

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 115) was agreed to, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 115

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That in recognition of the long and distinguished service rendered to the Nation and to the world, by the late Ronald Wilson Reagan, the 40th President of the United States, his remains be permitted to lie in state in the rotunda of the Capitol from June 9 until June 11, 2004, and the Architect of the Capitol, under the direction of the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, shall take all necessary steps for the accomplishment of that purpose.

#### TRIBUTE TO FORMER PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, this week we mourn the passing of Ronald Wilson Reagan, the 40th President of the United States. My wife Karyn and I, and indeed the entire Senate family, extend our deepest sympathies to his beloved Nancy and the entire Reagan family. More than 15 years have passed since Ronald Reagan gave his final cheerful salute as President of the United States. He left the Oval Office with the highest approval rating since Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Ronald Reagan had restored our confidence and our optimism in what it meant to be an American. The countless tributes and recollections of the past few days have brought forth a flood of memories, not only of his extraordinary leadership but of his truly exceptional character. We remember Ronald Reagan and love him as we did the day he left the highest post in the land. We feel a strong personal and unbreakable connection with our 40th President.

Some attribute Ronald Reagan's ability to connect with the American people to his abilities as an actor. No politician was better or more comfortable around the camera. When he looked into the lens, he was looking directly into the eyes of the American people. His timing was flawless, and he had a soft touch that could disarm even his most stubborn political opponents.

After being wounded by an assassin's bullet as he lay on a hospital gurney drifting towards unconsciousness, Ronald Reagan quipped to his beloved Nancy:

Honey, I forgot to duck.

So many stories like this remind us that Ronald Reagan was a man of remarkable courage, coupled with boundless good humor. There was more to him than what he said and how he said it, as there was more to Abraham Lincoln than his stirring speeches, and more to Franklin Roosevelt than his fireside chats. Ronald Reagan believed in what he said, and that conviction came through. He believed there is good and evil in the world and that America stands for the good. He believed we must protect freedom wherever it may be threatened and plant its

seeds wherever freedom may take root. He believed democracy to be not the privilege of a fortunate few but the rightful and ordained destiny for all mankind.

At the 1992 Republican convention in Houston, TX, he expounded on these beliefs, telling the American people:

Whether we come from poverty or wealth, whether we are Afro-American or Irish-American, Christian or Jewish, from big cities or small towns, we are all equal in the eyes of God. But as Americans, that is not enough; we must be equal in the eyes of each other.

There was one thing—second only to the Almighty—in which he had more faith than all else, and that was the American people. We trusted Ronald Reagan, we respected Ronald Reagan, we loved Ronald Reagan, because he trusted, respected, and loved each and every one of us.

This week we will bear witness to a rare and extraordinary tribute to one of our greatest leaders. Half-masted flags will snap in the wind. Cannons will pound the air with salutes. And a horse-drawn caisson will solemnly pull the flag-draped casket of Ronald Wilson Reagan up to the Hill of our Capital City.

Americans will line up by the thousands to pause at his side, bow their heads, and pay their final respects. Hundreds of leaders will gather at the National Cathedral to show their deep appreciation of a grateful Nation and a grateful world, and on Friday, when President Reagan is laid to rest, each of us will give a moment of our day to remember a man who gave us his very best.

All of this is right and fitting. This is how we honor the lives of great leaders whom we love. But our tribute to Ronald Reagan must be more than a passing historical moment. Although we say goodbye to the man, we must never say goodbye to his values. Let this week reaffirm the goodness of our Nation. Let it reaffirm our faith in freedom. Let it reaffirm democracy as the destiny of all mankind. And let our fond memories, our deep affection and regard for Ronald Wilson Reagan reaffirm that we believe, above all, in ourselves as Americans.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALEXANDER). The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mrs. DOLE. Mr. President, this past weekend we lost one of Americans greatest leaders, Ronald Reagan. I had the privilege of serving under President Reagan's strong, principled leadership for 7 years—2 years in his White House as assistant to the President, or public liaison, and almost 5 years as his Secretary of Transportation.

Greatness in a President is marked by the ability to chart and implement a new course, a better course, and by his level of decency and integrity. Ronald Reagan knew why he wanted to be President. He came to office with the clearest of vision, a passion for achiev-

ing his goals and in conveying them with an eloquence almost unsurpassed.

Ronald Reagan made all of us, the American people, believe in ourselves again. He literally changed the world. Despite conventional wisdom, he determined that communism had to be defeated, not tolerated. He rejected the Iron Curtain, rejected the status quo, and his legacy to the world is freedom. His strength of character and bedrock belief in right and wrong ended the cold war, and his leadership unshackled the yoke of tyranny for millions upon millions of people who had known only oppression.

I will always remember his remarkable rapport with the American people and what a true gentleman he was. During my time on his White House staff, I brought scores and scores of people, organizations, and groups into the Oval Office, the Cabinet Room, the Roosevelt Room, and he treated every person with courtesy and respect. Occasionally, there would be some who had a difference of view with him on some issue or another, and they were going to give him a piece of their mind. Well, they came into his presence and you could almost see that anger just fading away. He would express his views, he would address their concerns, and then he might sit back and tell them a story or two—perhaps a humorous one—and maybe pass jellybeans around. They would be ready to climb any hill for Ronald Reagan. When the President would explain his position, obviously, he did it in a very eloquent manner.

What a remarkable person his wife Nancy is. What a tremendous partner. She was his best friend, his confidant, his trusted, beloved spouse. She deserves great credit for his accomplishments and hers.

When I left the Cabinet, a farewell function was planned, and we talked about the fact that it would be nice to invite to that farewell party people who would not otherwise be able to meet the President of the United States. He readily agreed.

I can remember one young woman from Arkansas. She was a part of the Make a Wish group. She had a terminal illness and her great desire was to meet President Ronald Reagan. I can still see her there in the White House and the compassionate way in which he greeted her and talked with her.

There was a young man named Tommy, from my hometown of Salisbury, NC, who was in a wheelchair; he had to wear a helmet most of the time because if he were to fall, it would be very severe. His mother and his uncle very tenderly brought him to Washington to carry out his wish to meet the great Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. Once again, to watch the President and his compassion as he talked with Tommy is something I will remember forever.

One of the things that will really be an inspiration to me for the rest of my life is a conversation I had with the

President when the two of us were alone. We were waiting in the holding room for him to give a speech. You don't often find yourself alone with the President of the United States. On this particular day, we were waiting for a speech and I said: Mr. President, I just cannot resist. I have to ask you how in the world, when you have the weight of the world on your shoulders, are you able to be so gracious, so thoughtful, and so kind? I never see you flustered or frustrated. How do you do it with such weight on your shoulders?

He kind of leaned back, and he loved to tell a story and to reminisce. He said: Well, Elizabeth, when I was Governor of California, it seemed like every day yet another disaster would be placed on my desk, and I had the urge to hand it to someone behind me to help me. One day I realized I was looking in the wrong direction; I looked up instead of back. I am still looking up. I don't think I could go 1 more day in this office if I didn't know that I could ask God's help and it would be given.

There is no doubt in my mind that President Reagan was welcomed into the gates of Heaven with open arms and with the words: Well done, good and faithful servant. Well done, indeed.

God bless President Ronald Reagan and his family, and God bless this great land of the free, America.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, a few years ago when Ronald Reagan was President of the United States, he attended one of the many press dinners which are held. I think it was the gridiron dinner. I think it is well known that maybe 90 percent of the press corps in Washington had a different point of view on issues than President Reagan did, but they liked him anyway, and they respected him and he had fun with them, just as they did with him.

I remember on that evening he strode into the gridiron dinner looking like a million dollars, smiling big. The press rose, smiling back, applauding. He stood in front of them until it subsided, and then he said to his adversaries in the media: Thank you very much. I know how hard it is to clap with your fingers crossed. And they laughed, and they had a wonderful time with President Reagan.

The first thing we think about, those of us who had any opportunity to get to know him—a great many of us—was that Ronald Reagan was a very friendly man. He was a congenial person, an easy person to know, the kind of person you want to spend a lot of time

with, if you had the opportunity, and that what you saw in private was what everyone else saw in public.

Howard Baker, the former majority leader of the Senate when Ronald Reagan was President, got to know him especially well, and then in 1987, President Reagan invited former Senator Baker to come to be his Chief of Staff, which he was for nearly 2 years.

I remember Senator Baker telling me that, to his surprise, when his 9 a.m. meetings came every morning with President Reagan, he discovered that Mr. Reagan had a funny little story to tell to Senator Baker, his Chief of Staff. What surprised Senator Baker even more was President Reagan expected Senator Baker to have a funny little story to tell back. So for that whole 2 years, virtually every morning at 9 a.m. when the President of the United States and the Chief of Staff of the White House met, they swapped funny little stories. It is very reassuring to me that two men who have maybe the two biggest jobs in the world were comfortable enough with themselves, each other, and their responsibilities to begin the day in that sort of easy way. That is the part of Ronald Reagan we think more about.

Another part of Ronald Reagan which I think is often overlooked is that he was a man of big ideas. I would say intellectual, although I guess there is a little difference between being devoted to ideals and being intellectual but not much difference.

Unlike most people who are candidates for President of the United States, Ronald Reagan wrote many of his own speeches. When he had a few minutes, he would sit in the back of a campaign airplane and make notes on cards in the shorthand that he had. His former aide, Marty Anderson, has written a book about that and told that, to a great extent, Ronald Reagan's words were his own words, ideas he expressed or ideas he gathered himself and ideas he had thought through and wanted to promulgate.

Maybe that is partly why he seemed so comfortable with himself when he finally entered public life. He came to it late in life. He was age 55 when he became Governor of California, so by then he knew what he thought, and he had a sense of purpose, and he knew what he wanted to do.

I got an idea of that kind of big thinking when I went to see President Reagan in my second year as Governor—third year, I guess it was, his first year as President in 1981. I talked to him about a big swap which I thought would help our country.

I suggested: Mr. President, why doesn't the Federal Government take over all of Medicaid and let the State and local governments take over all responsibility for kindergarten through 12th grade? That would make it clear, I said, where the responsibility lies. You cannot fix schools from Washington, and it would make more efficient our health care system if we did

things that way. He liked the idea. It fit his unconventional brand of thinking. He advocated it. It was a little too revolutionary for most people in Washington in the early 1980s.

He had the same sort of unconventional attitude toward national defense policy. Many people overlooked the fact that Ronald Reagan did not just want us to have as many nuclear weapons as the Soviet empire did, he wanted to get rid of nuclear weapons. He saw them as wrong, as bad, and he wanted a world without nuclear weapons. Instead of mutual assured destruction, which was the doctrine at the time, he built up our strength so we could begin to reduce nuclear weapons and then unilaterally begin to do it before the Soviets did, hoping they would then follow. We can see the results.

At the time, some people said Ronald Reagan was naive to think we could transfer power from Washington, from an arrogant empire, at home or naive to think we could face down an evil empire abroad, and especially naive to think our policy should be based upon getting rid of nuclear weapons. It turned out Ronald Reagan saw further than most of those critics did.

Perhaps his most famous speech, not my favorite speech—my favorite speech is the one we heard a lot about this weekend, 20 years ago at Normandy, which moved the whole world to tears and reminded Americans why we are Americans and what we fought for—but his most famous speech may be the one in 1987 at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin where he said:

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

Earlier this year, I visited Berlin with John Kornblum who at the time was U.S. minister and deputy commandant in the American sector of West Berlin where tanks challenged tanks and white crosses marked grave sites of those who were killed trying to escape over the wall from East Berlin. Mr. Kornblum talked about the development of that speech that Ronald Reagan gave that day. Those words, or the thought, "tear down this wall," went into the speech at an early stage. Some fought to keep it in. Many fought to take it out. Those who had thought Ronald Reagan was wrong to say the Soviet Union was an evil empire were not anxious for him to say:

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

Some suggested that President Reagan try his hand at German as President Kennedy had in a memorable speech at the Berlin Wall in the early 1960s. Some suggested that the speech should not be made at the Brandenburg Gate. That was too provocative, Mr. Kornblum remembers. But the speech was made at the Brandenburg Gate, and Mr. Reagan did keep his words in that speech. He did make his point, and his point was clear:

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

For those of us who had a chance to see the new countries of Eastern Europe and their enthusiasm for freedom

and for a free market system, we can see the legacy of Ronald Reagan and his unconventional thinking.

So I think it is important for us to remember that this genial President was a man of ideas, of all the Presidents I have worked with, as much a man of ideas as any one of those Presidents.

Ronald Reagan also taught us something about leadership. I recall in 1980 when he and Mrs. Reagan visited the Tennessee Governor's mansion during the Presidential campaign. I had not known him very well. He had served as Governor. He was several years older. He was from the West. It was really my first chance to meet him.

After 1 hour or an hour and a half of breakfast with him the next morning, I remember going away thinking this man has a better concept of the Presidency than anyone I have ever been privileged to meet.

Ronald Reagan understood what George Reedy said in his book, "The Twilight of the Presidency," is the definition of Presidential leadership: No. 1, see an urgent need; No. 2, develop a strategy to meet the need; and, No. 3, persuade at least half the people that you are right.

Ronald Reagan was as good as anyone at persuading at least half the people that he was right. He taught that and he also taught us the importance of proceeding from principles.

Sometimes we are described in Washington these days as being too ideological, too uncompromising, too partisan. President Reagan was a principled man. He operated from principles in all of his decisions, insofar as I knew. He advocated his principles as far as he could take them, but he recognized that the great decisions that we make here are often conflicts between principles on which all of us agree. It might be equal opportunity versus the rule of law. And once we have argued our principle and the solution, and strategy has been taken as far as it could go, if we get, as he said 75, 80, or 85 percent of what we advocated, well, then that is a pretty good job.

So he was very successful because he argued from principles. He argued strenuously. He was good at persuading at least half the people he was right. Then he was willing to accept a conclusion because most of our politics is about the conflict of principles.

There is another lesson that he taught us, and that was to respect the military. Now, that seems unnecessary to say in the year 2004 where we have a volunteer military that is better than any military we have ever had in our history; when we have witnessed the thousands of acts of courage, charity, kindness, and ingenuity in Iraq and Afghanistan recently; when the men and women of our National Guard and Reserves are also being called up. We have a lot of respect for our military.

In 1980, we were showing a lot less respect for the men and women of our military. I remember riding with Presi-

dent Reagan in a car in Knoxville during the 1980 campaign. As we pulled out of the airport by the National Guard unit, there were a number of the soldiers waving at him, understanding and sensing that he respected them. He turned to me and said something like this: I wish we could think of some way to honor these men and women more. He said: We used to do that in the movies in the 1930s and 1940s. We would make movies honoring men and women in the military and that is how we showed our respect for them.

Well, he did find a way to honor them during his Presidency in the 1980s, and by the time he left at the end of that decade there was no question but that the American people remembered to honor the men and women in the military.

There is one other aspect of President Reagan's leadership that I would like to mention, which is probably the most important aspect of the American character, and that is the belief that anything is possible. The idea that we uniquely believe in this country, and people all around the world think we are a little odd for believing it, is that no matter where you come from, no matter what race you are, no matter what color your skin, if you come here and work hard, anything is possible.

That is why we subscribe to ideals such as all men are created equal, even though we know achieving that goal will always be a work in progress and we may never reach it. That is why we say we will pay any price, bear any burden, as President Kennedy said, to defend peace, even though we know that is a work in progress and we may never reach it.

That is why we say more recently we want to leave no child behind when it comes to learning to read. We know that is a work in progress and we may not reach it, but that is our goal.

We Americans say that anything is possible, and nothing symbolizes that more than the American Presidency. And no President has symbolized that more in the last century than Ronald Reagan. He has reminded us of what it means to be an American. He lifted our spirits, he made us proud, he strengthened our character, and he taught us a great many lessons.

#### HONORING THE 278TH ARMORED CAVALRY REGIMENT

Mr. ALEXANDER. I rise today to comment on some of those military men and women that President Reagan felt so strongly about. On Saturday, I went to Knoxville, TN, for the casing of the colors of the 278th Armored Cavalry Regiment. Four thousand troops, the largest unit in the Tennessee National Guard, are being sent to Mississippi for training, then to California and then, just before Christmas, to Iraq. This was a large number of men and women from across Tennessee, mostly east Tennessee. While their command headquarters are in Knox-

ville, their squadron headquarters are in Athens, Cookeville, and Kingsport. The whole community had organized a tremendous day of celebration and parade to honor these men and women.

Randy Tyree, the former mayor of Knoxville, was the master of ceremonies. Joe Alexander was the parade chairman. The East Tennessee Veterans Memorial Association was the event sponsor. It was a bright, sunny day. It came during a week we had filled with honoring the men and women in our military. Earlier in the week was Memorial Day and before that the opening of the World War II memorial. The week ended with the celebration of the 60th anniversary of D-day, honoring those military heroes of the past.

But Saturday was not about the past. The men and women we honored in Knoxville, TN, on Saturday live among us. We know them. We see them in those communities every day. They are members of the Knox County Sheriff's Office. They include McMinn County school superintendent John Fogerty. They are Casey Boring, Tony Loveday, Kevin Fuller, Roger Lawson, and Randy Cruz all from Blount County, my home county's sheriff's office. They are our fathers, brothers, sons, sisters, and daughters. They are not all 24 or 26 or 30 years old either. They are in their thirties and their forties. Some are in their fifties.

Jim Leinart is an Anderson County deputy who fought in Vietnam and is a grandfather. He is a part of the 278th and is heading to Iraq, a month after he was supposed to have retired from the military. He is a tank mechanic, and he and nearly 4,000 other members of the 278th leave June 14 for Mississippi for training.

This is what he had to say about it:

Right after I got that alert, I figured out I wasn't going to be able to retire. I kind of dread it in a way and kind of look forward to it in a way. It'll be different; an adventure in another country.

The families there, and the men and women in the 278th, all knew the truth. They are not going to Iraq and Afghanistan for support activities. They will be the first National Guard unit from Tennessee in a long time to be on the front lines, to be combat troops. But there was not a word of complaint that day, and the men looked forward to that.

This unit has a fantastic history. The 278th traces its roots to the American Revolution in what may have been the first early American war of preemption. A British colonel named Patrick Ferguson on the eastern side of the Great Smokey Mountains sent word across the mountains to Tennessee that the mountaineers should lay down their arms or the British would come across the mountains and arrest them and hang their leaders.

This angered the mountaineers so they gathered, in October of 1789 near Watauga, TN, near Sycamore Shoals. They marched across the mountains to