

a softball game between the Baker staff and the John Tower staff. My favorite photograph of her is one Howard took at the Baker home when we were celebrating our marriage. Our daughter Leslee was flower girl at Darek and Karen's wedding. I occupy the same Senate office Howard once had in the Dirksen Senate office building. My desk on the Senate floor was once his desk.

As his legislative assistant, I wrote his speeches, prompting him to tell the story at least 100 times of how I once asked to see him privately to determine if there was some problem with our relationship because I had learned that he never said in his speeches any of the words that I had written.

"Lamar," he replied, "we have a perfect relationship. You write what you want to write—and I'll say what I want to say."

Occasionally a young person will ask me, "How can I become involved in politics?"

My answer always is, "Find someone you respect, volunteer to help him or her do anything legal, and learn all you can from them. That's what I did."

How fortunate we were to know, to be inspired by, and to learn from Tennessee's favorite son and one of our country's finest leaders, Howard Baker.

Dan Quayle, when he was a senator, summed it up: "There's Howard Baker," he said, "and then there's the rest of us senators."

Mr. McCONNELL. I would like to share some of Senator ALEXANDER's observations about Senator Baker because, as I said, I think they are important, timely lessons about the purpose and potential of our service.

One of the things that stands out in all the tributes to Senator Baker, including Senator ALEXANDER's, is the way in which he embodied the rare trait of taking himself lightly even as he took his duties seriously.

I will give you an example. One of the time-honored traditions around here is for new Senators to labor over their maiden speeches as if Pericles himself were standing in judgment from the Presiding Officer's chair. Senator Baker was no exception. His maiden speech was long, thoughtful, and dense—so much so that when he asked his father-in-law, then-Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen, for his reaction, Dirksen is said to have remarked: "Howard, Howard, perhaps you should occasionally enjoy the luxury of an unexpressed thought."

It was the kind of comment that might have stung a lesser Senator, but as Senator ALEXANDER pointed out in mentioning that last week, Baker was a quick learner. About a week or so later, Howard rose again—this time to challenge one of his Democratic colleagues to a game of tennis. The Senator in question had just taken a swipe at the vigor of his Republican colleagues, particularly the new ones, and Senator Baker decided to rise to the challenge, tongue firmly in cheek.

It was a star performance. The Senator that Baker challenged even interrupted him at one point to suggest that it was "one of the best maiden speeches that has ever been delivered in this chamber." Evidently he had missed Baker's actual maiden speech. But Senator Baker's legendary ability to adapt

was now firmly established and it set the tone for a two-decade run in which he would be called upon to deploy his many other talents and skills to defuse tensions, resolve conflicts, repair trust, build consensus, and, frankly, just to put people at ease—because sometimes in this business there is nothing more important than just that: to just keep the bearings oiled.

We have all been recently reminded of how Senator Baker put his own ambitions aside to help rebuild the Reagan White House after Iran-Contra. It was a great testament to his values and to his feel for priorities. What Senator ALEXANDER reminded us last week was that these former political rivals—Baker and Reagan—started every day in the White House together telling each other a little story. They had no problem putting their past disputes behind them and building a close working friendship based on mutual respect, common purpose, love of country, and of course good humor. They were adults, busy about serious business, and they conducted that business with dignity and with grace.

The larger point is that while people talk a lot about the importance of having political skill in Washington these days, the importance of temperament cannot be overstated. The way Senator Baker conducted himself here and in the White House is eloquent testimony of that.

It is not that he was laid back. As Senator ALEXANDER put it, behind Baker's pleasant demeanor was a restless ambition that would propel him to the heights of American politics and government for 40 years, but he could subordinate that ambition when he felt the moment or the country needed him to. He was persistent about achieving a result but never insisted that his way was the only way to do it. It is a quality that required an ability to listen. In Baker's case that meant being an eloquent listener, a trait Senator ALEXANDER put above all the others in Baker's formidable arsenal.

Here is how Senator Baker himself once put it:

There is a difference between hearing and understanding what people say. You don't have to agree, but you have to hear what they've got to say. And if you do, the chances are much better you'll be able to translate that into a useful position and even useful leadership.

Senator ALEXANDER pointed out Howard Baker had courage. He helped round up the votes to ratify the Panama Canal Treaty even though he must have known it would not help him much in a Republican primary for President, to put it mildly. When the integrity of our politics was at stake, he did not hesitate to take on a President of his own party in a very public way—an impulse that one hopes lawmakers in both parties could muster today if the integrity of our system called for it again.

But perhaps most important of all, Howard Baker was grounded. He had an

important job to do, and he did it well, but he also kept a healthy distance from his work. His photograph of President Reagan's inaugural in January 1981 illustrates the point. Just behind the new President we can spot the Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill and the new Vice President George Bush. Then right there between them is a man holding up a camera to capture the moment. It is the new Senate majority leader standing there like an ordinary spectator with a very good seat. It was Howard Baker.

Senator ALEXANDER summed up Baker's groundedness this way: "Howard Baker never stopped sounding like where he grew up."

Senator Baker was a fixture here for decades, but Huntsville was always home. Perhaps that is also why Senator Baker took his stewardship of the Senate so very seriously. He knew he was not going to be around forever and that meant he had a duty to make the Senate work and to preserve it as a place where disputes and disagreements are sifted and sorted out and where stable, durable solutions are slowly but surely achieved. It is how he earned the nickname "the great conciliator."

When Dan Quayle was a Senator here, he used to say: "There's Howard Baker, and then there's the rest of us."

Over the past week, we have been reminded of why that was, and I thank Senator ALEXANDER for helping us remember why his friend and mentor meant so much to this country and this institution.

May the memory of Howard Henry Baker inspire us to be our best selves and even better Senators.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business for 1 hour, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each, with the majority controlling the first 30 minutes and the Republicans controlling the second 30 minutes.

The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Thank you, Mr. President. I believe it is correct that Senator CORKER and I, before morning business begins, have a few minutes to reflect on Senator Baker.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That understanding is correct.

Mr. ALEXANDER. That is correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is under morning business right now, but the Senator from Tennessee is recognized.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I ask consent that before morning business begin that Senator CORKER and I be permitted to reflect on Senator Baker.

Mr. President, I ask consent that we have a few minutes to speak about Senator Baker before morning business begins.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—I am not going to object because we have an understanding, but I would like to have a similar amount of time to reflect on Senator Alan Dixon, who passed away over the weekend, after the Senators from Tennessee have paid homage to Senator Baker.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Thank you, Mr. President. I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Illinois.

REMEMBERING HOWARD BAKER

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I thank Senator MCCONNELL from Kentucky for his eloquent remarks. One other thing I said at the funeral was that Senator Baker had an eye for talent. In 1969, when I was a young aide in the Nixon White House, Senator Baker came to me and said: "You might want to get to know that smart young legislative assistant for Senator Marlow Cook." That young legislative assistant was MITCH MCCONNELL. So I did get to know him.

I thank Senator MCCONNELL for coming to the funeral. I thank Senator REID, our majority leader, for being there as well. They were there at the front of that small church in Huntsville, TN. The Vice President came. He sat there, met everybody, showed his respect for both former Senator Baker and his wife, former Senator Nancy Kassebaum Baker. We Tennesseans appreciated that courtesy by the Vice President, the majority leader, and the minority leader very much.

There were a number of others there. Our Governor was there; Senator CORKER and I, of course, were there; Senator Fred Thompson; majority leader Bill Frist, whom Senator Baker had mentored; Senator Pete Domenici, Senator Bill Brock, Senator Elizabeth Dole, and Senator Bennett Johnston were also there; as well as Senator Jack Danforth, who married Howard and Nancy; and our former Governors, Winfield Dunn and Don Sundquist. It was a small church, but along with former Vice President Al Gore and the current Vice President and the majority leader, as well as the minority leader, there was real respect for the former majority leader of the Senate.

I will not try to repeat what I said at the funeral, and it was a privilege for me to be asked by the family to speak, but I did want to make two comments briefly, one personal and one about the Senate.

The personal one that I said at the funeral was that I had tried to follow the rule in LAMAR ALEXANDER'S "Little Plaid Book" that when invited to speak at a funeral, remember to mention the deceased more often than yourself and to talk more about How-

ard Baker than my relationship with him, but that was hard to do. I waited until the end of my remarks to try to do that.

No one had more influence on my life over the last half century than Howard Baker. I came here with him in 1967 as his only legislative assistant. That is how many legislative assistants Senators had then. They dealt mainly with one another, not through staff members. I came back in 1977 when suddenly he was elected Republican leader on his third try by one vote, and I worked in the office that is now the Republican leader's office for 3 months helping him find a permanent chief of staff until I went back to Tennessee.

Throughout my entire public life and private life, no one has had more effect on me by virtue of his effort to encourage me—as well as many other younger people who were working their way up in a variety of ways—and as an example for how to do things.

My advice to younger people who want to know how to become involved in politics is to find someone whom you respect and admire, volunteer to go to work for them and do anything legal they ask you to do and learn from them, both the good and the bad. I had the great privilege of working with the best.

To give one small example of how closely intertwined our lives have become, I had the same office he had in the Dirksen Office Building. I had the same phone number he had in the Dirksen Office Building. If you open the drawer of this desk, you will find scratched in the drawer the names Baker, Thompson, and my name. I have the same desk on this floor.

As far as the Senate, just one story. A remarkably effective presentation at the funeral was made by the Reverend Martha Anne Fairchild, who for 20 years has been the minister of the small Presbyterian church in Huntsville. She told a story about lightbulbs and Senator Baker.

He was on the Session, which is the governing body of the church. He was an elder, and he insisted on coming to the meetings. She said that at one of the meetings of the Session the elders, who represent the maybe 70 members of the church, fell into a discussion about new lightbulbs. It was pretty contentious, and eventually they resolved it because Senator Baker insisted that they discuss it all the way through to the end.

She talked with him later, and he said: "Well, I could have pulled out my checkbook and written a check for the new lightbulbs, but I thought it was more important that the elders have a full and long discussion so they all could be comfortable with the decision they made."

That story about lightbulbs is how Howard Baker saw the U.S. Senate—as a forum for extended discussion where you have the patience to allow everyone to pretty well have their say in the hopes that you come to a conclusion

that most of us are comfortable with and therefore the country is comfortable with it. He understood that you only govern a complex country such as ours by consensus. And whether it was lightbulbs or an 9-week debate on the Panama Canal during which there were nearly 200 contentious amendments and reservations and arguments, you have those discussion all the way through to the end.

It is said that these days are much more contentious than the days of Howard Baker. There are some things that are different today that make that sort of discussion more difficult, but we shouldn't kid ourselves—those weren't easy days either. Those were the days when Vietnam veterans came home with Americans spitting on them. Those were the days of Watergate. Those were the days of Social Security going bankrupt and a 9-week contentious debate on the Panama Canal. Those were the days of the Equal Rights Amendment. Those were difficult days too. Senator Baker and Senator Byrd on the Democratic side were able, generally speaking, to allow the Senate to take up those big issues and have an extended discussion all the way through to the end and come to a result.

Most of us in this body have the same principles. Those principles all belong to what we call the American character. They include such principles as equal opportunity, liberty, and *E pluribus unum*. And most of our conflicts, the late Samuel Huntington used to say, are about resolving conflicts among those principles. For example, if we are talking about immigration, we have a conflict between rule of law and equal opportunity, so how do we put those together and how do we come to a conclusion? Howard Baker saw the way to do that as bringing to the floor a subject, hopefully with bipartisan support, and talking it all the way through to the end until most Senators are comfortable with the decision. His aid in that was, as Senator MCCONNELL said, being an eloquent listener. That is why he was admired by Members of both parties. In one poll in the 1980s, he was considered to be the most admired Senator by Democrats and by Republicans. That is why Dan Quayle said: There is Howard Baker "and then there's the rest of us Senators."

So I think the memory of Howard Baker, his lesson for us, is that—without assigning any blame to the Republican side or the Democratic side—we don't need a change of rules to make the Senate function, we need a change of behavior. Howard Baker's behavior is a very good example, whether it was the Panama Canal, whether it was fixing Social Security, whether it was President Reagan's tax cuts, or whether it was resolving whether how to buy new lightbulbs for the First Presbyterian Church of Huntsville, TN.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the remarks of Martha Anne Fairchild, the pastor of