike Mansfield said: "He gave us of his love that we, too, in turn, might give."

These words ring true today as we remember the life of our late colleague, Senator Ted Kennedy.

So much of this country's history in the past half century can be attributed to this one man. But Ted Kennedy was also a modest man, and he would not have put it that way.

Speaking almost 30 years ago at the 1980 Democratic National Convention, he quoted Tennyson:

I am a part of all that I have met . . .
Tho much is taken, much abides.
That which we are,
we are one equal temper of heroic hearts
Strong in will
To strive, to see, to find
and not to yield.

In the more than 46 years that Senator Kennedy served this body, he did not yield and, in turn, he affected each and every American.

During his career in the Senate, Senator Kennedy authored thousands of bills, and hundreds of them became law. From championing civil rights to advocating equal opportunity and higher education, to fighting for access to affordable health care for all Americans, Senator Kennedy's work has quite simply improved the quality of

life for millions of Americans. Over the past 2 weeks we have heard many speak of his accomplishments.

It didn't take long for me to realize when I came to this body, and more and more as each year passed, that Ted Kennedy was probably the greatest legislator in modern American political history. The guy was amazing, absolutely amazing; an inspiration for me personally to try to be a very good legislator. Many people have also said that. I am not the only one who has recognized his talents and that he is probably the best legislator in modern American political history.

Let me just say why that was true for me. First of all, it was the passion of his convictions. His moral compass was set so true: for the average person, the little guy, the person who didn't have representation, health care, the poor, civil rights. He just believed so passionately, so steadfastly. His moral compass was just so firmly set. There is no question of what Ted Kennedy was and what he believed in, and it made him alive. It was his dream to fulfill the lives of the people he worked so hard for.

All of us remember Ted Kennedy working so hard to fulfill his dreams. From his desk over here, he would stand up and he would thunder, red-faced. He would get so involved, so passionate, speaking so loudly, almost shouting what he believed in. You couldn't help but know that here was a guy who believed what he said and, by gosh, let's listen to him. He also had terrific staff. Ted Kennedy's staff had him so well prepared. All of these briefing books—I will never forget the briefing books Ted took, and he read them. He studied them. He was so well prepared. Along with his passion was his preparation, and his staff just helped him prepare because they were all one team. They were working so closely together for the causes they believed in.

I also was impressed and found him to be such a great legislator because after the speeches he believed in so thoroughly and passionately, he would sit down with you and start to negotiate, try to work out an agreement, try to work out some solution that made sense for him and made sense for you if you happened to be on the other side. It was amazing to sit and watch him work, a different demeanor, a different temperament. He would sit there and cajole, talk, tell jokes, all in good spirit, all in an attempt to try to get to the solution.

On the one hand he would be here in the Chamber and he would be thundering, but in the conference room he would be saying: OK, let's figure out how to do this. How do we get this done? It was amazing. It was such a lesson to learn just watching him legislate.

I think he is also one of the best legislators in modern American political history because he had such a light touch. He really cared individually for people, not just groups but individ-

ually. We have heard references to a book he gave Senator BYRD, a poetry book, and how Senator Kennedy would bring his dogs over to Senator BYRD's office; and listening to Senator CHAMBLISS, how Senator Kennedy made sure he knew when Senator CHAMBLISS's grandchildren would be here so the grandchildren could see his dogs. He loved his dogs and he had that very light touch.

I remember not too long ago—and Senator BYRD referred to it—I think it was Senator BYRD's 67th wedding anniversary, and Senator Kennedy had the foresight and the caring to send 67 roses to ROBERT BYRD and Erma Byrd. It was one of the things he just did, as well as all the letters he wrote, the handwritten letters he wrote.

Here is this wonderful guy who probably never used a BlackBerry; didn't know what they were. We know what they were. We use them. He wrote notes, hundreds of notes, thousands of handwritten notes, tens of thousands of handwritten notes. It was incredible. He would write a note to anybody at any time—just a light touch—on their birthday or call them on their birthday or call somebody who was in the hospital. He would just do that, more than any other Senator here I can think of, and I would venture to say probably more than most Senators combined. He was just that way.

Let me give one small example. Several years ago, in my hometown of Helena, MT, I was at a meeting and came back late at night after the meeting, and my mother said: MAX, Ted Kennedy called.

Really?

Yes, Mom said. Well, I told him you were out, but we had a nice chat, Ted Kennedy and I.

What did you talk about?

We talked about the Miles City bucking horse sale. It is an event in Montana that comes up every year. Ted came and rode a horse at the Miles City bucking horse sale back in 1960.

A few days later I was back on the floor of the Senate, and I walked up to Ted and I said: Ted, I understand you talked to my mother.

Oh, he said. Sometimes on the telephone you are talking to somebody, you can tell who the person is. Your mother, she is such a wonderful person, so gracious, on and on talking about my mother and the conversation the two of them had.

They had never met before. My mother is a staunch Republican, and here is Ted Kennedy.

So I went back home a few days later, and I told my mother, I said: Mom, Ted was sure impressed with the telephone call you had.

Oh, gee, that is great. That is wonderful.

My mom wrote Ted a note thanking him for being so—for praising her so much to me, her son, just a few days earlier.

Well, the next thing I knew, my mother and Ted were pen pals. Ted

wrote a letter back to my mother, and they were back and forth and back and forth. I would be at a committee hearing someplace and Ted would say: Hey, MAX, look. Here is the letter I am writing your mother. Just out of the blue. Basically, they were just reminiscing about Montana and again about the bucking horse sale, which is another reason Ted was such a great guy.

He lived life so fully. He just loved life. He embraced life in all of the ways that life is available to a man. He was just wonderful that way.

Back in 1960 when his brother was running for President, Ted was assigned the Western States in the 1960 Presidential campaign. So Ted was out in Montana, and they went to a Democratic gathering. There wasn't anybody there, so he went to the Miles City bucking horse sale. We in Miles City, MT, have this bucking event. We take these horses off the prairie and buck them. You bid on the horses and, obviously, the best bucking horses get the highest bid and go off with the rodeo operators and they use them.

Anyway, the long and the short of it is, Ted was there and he went to the bucking horse sale and got in the booth because he wanted to speak on behalf of his brother. The announcer said: Well, young man, if you want to speak, first you have to ride a horse.

Ted said: Why not.

So Ted got on a horse and there is this wonderful photo of Ted at the Miles City bucking horse sale in Montana that somebody took. So there is Ted on his bronco. I don't think he made the full 8 seconds, but he sure had a great time on that horse.

The long and short of it is, he is a great man for so many reasons, and we love Ted for all he was. Again, I think he was the greatest legislator I think, in modern American political history.

I am touched by what a family man he was. As the years went by, after his brothers were tragically lost and all that happened in the Kennedy family, Ted was a rock to others in the family. He experienced so much and he went through so much tragedy and it has built so much character.

Ted was more than a Senate icon who fought for causes, more than a voice for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As I mentioned, he was a loving son, brother, husband, father, uncle, grandfather, and friend. Working with him for the past 30 years is one of the greatest honors I have had as a Senator.

Ted, as far as I am concerned, we are going to take up your last great cause, health care reform. We are, in the Senate, doing all we can to get it passed. I, personally, pledge every ounce of energy at my command to help get health care reform passed for all the American people and for Ted Kennedy.

He was a wonderful man, and he will be sorely missed. I don't think there is going to be another man or woman in the Senate who will be a giant such as Ted Kennedy. He was that great a guy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I appreciate having this opportunity to join in the celebration of the life of Ted Kennedy. His loss was deeply personal to all of us because he was a strong and vital presence not only in the day-to-day work of the Senate but in our day-to-day lives as well. He was interested and concerned not only about his colleagues but our staffs and all those with whom he worked on a long list of issues that will continue to have an impact on our Nation for many generations to come. That was the kind of individual Ted was—active and completely involved in all things that had to do with the work of the Senate.

For my part, I have lost a Senate colleague who was willing to work with me and with Senators on both sides of the aisle. He was my committee chairman and my good friend.

For those across the country who mourn his passing, they have lost a trusted and treasured voice in the Senate, a champion who fought for them for almost 50 years.

The political landscape of our country has now been permanently changed. I think we all sensed what his loss would mean to the country as we heard the news of his passing. Now we take this time to look back to the past and remember our favorite stories and instant replay memories of the Senator from Massachusetts.

In the more than 12 years I have had the privilege of serving Wyoming in the Senate, I had the good fortune to come to know Ted on a number of levels. As a Senator, he was a tremendous force to be dealt with on the floor. If you were on his side, you knew you had a warrior fighting alongside you who went to battle without the slightest fear of failure or defeat. If you had to face him from the other side of the arena, you knew you had a tremendous battle on your hands because, when it came to the principles he believed in, no one said it better or with more passion or more depth of understanding of the issues involved. As a result, he was able to notch an impressive list of legislative victories.

During his long and remarkable career, there were few initiatives that didn't attract his attention and his unique spirited touch that often turned them from faint hopes for change to dreams at long last come true. Whether it was an increase in the minimum wage, equal rights for all Americans or the effort to reform our Nation's health care system, which was his greatest dream, Ted operated at one speed and one direction—full speed ahead—and it always found him making progress on the task at hand.

Over the years, I was fortunate to have an opportunity to work with him on a number of issues of great importance to us both. He knew what he had to have in a bill to get his side to agree on it, and I was fortunate to have a

sense of what it would take to get votes from my side. So, together, we were able to craft several bills that we were able to move through committee and to the Senate floor.

When I served as the chairman of the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee, the partnership we had forged over the years helped us to compile a record of which we were both very proud. We passed 35 bills out of committee, and 27 of them were signed into law by the President. Most of them passed unanimously. I remember attending a bill signing during which the President remarked, "You are the only committee sending me anything." We checked, and he was right, and that was due, in large part, to Ted's willingness to work with us to get things done.

I will always remember two stories about Ted. One was a time when we were working together on a mine safety law. Nothing had been done in that area for almost 30 years. The average bill takes about 6 years to pass around here. Thanks to Ted, we got that one done in 6 weeks, and it has made a difference.

Another had to do with my first legislative initiative after I arrived as a newly sworn-in freshman Senator. I knew Ted had quite a good working relationship with my predecessor, Alan Simpson. So as I began to work on an OSHA safety bill, I started to discuss the bill with Ted and other colleagues and go through it section by section. I knew Ted's support would be instrumental if my efforts to pass the bill would be successful. So I arranged to meet with him.

Ted opened our meeting by presenting me with some press clippings he had collected for me about my mother's award as "Mother of the Year." That impressed me and showed me how he kept up on anything that was of importance to those people he worked with—members and staff.

Then he spent a great deal of time going over the bill with me section by section. He helped me to make it a winner. Although the bill, as a whole, didn't pass, several sections made it into law. I found out later that this wasn't the way things are usually done around here, and in all the years Ted had been in the Senate, nobody had gone over a bill with him a section at a time. I probably didn't need to.

That started a friendship and a good working relationship with him we both cherished. I tried to be a good sounding board for him, and he always did the same for me. Our friendship can best be summed up when Ted came to my office and presented me with a photo of a University of Wyoming football helmet next to a Harvard football helmet, with the inscription, "The Cowboys and the Crimson make a great team." We did, and I will always remember his thoughtfulness and kindness in reaching out to me.

Ted was one of those remarkable individuals who made all those he

worked with more productive. He was a man of exceptional abilities, and he was blessed to have a truly remarkable helpmate by his side. Vicki is a woman of great strength, who brought a renewed focus and direction to Ted's life. She was his most trusted confidant, his best friend, and a wellspring of good advice and political counsel. He would have never been all that he was without her, and she will forever be a special part of his life's story.

For the Enzis, we will always remember how thoughtful he was when my grandchildren were born. He was almost as excited as I was. He presented me with a gift for each of them that will always be a cherished reminder that Ted had a great appreciation for all of us, and he treated both Members and staff with the same kindness and concern.

Actually, we got Irish Mist training pants for each of them as they were born.

When Ted was asked, during an interview, what he wanted to be most remembered for, he said he wanted to make a difference for our country. He was able to do that and so much more. He will be missed by us all, and he will never be forgotten. All those who knew and loved him will always carry a special memory with them of how he touched their lives as he tried to make our Nation and the world a better place.

Now he has been taken from us and it will always feel like it all happened too soon. He has a record of achievements and success that will probably not be matched for a long time to come. He was a special friend and a mentor who had a lot to teach about how to get things done in the Senate. I know I will miss him and his willingness to sit down and visit about how to get something through the Senate and passed into law. Now he is at peace and with God. May God bless and be with him and continue to watch over his family for years to come.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, when I was young, Ted Kennedy was larger than life. I was just 12 years old when he was first elected to the Senate as the youngest son of a political dynasty that seemed to dominate the television each night in my house and the newspapers every day.

At first, he served in the shadow of his older brothers. But as I grew up, the youngest brother of the Kennedy family did, too—in front of the entire Nation.

For me and so many others, Ted Kennedy became a symbol of perseverance over tragedy—from his walk down Pennsylvania Avenue at the side of Jacqueline Kennedy, to the heart-breaking speech he delivered at his brother Bobby's funeral, to his pledge to carry on the causes of those who had championed his bid for the Presidency.

Ted Kennedy routinely appeared before the American people with great

courage at the most trying times. And all the while, he was also standing in this Chamber each day with that same grit and determination to fight for the people of Massachusetts and the Nation.

On issues from protecting the environment, civil rights, increasing the minimum wage, and health care, he was a passionate and unmatched advocate and leader.

So it was with a lifetime of watching Senator Kennedy with admiration from afar that I arrived here as a freshman Senator in 1993. By the time I was elected, Ted was already on his way to becoming one of the most powerful and influential Senators of all time. So I couldn't believe it when I first walked out onto this floor and he walked over to personally welcome me. For me, that would have been enough—the lion of the Senate reaching out to a rookie—but to Ted Kennedy it wasn't.

Through calls to my office, discussions on the floor, and by taking me under his wing on the HELP Committee, he became a friend, a mentor, and sooner than I could have ever imagined a courageous partner on legislation that I cared deeply about.

As a State senator in Washington, I had worked very hard before I got here to successfully change the State laws in Washington on family and medical leave. It was an issue that was extremely personal to me. My father had been diagnosed with multiple sclerosis when I was very young. Since that time, my mother had always been his primary caregiver. But a few years before I ran and became a Senator, my mother had a heart attack and had to undergo bypass surgery.

Suddenly, my six brothers and sisters and I were faced with the question of who was going to take time off to care for the people we loved the most, the people who cared for us for so long.

A family leave policy would have allowed any of us just a few weeks necessary to see them through their medical crisis. But at the time, none was available.

So after running and winning and coming to the Senate, the Family and Medical Leave Act was a bill I wanted to stand and fight for. As it turned out, it was the first bill we considered.

Senator Kennedy was here managing that bill on the Senate floor, and I found out that he, too, had a personal connection to that bill.

I well remember one day when Senator Kennedy pulled me aside to tell me about how he had spent a lot of time with his own son in the hospital fighting cancer and how he met so many people at that time who could not afford to take time off to care for their loved ones and how some were forced to quit their jobs to take care of somebody they loved because they were sick. He told me that, together, we were going to work hard and get this bill passed. Then he showed this rookie how to do it.

Week after week, he fought against bad amendments to get the votes we needed to pass it.

He blended the right mix of patience and passion. He spoke out loudly in speeches when he needed to, and he whispered into the ears of colleagues when that was called for. A few days after Senator Kennedy pledged to me we would get it done, we did.

Through that effort, and many more battles on this floor, I learned so much from him and so have all of us because, more than almost anyone, Senator Kennedy knew the Senate. He knew how to make personal friends, even with those he didn't agree with politically. He knew how to reach out and find ways to work with people to get them to compromise for the greater good. He knew when not to give up. He knew when to change the pace or turn the page to get things done. He knew when to go sit down next to you or pick up the phone and call you. He knew how to legislate. Because of that, he built an incredible legacy.

It is a legacy that will not only live on in the Senate Chamber, where he was so well loved and respected; it is a legacy that will live on in the classrooms across America, where kids from Head Start to college have benefited from his commitment to opportunities in education; on manufacturing floors, where he fought for landmark worker safety protection; in our hospitals, where medical research that he championed is saving lives every day; in courtrooms, where the legacy of discrimination was dealt a blow by his years of service on the Judiciary Committee; in voting booths, where he fought for our most basic rights in a democracy to be protected and expanded for decades; and in so many other places that were touched by his service, his passion and his giant heart.

Senator Kennedy fought for and won so many great battles. But for many of us who worked with him every day, it may be the small moments that will be remembered the most—the personal touch he brought, not only to legislating but to life.

As I mentioned a moment ago, my mom had to take care of my dad for most of his life. His multiple sclerosis confined him to a wheelchair and she could not ever leave his side. One of the few and maybe the only time she did leave my dad is when I was elected to the Senate and she flew all the way from Washington State to Washington, DC, to see me be sworn in.

To my mom, Ted Kennedy and his family were amazing individuals whom she followed closely throughout their lives, through their triumphs and, of course, through tragedy. After I was sworn in, and my mother was up in the gallery watching, we walked back through the Halls of Congress to my office. Shortly after that, we had a visitor. Senator Kennedy unexpectedly came over to my office and gave my mom a huge hug. I will never forget the look on her face, the tears in her eyes,

the clear disbelief that she had met Ted Kennedy, and it was overpowering. It was a moment with my mom I will never forget, and it is certainly a moment I will never forget with my friend Ted Kennedy.

I am going to miss him. I know our country is going to miss him. But as he reminded us in his courageous speech that he delivered last summer in Denver, the torch has been passed to a new generation, and the work begins anew.

So today, as we honor all of his contributions to the Senate and the Nation, we must also remember to heed that brave final call and continue his fight for all of those who cannot fight for themselves.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, first, I thank my friend and colleague Senator MURRAY for her heartfelt words, and all of my colleagues. The love we all felt and feel for Ted Kennedy is genuine. It is person to person because that is how he was.

There is so much to say. I know we are limited in time. We could speak forever. I think every one of us could speak forever about Ted Kennedy because he had so many interactions with each of us. It is amazing that every person in this body has a long list of stories and thousands of people in Massachusetts and thousands more throughout America. One would think there were 20 Ted Kennedys. He had so much time for the small gesture that mattered so much, such as the hug, going out of his way to go to a reception and hug PATTY MURRAY's mom. It happened over and over again. So we could each speak forever.

I know time is limited, my colleague from Oregon is waiting. We are going to shut off debate soon and others want to speak. I will touch on a few things.

I could speak forever about Ted Kennedy. I thought of him every day while he was alive; I think of him every day that he is gone. I had a dream about him the other night where typically he was taking me around to various places in Boston and explaining a little bit about each one with a joke, with a smile, with a remembrance.

There is also nothing we can say about Ted Kennedy because nothing is going to replace him. No words can come close to equaling the man.

You read about history and you read about the great people in the Senate—the Websters, the Clays, the LaFollettes, the Wagners. What a privilege it was for somebody such as myself, a kid from Brooklyn whose father was an exterminator, never graduated from college, to be in the presence and was actually a friend to a great man. I don't think I can say that about anyone else. It is amazing.

What I want to tell the American people—you all read about him. There were the good times and the bad times and the brickbats that were thrown at him, not so much recently but in the

early days. But here in the Senate, when you get to know people personally and when you are in our walk of life, being a Senator, you get to know a lot of people personally. You get to meet a lot of famous people. Some of them, frankly, are disappointing. The more you see them the less you want to know them. But with Ted Kennedy, the more you got to see him, the closer you got, the better he looked.

He had flaws, but he was flawless. He was such a genuine person and such a caring person and such an honorable and decent man that I wish my children had gotten to know him, that my friends had gotten to know him, that all of my 19 million constituents had gotten to know him a little bit the way I did.

What a guy. There are so many stories and so many memories. One day Ted and I sat next to each other—I used to sit over there. I think it was one of the vote-aramas, a long session. We occasionally would go up to his hideaway to talk. I said: Why don't we bring some of the freshmen. This was a couple of years ago. I regret that you, Mr. President, and the Senator from Oregon in the class of 2008 did not have that experience. We would go up to his hideaway, and he would regale us with stories. He would talk about the pictures on the wall and tell each person in caring detail what each picture meant, what each replica meant. He would tell jokes and laugh. His caring for each person in that room, each a new freshman, was genuine, and they knew it. We would go up regularly. It sort of became a thing, freshman Members of the Senate. Ted didn't need them. He could get whatever he had to get done and they would support him. But he cared about them as if they were almost family.

Whenever we had a late night, we would sort of gather—I would be the emissary and I would go over to Ted and say: Can we go upstairs? Of course. AMY KLOBUCHAR, SHERROD BROWN, CLAIRE MCCASKILL, BOBBIE CASEY—their faces would light up, and there we would go to hear more stories about the past, the Senate, the individuals. It is a memory none of us will forget.

Ted Kennedy would size people up early on, and he would care about them. He was very kind to me, but he also knew I was the kind of guy you had to put in his place a little bit. I would get hazed by Ted Kennedy. JAY ROCKEFELLER told me he went through the same thing when he got here. He knew who I was but would deliberately not mention my name. He would be standing there saying: Senator MIKULSKI, you will do this, and Senator HARKIN, you will do this; Senator CONRAD, you will do this—I was the last one—and the others will do this. It was fun. He did it with a twinkle in his eyes. We loved, he and I, the give and take, Brooklyn-Boston.

The first year I was here, the Red Sox were playing the Yankees in the playoffs. Ted and I made a bet. He said:

The loser will have to hold the pennant of the winning team over his head and recite "Casey at the Bat" on Capitol Hill. We had a bet. The Yankees won. I went over to him—and he was feigning fear, this man who had been through everything. When we went out on the steps, he was hiding behind me. I have a picture of it on my wall. We were joking and laughing. And then he did his duty.

I was only a freshman Senator, sort of like PATTY or anybody else. He went out of his way for all of us. He would tell me to remember the birthdays and the individual happenings in each person's life, in each Senator's life, and go over and say something to them. It was his way of teaching me. It was done like a father. An amazing person.

As I said, the closer you got to him, the better he looked. As a legislator and as a giant in our history—and all the history books record it—people have referred to all his accomplishments. But I want to share with people how it was in person, one on one. You could be a Senator or you could be two guys on a street corner. He was fun and he was caring and he was loving. He was a big man, but his heart was much bigger than he was.

He loved almost everybody. He saw the good in people and brought it out. He saw the faults in people, and in a strong but gentle way tried to correct them. He was great on the outside, and he was even more great on the inside.

Again, I see my colleagues are waiting. I will part with this little memory that I will never forget. Ted and I became good friends. We spent time together in many different ways. When he got sick, I felt bad, like we all did. I would call him every so often. This was October of last year. He was ill, but he was still in strong health. I called him a couple of days before it was October. I said: We have a DSCC event a couple days from now in Boston. I thought I would call and say hello, let him know I was going to be in his State, his territory.

He said: What are you doing before the event? He said: Why don't you come out to the compound at Hyannis. I did. He picked me up at the airport. I flew in on a little plane. I will never forget, he had his hat on. He was happy as could be pointing out everything, full of vim and vigor.

It is obvious why the man was not afraid of death. When you know yourself and you know you have done everything as he did on both a personal basis and as a leader, you are not afraid of death. Anyway, he was not at all talking about that.

We were supposed to go out sailing, but it was too windy. So we had lunch—he, Vicki, and I—clam chowder and all the usual stuff. Then he said: I want to show you something. He lived in the big house on the compound, the one you see in the pictures. He took me to the house by the side. That was the house where President Kennedy lived because when President Kennedy was

President, Joseph P. Kennedy, Ted's father, lived in the big house.

For about 3 hours, he opened all these drawers and closets, things on the walls, and with each one in loving, teaching detail talked to me about the history of the family and of Boston, what happened from Honey Fitz, the mayor, through his father and Ted growing up in all these pictures laughing and reminiscing, and then about President Kennedy as he was growing up, and then as President in this little house and through to Ted. He was sort of passing on the memories. He did it again out of generosity, spirit, love, and friendship.

As I say, he was a great man and every one of us knows his greatness was not only in the public eye but in the private one on one. A great man. The term is overused. There are not many. He was one. I was privileged to get to know him, to get to be his friend, to stand in that large shadow, learn from him, enjoy it, and to love him.

So, Ted, you will always be with us. They may take those flowers off that desk and they may take the great black drape off the desk, but you will always be here for me, for all of us, and for our country.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWN). The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I rise today to remember and honor our colleague Senator Edward Kennedy. I first had the pleasure of hearing Senator Kennedy speak in 1976. I wanted to come out to Washington, DC, to see how our Nation operated. I had the great privilege of serving as an intern for a Senator from my home State, Senator Hatfield. My father had always talked about Senator Kennedy as someone who spoke for the disenfranchised, someone who spoke for the dispossessed, someone who cared about the working man. So I was looking forward to possibly meeting him or at least hearing him, when lo and behold, I found out he was scheduled to speak as part of a series of lectures to the interns that summer. So I made sure to get there early, and what followed was exactly the type of address you might anticipate—a roaring voice, a passionate spirit, a principled presentation of the challenges we face to make our society better. I walked out of that lecture and thought: Thank goodness—thank goodness—we have leaders like Senator Kennedy fighting for the working people, the challenged, the dispossessed in our society.

Through that summer, each time I heard Senator Kennedy was on the Senate floor I tried to slip over and go up to the staff section so I could sit in and see a little bit of the lion of the Senate in action. During that time I never anticipated that I would have a chance to come back and serve in the Senate with Senator Kennedy. But 33 years later, this last January, when I

was sworn in, that unanticipated, miraculous event of serving with him occurred.

I wanted to talk to him about the possibility of joining his Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee—a committee where so many battles for working Americans, so many battles for the disenfranchised Americans are waged. So with some trepidation I approached him on the Senate floor to speak with him and asked if he thought I might be able to serve on that committee, if he might whisper in the ear of our esteemed majority leader in that regard, if he thought I might serve well. It was with some pleasure that weeks later I had a message on my phone in which he went on at some length welcoming me to that committee. That was the first committee to which I received an assignment here, and I couldn't have been more excited and more pleased.

I didn't have a chance to have a lot of conversations with Senator Kennedy. I was very struck when a bit more than a month ago his staff contacted me and said, in conversation with Senator Kennedy, they were wondering if I might like to carry on the torch on the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, a civil rights measure he cared a great deal about. They were asking me because it was a battle I had waged in the Oregon Legislature. It had been a hard battle, fought over a number of years, and a battle we had won.

I was more than excited, more than honored to help carry the torch on such an important civil rights measure, and I hope I will be able to do that in a way he would have been satisfied and pleased.

The Senator from New York, Mr. SCHUMER, talked about the many conversations that took place in Senator Kennedy's hideaway with freshmen Senators and the stories that were passed on. I didn't get to share much in those types of conversations, but as we were working on health care, Senator Kennedy invited a group of us to his hideaway to brainstorm. Through the course of about 2 hours we went through many of the features and many of the challenges and how we might be able to go forward and finally realize that dream of affordable, accessible health care for every single American.

When the meeting concluded, I had a chance to speak with Senator Kennedy about the picture he had on his wall of his beautiful yacht—the Maya. Senator Kennedy and I both have a passion for sailing. It connected us across the generation, it connected us from the west coast to the east coast, it connected us between the son of a millwright and the son of a U.S. ambassador. It was magic to see the twinkle in his eye as he started to talk of his love of sailing and some of the adventures he had on various boats over time and with family.

I asked him if he was familiar with one of my favorite stories—an auto-

biography written by CAPT Joshua Slocum. Joshua Slocum had been raised in a large family and, to my recollection, a family of no great means. He had gone to sea when he was a young boy—as a cabin boy or a deck-hand—and he learned to sail the tall sheets. Over time he advanced through the ranks until eventually he was the captain of a merchant tall-masted ship. He had amassed some considerable amount of investment and value and loaned to share that ship. When the ship went down, he lost everything. He saved his life, but he lost all of his possessions.

He was up in New England wrestling with how to overcome this tragedy and what to do with his life, and Captain Slocum had a colonel of an idea. He was offered the gift of a ship. Not really a ship, a modest boat between 20 and 30 feet long, single-masted. He later overhauled it and added an after-mast. But he thought: I can rebuild this ship. He said he rebuilt it, in his story, Captain Slocum. He rebuilt it all but the name. The Spray stayed from the beginning to the end. He rebuilt it and went to sea to fish. But it wasn't much to his liking, and so Captain Slocum had an idea that he was going to perhaps sail around the world.

He thought: Why not just sail right out across the Atlantic. It was a revolutionary idea because no one had ever tried to sail around the world by themselves, just a single person. But he set off and he went to Europe.

I tell you this story at some length because Senator Kennedy knew this story well, and we enjoyed sharing pieces of it back and forth.

He had gone forth in 1895 and taken 3 years to circumnavigate the globe and came back to New England 3 years later, in 1898. So this was well more than a century ago, and people around the world were astounded to see him sail into a harbor all by himself having crossed the broad expanse of an ocean.

In some ways, the life of Captain Slocum represents a version of the life of Senator Kennedy—someone who faced great adversity, who faced great tragedy, but looked at all of it and said: I am going to go forward. I am going to go forward and do something bold, something important. For Senator Kennedy, it wasn't literally sailing around the world but it was sailing through a host of major issues that affect virtually every facet of our lives—certainly the issue of public service, the National Service Act, the issue of mental health and the issue of health care and the issue of education.

Others who have served with him have spoken in far greater detail and more eloquently than I ever could, but I just want to say to Senator Kennedy: Thank you for your life of service. Thank you for overcoming adversity to undertake a bold journey, a journey that has touched every one of our lives. Thank you for reaching out to converse with this son of a mill worker from Oregon who felt so privileged to be on the

floor of the Senate and to have had just a few months with this master of the Senate and who will hopefully carry forward some of the passion and the principle he so embodied.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia is recognized.

(The remarks of Mr. ISAKSON are printed in today's RECORD under "Morning Business.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The senior Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to remember our colleague, Senator Kennedy. There is a newspaper in the cloakroom that has Ted's picture, and it has a quote from Ted. It reads this way:

Since I was a boy, I have known the joy of sailing the waters off of Cape Cod. And for all my years in public life, I have believed that America must sail toward the shores of liberty and justice for all.

He went on to say:

There is no end to that journey, only the next great voyage.

I like to think that Ted is on that next great voyage now. What a man.

I remember so well being elected in 1986 to the Senate and being sworn in in 1987. I held a reception in a little restaurant close by with friends and family from North Dakota. I will never forget it. It was packed. You couldn't move; so many people had come from North Dakota to be with me, family members from all over the country, and a cousin of mine came up to me, so excited, and he said to me: Senator Kennedy is here. I hadn't known he was coming. But that was so typical of Ted, reaching out to the most junior of us because he knew what his presence would mean. My family had been long-time supporters of the Kennedys, and it meant so much to my family for him to be there that day. That was so typical of him, taking time to do things he knew would mean a lot to others, even when it was inconvenient for him.

The thing I remember and will remember most about Ted is his humanity: that smile, that twinkle in his eye, that kind of mischievous grin that would come over his face when he would be commenting on what was going on here, late at night sometimes—you know this place defies description. Yet he always maintained that sense of humor, that joy in life. He communicated it. He made all of us feel as if we were part of something important, something big.

When somebody in this Senate family had a problem, had a challenge, had a medical issue, very often Ted was the first to call. I had someone in my family who had health issues, and somehow Ted found out and kind of sidled up to me one day on the floor and said: You know, I heard you have somebody who has a serious health issue. I suppose you already have doctors, but if you are looking for additional assistance or a second opinion and you want to find people who are experts in this area, I would be glad to help. That was

Ted Kennedy, over and over reaching out to others, trying to help, trying to provide encouragement, trying to provide the lift. That was Ted.

I remember so well about a decade ago when we were engaged in legislation on tobacco, we had a circumstance in which there was an important court decision and there had to be laws passed to deal with it. I was asked to lead a task force here in the Senate to try to bring together different sides to deal with that legislation. Of course, for a long time Ted Kennedy had been a leader on those issues, as was Senator FRANK LAUTENBERG, and there were others as well. Ted far outstripped me in seniority. Yet I was asked to lead this task force. He came to me and said: Sign me up as a soldier in your effort. We had dozens of meetings, and Ted was always there, pitching in, helping to make a difference even when he was not the person leading the effort—it was somebody much more junior. Of course, he had many other responsibilities, but over and over, coming up, stepping up, helping out.

There was nothing small about Ted Kennedy. He had big plans, big ambitions, big hopes, and a big spirit. He was always reaching out to even the most junior of us, to help out, to connect, to be supportive, and to show how much he cared about what we were doing and to give us a sense of how we were fitting into making history. Ted also had a big view, a big view of the importance of the role of the Senate in making history and a sense of how critically important the decisions were that were being made in this Chamber. There was nothing small about Ted Kennedy.

When he was engaged in negotiations—I will never forget him saying to me: Keep your eye on what is possible. Keep your eye on what is possible. You know, we might want to accomplish more, but take what you can get to advance the cause, to make progress, to improve the human condition, to make this a better place. That is what Ted Kennedy had in mind.

I want to close. I see colleagues who are here wishing to speak as well.

My favorite lines from a speech by Ted Kennedy are from the 1980 convention, when he closed with these words:

For all those whose cares have been our concern, the work goes on, the cause endures, the hope still lives, and the dream shall never die.

Ted, the dream will never die. You are always in our thoughts.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I appreciate the opportunity to be here with colleagues, and I so appreciate the words of the Senator from North Dakota and those of the Senator from New York and all of our other colleagues who have been here, talking about our friend and colleague, the great Senator from Massachusetts.

I think for me, being in my second term and still a relative newcomer

here, one of the greatest honors of my life was the opportunity to work and become friends with Senator Ted Kennedy.

I often have been asked what was the most surprising or exciting thing about being in the Senate. I always referred to Ted Kennedy, not only knowing him and the larger-than-life way he has been described, which was also true, but for me the images are of sitting in a small room going over amendments on the Patients' Bill of Rights when I was in my first term and having the great Ted Kennedy—not his staff but Ted Kennedy—sitting in a room with advocates talking about how we needed to mobilize and get people involved and what we needed to do to get votes or how to write something—doing the work behind the scenes.

Ted Kennedy, because of who he was—his family, his certainly great leadership and knowledge, and his length of time here—could have simply stood on the floor and made eloquent speeches, which he always did—the booming voice in the back that would get louder and louder as he became more involved in what he was talking about—he could have just done that, and that would have been an incredible contribution to the Senate. But that is not what he did. He was as involved behind the scenes in getting things done, more so than in the public eye. He worked hard and showed all of us an example of someone who was dedicated to the details, to the advocacy as well as to what was happening on the floor of the Senate. It was a very important lesson for all of us.

As chair of the Steering and Outreach Committee for our Senate majority, one of my responsibilities is to bring people with various interests together, usually on a weekly basis, to meet with Members on issues from education to health care, clean energy, civil rights, veterans. People always wanted to have Ted Kennedy in the room. Again, as a very senior Member with tremendous responsibilities, chairing the HELP Committee and all of the other responsibilities he had, he could have easily said to me: You know, I am just not going to be able to do that. We will have more junior Members come and join in these meetings. But he came, over and over again.

One of the things we joked about all the time was that he would see me coming and say: I know, there is a meeting tomorrow. I will be there.

He was someone who gave his all at every moment. He also understood that people needed and wanted to see him, to hear him, and the important leadership role he had here. It was important to people. And he treated everyone the same.

He was committed to a vision of making America the best it could be, where every child would have the chance to grow up and be healthy, succeed in life, have a job, at the end of life a pension and retirement, and be able to live with dignity. His service

was great, but his legacy is even greater.

I believe his challenge to each of us is even greater. It is true that nearly every major bill that passed in the last 47 years bears some mark from Senator Ted Kennedy—the Civil Rights Act; the Voting Rights Act; Meals for the Elderly; the Women, Infants and Children Nutrition Program; the Violence Against Women Act; title IX, which is giving so many women and girls the opportunity to participate and move through education's highest levels, including the U.S. Supreme Court, as well as the wonderful athletic abilities we have seen; the Children's Health Insurance Act; AmeriCorps; the National Health Service; the American Health Parity Act; legislation to allow the FDA to regulate tobacco; the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Act; the Americans with Disabilities Act—it goes on and on. These are just a few of the hundreds of bills Senator Kennedy sponsored or cosponsored during his time in the Senate, and each and every one of those bills made America a little bit better.

His commitment to achieve the best for America, for every child, every family, every worker was unmatched. We have lost the lion of the Senate, and he will be sorely missed. Personally, I have lost a friend, someone for whom I had the highest personal respect and someone I cared deeply about as a person.

To Vicki, to the family, we give our love and affection and thanks for sharing him with us. In his maiden speech in the Senate, Senator Kennedy spoke of his brother's legacy. Today, the same words can be spoken about him. If his life and death had a meaning, it was that we should not hate but love one another. We should use our powers not to create the conditions of oppression that lead to violence but conditions of freedom that lead to peace.

Ted, we will miss you.

Mr. BURRIS. Mr. President, it is with a heavy heart that I take to the floor of the U.S. Senate today. For each of the past 46 years, this Chamber has rung with the words of a man who came to be known as the lion of the Senate. But today, that familiar voice has fallen silent.

For the first time in half a century, this Senate returns to its work without Edward M. Kennedy. With his passing, our country has lost a true giant—a compassionate public servant who became a legend in his own time, a man whose legacy is bound up in the history of the U.S. Senate, whose life and works have touched everyone in America since the day he entered public service almost 50 years ago.

Over the course of his career, he influenced more legislation than just about anyone in history. He argued passionately for voting rights and helped extend the promise of our democracy to a new generation. He spoke out in defense of our Constitution and the principles of fairness we hold so

dear. Time and again, he raised his booming voice on behalf of the less fortunate. He protected the rights and interests of the disabled. He extended health insurance coverage to children and fought to improve the American health care system, a struggle that would become the cause of his life. But perhaps his greatest single achievement came early in his career when he stepped to the center of the national debate and led the fight against segregation. He became a champion of the civil rights movement, lending his full compassion to a difficult and divisive issue.

Today, we live in a nation that is more free, more fair, and more equal because of Edward Kennedy. He was the single most effective U.S. Senator of our time. He did more good for more people than anyone in the Senate has known before. And it will be a very long time before we see the likes of him again. Ted Kennedy reminded us of the greatness that lives in our highest aspirations. He enjoyed wonderful triumphs and endured terrible tragedy. Through it all, he taught us to keep the fire burning, to confront every challenge with passion and hope and with undying faith in the country we love so much.

He reached across the aisle time and again. When everyone said compromise was impossible, Ted Kennedy did the impossible. When partisan politics divided conservatives from liberals and Republicans from Democrats, Ted Kennedy was always there to bring us together in the service of the American people.

I first met Ted Kennedy in 1962 when his brother was President and Ted was a young man running for the U.S. Senate. I was a legal intern at the White House and a second-year law student at Howard University. For me, the chance to serve the Kennedy administration—and meet all three Kennedy brothers—was a remarkable and inspiring part of my early career in public service.

I had the good fortune to meet Senator Kennedy one more time when I was running for reelection as state comptroller of the State of Illinois, having become the first African American ever elected statewide to office in my State. I was up for reelection, and I had a major fundraiser and I needed a big draw to come and help me raise funds.

Someone said: Well, there is a Senator from Massachusetts named Ted Kennedy. He will come and help you.

I said: No, no Senator of his caliber would come down to our capital for a fundraiser for a person who is running for State comptroller.

Needless to say, I contacted the Senator's office. Without hesitation, Senator Ted Kennedy appeared at the fundraiser in our State capital to help me maintain my seat as State comptroller.

During that same time, we had a little tragedy taking place that evening when our 15-year-old son in Chicago

had been admitted to the hospital, and it was a question of whether I would be there at the fundraiser or go to Chicago to be with my son because my wife, his mother, was in Minnesota. So Senator Kennedy understood the dilemma but went on with the fundraiser. We got our son taken care of, but after my son was out of the hospital and home, guess who I got a call from days later wondering how my son was doing? It was Ted Kennedy. You just don't see a man of this caliber each and every day in this country.

After I came to the U.S. Senate myself, I had the honor to serve with Ted only briefly. In all the time I knew Senator Kennedy, I came to see him as more than a living legend, more than a senior statesman, more than the lion he had become. For me, and for all who were fortunate enough to meet him over the years, he was a genuine human being, a remarkable ally, and a compassionate friend. He displayed nothing but kindness and respect for everyone he met, from his good friends to his bitter opponents.

But for his many accomplishments and for all that he accomplished over the course of a lifetime in public service, there was at least one victory that eluded him. As I address this Chamber today, we stand on the verge of health care reform only because we are standing on Ted Kennedy's shoulders.

And when the time comes, I plan to honor his legacy and pay tribute to his service by casting the vote he did not live long enough to see.

When Senator Kennedy departed this life on August 25, he left more than an empty desk in this Senate Chamber. He left a fight for us to finish—a standard for us to bear. Long ago, he picked up the legacy of his fallen brothers and carried it forward into a new century.

Ronald Reagan once said:

Many men are great, but few capture the imagination and the spirit of the times. The ones who do are unforgettable.

He was talking about President Kennedy. But his words ring just as true when applied to John Kennedy's youngest brother.

They speak to Ted's enormous vitality—to his towering impact on the lives of so many for so long. He is gone now, but his presence lingers in these halls.

In the many Senators to whom he has been a friend and mentor, in the dedication, faith, and love of country that he inspired, in the wood and stone and soul of this Senate Chamber, his legacy is very much alive.

Now, that legacy has been passed to each of us. And it is time to take up the standard once again. This is a moment to look to the future, not the past—to meet difficult problems with bold solutions.

As the Lion of the Senate told us 1 year ago, at the Democratic National Convention:

The work begins anew, the hope rises again, and the dream lives on.

Mr. President, no single voice can fill this Chamber as his once did. But together, we can carry this refrain.

Mr. President. I yield the floor.

Mr. BROWN. I heard the eloquent speeches of Senators STABENOW, SCHUMER, CONRAD, and Senator MERKLEY also about Senator Kennedy.

I wish to tell two quick stories about him. I had the pleasure of serving on his committee from 2007 on. But early in my first year in the Senate, the Senators, as some know around the country, certainly all Members of the Senate know, we choose our desks on the Senate floor by seniority. And so in the first month or so of 2007, the freshmen, the other 9 Members of my class, the 10 of us were choosing our seats on the Senate floor. You can look around the Senate Chamber. There is no bad place to sit.

I heard from a senior Member that Senators carve their names in their desk drawers; sort of like high school, perhaps. So I began to pull the drawers open in some of the desks that had not yet been chosen. I pulled open this drawer, and it had Hugo Black of Alabama, who was FDR's favorite Southern Senator, who introduced legislation for the 8-hour workday, making President Roosevelt's 8-hour workday bill seem a little less radical, and successfully made its way through the Senate; Senator Green from Rhode Island, who came here in the 1960s and served more than two decades; Senator Al Gore, Sr., from Tennessee. And then it just said "Kennedy," without a State and without a first name. So I asked Ted to come over, and I said: Ted, which brother is this?

He said: It's Bobby's desk, I have Jack's desk.

And I, of course, fell in love with this desk and got the opportunity to have sat here for the last 3 years.

The other real quick story about Senator Kennedy; I know Senator KYL is scheduled to speak. I and others were invited, from time to time, to go up to his study just off the Senate floor, one floor above us outside the Chamber, and to talk to him and hear him tell stories late in the evening as we were voting sometimes until midnight or 1 or 2.

What struck me about his study were the photos on the wall. The photos were pictures we all recognized: President Kennedy, Joe Kennedy, Rose Kennedy, Ethel Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy, Eunice Kennedy Shriver; all the people whom we recognized.

But Ted Kennedy said to us: These are my family photos.

These were people we recognized in the photos, but I had never seen those photos, none of us had. These were not the photos in LIFE magazine; these were the photos of the Kennedy family.

But what impressed me about that was they were the Kennedys at Hyannis Port, the Kennedys sailing, the Kennedys in the Capitol, the Kennedys at the White House. What impressed me was Ted Kennedy so easily

could have given up; he could have gone back to a very easy life, particularly after the assassination of Robert Kennedy in 1968. Ted had been in the Senate for 6 years. It would have been so easy for him to walk away from this job, from this kind of life, from the danger he faced.

Instead, he stayed and he fought. He had everything anybody could hope for in life. He had a loving family who cared so much about him. He had all the wealth he needed and the lifestyle so many would have been so tempted by. But, instead, he stayed and served right up until his death.

That says to me everything I love about Ted Kennedy and everything we all should need to know about Senator Kennedy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWN.) The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KYL. I would say to my colleague from Ohio, I commented on the same point. It is pretty obvious Senator Kennedy could have, because of who he was, done just about anything.

He certainly would not have had to work as hard as he did. But I have never known a harder working Senator than Senator Kennedy.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to my friend, our colleague, civil rights icon of the Senate, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, our lion in the Senate. I have lost someone who has been a mentor, a friend, and one of my heroes. The Nation has lost a great leader. To his family, he was a rock. To his wife Vicki, his children, Kara, Edward, Ted, Jr., and Patrick, my former colleague when I was in the House, and to his sister Jean and the entire Kennedy family, we extend our deepest condolences. To his Senate colleagues and his constituents in Massachusetts, he was a beacon of hope and perseverance for a better day in America.

When I came to the Senate in 2007, I was frequently asked during my first year—I am sure the Presiding Officer has been asked this by people in his State—what is the highlight, what is difference, what makes this place a special place? What did you find different in the Senate than you did in the House? The example I gave during my first month in the Senate, when I was sitting by myself on the floor of the Senate, Senator Kennedy came by and sat next to me. He said: Do you mind if we talk for a moment? He sat next to me, a new Member of the Senate, and he said: Ben, can you tell me what you think we should be doing in health care? He wanted my views. He was looking to find out what this new Senator from Maryland thought was possible in health care reform. That was Senator Kennedy. Senator Kennedy engaged each Member of the Senate to find a common denominator to move forward in solving the major problems of America. It was truly a unique experience for me to see one of the most senior Members of the Senate, a person known internationally for his legislative skills, seek out a new Member.

I remember one of my constituents asking me during my first year as to which Senator I most admire for his or her work ethic. I said immediately: Senator Kennedy. They were taken aback because they didn't realize that this senior Senator, this person who had served for over 40 years in the Senate, was a person who dedicated every day to doing his very best. Whether it was working with staff or meeting with Members or working his committee or making a speech on the floor of the Senate, his work ethic was one of not wasting a single moment in order to deal with the Nation's problems.

Senator Kennedy served for 46 years in the Senate and had a tremendous impact on the issues that have shaped our Nation for almost a half century. He authored over 2,500 pieces of legislation. All Americans have been touched by Senator Kennedy's work. He dedicated his life to the nameless, the poor, and the minority voices in America, and that dedication is legendary. He has touched the lives of all Americans by his work in the Senate, whether it was what he did for voting rights or improving educational opportunities, dealing with the rights of immigrants, minimum wage laws, national service, help for the mentally ill, equality for women, minorities, the disabled, children, the gay and lesbian community. The list goes on and on. He was there fighting for those who otherwise would not have had a voice in our government. He did it whether it was popular or not in the State or Nation. He was true to his principles. The list goes on and on of what he did.

I had the great pleasure of serving with him on the Judiciary Committee for 2 years. What a legacy he has created on that committee. It was a great honor for me to be able to serve those 2 years on the committee with him and to listen to him engage. There has been no greater Senator on the Judiciary Committee to fight on behalf of civil rights than Senator Kennedy.

He was clearly the conscience of the Senate, to make sure we used every opportunity to advance the rights of all Americans so they could achieve their best. He was a legislator's legislator. He had a gift. He had the ability to work across party lines and get work done.

He believed in progress and doing the right thing. He had a voice that carried through the halls of the Senate with such passion and yet with such grace.

Senator Kennedy once said:

We know the future will outlast all of us, but I believe that all of us will live in the future we make.

Senator Kennedy stood for and fought for a better America—even when it was not the popular thing to do. Senator Kennedy stayed true to his principles throughout his entire life.

With great loss and much sadness, I give much thanks for his service, his friendship, and his dedication. Senator Edward Kennedy will never be forgotten.

I thank my dear friend, Senator Kennedy, for the contributions he made to this institution, the U.S. Senate, where I now have the great honor of serving the people of Maryland. Senator Kennedy's legacy will live forever, and we thank him for his service to our Nation.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my friend from Massachusetts, Senator Edward Moore Kennedy, who improved the lives of so many people during his 46 years of service in the Senate. My warm aloha and prayers continue to be with Vicki Kennedy, staff members, the Kennedy family, and his many friends.

Senator Kennedy's extraordinary life-long commitment to public service produced a proud legacy that has included expanding access to quality of health care and education, protecting and empowering our Nation's workforce, ensuring civil and voting rights, and protecting our Nation's natural and cultural resources.

Before outlining several of Senator Kennedy's important achievements, I want to share a story that demonstrates our shared commitment to helping working families and his optimistic outlook about the future despite temporary disappointments. A beaming Senator Kennedy flagged me down on the morning of March 2, 2005. He asked me if I had seen the Washington Post. In an editorial criticizing the bankruptcy overhaul under consideration in the Senate, the Post indicated the bill could be made more fair by the inclusion of several amendments by Senator Kennedy intended to protect consumers and my amendment to better inform consumers about the true costs associated with credit card use. After my amendment was defeated, Senator Kennedy was the first member to approach me. He complimented me for my work and told me that we would win on the amendment one day. Senator Kennedy was right. It took me another four years, but my credit card minimum payment warning and credit counseling referral legislation was enacted this May as part of the credit card reform law.

As an eternal optimist, Senator Kennedy never stopped advocating for the causes so important to working families such as increasing access to quality health care. Senator Kennedy helped establish community health centers, the Children's Health Insurance program, and programs that assist individuals suffering from HIV/AIDS. These are just a few of the many health accomplishments that Senator Kennedy helped bring about that improve the quality of life for millions of people in our country. Despite continuing to battle cancer, Senator Kennedy's passion to expand access to quality health care never ceased.

Senator Kennedy had an enormous impact on education policy. He championed early childhood education through his support of Head Start and creation of Early Head Start. His work in reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act included improvements such as the Star Schools Program Assistance Act, which improves instruction in critical areas such as mathematics, science, and foreign languages, as well as the No Child Left Behind Act, which requires standards-based assessments for elementary and middle school students among other reforms. With regard to higher education, Senator Kennedy supported the creation of the Pell Grant program, Direct Lending program, and Ensuring Continued Access to Student Loans Act to aid Americans in paying for college. Throughout his efforts in education policy, he recognized the needs of underserved populations, and endeavored to make education more affordable. I also appreciated his working with me on the Excellence in Economics Education authorization and subsequent funding requests so that more children could be better prepared for the financial decisions they will have to make as consumers, investors, and heads of households.

I also greatly appreciate all of the work done by Senator Kennedy to improve the lives of members of our Nation's workforce. Senator Kennedy helped increase the Federal minimum wage 16 times. He fought for strong workplace health and safety standards, promoted equal pay for equal work, and secure retirement benefits. Senator Kennedy believed the right of workers to unionize and bargain collectively was fundamental and was always a tireless advocate for this cause. In addition, Senator Kennedy was a champion of our Federal workers and opposed efforts to outsource Federal jobs and erode workers' rights. I recall his staunch opposition to weaken the rights of Department of Defense and Department of Homeland Security employees and his strong statements in support of granting Transportation Security Administration Security officers real rights and protections.

Senator Kennedy's career-long dedication to ensuring civil and voting rights helped bring about numerous changes that have made our country stronger, more equitable, and just. He condemned the poll tax, led efforts to lower the voting age to 18, and removed voting barriers. His fierce and noble opposition to discrimination by race, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, sexual orientation, or religion guided much of his work.

Senator Kennedy's advocacy for natural and cultural resources helped advance the protection of our environment for our benefit now and into the future. He was an important supporter of energy efficiency programs, including those that aid Americans most in need, and he helped improve fuel economy standards and energy research and

development. His work led to the enhanced preservation of numerous treasured resources in Massachusetts including the Minute Man National Historic Park, the Taunton River, the New England Scenic Trail, the Freedom's Way National Heritage Corridor, the Boston Harbor Islands, the Quinebaug-Shetucket National Heritage Corridor, Essex National Heritage Area, and the Lowell National Historical Park.

In addition to his accomplishments and advocacy on behalf of the people of our country, I will remember Ted Kennedy as a true friend, always generous with his assistance and time. For many years, my desk was next to Senator Kennedy's. He welcomed me to the Senate and always provided sound advice and guidance.

In 1990, despite the long journey, Senator Kennedy came to Hawaii to help me during my first Senate campaign. I remember the rally that we held in Honolulu at McKinley High School as being one of the largest ever held in Hawaii. We also had a memorable visit to an early childhood development program. Footage of the event was recently replayed on the news in Hawaii, showing Senator Kennedy and me singing Itsy, Bitsy, Spider with the children.

We toured Kapiolani Children's Hospital where we saw the devastating effect that crystal meth was having on families.

Senator Kennedy visited the University of Hawaii's John F. Kennedy Theatre, where he received an award for his work on health care. He spoke eloquently about our Great Country, Congressional debates, civil rights, and economic empowerment programs.

I, along with every Member of this body, will very much miss our friend from Massachusetts. Senator Kennedy's extraordinary work has improved the quality of life for so many people.

We can honor his memory by continuing to work to address the issues Senator Kennedy was so passionate about such as meaningful health care and immigration reform.

I say aloha to my good friend and colleague, Senator Kennedy.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, there are no words to express the sadness of the great loss of our dear friend Senator Edward M. Kennedy. America has lost a great patriot and great leader. I have lost a good friend.

While it is difficult to say goodbye to a dear friend, I am consoled with the certainty that Ted's spirit and message will continue to resonate in the Senate. The solemn but joyful celebration of Ted's life reminded one and all that we should remember to help the poor, to heal the sick, to feed the hungry, and to be compassionate with those who are less fortunate than us. I will do my best to keep Ted's spirit alive.

I offer my deepest condolences to the Kennedy family.

Mr. President, as America mourns, I ask my colleagues to join me in paying tribute to this magnificent Senator.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, the 1955 football season was not a good one for the Harvard Crimson. With only three victories, it was somewhat surprising that no less a team than the mighty Green Bay Packers reached out to a senior end with a professional job offer. "No thanks," replied young Ted Kennedy, "I have plans to go into another contact sport—politics."

Few have played this rough-and-tumble game with as much energy, determination, and joy as Senator Edward Kennedy. He served the people of his State and our Nation through five decades and under 10 Presidents. He authored more than 300 bills that became law and cosponsored another 550. His remarkable record of legislation has touched the lives of virtually every American, always with a focus on improving lives, bringing justice, and creating opportunity.

As we recall what he gave to our Nation, we also reflect upon what we have lost. It is my sincere hope that the Kennedy family will find comfort in the thoughts and prayers offered by so many around the country and the world. To those who have lost a friend and to his outstanding staff, which has lost an inspiring leader, I extend my deepest condolences. I considered him a dear friend as well as an esteemed colleague.

When I first came to the Senate in 1997, I knew Senator Kennedy only by reputation. It was a reputation that was not entirely flattering, based upon such labels as "ultra-liberal" and "utterly partisan." That was not the Senator Kennedy I came to know and admire. He was easy to work with, and his heart was always in the right place. I worked closely with Ted on many education issues, particularly by increasing Pell grants which help our neediest students. In our work together on the Armed Services Committee, we teamed up to strengthen our Navy as members of the Seapower Subcommittee.

I found him to be a partner who always sought solutions. I saw in him the same traits that drew the attention of the Green Bay Packers—a tough competitor and a great teammate.

The lion is a symbol of courage. Certainly, Senator Kennedy possessed great political courage. He fought for his convictions, but he was always willing to reach across party lines. He never, as he often said, let the pursuit of the perfect become the enemy of the good.

But he also possessed courage at the most fundamental level—the willingness to face danger. His historic trip to South Africa in 1985, conducted against the stern warnings of the pro-apartheid government and in defiance of violent demonstrations, helped tear down the wall of racial separatism in that country.

Senator Kennedy often said that a day never went by that he did not think of his brothers. He did more than merely think of them; he strove always

to emulate them. Like Jack, he asked what he could do for his country. Like Bobby, he dreamed things that never were and said why not.

The end of a life so devoted to public service brings to mind the Parable of the Talents. The master, leaving on a journey, entrusts a servant with a portion of his treasure. Upon his return, the master is delighted to find that his wealth has been wisely invested and multiplied.

Edward Moore Kennedy was entrusted the great treasure of convictions, energy, and passion. He invested that treasure wisely and multiplied its benefits to all. Like the master in the New Testament, to him we say, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the memory of one of our Nation's most dedicated public servants. For most Americans, Ted Kennedy was an icon—part of an esteemed family that raised strong leaders and committed patriots. Much has been said since his passing of his contributions to our country and his love for his wife, children, grandchildren, and extended family. Those who eulogized him, at his funeral and on main streets across America, have done so with great admiration and respect.

From my position on the opposite side of the aisle in this Chamber, I saw Senator Kennedy as every bit the legendary and tireless advocate that he was portrayed as. I may have been advocating the opposing view on many issues, but in this country we should always be able to join together to recognize someone who has—with the best intentions—dedicated his life's work to improving opportunities.

I had the privilege of working on a very significant piece of legislation with Senator Kennedy a few years ago. It was the America COMPETES Act. I was, and continue to be, passionate about making sure that our children remain competitive in this increasingly global economy. Students in Nevada aren't just competing against students in Massachusetts anymore. They are all competing against students in India, China, and around the world. If we don't give our students the tools to compete, the innovative fire and spirit that has always fueled America will be lost.

Ted Kennedy understood this. We put together bipartisan legislation that was signed into law to increase investment in scientific research; strengthen educational opportunities in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics from kindergarten through graduate school; and help develop an innovation infrastructure for the 21st century. I am confident that the impact of this law will be felt for generations to come.

I am also confident that Ted Kennedy's decades of service, his passion for health care and education, and his deep love for this country will inspire a new generation of public servants. When you look at the legacy of Ted

Kennedy and at how he dedicated his life to service, you can't help but be moved to do more for this country.

Senator Kennedy will be missed in this Chamber and in the Halls of Congress. God bless you, Senator Ted Kennedy.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Mr. President, I rise to join the chorus of those celebrating the life of our dear friend and colleague, Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

So much has already been said about him, his life, and his contribution to our Nation, but I would like to take a few minutes to reflect upon the legacy he left as a warm individual and an exemplary statesman.

His life was, to borrow the words of Robert Frost, "a gift outright." Ted Kennedy was ours before we were his.

As a young man and a young Senator, history bequeathed to him weighty expectations. He became the accidental shepherd not only to a flock of nephews and nieces but also to a storied legacy.

An ordinary person would have been daunted by such expectations. But Ted Kennedy was extraordinary. He confounded them and, in the process, defined his life not by what others had left him to complete but by the goals he set for himself.

For all of the rhetoric recently about Kennedy as the Senate's lion, we can never forget that he was also a deeply caring man with a gentle spirit. It was this dual nature of his to fight passionately and to befriend heartily that transformed adversaries into admirers and endeared him forever to his friends.

In February of 1988, I was serving as chief of staff to then-Senator JOE BIDEN when he suffered a serious brain aneurysm. After two precarious surgeries, the doctors said that Senator BIDEN would need to avoid work completely for a few months while in that first stage of recovery or risk another aneurysm.

When President Reagan called to check up on him, we knew that if he took that call, Senator BIDEN would be obliged to take all the calls that would follow. It would have been too much for him, so his family made the decision that he would not take any calls, even from the President.

Ted Kennedy kept calling to check on his friend, but our office wouldn't put him through. One Sunday, while Senator BIDEN was resting at home in Wilmington, Jill heard a knock on their back door. To her surprise, Kennedy was standing there, holding a framed etching of an Irish stag. He had personally taken it upon himself to bring the gift in order to lift Senator BIDEN's spirits. He also had with him a bathing suit, ready to relax with his friend and keep him company without discussing Senate business.

We shouldn't have been surprised, though. That was classic Ted Kennedy.

With him there was always a personal touch, especially with those he represented. In the words of one of his

constituents, “Teddy was Massachusetts.”

But his constituency was always larger than just the residents of the Bay State. He felt that it was his responsibility to speak for those who could not. Kennedy was, first and foremost, a representative of the poor, the young, the silenced, and the oppressed. He fought tirelessly for the rights of the disabled and those suffering discrimination. Throughout decades of public service, he proved to be their faithful champion at every turn.

For 47 years, Ted Kennedy was the Senate’s steady compass through uncertain waters. When others coasted along, satisfied with the status quo or set uneasy by the prospect of change, he trimmed his sails and pushed forward.

He pushed forward by building strong, meaningful relationships with his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. He was committed to civility in politics.

That he so genuinely befriended those who debated vigorously against him on this floor testifies to Kennedy’s greatest gift to his colleagues. As his son Teddy Jr. said so eloquently at his father’s funeral mass, Kennedy taught us all that all of us who serve in government, regardless of party, love this country dearly—that we share a common bond of responsibility and commitment to public service.

My hope is that the lessons Ted Kennedy taught his colleagues about bipartisanship will guide the Senate today and in the future.

Just outside this chamber is the Senate Reception Room, ornately decorated by the 19th century immigrant and master painter of the Capitol, Constantino Brumidi. He adorned the ceiling with four allegorical scenes depicting what today we would call Justice, Security, Peace, and Prosperity—four virtues a great Senator should promote.

It was decided that portraits of the greatest Senators ever to serve would cover its walls. In the 1950s, the Senate established a panel to choose the first five to be so honored. Chaired by a young, energetic senator from Massachusetts, who had authored a Pulitzer Prize winning book on political courage, this “Kennedy Commission” selected five Senators whose portraits now grace those walls.

The commission chose to recognize Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Robert La Follette, and Robert Taft. A few years ago, the Senate voted to extend this honor as well to Arthur Vandenberg and Robert F. Wagner.

All seven earned their place in this pantheon by placing the good of the Nation above political interest. All but one ran unsuccessfully for President, distinguishing themselves not as commanders-in-chief, but as brilliant legislators and versatile statesmen. Each exemplified a commitment to the four virtues depicted by Brumidi on the reception room’s ceiling.

Ted Kennedy was a champion of all four of these virtues; indeed, he set a new standard by which future Senators will be judged.

Whether it was leading the charge for the Civil Rights Act, enfranchising young people of military age, or promoting human rights around the world, Kennedy pursued justice without relent.

Ted Kennedy was committed to ensuring our Nation’s security by advocating for nuclear disarmament, leading the way on energy conservation, and supporting legislation to punish sponsors of terrorism.

He worked tirelessly to bring peace to troubled regions, including Northern Ireland.

Throughout his career in the Senate, Ted Kennedy did all he could to open the doors of prosperity to millions of Americans seeking fair wages, health insurance, or job opportunities.

Furthermore, he fought to expand education access, fund scholarships, and promote community involvement. Kennedy’s efforts have helped invest America in a bright future in fields such as science, technology, business, and the arts.

Even with the seven distinguished senators now immortalized, the walls of the Senate Reception Room remain mostly bare. They await future Senate commissions, following in the tradition of John F. Kennedy’s panel, to honor those serving from our generation or from generations yet to come.

I am certain that, if I could cast my vote today for the next to be so honored, I would proudly and unhesitatingly choose Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today with great sadness to pay tribute to my friend, colleague, and great statesman, Senator Ted Kennedy.

As many of my colleagues have noted here today, over his 47 years of public service in the Senate, Ted Kennedy displayed exemplary leadership, a commitment to progress, and the vision that by working together, this body could truly better the lives of Americans.

For many years as a member of the Judiciary Committee, I had the privilege to work with and learn from Senator Kennedy. Since 1997, I sat just one seat away from him then-Senator Biden to my right and Senator Kennedy next to him. Senator Kennedy was always so encouraging. A simple “good job” or pat on the back might be expected from a busy Senator like him, but from time to time, he would take a moment to write a note and offer encouragement for a bill I was trying to move through committee or a concern I was expressing about an issue important to the people of Wisconsin. We have heard so much over the past weeks about what he gave to our country throughout his long Senate career. Just as important, he gave all of us on the committee and in the Senate an example of how to be an effective legis-

lator, a fair negotiator, and a friend to allies and foes alike.

As has been noted by many of those who worked alongside him, Senator Kennedy masterfully negotiated with others in the long process of shaping policy but refused to retreat from his principles—or from his quest toward equality and social justice for all. His tireless advocacy on the behalf of those Americans most in need of an advocate—children, senior citizens, the sick, disabled and mentally ill, students, workers, and families—has changed the course of this Nation and impacted millions of lives. Senator Kennedy’s many legislative battles—for civil rights, voting rights, and workers rights, among others—illustrated that although we may differ in our politics and our ideologies, it is still possible work with each other, across the aisle and across the political spectrum, toward the common good. Although I am sad today to realize that we will never hear another of his fiery speeches, many of them given just a few desks away from mine in the back row of this Chamber, he leaves a legacy behind that will endure.

I extend my deepest sympathies to his wife Victoria and to the rest of his family during this difficult time. Senator Kennedy’s passion, diligence, good humor, and kindness will be greatly missed, by me and by many others, in this body and across the Nation.

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the passing of our dear colleague and friend, Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

Our great Nation has lost a true statesman, and the Kennedy family has lost its beloved patriarch. Senator Kennedy’s unparalleled leadership and decades spent in service to his fellow Americans will be missed by all, especially here in the U.S. Senate. No one can deny that Ted was a man of convictions, passion and resolve for doing what he felt was best for the country. While I was not always in agreement with him on policy, I always knew he was my friend.

His willingness to reach across the aisle and find common ground serves as an inspiration to all of us during this pivotal moment in our Nation’s history. Senator Kennedy and I shared a passion for early childhood development, and together with Senator GREGG, we worked on legislation to improve the quality and availability of early education for all children.

On a more personal note, Ted was a guiding light for me during my late-nephew’s treatment for bone cancer. His uplifting spirit and thoughtfulness helped steer my family through a very difficult time, and I will never forget the words he shared with us: “Even when it’s sometimes stormy one day, the sun always seems to shine the next.”

Janet and I will keep Victoria and the entire Kennedy family in our thoughts and prayers during this trying time, as they mourn the loss of

both Ted and his sister Eunice. Senator Kennedy's great shadow of leadership which loomed so large across the U.S. Senate will continue for years to come, and I hope the Kennedy family and my colleagues can find solace in the fact that Ted has joined our Heavenly Father.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I rise today to remember and celebrate Edward Moore Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy passed away, as we know, on August 25. The American people, in more ways than they will ever know—as so often happens in history with historic figures, people don't know what they had when they had it, and then when they no longer have it, they discover how great that person really was if one deserves to be so identified, and surely Ted Kennedy did—the American people lost a touchstone. The cause of justice lost one of its bravest and boldest champions, and I lost a very close friend.

I met Ted Kennedy back in about 1961, which is quite a long time ago, in Hyannis Port. His family invited me to come there for the weekend. He was still recovering from his back injury. He broke his back in 12 places. He was in one of those old-fashioned circle things where they sort of turned you so you wouldn't get bed sores. We had a nice conversation, and he wrote and thanked me with his hand for coming to see him.

Obviously, I have and will always be thinking about Vicki, his incredible wife, his children, and the entire Kennedy family who operates as one unit.

Because of Ted, I think all of us are better. I know I am. I think we are stronger. We are more inclusive as a nation. He caused us to be that way.

For 46 years, he was a legislative lion, as they say, who gave voice to the voiceless. That is not a cliché; that is an extraordinary and powerful deep fact from the junior Senator from the State of West Virginia. The people of West Virginia were given voice, and Ted Kennedy gave them that voice. He fought for working families, civil rights, women's rights, health care for all, and transformed the lives of children, seniors, Americans of all ages, all colors, all backgrounds. Everybody was part of his sphere, part of his responsibility.

In his private life he worked tirelessly to touch so many people with endless human acts of kindness that came naturally to him. He sort of had—he had to do it. I don't think he chose to do these things; he just had to do them and, therefore, did do them. People forget, those who didn't know about what he did, but he never stopped reaching out to help people at every turn, in sometimes very small ways.

Ted and his family reached amazing heights, and they inspired a nation. Each and every day of his life he honored the fallen heroes we always cherish.

This needs to be said: Ted traveled to West Virginia often. I was personally

very grateful for that. It is a small State, not unlike that of the Presiding Officer. Our State has always had very close communication with the Kennedy family. We are them; they are us. You know, we put them over the top, we feel, in the 1960 election, and we did. When President Kennedy returned to West Virginia, he, at the State's centennial, said that classic phrase which we have heard so many times in West Virginia: "The Sun does not always shine in West Virginia, but the people always do."

People are still to this day moved by that statement. It is a sentiment I have always held near to my heart, that he and his brothers felt the way they did about West Virginia. I remember a picture of Bobby Kennedy sitting on a slag heap, a sort of pile of coal in southern West Virginia, just sort of thinking. He wasn't shaking hands, he was doing a typical Bobby Kennedy-type thing: thinking, deep in thought; philosophical, wondering about what to do in the world.

Over the last four decades, Ted's frequent visits not only strengthened West Virginia's bond with him and the Kennedy family, but he also provided enormous color, interest, and fun. I remember him at political rallies in West Virginia where some politician was going on and on. I have an album of photographs that were taken sequentially of different faces, very long and large speeches, and he is this way, he is wiping his brow. He enjoyed all of it. He just loved it.

Everywhere he went he found common ground. He spoke honestly. People came out to see him. He didn't hesitate to plunge into the crowd or jump on the back of a pickup truck. Indeed, the American worker knew a strong friend in Ted Kennedy. That much was clear in the tireless work he did as an advocate for our miners, for our seniors, for all of our people.

He has been with us in some of our very darkest hours. We had a mining tragedy several years ago. JOHNNY ISAKSON, who was speaking not long ago, was there as were several members of the HELP Committee, the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. We had a cave-in and a blowup in a mine in Sago in Upshur County. He came down there. He sat with those families and watched them. I watched his hurt resonating against their hurt, and the words he spoke to them had deep comfort to them. As a result, we had the first major overhaul of mine safety laws at the Federal level since 1977. He, obviously, was driving the committee and driving that, as was Senator JOHNNY ISAKSON and MIKE ENZI.

People liked Ted. They were drawn to his energy and his fundamental belief that America's best days were always ahead. I love that attitude because you can always pick it out. I just did a television thing and everybody was asking me about the person who spoke out last night, interrupting the President

and saying something rather unusual, and the President just went right on ahead. He had bigger things to do. Ted was that way.

He had hard parts of his personal life and his own family life. He was the father of endless numbers of nieces and nephews, as well as his own children. Nothing ever stopped him.

People wanted to work with him. He never, ever talked about his own achievements. That is the incredible thing about him. As a result of the plane accident, he broke his back in 12 places. That is a lot of places to break a back. He never spent another day the rest of his life, he once told me fairly recently, without being in pain. You could see him walking across the floor of the Senate. He was always bent, and he walked quickly, sort of subconsciously, to cover up the fact that he was hurting. But he never said anything about it. He never said anything about himself. It was always: What is going on in your life? What is happening with you? What are your thoughts? What do you think we should be doing on such a subject? That was simply the way he was.

He refused to be slowed. He brought that iron will to everything he did. He never quit. He never gave up. He was a happy fighter. He loved life. He loved the battle, driven not out of anger but out of passion for people and the individual parts of their lives he wanted to improve. It just drove him. He didn't do it out of duty; he did it because he had to. It was a natural thing. For Ted, every day was new. Everything could be made better through hard work and dedication. Nearly every piece of legislation that has passed in this body bore his imprint or bears his imprint and reflected his commitment to making life better for every American.

It has been my honor to lock arms with him in our efforts, including the children's health program. Interestingly—we just found it—Senator Kennedy called it the most far-reaching step that Congress has ever taken to help the Nation's children and the most far-reaching advance in health care since the enactment of Medicare and Medicaid a generation ago. Now, in the Finance Committee we are trying to decide whether we are going to cast them into the melting pot along with all the other plans and take away the defined benefits. I am obviously very much against that. Eleven million children's health care is at stake.

Ted worked on the Higher Education Act of 1965 and to protect Federal student loans. Again, let me get back to the personal side.

I have a daughter. We only have one daughter and three sons. She is a teacher, and she is trained in special ed. She teaches—she did teach at Jackie Robinson Junior High School in Harlem. Ted was in New York. His chief of staff at that time was my daughter's best friend. She said: You know, Jay Rockefeller's daughter teaches there.

Ted said: Let's go in.

So here is my daughter teaching class in junior high school and in walks Ted Kennedy. Of course, the whole place just falls apart with happiness. He loved doing it. He does it in the District of Columbia; he does it in Massachusetts. He is always interacting with students. He greets them, talks with them, and learns from them.

The principal gave my daughter a very hard time. He said: Don't you ever bring a United States Senator into my school without telling me in advance.

Well, of course, that is the beauty of it. There is no way she could because it was just a natural act of Ted Kennedy.

It was that commitment to service that we celebrated just this spring when the President signed the Serve America Act which inspires young people to serve their country through public service. There are a lot of ways to remake America, but I think people, as the Presiding Officer has been in a variety of situations—people going abroad, people meeting other people who are unlike them, living with them, eating with them, sharing with them, coming to know them, coming to have very strong feelings about them—it is that kind of thing which makes people want to get into public service.

So he doubled the Peace Corps, he doubled Legal Aid, he doubled Vista, he doubled all of those programs, a lot of which were run by his brother-in-law, Sargent Shriver, who is one of the great men of America who is never discussed. He is a Kennedy, but he doesn't bear that as a last name.

He changed my life—the Kennedy family did. When I went to West Virginia as a Vista volunteer, I was trying to figure out what I was going to do in life, and I kind of wanted to be a Foreign Service officer. Frankly, I wanted to be America's first Ambassador to China. This was back in 1961, so it does really make sense. I had studied Chinese for a year, so I thought I was on my way. But Vista started and Sargent Shriver called me and said: Come work for me at the Peace Corps. And I did that. Then I went to southern West Virginia as a Vista volunteer and it told me what I wanted to do in life. This part of your gut knows when you are doing something that is meaningful to you and is something that you want to dedicate your life to. That was the effect of the Kennedys.

Ted Kennedy was a giant. There was not and never will be anyone like him in American history. He shaped this institution for decades by honoring its history and pushing us forward to be a better institution.

Now that he is gone, I know his legacy and inspiration make him a giant greater still, moving us to reach across the aisle, hopefully, and make a difference in people's lives. He was a great friend. We are all forever grateful for his service and his kind heart. We will miss him very dearly. Now he belongs to the ages.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, this would be a particularly opportune

important time for me to say a word about our friend, Senator Kennedy. I had not planned on doing so at this particular juncture, but someone very important to him, and in a very different way to me, is now in the gallery. So I will speak very briefly, but I do want to, as I have said before, thank Senator Kennedy for his kindness to me.

As a very senior and distinguished Senator, a person with a national and, indeed, international reputation, a person whose standing in this body was unmatched, a person whose legislative prowess and capability was unmatched, he did not need to pay any attention to a new Senator of no particular seniority, clout, or renown from Rhode Island. Yet he did. I think in large part due to the friendship the new Senator from Rhode Island had with his son, a very talented and able Member of the House of Representatives, who is senior to me in our Rhode Island delegation and who represents Rhode Island with exceptional distinction over in the House of Representatives. For that reason, and for the reason of a number of other family friendships, he was particularly kind to me. I appreciate that more than he could have imagined.

It is a bit daunting to come here as a new Senator not knowing whether you will find your way, not knowing whether you will evince any ability, not knowing whether you will have any effect, not knowing whether, indeed, you will be very welcome. You have to fight yourself through that stuff as a new Senator.

I can remember when I was presiding, where the distinguished junior Senator from Alaska is now sitting, and a colleague of ours who shall remain nameless was giving a speech of some length. Senator Kennedy was waiting to speak, and he sent a note up to me inquiring whether I felt that the standards of the speech we were then being treated to met the high standards of our common alma mater, the University of Virginia School of Law. I could not help but smile back and return the note, saying: No, I do not think so, but that is okay because I am waiting for a great speech from you.

There is one particular kindness I wanted to mention. Senator Kennedy was very important to Rhode Island. He was important to Rhode Island not just because of his son Patrick but because Rhode Island pays a lot of attention to Massachusetts, there is a lot of overlap in the constituencies of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and Rhode Islanders have long admired Senator Kennedy. When he came on behalf of candidates, on behalf of his son, on behalf of me, on behalf of others, there was always an atmosphere of celebration around him and around the events he attended. Other speakers have spoken of his ability to rev up a crowd and get people fired up and enthusiastic, and he was really remarkable in that respect. We never tired of his visits, and Rhode Island always welcomed him with open arms.

He had a special place for Rhode Island, and in particular he had a special place for somebody who was very dear to both Congressman KENNEDY and to myself; that is, a predecessor of mine here in the Senate from Rhode Island, Senator Claiborne Pell. Senator Pell was a political legend in Rhode Island, in many ways an improbable candidate.

Senator Kennedy's brother, President Kennedy, at one point said, publicly enough that it became a matter of sort of common discussion in Rhode Island, that Claiborne Pell was the least electable candidate he had ever seen. So when Claiborne Pell ran ahead of President Kennedy in Rhode Island in the election, it was a matter of great pride to Claiborne Pell and one that he was fond of reminding all Kennedys about.

It was, I guess as they would say in "Casablanca," the beginning of a beautiful friendship. The friendship began back then. It continued long after Senator Pell had left the Senate. It continued long after Senator Pell had lost his ability to walk around and became confined to a wheelchair. It continued even long after Senator Pell had lost his ability to speak and could barely speak because of the consequences of his illness.

One of the ways it manifested itself is that every year Senator Kennedy would take the trouble to sail his sailboat, the Maya, from wherever it was in New England to Newport, RI, and there take Claiborne Pell out sailing. I had the pleasure to be on that last sail, and you could just imagine the scene, with the heaving dock and the heaving boat and Senator Pell in his wheelchair and a rather hazardous and impromptu loading of Senator Pell into the sailboat. And then, of course, it got underway. Because Senator Pell was having such trouble speaking, he really could not contribute much to a conversation. But Senator Kennedy had the gift of being able to handle both sides of a conversation and have everybody feel that a wonderful time was being had. So he carried on in a full, roaring dialog with Senator Pell, essentially providing both sides of that dialogue, and Senator Pell was smiling from ear to ear.

It said a lot about what I appreciate so much about Senator Kennedy. First of all, Rhode Island mattered to him, as it matters to PATRICK KENNEDY, as it matters to me. Second of all, as powerful as he was and as important as he was, friendship mattered more than authority or clout or power. There was nothing any longer that Senator Pell could do for Senator Kennedy. There was nothing that could be done to advance his legislative interests or his political interests or his fundraising interests or any other aspirations he may have had. But it mattered to him to do this because he was loyal and because friendship counted.

In a body in which opportunism and self-promotion and self-advancement are not unknown, it was remarkable of Senator Kennedy to give so much of his

time to this particular pursuit, to this particular visit, taking his old, now disabled friend, out for a sail and giving him so much pleasure, with no hope or hint of reward or return to Senator Kennedy himself.

So I will conclude with that. I guess I will conclude with one other thing. He loved Robert Frost. On his desk here right now is a poem from Robert Frost, "The Road Not Taken."

I know he was fond of Frost's work in particular. I keep a little book of poems and things that matter to me, quotations, and one of them is a poem by Robert Frost. It is not "The Road Not Taken," which is the poem on Senator Kennedy's desk. It is a different one. But I will close by reading it. It is called "Acquainted with the Night."

I have been one acquainted with the night.
I have walked out in rain—and back in rain.
I have outwalked the furthest city light.
I have looked down the saddest city lane.
I have passed by the watchman on his beat.
And dropped my eyes, unwilling to explain.
I have stood still and stopped the sound of feet
When far away an interrupted cry
Came over houses from another street,
But not to call me back or say good-bye;
And further still at an unearthly height,
O luminary clock against the sky
Proclaimed the time was neither wrong nor right.
I have been one acquainted with the night.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, once again, we mourn another Kennedy, the last brother, a friend, a colleague, a Senator's Senator, larger than life even in death, certainly the most effective legislator of our time and arguably the most effective Member of this body in the whole of American history.

Across this Nation and across the political divide, we have seen the impact of his life and work in the tearful eyes of millions of Americans. Each face a challenge to continue his long and lasting legacy of hard-fought, hard-won battles for hardworking families everywhere. His is a legacy of hope for the unemployed, the dispossessed, the downtrodden, the undereducated, the uninsured; a legacy of hope for Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans, all Americans who have come to this country, often with little more than the clothes on their backs and a glorious dream for a better life.

Ted Kennedy will be remembered by my generation as more than the last brother, more than the end of an era. He will be remembered as America's preeminent leader on fair, responsible, humane immigration policy that always put people first. For all of us, he was the standard bearer of headier days, of Camelot, of intellectual vitality, political energy, and a deep and abiding commitment to public service and to this beloved Senate. He taught us through actions and deeds, in times of great personal pain, the power of the human spirit to endure and prevail. He symbolized the best of an era of progressive, compassionate leadership in this country and a deep belief that we

must always ask what we can do for the country, a torch unexpectedly passed to him which he carried with dignity and humility through great tragedy as well as great triumph.

He understood our personal struggles, however profound, "make us stronger in the broken places," as Hemingway said. For every Hispanic American and every American across this Nation whose family came here to find a better life, whatever their ethnicity or political views, Ted Kennedy was a leader. His deep and abiding concern for the struggles of hard-working people was not political. It is simply part of the Kennedy DNA.

I remember the images of his brother, Bobby Kennedy, in 1967, 6,000 people surrounding him on the flatbed truck that held a severely weakened Cesar Chavez. Bobby Kennedy shared a piece of samita with Chavez and the crowd cheered. They grabbed at Bobby to shake his hand and thank him. He stood in front of the crowd and said:

The world must know from this time forward that the migrant farm worker, the Mexican-American, is coming into his own rights . . .

You are winning a special kind of citizenship; no one is doing it for you—you are doing it yourselves—and therefore, no one can ever take it away.

Fast-forward to Washington, DC, in 2006, walking in his brother's footsteps, Ted Kennedy stood in front of hundreds of thousands of marchers on the same ground his brothers had stood upon decades earlier. He stood with immigrants and faith leaders and organizers. He called for comprehensive immigration reform. The crowd of hundreds of thousands roared, and he roared back:

Si se puede. Si se puede.

Yes, we can.

Now he is gone, having fought his last battle with courage and dignity, as he fought all others. But the memories remain. I remember first coming to the Senate, sitting down with him, his presence as commanding as I thought it would be. I looked at him to learn all I could from him about the Senate and, frankly, there was no more patient or willing teacher. When I first sought to come to the Senate, the one Member of the Senate who gave me the most time and gave me the most encouragement and the greatest opportunity to understand how to be successful in the Senate was a person I could do the least for. It was Ted Kennedy. I will never forget his kindness.

We worked together to protect the Senate restaurant employees when their jobs were privatized. I learned what made him such an effective legislator—because even as he was dealing with the most incredible issues the country was facing and leading on many of them, he had time to remember the importance of that little person, people in the Senate restaurant who might have been unemployed.

We all know no one can belt out an Irish ballad quite like Teddy could. One of my favorite memories was of him

and I in New Jersey in a campaign where we sang Irish ballads together. I learned then what made him the unique person he is. I will never forget the sound of that voice and the warmth of that heart. Each of us has had our own memories of the man. Each of us has had our own deep emotions when we heard of his death.

The editorial cartoonist, Lalo Alcaraz, said when his wife heard that Ted Kennedy had lost his battle with cancer, she pulled out one of her old buttons that her mother had worn during the Presidential campaign in 1960. That day, Lalo Alcaraz drew a cartoon of a much younger Ted Kennedy. It is captioned with two simple words on the campaign button: "Viva Kennedy."

As I sat in the basilica in Boston with our colleagues last week, I thought of all Ted Kennedy did to better the lives of so many Americans, and I thought of those two words over and over again: Viva Kennedy. He was a man who truly believed in the idea and ideal that is America. Although we may have come from different backgrounds, different places, different cultures, though we may speak different languages, we are one Nation, indivisible, forged from shared values and common principles, each of us united in our differences working for the betterment of all of us, and no one worked harder for the betterment of all of us than Ted Kennedy.

It is my sincere belief that in his passing he has once again worked his magic and given us an opportunity to come together, united in a deep and profound feeling of loss and emptiness as we are even at this day. It would be like him to be looking down upon these tributes today, nodding his head and smiling, but he would be saying: Don't wait for my memorials to be laid. He would say: Don't wait for my words to be chiseled in marble at Arlington. Don't wait for some bronze statue in Washington or a bridge named after me in Boston. Stand up, do what is right for the American people now. Do what is right for hard-working families in your States, for hard-working families in my State—in New Bedford, Brockton, Fall River, or Worcester. I can see him standing over there where he always stood, committed, informed, imposing, pounding on his desk, shouting at the top of his lungs. You could hear it when you were outside of the Chamber when he was in one of those moments.

Those families don't have time to wait for a decent job and wages. They don't have time to wait for a better job. They don't have time to wait for decent, affordable, quality care that is a right and not a privilege. That booming voice would echo through this Chamber, and I think it will echo through this Chamber for eternity.

When it comes down to it, we are his legacy. We in the Senate are his memorial. We are the burning candles, and he would tell us to have them burn brightly: Stand against the wind. Stand against the storm. Stand against

the odds. For it is up to us now to light the world, as he did.

In this past week, I think we have all found new meaning in those familiar words of Aeschylus, when he said:

And even in our sleep, pain that cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart, and in our own despair, against our will, comes wisdom to us by the awful grace of God.

Today, in our despair, let wisdom come. Let us honor the memory of Senator Edward Moore Kennedy by not only remembering the man but by continuing the good work he has done.

I yield the floor.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I am honored to be here to add my voice to so many of those who today have eloquently remembered Senator Ted Kennedy. Like so many who have spoken today, I was the beneficiary of so many personal kindnesses from Senator Kennedy.

I actually first met him on the campaign trail. In 1980, I was actually on the other side in New Hampshire when he was running against Jimmy Carter. Despite the fact that was a very hard-fought campaign and we won and he lost, when I ran a winning campaign 4 years later in the New Hampshire primary, Senator Kennedy was one of the first people to call and congratulate me.

After that, I had the opportunity to campaign over the years with Senator Kennedy. There was no one who could fire up a crowd as he could. In 2000, I remember he was there for Al Gore when times were tough in New Hampshire. He was there for JOHN KERRY in 2004. And I had the opportunity to travel around the country with him in support of JOHN KERRY, his very good friend.

But I really got to see the difference he made in so many lives when I worked with him at the Institute of Politics at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. I had the opportunity to be chosen to be the director there, and Senator Kennedy was one of those people who helped make that decision and make that happen for me. What was so impressive was that it did not matter how busy he was with the work in Washington, with what he was doing in Massachusetts, he never missed a meeting. His first concern was always: What are the students doing? What is going to excite them? What is going to get them involved in politics and public service, because that was the mission of the Institute of Politics. It was one of two memorials that were established by the Kennedy family to remember his brother, President John Kennedy. It was always amazing to me to see someone who was so busy, so prominent in national life, who never missed an opportunity to talk with the freshman student who was there who wasn't quite sure what they wanted to do, to talk with and encourage the young people who were involved at the institute to get involved in politics, in government, in public service.

I know Senator Kennedy will be remembered by so many of the

kindnesses he provided to people. He will be remembered by the tens of thousands of people whose lives he touched. But I think one of his most significant legacies will be those young people who are encouraged to get involved in politics, who appreciate that public service in government is an honorable profession because of his leadership and the work he did.

I feel very honored and privileged to have worked with him and to have had the opportunity to serve with him, however briefly, in the Senate. I know we will all remember for future generations what Senator Kennedy has done.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at 2:30 today, the Senate resume executive session and consideration of the nomination of Cass Sunstein; that all post-cloture time be yielded back except for 75 minutes, with that time equally divided and controlled between Senator LIEBERMAN and the Republican leader or his designee; that at 3:45 p.m., the Senate proceed to vote on confirmation of the nomination; that upon confirmation, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table, no further motions be in order, the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action, and the Senate then resume legislative session; that upon resuming legislative session, the Senate then proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 153, H.R. 3288, the Department of Transportation, Housing, and Urban Development and Related Agencies appropriations bill.

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

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

NOMINATION OF CASS R. SUNSTEIN TO BE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE OFFICE OF INFORMATION AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Cass R. Sunstein, of Massachusetts, to be Administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum and ask that the time be charged equally to both sides.

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. STABENOW.) Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KYL. Madam President, Professor Cass Sunstein's academic credentials are impressive. He has taught at the University of Chicago School of Law and at the Harvard School of Law, and has been a prolific writer on a wide variety of topics.

He has some fine ideas on cost-benefit analysis, and I hope they will be reflected in his approach as administrator of Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs.

I do, however, find that some of the arguments he has made, and the positions he has taken in his writings and speeches, fall outside the mainstream.

One theme that has appeared repeatedly in his writings and speeches is his strange belief that animals should have legal standing in court. Professor Sunstein wrote in his book *Animal Rights: Current Debates and New Directions* that, "We could even grant animals a right to bring a suit without insisting that animals are persons. . . . We could retain the idea of property but also give animals far more protection against . . . neglect of their interests."

He goes on: "It seems possible that before long Congress will grant standing to animals in their own right. . . . Indeed I believe that in some circumstances, Congress should do exactly that, to provide a supplement to limited public enforcement efforts."

In a paper for the University of Chicago School of Law, Professor Sunstein wrote that, "Representatives of animals should be able to bring private suits to ensure that anticruelty and related laws are actually enforced. If, for example, a farm is treating horses cruelly and in violation of legal requirements, a suit could be brought, on behalf of those animals."

Of course, no one favors animal cruelty. That is why there are laws against it. That should go without saying. But there is a big difference between having concerns about the treatment of animals and taking Professor Sunstein's position that an animal deserves a lawyer in court.

An animal is not a person, and it cannot function as a plaintiff during a trial. Laws and regulations that would give animals legal standing in court could open the door to a flood of ridiculous lawsuits that would wreak havoc on research labs, restaurants, farms, and the like.

Imagine what could happen if a group wanted to represent lab rats or farm chickens in a class-action lawsuit. Even if claims were found baseless in courts, someone, farms, laboratories, business owners, would still bear the costs of litigation.