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 Howard 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

the First Presbyterian Church of Huntsville, TN, as well as two other documents, one by Arthur B. Culvahouse, Jr., who was Senator Baker's legislative assistant and President Reagan's counsel. According to Culvahouse, Howard Baker told him that if the President did not truly know about the diversion of Iranian arms sales proceeds to the Contras, he was to help him—if he did not truly know. The other is an article by Keel Hunt from the Tennessean about Senator Baker, and finally the funeral order of worship from the Baker ceremony.

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

IN MEMORY OF HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

FUNERAL SERMON BY THE REV. MARTHA ANNE FAIRCHILD, PASTOR, FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, HUNTSVILLE, TENNESSEE

Dear friends, thank you for your presence here this afternoon. Thank you for joining us as we gather to remember and give thanks for the remarkable life of Howard H. Baker, Jr., We are grateful and honored that you are here with us.

I would like to read one more Scripture lesson, one with opening words that may surprise you. But as I continue reading, you will understand why I chose it. It was written by the Apostle Paul, from a prison cell, perhaps within a very short time before his own death. He was writing to a community of faithful Christians he held in such high esteem that he considered them to be equal coworkers with him in the work of Christ, and he wrote these words at the end of a letter full of tender concern and advice for dear friends he knew he might never see again. Here are Paul's words from the fourth chapter of his letter to the church at Philippi: (Philippians 4:4–9)

''Rejoice in the Lord always; again I will say, Rejoice! Let your gentleness be known to everyone. The Lord is near. Do not worry about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God. And the peace of God, which surpasses all understanding, will guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus.

''Finally, beloved, whatever is true, whatever is honorable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is pleasing, whatever is commendable, if there is any excellence and if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things. Keep on doing the things that you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, and the God of peace will be with you.''

''Rejoice in the Lord always,'' Paul says. I'll admit it, those are odd words for a funeral sermon. We may be celebrating the life of a great man, but we do not feel much like rejoicing. Our feelings are too bittersweet for that. We have lost someone we loved deeply, someone who was an immense influence for good not only in our own country but around the world. How is rejoicing part of this picture? How can we say, ''Rejoice!''

Rejoicing is part of the picture for us for the same reason it was part of the picture for Paul. Paul was nearing his own death. He had already lost his freedom—he was writing this letter from a prison cell. He was writing to people he would never see again. In the stark conditions of imprisonment in the first century, he was suffering physically, in chains and without sufficient food or clothing, often alone and in pain, with no certainty about what would happen to him. Yet he invites us to rejoice, because the sources of his joy were not tied to his particular difficult circumstances. They were tied to the kind of man he was.

Can we quiet our hearts enough to hear his words? ''Let your gentleness be known to everyone.'' In gentleness Paul found the key that led him into the surrender of worry, into a life of prayer, and above all else into a peace beyond human understanding. This gentleness, this prayer, this peace, made it possible for him to live in joy whatever his circumstances and to invite his friends to do exactly the same.

I chose to read these words today because we are saying goodbye to a supremely gentle man. Howard Baker embodied in his life all the qualities Paul commends to our reflection and attention. He was a true, honorable, and just man. He lived a pure, pleasing, and commendable life, and surely he was a man of excellence and worthy of praise. In a public life spanning decades of serious, selfless service to his country, Howard Baker embodied every public virtue.

Of his public virtues, in fact, so much has been said over the past few days that I can add very little. So I share with you something of the gentleness Howard Baker shared with his church. He was a member of this congregation from his childhood, and one of the most faithful attenders of public worship I have ever known. When he was in town, he was in church on Sunday morning—it was one of his priorities. There is an old catch phrase about sharing time, talents, and treasure with one's church, and Howard Baker shared all those things: He shared his time with his faithful attendance at worship and church events. He shared his talents with his photography of church happenings from Homecoming to Easter egg hunts, and of course his cooking prowess when got up early on Easter Sunday to join the other church men cooking breakfast—his particular talent was putting the biscuits in the oven and getting them out on time. He shared his treasure in a lifetime of generous financial support of the church. But most of all Howard Baker supported this church with his presence.

Here is an example. Some years ago the congregation of this church elected him as a ruling elder, a lifelong position in our denomination. His election placed him in active service on our church board, called the Session, for a three year term. Now, I must share a little secret with you. Session meetings only rarely concern matters of any great import. So I mentioned to him that I understood the many demands he had on his time, and offered him a blanket excused absence for any meeting he needed to miss. That was a mistake. He was quite offended by this suggestion of mine and told me firmly—but very gently—that he intended to make every meeting. And that is what he did, on one occasion even flying in for our evening meeting and flying out again that very same night to meet a commitment elsewhere the following day. When Howard Baker made a promise, he kept it.

At every meeting, he was an attentive, helpful, encouraging elder among fellow elders. He tried to get all of us to call him Howard, and some of us managed to do that and some of us never could. Even when the discussion revolved around the purchase of new light bulbs—yes, I know all those jokes, too—he was patient and helpful in not only contributing to the discussion but in helping me as his moderator to guide it to a conclusion. He told me later he considered just pulling out his checkbook and writing a check for the bulbs we were dithering over, but he wanted his fellow elders to go through the process of making a decision we were all comfortable with. And for that he was willing to devote a little more time, a little more patience, and, yes, a little more love to the task.

When he accepted President Bush's appointment to become the United States Ambassador to Japan, his term of active service on the Session was not quite over. It was necessary for him to resign, and he called me to apologize that he could not complete his term. It may seem that no apologies would be necessary, but he reminded me that he had made a commitment to serve his church, and he truly regretted being unable to complete that commitment.

I am humbly grateful that he was so willing to accept me as his pastor when I came here almost 20 years ago, a woman only a few years out of seminary who still had much to learn about the serious business of Christian ministry. From the very beginning he treated me with affection and respect, and I hope I have learned from him.

One of the things we all admire him for was his gift of attention. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the great 20th century Christian theologian and martyr, once remarked, ''The first duty one owes to others in the fellowship is to listen to them.'' Howard Baker had a deep commitment to listening. When you talked to him he paid attention to you—even if he could only speak to you for 60 seconds, you had his focused attention for that entire 60 seconds. You knew he heard you. And every time you came away a little encouraged, a little cheered, a little more content, because he had paid attention—that great gift of being listened to that we all hunger to receive.

Among the questions a Presbyterian elder must answer in the affirmative at his or her ordination is this one: ''Will you seek to serve the people with energy, intelligence, imagination, and love?'' That is a vow every leader should take. It is a vow Howard Baker lived up to in his entire life of service, for that is what he was: a servant leader, one who embodied not only the qualities of courage, confidence, and consensus-building that were the hallmarks of his public life, but also the qualities of humility, good humor, and selfless love that made those other qualities possible. He was a servant leader in the truest sense of the term.

As we remember him for his gentleness, his good humor, his deep wisdom, as we recall shared moments of tears and laughter, tense times of debate and controversy, satisfying times of concord and shared accomplishment, as we pay tribute to him for his deep love for his family, for his unwavering devotion to the well-being of his country, and even for his unfailing appetite for all things chocolate and sweet, perhaps you can see why I think we must say with Paul, ''Rejoice in the Lord always!'' By God's great gifts to him, Howard Baker became a great gift to us. And surely that great gift is worth rejoicing over always.

Shortly we will follow his casket out to the cemetery adjacent to this church. When we go I invite you to remember that across the street from that cemetery once stood the house where Howard Baker was born. We will be laying him to rest just a few hundred feet from where his life began. In the completion of that great life well lived, I hope that, even in the midst of our sorrow, we will find cause to rejoice always.

Thanks be to God for the life of Howard Baker. Thanks be to God.

[From the National Review Online, July 2, 2014]

HOWARD BAKER JR., COURAGEOUS CONSTITUTIONALIST

(By Arthur B. Culvahouse, Jr.)

Many of the recent obituaries of Howard Baker, the former Senate majority leader,

White House chief of staff, and U.S. ambassador to Japan, quote Jim Baker's accurate observation that Howard was a ''mediator, negotiator, and moderator.'' As a son of a congressmen, a son-in-law of Senator Everett Dirksen's, and a three-term senator, Howard understood that transacting the people's business required at least 51 votes in the Senate and 218 votes in the House. On the tough votes that require leadership and political courage, he knew that the necessary majority was to be found on both sides of the aisle.

Contrary to recent suggestions by approving left-leaning news commentators and critics on the inexperienced right, Howard Baker's interpretation of acceptable ''compromise'' did not entail splitting the difference or seeking a watered-down consensus. As Bob Dole observed, Howard Baker believed, along with Ronald Reagan, that achieving 70 percent or more of one's priorities is a victory in our democracy. Above all, Howard Baker was the most civil and respectful person I have known. As a consequence, he had many friends across the political and policy spectrums who would give his views a fair and careful hearing.

Howard Baker exercised political courage wisely and with the intention to win. His views, even when they were in the minority in the Republican caucus and among Tennessee voters, were the result of careful study and measured against long-term national interests. His support for the Panama Canal Treaty, for instance, clearly damaged his prospects in the 1980 Republican presidential primaries, and his leadership in securing passage of the Clean Air Act and strip-mine reclamation disappointed his friends and neighbors in the coal country of East Tennessee. Those and other unpopular votes did not occur in isolation; they were co-joined and hedged by his unrelenting support for a strong military, for nuclear power and coal gasification, and for dispensing with the prolonged environmental review of the Alyeska Pipeline.

Jim Neal, the renowned Tennessee trial lawyer and Kennedy-administration prosecutor, presciently predicted that Howard, owing to his ''strong moral compass,'' would be the star of the Senate Watergate Committee. From announcing at the beginning of the Watergate Committee hearings that ''he would follow every lead, unrestrained by any fear of where that lead might ultimately take us,'' to assembling a minority staff that discovered the existence of the Nixon Oval Office tapes, to making the motion that the Committee subpoena the tapes, Howard set aside partisan considerations and led the effort to find the answers to the key question: ''What did the President know and when did he know it?'' In 1987, when he was the new Reagan White House chief of staff, Howard instructed me that my job as the recently appointed White House counsel was to guide and advise President Reagan through the Iran-Contra investigations without his being impeached—if the president truly did not know about the diversion of Iranian arms-sales proceeds to the Contras. Query how many current and recent senior officials would append that all-important modifier: if.

In his farewell speech to the Senate, Howard stated that ''our wisest course is to follow the Constitution rather than improvise around it.'' He expressed deep concern that the Clinton impeachment proceeding votes were along party lines and that we were reaping the whirlwind of the Watergate convulsion—that we had not learned our lesson but were instead enacting ill-advised and constitutionally suspect laws that were no substitute for judging the character of our leaders on a non-partisan basis.

I have no doubt that if Howard Baker and his long-time Democratic counterpart in the Senate leadership, Robert Byrd, were in the Senate today, both would be working together to put an end to the current (and any other) administration's blatant disregard of congressionally enacted statutes. In that vein, Howard instructed me and other senior Reagan-administration lawyers to drop our objections to the Senate's proposed ''ratification record'' underlying the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty; that was the Senate's prerogative, Howard reminded me, and the president wanted the INF Treaty ratified as part of his strategy to end, and win, the Cold War.

Shortly before the 2010 midterm congressional elections, I visited with Howard Baker at his home in the mountains of East Tennessee. When I expressed concern about the dramatic swings in the recent election results, he replied: ''I taught you better than that. Those swings are the self-corrections built into our republican form of government.'' All of us are well-advised to reflect upon the teachings of Howard H. Baker Jr.

[From the Tennessean, June 29, 2014]

HOWARD BAKER'S LEGACY: ''THE OTHER GUY MIGHT BE RIGHT''

(By Keel Hunt)

For Tennesseans who knew Howard Baker in his day, the news of his death on Thursday brought an afternoon of emptiness, feelings of great loss, and a deep sense that one very special had left the building.

There are certainly people who knew him better than I did, but in my own memory this man of moderate height looms larger than life. Let me count the ways.

Baker was a master politician, the great conciliator and a builder of human bridges.

Especially from the vantage point of this current angry age, Baker's gifts shine brightly now: that calming voice, the steady temperament, his gift for reaching out and drawing people together, a knack for reasoned compromise, his abiding sense of how government can and should work.

Today, you hear some of those terms attacked, by the people who thrive on dividing, as being somehow unpatriotic. Baker's life was a demonstration of how politics and the skills of collaboration are noble, of how government can work to move society forward.

Hearing both sides of an issue, finding the common ground—these are the gifts we associate with Baker now and all the moderate politicians he inspired (see below). This is how good government happens.

He often quoted his own father, U.S. Rep. Howard Baker Sr., who told him: ''You should always go through life working on the assumption that the other guy might be right.'' His stepmother once said of Baker Jr., ''He's like the Tennessee River—he flows right down the middle.''

Before politics, Baker was reared in tiny Huntsville, in Scott County, and educated in Chattanooga, Sewanee and Knoxville. In the early 1960s, by this time a lawyer working in Huntsville and Knoxville, he became an architect of the modern Republican Party in Tennessee.

In 1964, wanting to mount his own campaign for U.S. Senate, Baker allied with Republican organizers at the far end of the state in Memphis and Shelby County, notably the lawyers Lewis Donelson and Harry Wellford. Together, they laid the foundation for a two-party state.

Baker's aim was to fill the unexpired term of Sen. Estes Kefauver, who had died, and he came very close to winning. But it was a Democratic year driven by national factors well beyond his control: Barry Goldwater, the GOP's presidential nominee, came to Tennessee saying TVA ought to be sold; and Lyndon Johnson, who had succeeded President John F. Kennedy after the assassination, would win in a landslide.

Two years later, the statewide coalition that Baker and the Shelby Countians formed scored its first victory, with Baker winning the Senate seat for a full term. He was the first Republican since Reconstruction to be elected statewide in Tennessee. Four years after that, there were two more GOP victories statewide: Winfield Dunn was elected governor, and the Chattanooga U.S. Rep. Bill Brock joined Baker in the Senate.

Today, three decades on, two generations of political leaders can be seen in the Baker lineage: Lamar Alexander, Bob Corker, Bill Haslam, Fred Thompson, Bill Frist, Don Sundquist.

Alexander, very early in his career, was Baker's top legislative aide, and left that office in 1970 to be Dunn's campaign manager. In 1973, Baker made Thompson minority counsel to the Senate Watergate Committee, putting him on TV screens across America. Haslam, in 1978, worked in Baker's re-election office. Corker and Haslam became mayors of Chattanooga and Knoxville, respectively, and later on senator and governor.

Baker had a way with Democrats, too. He was the first Republican ever endorsed by The Tennessean, in its partisan Democratic heyday. The editorial on this page that supported him was a breakthrough in Democratic territory for Baker's East-West alliance.

When President Jimmy Carter proposed the Panama Canal Treaty, handing the canal over to Panama, Baker was a key advocate on the Senate floor when it passed.

Plenty will be written this week about his roles on the national and global stages—as Senate majority leader, President Reagan's chief of staff, ambassador to Japan. But through it all, and more so than many senators who have become national politicians, Baker also stayed close to his Tennessee roots.

One morning long ago, two years into his second term, I was in a room full of reporters in Washington, D.C., and heard the senator say: ''I am from Huntsville, Tennessee, which is the center of the known universe.''

That is where, on Tuesday afternoon, he will come to his final rest.

FUNERAL ORDER OF WORSHIP

Prelude
*Entrance of the Family
*Sentences of Scripture
*Hymn America the Beautiful

O beautiful for spacious skies, for amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties above the fruited plain!
America! America! God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea.

O beautiful for pilgrim feet whose stern impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat across the wilderness!
America! America! God mend thy every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control, thy liberty in law!

O beautiful for heroes proved in liberating strife,
Who more than self their county loved, and mercy more than life!
America! America! May God thy gold refine,
Till all success be nobleness and every gain divine.

O beautiful for patriot dream that sees, beyond the years,
Thine alabaster cities gleam, undimmed by human tears!
America! America! God shed His grace on thee,

And crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea.

Opening Prayer

Scripture Readings Ecclesiastes 3:1–15; John 14:1–6, 25–27

Psalm 23 (read by all)

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
He restoreth my soul:
He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.
Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.
Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.
Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Sermon The Reverend Martha Anne Fairchild

Remarks Senator Lamar Alexander

Anthem May the Road Rise to Meet You First Presbyterian Church Choir

Prayers

*Hymn Shall We Gather at the River

Shall we gather at the river,
Where bright angel feet have trod,
With its crystal tide forever
Flowing by the throne of God:

Refrain:
Yes, we'll gather at the river,
The beautiful, the beautiful river;
Gather with the saints at the river
That flows by the throne of God.

Ere we reach the shining river,
Lay we every burden down;
Grace our spirits will deliver,
And provide a robe and crown.

Soon we'll reach the silver river,
Soon our pilgrimage will cease;
Soon our happy hearts will quiver
With the melody of peace.

*Commendation
*Blessing
*Recessional
*Dismissal of the Family
*General Dismissal
Postlude

Pastor: The Reverend Martha Anne Fairchild

Music Director: David Mayfield

If you release a baby sea turtle on ChiChi-Jima, (a small island off the coast of Japan), and your turtle heads to the sea, you are guaranteed good luck for 100 years.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I thank the Senate for this time, and I yield the floor for my colleague from Tennessee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. CORKER. I would like to join our distinguished leader MITCH MCCONNELL in seconding the comments about the presentation the senior Senator from Tennessee made at the Howard Baker funeral.

It is a great privilege for us to serve in this body. While times are tough relative to our ability or willingness to solve some of the major problems, many of the major problems of our Nation today—and sometimes there are comments made about serving in the Senate—what I say to people back home is that if any of us ever forget what a privilege it is to serve, we should go home. That privilege allows us to meet people and to be in conversation with people like Howard Baker who affect us and cause us to be better people. It also allows us to witness what took place last week. I have to say I have seen Senator ALEXANDER on many occasions say and do things that I thought were impressive. I don't think I have ever seen anything that measures up to what was said in that small Presbyterian church last week. I think all of us were touched. The Senator had a lot of good material to work with and was describing a man who probably has had more effect in a positive way on Tennessee politics—in many ways, national politics—like Howard Baker.

He was an inspiration to all of us. When we were around him, his graciousness and humility caused all of us to be much better people. His encouragement, especially when dealing with tough issues, I think caused all of us to want to strive even harder to be better Senators and better people.

I certainly cannot give the comments with the eloquence the Senator gave last week and certainly the ones just given. I know you and he were very close, and he impacted you more than any other person outside your immediate family, but he had an impact on all of us. He had an impact on this Nation. It is a great honor and privilege to stand with the Senator today to acknowledge Senator Baker's greatness as a person, his greatness as a Senator.

Many times we see presentations as people talk about someone's life, and a lot of times that is embellished. I will say in this case none of it was. It was all about the man serving here in the Senate but also serving in that small church in Huntsville, TN, to which he was so loyal.

I thank the Senator for the opportunity to serve with him. I know each of us strives to carry out those characteristics Howard Baker so wisely showed us, and I do agree that the Senate would be a much better place if all of us could embody those characteristics most of the time.

I thank the senior Senator for his leadership and for his comments.

I thank our distinguished minority leader, during a time of great busy-ness in his own personal life, for taking the time to be a part of something that I think is meaningful to him also.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. I have been moved by the comments from the Senators regarding Senator Baker. The story the senior Senator from Tennessee told about the lightbulbs is—those of us who knew Senator Baker could well understand that. He was a man who brought Senators together—both parties.

I will tell two very quick stories. One is referencing a leadership race won by one vote. He had called a good friend of his, who was at home on official business, and said: I know the press says I am going to lose this race, but I know you are voting for me. Can you come back and vote?

That Senator did. The Senator was the then-senior Senator from Vermont, Robert Stafford, and he flew back to get to the caucus to vote for his friend Howard Baker—the first one by one vote; all the rest by acclamation. I know this because both Senator Stafford and Howard Baker told me that story. They were also two of the finest Senators with whom I have ever served. Both tried to work things out.

My other story is we were going to be in session until midnight one night on a technically contested matter.

Senator Ted Stevens and I and a few others went to see Howard Baker, who was the majority leader. We talked about the issue that was divisive. We said: We think we have a solution. We have all been talking. We can work it out but it is going to take some time for the drafting. Could you recess and not stay until midnight when all it is going to do is exacerbate tempers? Come back in the morning and we will have it all worked out, and we will get this done.

Senator Baker knew that we were all Senators in both parties who kept our word. He said: ''Of course.'' So we recessed. Now, as the Senator from Tennessee knows, we have cloakrooms here in the back of this Chamber. We all—if we have late-night votes, most of us hang around the cloakroom between votes. At that time they had beautiful stained glass windows in the alcoves.

We recessed and went home. An hour or so after we went home a bomb went off out here in the corridor. When we came in the next morning, this place looked like a war zone. Shards of glass from those windows in both cloakrooms were embedded in the walls. The door to where the distinguished Republican deputy leader has his office now was blown in, the stained window above of it was ruined. Paintings out here were shredded, and some of the marble busts of former vice presidents were damaged. You could smell the gunpowder of the explosive when we came to work.

I mention this because his form of leadership was that if we could get together and work things out, he preferred we do that. He would encourage it—both Republicans and Democrats. Then because he could rely on those of us—again both Republicans and Democrats—who would keep our word, he agreed to that. We knew he would keep his word.

I wonder how many lives of Senators were saved that night because of that. How many would have been terribly injured. Of course our staffs who work often long after we have gone—how many people could have been harmed if it had not been for the fact that the Senate was a different place, and I believe a better place.

But I say this not so much to tell historical stories, but I say this out of my great respect for Howard Baker. Somebody calculated the other day that I

have served with 18 percent of all of the Senators since the beginning of this country. If I put my tiny handful of the best, Howard Baker is in there, hands down—a wonderful, wonderful man. He was a Senator's Senator. He believed in the Senate. He believed what a privilege it was to serve here.

He believed that the Senate could be the conscience of the Nation. I appreciate the tribute that was paid by my dear friend, the senior Senator from Tennessee, who I knew as Governor and as Cabinet member. We have always had a good personal relationship. I listened to his tales of Howard Baker. His colleague from Tennessee painted quite a picture of him. I thank them for doing that. I thank them for adding to the history of the Senate by doing it.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois be recognized once I yield the floor.

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

LANDMINES

Mr. LEAHY. Everyone knows the old adage that a picture is worth 1,000 words. I have been an avid photographer since I was a child. I have a strong sense of that. So I thought I would provide a few examples today, because sometimes words are not enough.

I have often spoken about the horrific toll on civilians from landmines. These tiny explosives, about the size of a hockey puck or a can of soup, can kill a child or blow the legs and arms off an adult. They are triggered by the victim. In other words, unlike a gun that a soldier aims and fires or a bomb that is dropped and explodes on a target, landmines sit there and wait for their victims.

It could be hours or days or weeks, even years. But however long it is after they are scattered and hidden beneath a layer of sand or dirt, they explode when an unsuspecting person, whether a combatant or an innocent civilian, steps on it or triggers it with a plow or a wheelbarrow or a bicycle. That person's life is changed forever.

In many countries where there are few doctors, landmine victims bleed to death. Those who survive with a leg or both legs gone are the lucky ones. This girl is an example of who I am talking about. We do not know her nationality, but the picture tells a lot. She is learning to walk on artificial legs. Her life has been made immeasurably harder because of a landmine that probably cost less than $2. I have a granddaughter not much older than her.

Each of these photographs tell a similar story. None of these people were combatants. Each are facing lives of pain, and sometimes in their communities stigmatization because of weapons that are designed to be indiscriminate.

The Leahy War Victims Fund has helped some of them, as this photograph taken in Vietnam shows. My wife Marcelle and I have seen the difference the Fund has made, but I wish there were no need for it because there would be no landmines.

Over the years, as people around the world became aware of the landmine problem, they took action. The Senate was the first legislative body in the world to ban exports of antipersonnel landmines. I am proud of writing that amendment. Other countries soon followed our example.

And there were others, especially Canada's former Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. Thanks to them an international treaty outlawing the weapons has been joined by 161 countries. I regret that the United States, of all the NATO countries, is the only one that has not joined, even though the U.S. military has not used antipersonnel mines for 22 years, despite two long wars.

On June 27, though, the Obama administration finally took a step—it is an incremental step, but it is a significant one—to put the United States on a path to join the treaty. Although the United States has not produced or purchased antipersonnel mines since the 1990s, the White House announced that as a matter of official policy that it will no longer produce or otherwise acquire antipersonnel mines, nor will the Pentagon replenish its stockpile of mines as they become obsolete.

Our closest allies and many others around the world welcomed this step, even though it falls far short of what supporters of the treaty have called for.

But one senior Member of the House of Representatives immediately accused President Obama of ignoring U.S. military commanders, some of whom have defended the use of landmines, just as the military defended poison gas a century ago when nations acted to ban it.

This Member of the House said: The President ''owes our military an explanation for ignoring their advice'', and he went on to say that this decision represents an ''expensive solution in search of a nonexistent problem.''

A Member of our body, the Senate, called the announcement a ''brazen attempt by the President to circumvent the constitutional responsibility of the Senate to provide advice and consent to international treaties that bind the United States.''

These are strong words. They make great sound bites for the press. But the truth lies elsewhere.

Over the years, the White House has consulted closely with the Pentagon, including about this decision. The policy just announced simply makes official what has been an informal fact for at least 17 years through three Presidential administrations.

It also ignores the fact that the United States has neither joined the treaty nor has the President sent it to the Senate for ratification, so the President has obviously not circumvented the Senate's advice and consent role.

And it ignores that every one of our NATO allies and most of our coalition partners have renounced antipersonnel mines, as have dozens of countries that could never dream of having a powerful, modern army as we do—countries that look to the United States, the most powerful Nation on Earth, but they got rid of their landmines.

The naysayers' argument is simple. It goes like this: The United States is no longer causing the misery captured in these photographs, so why should we join the treaty? Does that mean they also oppose the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, such as the crippled people in this photograph? Do they oppose the Chemical Weapons Treaty, and every other treaty dealing with international relations that the United States has joined since the time of George Washington?

Does the fact that we are not causing a problem, that we do not use landmines or chemical weapons, absolve us from having a responsibility to be part of an international treaty to stop it? Of course not. The world looks to the United States for leadership.

In 1992, if the Senate had accepted the argument now being made this body would never have voted 100 to 0 to ban the export of antipersonnel landmines.

I suppose those in the House who criticize President Obama today would say the entire Senate was wrong 22 years ago. Those 100 Democrats and Republicans who voted back then to ban U.S. exports of antipersonnel mines understood that while the United States may not have been causing the problem, we needed to be part of the solution. The same holds true today.

In 1996 President Clinton called on the Pentagon to develop alternatives to antipersonnel mines, whether they were technological or doctrinal alternatives. He was Commander in Chief, but the Pentagon largely ignored him. But now 18 years later it needs to be done. Not at some unspecified time in the future but by a reasonable deadline—because it can be done.

Now, I am not so naive to think that a treaty will prevent every last person on Earth from using landmines. But if people use them, they pay a price for using them. Bashar Assad used poison gas, but look at the political price he paid. Are those who oppose the landmine treaty so dismissive of the benefits of outlawing and stigmatizing a weapon like IEDs, which pose a danger to our own troops?

Rather than opposing a treaty that will make it a war crime to use landmines against our troops, why not support the mine-breaching technology they need to protect themselves?

I always come back to the photographs. I have met many people like these. They may not be Americans, but what happened to them happens to