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Olympia J. Snowe

U.S. SENATOR FROM MAINE

TRIBUTES

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THE UNITED STATES

Olympia J. Snowe

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Tributes Delivered in Congress

Olympia J. Snowe

United States Congresswoman
1979–1995

United States Senator
1995–2013

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BIOGRAPHY

OLYMPIA J. SNOWE was born OLYMPIA JEAN BOUCHLES on February 21, 1947, in Augusta, ME. She is the daughter of the late George Bouchles, a native of Mytilene, Greece, and the late Georgia Goranites Bouchles, whose parents immigrated to America from Sparta. After the death of her parents, she was raised by her aunt and uncle, the late Mary and James Goranites of Auburn, ME. OLYMPIA attended St. Basil's Academy, a Greek Orthodox school in Garrison, NY, and graduated from Edward Little High School in Auburn. She earned a degree in political science from the University of Maine in 1969.

With her election in 1994 OLYMPIA became only the second woman Senator in history to represent Maine, following the late Senator Margaret Chase Smith, who served from 1949 to 1973. In November 2006, she was reelected to a third 6-year term in the U.S. Senate with 74 percent of the vote.

Before her election to the Senate, OLYMPIA represented Maine's Second Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives for 16 years. Senator SNOWE is only the fourth woman in history to be elected to both Houses of Congress and the first woman in American history to serve in both houses of a State legislature and both Houses of Congress. When first elected to Congress in 1978 at the age of 31, OLYMPIA was the youngest Republican woman, and the first Greek-American woman, ever elected to Congress. She has won more Federal elections in Maine than any other person since World War II. OLYMPIA is the third longest serving woman in the history of the U.S. Congress.

OLYMPIA's dedicated work in the U.S. Senate has garnered her nationwide recognition as a leading policymaker in Washington. In 2005 she was named the 54th most powerful woman in the world by *Forbes* magazine. In 2006 *Time* magazine named her one of the Top 10 U.S. Senators. Calling her "The Caretaker," *Time* magazine wrote of Senator SNOWE:

> Because of her centrist views and eagerness to get beyond partisan point scoring, Maine Republican OLYMPIA SNOWE is in the center of every policy debate in Washington, but while SNOWE is a major player on national

issues, she is also known as one of the most effective advocates for her constituents.

Focusing her attention on efforts to build bipartisan consensus on key issues that matter to Maine and America, OLYMPIA successfully built a reputation as one of Congress' leading moderates. In 1999, she became cochair of the Senate Centrist Coalition with Senator John Breaux (D–LA), and in that same year, she was cited by *Congressional Quarterly* for her centrist leadership.

OLYMPIA has worked extensively on a number of issues, such as budget and fiscal responsibility; education, including education technology; national security; women's issues; health care, including prescription drug coverage for Medicare recipients; welfare reform; oceans and fisheries issues; and campaign finance reform. She co-led the successful fight for a refundable child tax credit, assisting an additional 37 million American families. She has also led efforts important to her home State of Maine, including successfully working to overturn the Department of Defense's recommendations in 2005 to close two of Maine's military installations, a successful push for Federal disaster funds in response to a devastating 1998 ice storm and the 2006 flooding in southern Maine, increased funding for the Togus veterans hospital, reauthorization of the Northeast Dairy Compact so critical to the survival of Maine's small family dairy farms, and opposition to a proposed Federal rule that would have devastated the State's lobster fishery.

In 2001 OLYMPIA became the first Republican woman ever to secure a full-term seat on the Senate Finance Committee, and only the third woman in history to join the panel. The committee is considered one of the most powerful in Congress with jurisdiction over two-thirds of the entire Federal budget, because its members author tax, trade, health care, welfare, Medicaid, Medicare, and Social Security related legislation. OLYMPIA also served as a member of the Subcommittee on Health Care, which oversees matters related to health insurance, Medicare, and the uninsured.

As former chair, and later ranking member of the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, OLYMPIA fought fiercely for our Nation's small businesses. Through her proactive legislative efforts and strong advocacy on behalf of America's small businesses, she consistently championed affordable and flexible health care options, increased access to capital, a fair share of Federal contracting

dollars and opportunities, and reduced tax and regulatory burden, among other issues.

Also a former member of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, she was the former chair and later ranking member of its Subcommittee on Oceans, Atmosphere, Fisheries, and the Coast Guard where she worked to pass legislation to allow Maine's fish and fishing communities to thrive. A former member of the Senate Budget Committee, she was a key voice in establishing education as a priority within the context of the first balanced budget since 1969, and in 1999, 2000, and 2001 authored the amendment that for the first time created a reserve fund for a Medicare prescription drug benefit. She also sat on the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Prior to her service on the Finance Committee, Senator SNOWE had been the fourth woman ever to serve on the Senate Armed Services Committee, where she was the first woman Senator to chair the Subcommittee on Seapower, which oversees the Navy and Marine Corps. OLYMPIA SNOWE was a leading voice in the Senate on combating sexual assault in the military, fighting for gender integrated training, and shipbuilding matters.

During her tenure in the U.S. House of Representatives, she cochaired the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues for more than 10 years and provided leadership in establishing the Office of Women's Health at the National Institutes of Health. She also served as a member of the House Budget Committee; the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where she was ranking Republican on the Subcommittee on International Operations; and the former House Select Committee on Aging, where she was ranking Republican on the Subcommittee on Human Services.

In her first term, OLYMPIA helped launch with House Speaker Tip O'Neill the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP). Across her combined 30-year tenure on the Foreign Affairs, Foreign Relations, Senate Armed Services, and Senate Intelligence Committees, she fought to keep our Nation safe—authoring the creation of a Diplomatic Security Service to protect our embassies, questioning our broken system of issuing visas even before the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, and instituting greater information sharing among our intelligence agencies.

She served in both houses of the Maine Legislature, first elected to the Maine House—representing her home town of Auburn—in 1973 to the seat left vacant by the death of her

first husband, the late Peter Snowe, in an auto accident. She was reelected in 1974, and was elected to the Maine Senate representing Androscoggin County in 1976.

Senator SNOWE is married to former Maine Governor John R. McKernan, Jr., and lives in Falmouth, ME, and Washington, DC. She is a member of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Lewiston, ME.

Farewell to the Senate

Thursday, December 13, 2012

Ms. SNOWE. Madam President, I rise today with an infinite appreciation for the institution of the U.S. Senate as well as a profound sense of gratitude as I prepare to conclude my 18 years in the Senate and my nearly 40 years in elective office on behalf of the people of Maine.

It has been difficult to envision this day when I would be saying farewell to the Senate, just as it was impossible to imagine I would one day become a U.S. Senator as I was growing up in Maine. But such is the miracle of America, that a young girl of Greek immigrants and a first-generation American, who was orphaned at the age of 9, could in time be elected to serve in the greatest deliberative body the world has ever known and become the third longest serving woman in the history of the U.S. Congress.

So in contemplating how to begin my remarks today, I was reminded of the words of the renowned American poet and son of New England, Ralph Waldo Emerson, who said:

> Cultivate the habit of being grateful for every good thing that comes to you, and to give thanks continuously. And because all things have contributed to your advancement, you should include all things in your gratitude.

That perfectly encapsulates how I am feeling on this day—thankful and blessed. In that light, I first and foremost want to thank the people of Maine for allowing me to be their voice, their vote, and their champion for 16 years in the U.S. House of Representatives and for three terms in the U.S. Senate. One of the definitions of the word "trust" is "a charge or duty imposed in faith or confidence." To have had the trust of Maine people, who have placed their faith and confidence in me, is an honor of indescribable magnitude. Indeed, serving my magnificent State over the past 34 years in the Halls of Congress has been the greatest privilege of my life.

I also want to thank my amazing husband, Jock McKernan, who is with us today and who, as you know, was a former Congressman and former Governor of Maine. In fact, when Jock was Governor while I was serving in the

House of Representatives, we used to joke that our idea of quality time together was listening to each other's speeches. But truly, we have shared a passion for public service and quite a unique journey together, with 56 years between us in elective office, and we have never regretted a single moment.

I am also pleased to say he is joined today by our very wonderful, longtime friends, Dan and Sharon Miller from Maine.

On this occasion, I also think of my family, without whom none of this would have been possible. I have often joked that the secret to my electoral success is coming from such a large extended family—some of whom we started on campaigns at birth, I might add. They have been a source of boundless love and support over the years, through the struggles as well as the celebrations, and I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

It is also impossible to serve for this long and at this level without dedicated and exceptional staff, and during my tenure in the House and Senate, I have had nearly 400 people on my staff who have helped to make all the difference for me, for Maine, and for Washington. Here we have had tremendous support with the invaluable guidance and efforts on the part of my staff through the extraordinary events of more than three decades, and they have represented the very best and brightest the Nation has to offer. They are here today in the back of the Chamber and up in the gallery, and I applaud them time and time again. In fact, we had a wonderful reunion of all of my staff, and I realize it just simply would not have been possible to have been on this legislative journey without them.

The same is true of my staff in Maine, who have not only been my eyes and ears but also my stalwart surrogates in assisting Mainers with their problems and in navigating the Federal bureaucracies. Like me, they have never been inclined to take no for an answer, and in so doing they have touched literally thousands of lives, helping to soften the hardest days and brighten the darkest.

I thank and commend the stellar staff of the Senate, from all of those ensuring the operation of the Senate here on the floor, to the Cloakroom staff, the legislative counsel, to all of our pages who are here from all across America, to all those who actually keep the facilities running, and certainly to the officers who are on the frontlines of Capitol security, protecting our visitors and all of us. You have my deepest admi-

ration for your immeasurable contributions to the Senate and to our country.

I want to express my gratitude to the minority leader for his gracious remarks about my service. Senator McConnell has worked tirelessly in leading us through extremely challenging moments for the Senate and for the country. His longevity of legislative experience has made him a true asset to this body, for our Republican caucus, and I have the most heartfelt respect and appreciation for his contributions to his home State of Kentucky and to this country.

To my friend and colleague Susan Collins, I want to thank her for her very kind and extremely generous words on the floor last week. Public service was imbued in Senator Collins from her earliest days in Caribou, ME, where, incredibly, both her parents, Don and Pat, were former mayors of the city. I happened to have served with her father Don when he was also in the State legislature. For the past 16 years, Senator Collins has provided exemplary representation not only for Maine but for America with her voice of reason, pragmatism, and thoughtfulness, and Maine will truly be in outstanding hands with Susan Collins as our senior Senator.

I am also indebted to my great friend Senator Mikulski, the dean of the women in the Senate and for all women, for the warm and wonderful comments she made yesterday on the floor. I have known Barbara for more than 30 years, beginning with our mutual service in the House of Representatives. She is truly a dynamo who has always brought to bear an unyielding tenacity that has consistently been reflected in her vigorous advocacy for those she represents.

As I said, in 2011 she became the longest serving woman in the Senate, and there is no one I would rather have surpassing the length of service of Maine's legendary Senator, Margaret Chase Smith, than Senator Barbara Mikulski. What a reflection on her legislative stature that she has now assumed the mantle of longest serving woman in the history of the U.S. Congress.

To our Presiding Officer [Mrs. McCaskill], I would say that I have enjoyed serving with her as well in this august Chamber and getting to know her. I know she will do well into the future, and I have enjoyed working with her over the years.

I see two of my colleagues here: Senator Isakson, who is my neighbor in the Russell Office Building—a gentleman in every way. He has been magnificent to work with. And, of course, my colleague Senator Murkowski from Alaska, who has made some great contributions to the Senate with her

consensus-building, her dedication, and her exceptional abilities. I want to thank them because I have certainly enjoyed working with them and getting to know them.

To all of my Senate colleagues, past and present, this Chamber would simply be another room with fancy walls without the lifeblood of passionate service and dedication you bring to this institution and our Nation.

We all have our stories about where we came from, about what shaped our values and aspirations and why we care so much about public service as a vehicle for securing for others the American dream, for all who seek to embrace it. In my instance, my own legislative journey commenced when I was elected to fill my late husband's seat in the Maine House of Representatives. I felt then, as I have throughout my career, that our role as public servants, above all else, is to solve problems. I have often reflected on my 6 years in the State house and the State senate in Augusta, ME, because that is where I found politics and public life to be positive and constructive endeavors. Once the elections were over, my colleagues and I would put the campaigns and the party labels behind us to enact laws that genuinely improved the lives of Mainers.

I also inherited a legacy of bipartisanship and independence from Senator Margaret Chase Smith, who is best remembered for her remarks made during only her second year of her first term in the U.S. Senate when, with truly uncommon courage and principled independence, she telegraphed the truth about McCarthyism during the Red Scare of the 1950s with her renowned "Declaration of Conscience" speech on the Senate floor. In 15 minutes she had done what 94 of her colleagues—male colleagues, I might add—had not dared to do, and in so doing slayed a giant of demagoguery.

So when people ask me why I may be challenging a particular party position or why I don't simply go with the flow, I tell them: "Please don't take it personally. I can't help it, I am from Maine." That is what Maine people truly expect from their elected officials—they expect you to do what you believe is right for the right reasons and in the right way. We have seen that reflected time and again, not only with Margaret Chase Smith but in the distinguished service of great Senators who have preceded me from Maine, from Ed Muskie to Bill Cohen and the former majority leader of the Senate, George Mitchell.

Throughout my tenure, I have borne witness to government's incredible potential as an instrument for that com-

mon good. I have also experienced its capacity for serial dysfunction. Indeed, as I stated in announcing I would not seek a fourth term in the Senate, it is regrettable that excessive political polarization in Washington today is preventing us from tackling our problems in this period of monumental consequences for our Nation.

As I prepare to conclude my service in elective office, let me be abundantly clear: I am not leaving the Senate because I have ceased believing in its potential or I no longer love the institution, but precisely because I do. I am simply taking my commitment to the Senate in a different direction.

I intend to work from the outside, to help build support for those in this institution who will be working to reestablish the Senate's roots as a place of refuge from the passions of politics, as a forum where the political fires are tempered, not stoked—as our Founding Fathers intended. Because the Senate in particular is our essential legislative mechanism for distilling the vast diversity of ideologies and opinions in America, so that we might arrive at solutions to the challenges we face.

The fact is, we are a can-do country, infused with an irrepressible can-do spirit. It is in our blood, and in the very fiber of who we are. It is in our hard-working families, and in the limitless entrepreneurship and innovation of our people. It is profoundly reflected in our heroic men and women in uniform—whose unflagging bravery and professionalism I have been privileged to witness first hand throughout my tenure in Congress as they answer the call in places like Iraq and Afghanistan, with many having made the ultimate sacrifice so that we may live and that freedom may always ring.

Here in this Chamber, I have spoken with many of you who came here to get things done, to solve problems and achieve great things for our Nation. I have heard you lament the inability to accomplish more in today's polarized atmosphere. As I have traveled throughout Maine and America—even overseas, people ask me, has it always been this way?

I tell them, I am so passionate about changing the tenor in Congress because I have seen that it can be different. It has not always been this way. And it absolutely does not have to be this way.

I have been in the Congress long enough to have experienced first hand what can be accomplished when individuals from various political backgrounds are determined to solve a problem. For instance, when I first came to the House of

Representative in 1979, I joined the bipartisan Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, which I ultimately cochaired for 10 years with Democratic Congresswoman Pat Schroeder. We certainly did not agree on everything, but with only 17 women in the House and Senate, we simply could not afford to draw political lines in the sand when it came to matters of importance to women.

So when we spoke on these issues, we spoke as women, not as Republicans or Democrats. That is what drove our agendas at the caucus—and, together, we started to make a real difference for women. That was a time in America when child support enforcement was viewed as strictly a woman's problem, a time when pensions were canceled without a spouse's approval, a time when family and medical leave wasn't the law of the land, and a time when, incredibly, women were systematically excluded from clinical medical trials at the National Institutes of Health—trials that made the difference between life and death.

As Senator Mikulski eloquently described yesterday in this Chamber, she was waging a battle for equity in women's health research in the Senate while Pat Schroeder, Connie Morella, and I were fighting in the House. At a pivotal juncture, Senator Mikulski launched a key panel to explore this shocking discriminatory treatment which further galvanized national attention. In the end, together, we produced watershed policy changes that, to this day, are resulting in life-saving medical discoveries for America's women.

In the House, we often worked across party lines to craft our Federal budgets, in sharp contrast to today's broken process where we cannot pass a budget in 3 years, even with unprecedented deficits and debt. When President Reagan was elected in 1980, he knew he had to build coalitions to pass budgets that would address the tumultuous economy. The result was that the moderate northeast Republican group called the Gypsy Moths and the conservative-to-moderate Democratic group called the "Boll Weevils" negotiated budgets together, to help reconcile our political and regional differences and in a model for bipartisanship, all of us spent days and weeks fashioning budgets, literally going through function by function.

Arriving at compromise was not easy by any means. It never is. But the point is, we can undertake the difficult work, if we choose to do so.

I was able to make a difference even as a member of the minority throughout my entire tenure in the House, by

reaching across the political aisle. In 1995, when the voters of Maine entrusted me to be their voice and their vote in the U.S. Senate and I was finally serving in the majority, I believed this kind of cooperative disposition would remain an indispensable commodity in meeting the challenges of the times.

That is why I joined the Senate Centrist Coalition shortly after arriving in the Senate, which had been formed by Senators John Chafee and John Breaux during the 1994 health reform debate to bridge the political divide. After Senator Chafee passed away in 1999, Senator Breaux and I thought it was an imperative that we revive the coalition to help foster bipartisanship following the divisiveness of the Senate impeachment trial. Following the landmark Supreme Court ruling in *Bush* v. *Gore* that adjudicated the Presidential election, and an evenly split Senate with 50 Republicans and 50 Democrats, Senate leaders Lott and Daschle joined with nearly one-third of the Senate at a meeting of the coalition to explore how to move forward in a bipartisan fashion.

It is precisely this kind of approach that is crucial, because it is only when we minimize the political barriers that we can maximize the Senate, allowing it to become an unparalleled incubator for results that truly matter to the American people.

It was a cross-aisle alliance that produced the so-called E-Rate Program in 1996. This was a landmark law ensuring every library and classroom in America would be wired to the revolutionary resources of the Internet, which one publication has ranked as fourth in a list of innovations and initiatives that have helped shape education technology over the past generation.

My good friend and colleague Senator Rockefeller, with whom I have been privileged to work on so many issues, was doggedly determined to enact this benchmark initiative. In typical fashion, Jay was not going to take no for an answer—which made us perfect partners and coauthors, as I was equally determined. By working with Members of both parties who were willing to hear the facts and judge on the merits, we overcame the hurdles and the E-Rate Program was born.

During the 2001 tax debates, Senator Blanche Lincoln and I as members of the Finance Committee joined together to increase the amount of the child tax credit and make it refundable, so that low-income families who didn't earn enough to pay Federal taxes could still benefit from the credit. Ulti-

mately, our measure was enacted, becoming only the second refundable tax credit ever, and ensuring the child tax credit would assist an additional 13 million more children and lift 500,000 of those children out of poverty.

I also think of how my friend, Senator Landrieu who is sitting here in the Chamber as well, and I formed the Senate Common Ground Coalition in 2006, to rekindle cross-party relations. Not only have Mary and I made history as the first women to serve simultaneously as chair and ranking on a standing committee, but we have worked together on numerous measures that are assisting America's greatest jobs generators, our small businesses.

In a shining example of what is possible with civility and bipartisan teamwork, Senator Ted Kennedy and I coauthored the landmark Genetic Nondiscrimination Act—to stop insurance companies and employers from denying or dropping coverage based on genetic tests, so individuals would not forgo those potentially life-saving tests. At that juncture, Democrats were in the majority—and traditionally, the chair of a committee takes the lead name on legislation. But Ted approached me and said essentially that, because my work on GINA had made it possible, it should be "Snowe-Kennedy" not "Kennedy-Snowe"—a magnanimous legislative gesture from the legislative lion of the U.S. Senate. I am proud to say GINA passed in 2008 and has been referred to as "the first major civil rights act of the 21st century."

So there are templates for working together effectively in the U.S. Senate on behalf of the American people. On occasion, it is the very institution of the Senate itself that is preserved when we stake out common ground.

Even in the highly charged atmosphere of the Presidential impeachment trial, we made the process work. During a gathering of the Republican Caucus, I advocated that we hold a bipartisan meeting in the Old Senate Chamber, to generate agreement between the parties on the conduct of the trial. The Senate had been about to decide the guidelines of the trial on a purely partisan basis, but by convening both parties, we were able to chart a logical, reasonable, and judicious course.

In 2005, I joined the so-called "Gang of 14," comprised of 7 Republicans and 7 Democrats and spearheaded largely by Senators John Warner, John McCain, Robert Byrd, and Ben Nelson. The group was formed to avert an institutional crisis as a result of repeated, systematic filibuster of President Bush's judicial nominees that had been a corrosive force on

the Senate. In response, the Republican majority was seeking to break the logjam by exercising the so-called "nuclear option," that would have jettisoned long-standing rules requiring 60 votes to end a filibuster.

That 60 vote threshold had always been a bulwark protecting the rights of the minority, but would have become just a simple majority vote. Yet, just as we were about to cross this political Rubicon, the Gang of 14 forged a pact based on mutual trust, that we would only support a filibuster of judicial nominees under what we labeled "extraordinary circumstances," and we would oppose the "nuclear option," an agreement that embodied the very manifestation of the power of consensus building.

So as this body contemplates changes to its rules in the next Congress, I would urge all of my colleagues who will return next year to follow the Gang of 14 template and exercise a similar level of caution and balance. Because what makes the Senate unique, what situates this institution better than any other to secure the continued greatness of our Nation, is that balance between accommodation of the minority and primacy of the majority. Regardless of who is in the minority, any suppression of the ability to debate and shape legislation is tantamount to silencing millions of voices and ideas—which are critical to developing the best possible solutions.

I have mentioned all these examples as illustrations of the boundless potential of the Senate—and that our problems are not insurmountable, if we refuse to be intractable. It is not about what is in the best interests of a single political party, but what is in the best interests of our country.

As far back as the fledgling days of our Nation, our Founding Fathers warned of the dangers of undue allegiance to political parties—a potential that Alexander Hamilton and James Madison specifically cited in the *Federalist Papers*. Now, one study by three political scientists pegs Congress at its highest level of polarization since the end of Reconstruction in 1877. It is true that, in the intervening years, we have had no duels to settle disagreements and no canings on the Senate floor as occurred in the earlier years of the Senate—although there was a physical brawl on the Senate floor in 1902. Yet, the fact we are still more polarized now than at any moment in 140 years speaks volumes.

So instead of focusing on issues as the Senate was uniquely established to do, we've become more like a parliamentary system where we simply vote in political blocs. We have de-

parted and diverged from the Senate's traditional rules and norms in a manner that is entirely contradictory to the historical purpose of the Senate and the role the Founding Fathers intended for the Senate to play.

The very name of our institution, the Senate, derives from the Latin root *senatus*, or council of elders, where the council of elders represented the qualities of experience and wisdom and not just some experience and some wisdom in a deliberative body, but more experience and more wisdom in the highest deliberative body.

For thousands of years, and for the Greeks and our Framers alike, the Senate has stood as an assembly where the lessons of individual experiences were translated by measured wisdom into stable collective judgments. Therefore, understanding through patience, appreciation through tolerance, and consensus through moderation are all required to reach such judgments and to do the work of the people. Indeed, I would argue it is only by recognizing and striving to meet the institutional ideals of the Senate that we can aspire to fill our obligations to those we represent.

We all take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States and to bear true faith and allegiance to the same. I have always believed this oath necessarily included a duty to support and defend the Senate as an institution and the integrity of its deliberative process. That requires the ability to listen before judging, to judge before advocating, and to advocate without polarizing. It also includes a capacity to differ with one's own party, and even to reach agreement and compromise with another party when one's own party is unable to prevail. Such leadership necessarily requires all Members to recognize their individual duty to serve the people best by serving our Chamber with the highest standards of consideration, deliberation, and explanation.

Former Supreme Court Justice Souter once said, and I am paraphrasing: All of the Court's hard cases are divisive because one set of values is truly at odds with another, and the Constitution gives no simple rule of decision. For, in truth, we value liberty as well as order, we value freedom as well as security, and we value fairness as well as equality.

So in the tough cases judges have a hard job of choosing not between those things that are good and those that are evil, but between the many, and often competing, good things that the Constitution allows. Justice Souter could have been talking about the work of the Senate and the

often difficult choices we too are required to make. This observation accepts the intrinsic competition that defines these difficult choices but resolves to rely on reason, meaning, and the reputational integrity of the process to make and explain the ultimate decisions.

Indeed, the Justice concluded his remarks by saying he knew of "no other way to make good on the aspirations that tell us who we are—and who we mean to be—as the people of the United States."

We have witnessed the heights the Senate is capable of reaching when it adheres to its founding precepts. Just think about how we came together in the aftermath of the catastrophic events of 9/11 to secure our country and to help heal our Nation. Just think about the major debates of the 20th century on such watershed issues as the establishment of Social Security, Medicare, and the Civil Rights Act. None of these profound advancements would have been woven into the fabric of our society today if they had been passed simply on party-line votes rather than the solidly bipartisan basis on which each of them was enacted.

I am not claiming there was some kind of golden age of bipartisanship where everyone all sang from the same legislative hymn book, and I am not advocating bipartisanship as some kind of an end unto itself. That is not the point. What I am saying is we have seen how cooperation in the past has resulted in great achievements, which likely never would have occurred if bipartisanship had not intervened as a means to attaining those most worthy ends.

Our grandest accomplishments in the Congress were also a reflection of the particular compromises and level of urgency required by the times in which they were forged. Recently, *New York Times* columnist David Brooks summarized this concept well when he wrote that there are policies that are not permanently right and that:

> [S]ituations matter most. Tax cuts might be right one decade but wrong the next. Tighter regulations might be right one decade, but if sclerosis sets in then deregulation might be in order.

As we confront the impending confluence of issues known as the fiscal cliff, we are at a moment of major significance that requires the application of the principle that Brooks describes. For the sake of the country, we must demonstrate to the American people that we are, in fact, capable of making the big decisions by putting in place an agreement and a framework to avoid the fiscal cliff before we adjourn this year.

We are surrounded by history perpetually in the Senate as well as throughout the Capitol. How could we not be inspired by it to rise to this occasion? Indeed, if you know history, you understand the very story of America's most formative days was defined by an understanding that effective governance requires the building of consensus, and such consensus is achievable even after the exercise of passionate advocacy, which, in conclusion, brings us back to the creation of a document we all cherish and revere; that is, our U.S. Constitution.

Madam President, 225 years ago, 55 leaders from divergent geographic and philosophical backgrounds converged on the city of Philadelphia to draft a new structure of government to strengthen our fledgling country. These were no shrinking violets. They had risked their lives and fortunes to establish a new nation under God, indivisible, with liberty, and justice for all.

They were strong willed and unabashedly opinionated. They disagreed and argued about a great many matters, both petty and consequential. Thomas Jefferson even considered Virginia, and not the United States, as his country. Yet by September of that year, 39 of the original delegates signed the most enduring and ingenious governing document the world has ever known, the Constitution of the United States.

It didn't happen because 55 people who shared identical viewpoints gathered in a room and rubber-stamped their unanimous thinking. It happened because these visionaries determined that the gravity and the enormity of their common goal necessitated the courage to advance decision-making through consensus.

I worry that we are losing the art of legislating. When the history of this chapter in the Senate is written, we don't want it to conclude it was here that it became an antiquated practice. So as I depart the Senate that I love, I urge all of my colleagues to follow the Founding Fathers' blueprint in order to return this institution to its highest calling of governing through consensus. For it is only then that the United States can ascend to fulfill the demands of our time, the promise of our Nation, and the rightful expectations of the American people.

Thank you, Madam President. May God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America.

TRIBUTES

TO

OLYMPIA J. SNOWE

Proceedings in the Senate

THURSDAY, *December 6, 2012*

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, many of our colleagues will be leaving us at the end of this Congress, and I wish to take time this morning to pay tribute to some of my colleagues, particularly those with whom I have worked most closely. Of course, I must start with my colleague and friend from Maine, OLYMPIA SNOWE.

In ancient Sparta, there was a saying that roughly translates as this: It seems all the world knows what is the right thing to do, but it is only the Spartans who will do anything about it.

As my friend, colleague, and senior Senator from Maine, OLYMPIA SNOWE, ends her service in the Senate, I rise to pay tribute to this descendant of that legendary civilization. OLYMPIA is a true leader who has always devoted her considerable intellect, energy, and commitment to doing what was right for Maine and for America. OLYMPIA SNOWE has dedicated her life to public service: 18 years in the Senate, preceded by 16 representing Maine's Second Congressional District, plus 5 in the Maine Legislature adds up to a remarkable record of commitment to our Nation and the great State of Maine.

That span of nearly four decades tells us only part of the story, for OLYMPIA has truly set the gold standard for public service. From the State house to the U.S. Capitol, OLYMPIA has built an outstanding reputation as an informed, thoughtful, and effective legislator. She can always be counted on as a leader with integrity who pursued solutions and who had no interest in just scoring partisan political points. It is OLYMPIA's character that has made all the difference.

The private acts of public figures can tell us a lot about their character, so I wish to share with my colleagues this morning a story about OLYMPIA SNOWE that I witnessed personally. There was a Republican fundraiser going on one night and I was arriving late, driving up in a car. People were streaming out of the fundraiser and each of them was

passing by a man who was on crutches, with only one leg, clearly destitute, clearly down on his luck, who was asking for money. Everybody but OLYMPIA SNOWE passed him by without a word, as if he were invisible. OLYMPIA went over to this destitute man on crutches, with one leg, and she not only handed him some money but she took the time to talk with him. I think that tells us so much about who OLYMPIA SNOWE is—her kindness to this individual, when everyone else was passing him by, her kindness to him when no one was watching, her kindness to him was a private act that told all of us so much about her character.

With her retirement from the Senate, OLYMPIA SNOWE will join the pantheon of great leaders our State has produced: Margaret Chase Smith, Ed Muskie, George Mitchell, and Bill Cohen. All of them, similar to OLYMPIA, exemplify the principle that public office is a sacred trust.

OLYMPIA's inspiring record of service is but part of an even more inspiring life story. Several times, from childhood on, OLYMPIA has been visited by tragedy that would have caused most people to become discouraged, disheartened, and negative. Each time OLYMPIA rose, transcended her personal tragedy, and was more determined than before to succeed and to contribute to a better life for others. Her well-deserved popularity among Maine people transcends party lines and is testament to her strength and her spirit.

The people of Maine and America are grateful for her many years of service. I am grateful for her leadership and her friendship. I know OLYMPIA SNOWE will continue to influence national policy for many years to come.

WEDNESDAY, *December 12, 2012*

Mr. MCCONNELL. . . . This morning I would like to say a few words about my friend and longtime colleague, Senator SNOWE.

She has devoted the last 40 years of her life to serving the people of Maine. It has been an honor to work alongside this remarkable woman for the last 18 years and to see up close her tenacity and tough-mindedness in the service of her constituents. Some have described Senator SNOWE's advocacy for Mainers as ferocious, and I think there are few better examples of that than the fight she waged on behalf of Maine after the BRAC recommendations of 2005.

When the list of targeted facilities came out, Senator SNOWE mounted what has been described as a relentless months-long campaign akin to a defense at a trial. She marshaled all the data and the best arguments. When decision day finally arrived, not only were two of the three Maine facilities told to remain open, one of them was actually expanded. It is stories such as this that help explain why OLYMPIA's constituents keep sending her back to Washington by such wide margins and why so many were shocked to hear that she would be leaving at the end of the year.

As one shipyard worker in Portsmouth whose job she helped save put it: "We love her, and she loves us. I can't recall ever saying that publicly about a U.S. Senator, but truly she's such a wonderful person."

As Senator SNOWE will tell you, many of her political views solidified during her modest Maine upbringing. Her parents ran a diner near Augusta. While they didn't have much, her father was adamant she receive a good education. So much so that he was dismayed to learn her kindergarten only lasted half the day. "He was convinced," she once said, "that I was getting off on the wrong foot."

It was at school that OLYMPIA first discovered her passion for politics. At St. Basil's Academy, a Greek Orthodox girls' school she attended until she was 15, she won her first election—as dorm president. She later graduated from Edward Little High School in Auburn, ME, and subsequently attended the University of Maine where, in 1969, she earned a degree in political science. It was also in college that she met Peter Snowe. Peter shared OLYMPIA's passion for politics. They married shortly after graduation. In 1972 Peter was elected to the State legislature, while OLYMPIA went to work as a legislative staffer for Maine Congressman Bill Cohen.

The young couple seemed well on their way to building a life together, but in 1973, in the midst of a winter snowstorm, tragedy struck. Peter was killed in a car crash, and at a still young age OLYMPIA was left to build a life for herself.

What could have marked the end of her political aspirations became a new beginning instead. As OLYMPIA once put it, she resolved to "make a positive out of a terrible negative." She ran for office in the special election held to fill her late husband's seat, and she won. It was the start of a long and distinguished career in public service.

OLYMPIA was subsequently reelected to the Maine House in 1974 and elected to the Maine Senate in 1976. In 1978, when Bill Cohen, her friend and former boss, ran for the U.S. Senate, she ran for his seat in the House of Representatives and won again.

At the age of 31, she was at the time the youngest Republican woman ever elected to Congress and 1 of just 16 women in the House. OLYMPIA served eight terms in the House. She was a member of the House Budget Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the former House Select Committee on Aging. Working with an Arizona lawyer named Jon Kyl and a Mississippi whip named Trent Lott, she helped turn minority Republicans into a potent legislative force, ensuring some of the biggest legislative victories of the Reagan era.

It was while serving in the House that OLYMPIA met Jock McKernan, who was a rising political star in his own right. Elected as Maine's second Congressman in 1982, Jock served alongside OLYMPIA in the House and was later elected Governor of Maine. The two were married in 1989, and they have been a great team since. As OLYMPIA puts it: "I have a wonderful partner in life. We've been able to ride the waves together."

When George Mitchell announced his retirement in 1994, OLYMPIA threw her hat into the ring and won by a landslide with 60 percent of the vote against her opponent's 36 percent and carrying every county in the State. Believe it or not, it was the smallest margin of victory she has enjoyed in three Senate races. With this victory, OLYMPIA became the only woman in history to serve in both houses of her State legislature and both Houses of Congress.

In the Senate, OLYMPIA has worked tirelessly as a member of the Finance Committee, the Armed Services Committee, the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, the Select Committee on Intelligence, and as chair of the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

A lot of people like to focus on OLYMPIA's independent streak, but my experience is that she herself has always cared most deeply about the people of Maine. She has gone through great efforts over the years to talk to her constituents directly. She once said, "I've made main street tours across this State a hallmark of my tenure in public office. They are like my secret poll."

It is through these tours that OLYMPIA decides which problems to fix—whether it was storm relief after the 1998 ice

storm, the fight I already mentioned to keep Maine's military facilities open, or reauthorization of the Northeast Dairy Compact on behalf of Maine's dairy farmers.

Of course, this isn't to downplay OLYMPIA's penchant for independence or for joining gangs. Senator SNOWE's maternal grandparents immigrated to the United States from Sparta, which may help explain her fighting spirit. Just like the Spartan King Leonidas, she has never been afraid of a fight—even with members of her own party.

She headed the Centrist Coalition with Senator Breaux. She cochaired the Common Ground Coalition with Senator Landrieu. In 1999 she was one of five Republicans to vote to acquit President Clinton of both articles of impeachment. And in 2005 she joined the bipartisan Gang of 14, which helped defuse an earlier dispute about threats to change the Senate rules.

Yet what many fail to mention is that despite her vaunted independence, OLYMPIA has always been a very proud Republican. She recently said:

> We believe as Republicans that the individual is more important than the State. We believe that the great days of our past can be a steppingstone to an even greater future. We believe a job is preferential to a handout and independence is better than dependence. We believe that the private sector is more productive than big government will ever be.

When it comes to a balanced budget—a top priority for the party—Senator SNOWE has been a true leader. She has been a longtime supporter of a balanced budget amendment. As far back as 1993, when she was still serving in the House, she was one of four initial sponsors of the legislation that would have mandated a balanced budget. One of her first acts as a Senator was to deliver a speech before a Senate committee in support of a balanced budget amendment.

OLYMPIA's many accomplishments have attracted broad notice outside of Washington. In 2004 *Forbes* named her "One of the 100 Most Powerful Women in the World," rating her even more influential than J.K. Rowling or Oprah. In 2006 *Time* named her one of the "Ten Best Senators," noting that she is "in the center of every policy debate in Washington."

I do not think anything compares with the honor that was bestowed on Senator SNOWE by the townspeople of Bethel, ME, who, in 1999, created the "Olympia SnowWoman," a 122-foot tall snowman that still ranks as the tallest snowman—or woman—ever built. It required 13 million pounds of snow, took more than 1 month to build, wore a 100-foot-long

scarf, had 2 entire 27-foot evergreen trees for arms, and required 16 pairs of skis for eyelashes.

"It's just my luck," Senator SNOWE said of the monument, "I'd have a world record breaking monument named after me, and it will be gone by summer."

OLYMPIA, you have had a truly remarkable career. We thank you for your service to this Chamber and most especially to the people of the great State of Maine. We wish you all the best in the next phase of your life and, as you think of what to put in your memoir, I would only ask one thing: Please, go easy on us.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Madam President, I rise during this morning business hour to speak—particularly during this time of tension as we are looking at the fiscal cliff—to really use a few minutes to pay a tribute to two wonderful, outstanding Senators with whom I have served and who will be leaving us at the end of this term. They are wonderful women named Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE of Maine and Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON of Texas, dear friends across the aisle. Although they were on the other side of the aisle, there was no great divide between us. We have known each other for many years.

I would like to say a few words about my very dear friend, Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE. I served with Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE in the U.S. House of Representatives and then in the U.S. Senate. Wow. What an outstanding Senator and Congressperson she has been, and I know we will continue to see Senator SNOWE in some type of role in public service because that is just the kind of person she is. She is deeply, in her DNA, a public servant.

Senator SNOWE has served her State of Maine and our Nation so well. She is one of our most respected Members of Congress, known for her civility, her sensibility, and her mastery of the issues. I might add that she brings that New England sense of a more frugal government but at the same time shows that you can do it in a compassionate, smart way.

I know her as a cherished friend, a dear colleague, and a crucial partner on so many issues. As I said, we served in the House and the Senate together. We worked on those issues I talk about, the macro-issues and the macaroni-and-cheese issues. We fought for a better economy, particularly in the area of small business; a safer country, as we worked on the Intelligence Committee together; and a more efficient government. Also, we worked together on many issues per-

taining to women. In the area of small business, she is currently the ranking member on the Small Business Committee, with our other colleague, Senator Mary Landrieu. She knows the backbone of Maine's economy is small business, and she also knows it is the backbone of the American economy.

I have watched her day in and day out being concerned about her fishermen who were out there working in the cold waters off of Georges Bank for lobsters and the small shop owners on Main Street. From the potato fields and lumber yards to L.L. Bean, OLYMPIA SNOWE has stood for them but also for the big issues in terms of jobs in the Bath shipyards.

In national security, we have worked together to look out for our troops over there and to protect our communities from predators back here. She has been steadfast and true. It is a committee that meets often behind closed doors, but I will tell you, this is a Senator who continually looks after the safety of the American people.

One of the areas in which I have worked the closest with her is the area of women's health. You might be interested to know that Senator SNOWE and I received the Good Housekeeping Outstanding Achievement Award for what we did to advance the cause of finding a cure for breast cancer. Now, when I called my sisters and told them I was getting a Good Housekeeping award, they thought it was the funniest thing they had ever heard. When I told them I was getting it with OLYMPIA SNOWE, they knew it had credibility. I say that because what we did in working together was in medical research and in clinical trials.

You might be interested to know that when I came to the Senate, the only other woman Senator was Nancy Kassebaum—another wonderful person across the aisle. Women were not included in the protocols at NIH. Can you believe that? That famous study—take an aspirin a day, keep a heart attack away—was done with 10,000 male medical students. Not one woman was there. They regarded including women in research as presenting deviant results. We were known as the deviant results. Well, Pat Schroeder; OLYMPIA SNOWE; another Republican Congresswoman, Connie Morella from Maryland—we said this couldn't continue. So we organized across the dome, across the aisle, and we went across the beltway to NIH. We pulled up and we demanded answers, scientific answers, on why we weren't included.

The day we pulled up in our cars on a bipartisan basis, George Bush the elder appointed Bernadine Healey to head

NIH. Then, again working together across the aisle and across the dome, working with Senators Kennedy and Harkin, we established the Office of Research on Women's Health at NIH. The famous hormonal replacement therapy study was done. It resulted in massive change in the way doctors treated women, and it has reduced breast cancer rates 15 percent.

So I say to all, when you ask, what did OLYMPIA SNOWE do, she would say: "I worked on a bipartisan basis." And because of what she did, we did, we all did working together, men and women, House and Senate, we have saved the lives of women 1 million at a time. I think that is a terrific accomplishment. No matter what Senator SNOWE does, she can cherish in her heart that she did that.

While we were busy doing the big picture, she helped me with an individual picture. We went to the refugee camps of Cambodia together, along with the Congresswomen. It was when the killing fields were at that time the highest. We saw the horrible consequences of war. We worked together to feed and care for the children.

I met a young girl in a refugee camp, in the Catholic Relief feeding camp. Working with Senator SNOWE, we brought that little girl to the United States of America. She is alive here today, married and living as an American citizen.

So what did OLYMPIA SNOWE do? She saved jobs and she saved lives. I am proud to work with her, and we are going to miss her. . . .

I am pretty emotional, actually, when I think about OLYMPIA and KAY. We have been together a long time. We welcome the Acting President pro tempore and your generation, but for those of us who maybe didn't build the Pyramids—and I hope Senator HUTCHISON can say the same—there is a lot of meaning in a Latin phrase I learned in Catholic girls school many years ago: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius:* We will build a monument more lasting than bronze.

When Senator HUTCHISON returns to Texas again to find a new way to serve the people of this country, she will know that here in this institution, along with Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE, they built monuments to last far longer than any statues made of bronze. They made a difference in the lives of people, and they have done it in a way they can be proud of and for which we can all be grateful.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Madam President, for those of us in the Chamber, and those of us listening, that [Ms. SNOWE's farewell speech] was one of those beautifully crafted and beautifully deliberated and eloquent statements not only about a Member's service as a Member of the U.S. Senate, but a vision of the world we created and what we can be again. It is so appropriate for the parting words of the Senator, who is truly among the great who has served here.

I have had the great pleasure of working with the Senator from Maine. As she very graciously pointed out, we served together on the Small Business Committee. We were the first of two women to chair a major committee for an entire Congress.

There are Members here—Senator Mikulski and others—who served for many years with Senator SNOWE. For the minute that I have before others speak, I just wanted to say that she has served for over 34 years in public office. Her integrity is beyond reproach. She served with intelligence and grace that is widely admired, not just on Capitol Hill and in her home State of Maine, but broadly throughout the United States and the world. Her capacity for hard work and tedious negotiations on important matters is inspiring to us all. She has been a clear and clarion voice for women and girls in Maine, the United States, and around the world, for their legal rights, their economic advancement, and their social advancement.

Above all, as we just heard, she has been a clarion call for common sense and common ground. She was literally involved in every major effort in the last 30 years to find common sense and common ground in a place that is getting harder and harder to find those two qualities every day. So it is with a deep sense of regret that I, for one, am going to have to say goodbye to her as a colleague and a Member of the Senate.

I want her to know that I will continue—and I know many of my colleagues feel this way—to work as closely with her in any capacity of her choice to continue to be a great voice for compassion, compromise, and common sense.

The people of Maine are losing a great Senator. The United States is losing a unique talent that has served this country and this institution so magnificently. We wish her the best, and we say a respectful goodbye.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Madam President, yesterday I had the honor of addressing the full Senate to pay a more amplified tribute to the gentlelady from Maine. I will miss her dearly and deeply. We have served both in the House and the Senate together. We have done real good things, including one of our finest bipartisan efforts in the area of women's health in getting women included in the protocols appropriately, the scientific way at NIH when we were excluded. We helped to advance the whole issue of more money for research for breast cancer and other diseases that are generally specific to women.

I will never forget the day when *Good Housekeeping* called and said that Senator SNOWE and I were going to get an award. I immediately called my family and told my sisters that I had won the Good Housekeeping Award. Well, they thought that was hilarious. I have many awards for speaking, longest serving, but not Good Housekeeping. When I told them I was getting the award with Senator SNOWE, they knew it had integrity, credibility, and was well deserved.

So I just want to, from the bottom of my heart, thank the people of Maine, who will express their gratitude for her service. She has a duty-driven approach, an uncommon sense to get the job done in a way that is inclusive and has benefited our entire country whether they be small business or the little people whose voices are never heard.

So we wish her God bless, Godspeed, and we hope to see her speaking out exactly on what she did today, a call toward citizenship and more bipartisanship and less partisanship.

God bless you, Senator SNOWE.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I also pay tribute to my friend and colleague, Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE, who is retiring from the Senate after 18 years of exemplary service representing the people of Maine.

Though thousands of miles apart, Maine and North Dakota face similar challenges. In particular, we share very similar climates. Our States' residents must endure long winters, and, for the most vulnerable, keeping their homes warm is sometimes a challenge. Senator SNOWE has always understood how difficult it can be for some families to pay their utility bills and keep their heat on through harsh winters and has been a tireless supporter of the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program, which provides struggling families in our States with the certainty of a warm home.

Senator SNOWE's constant attention to constituent concerns have made her one of the most popular Senators in the Nation, and her dedication to her State and country has not gone unrecognized. Throughout her 37 years of public service, Senator SNOWE has earned many honors and distinctions. In 2005, *Forbes* rated her as the 54th most powerful woman in the world. Later, in 2006, *Time* magazine recognized her as one of America's Best Senators. She was also recognized as one of eight female politicians that could run and be elected President of the United States.

Senator SNOWE is a true statesman and public servant, never hesitating to put people over politics and fiercely representing the values and needs of her constituents. Throughout all her years of service, her steady resolve, moderate voice, and willingness to work across the aisle have been a force in Washington. It has truly been an honor working with her to find practical solutions to our Nation's most pressing issues. In a time of partisan excess, Senator SNOWE's ability to reach compromises with Members on both sides of the aisle was extremely valuable to this venerable institution. She will be sorely missed.

I thank Senator SNOWE for her service to her country in the U.S. Senate and wish her the very best in the future.

TUESDAY, *December 18, 2012*

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I come to the floor now to bid farewell to one of the Senate's most respected Members, Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE from the great State of Maine. She chose to retire this year after a distinguished career in public service spanning nearly four decades, first in the Maine Legislature, 6 years in the U.S. House, and the last 18 years here in the U.S. Senate.

Throughout this remarkable career, she has been respected for her independence, always putting her values and country ahead of party and partisanship. She can, of course, be a very persuasive advocate for the conservative causes she holds dear, but, as we all know and appreciate, she is willing to buck party loyalty when she believes it is in error or when she believes in what is better for our country. Our future depends on bipartisanship. I cite, for example, when she voted in favor of the Recovery Act and the Dodd-Frank reform of Wall Street.

I especially admire Senator SNOWE's talent for reaching across the aisle and building bridges in order to get things done. On that score, she has represented the United States and her State of Maine at her very best, and that is just one of the many reasons why we are sad that she has chosen, voluntarily, to retire.

OLYMPIA SNOWE has been a wonderful colleague and friend, always congenial, always willing to listen, always willing to examine different sides of an issue. What more could we ask of any U.S. Senator? We have been fortunate to have had a Senator of her high caliber, intelligence, and character in this body for the last 18 years. I join with the entire Senate family in wishing her and John the very best in the years ahead.

THURSDAY, *December 20, 2012*

Mr. REED. Madam President, at this time I wish to take a few minutes to salute my colleagues who are retiring at the end of this year with the conclusion of the 112th Congress: Daniel Akaka of Hawaii, Jeff Bingaman of New Mexico, Scott Brown of Massachusetts, Kent Conrad of North Dakota, Jim DeMint of South Carolina, Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas, Herb Kohl of Wisconsin, Jon Kyl of Arizona, Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, Richard Lugar of Indiana, Ben Nelson of Nebraska, OLYMPIA SNOWE of Maine, and Jim Webb of Virginia. They have all worked ceaselessly to give their constituents the best representation and give the country the benefit of their views, their wisdom, and their experience. They are men and women who are committed to the Nation, and they have every day in different ways contributed to this Senate and to our great country.

I wish to thank them personally for their service, and, in so many cases, their personal kindness to me; for listening to my points and for, together, hopefully, serving this Senate and this Nation in a more positive and progressive way.

In particular, let me say a few words about some of the Members with whom I have had the privilege to work more closely. . . .

I have also had the privilege to work closely with another Member of this body, my colleague and friend, OLYMPIA SNOWE of Maine. Her willingness to reach across the partisan divide to advance legislation to benefit the Nation and the Senate and her State of Maine is, in my view, legendary.

I was pleased to work with her when it came to supporting our fishermen and lobstermen, who are critical to our local economies. She and I have worked closely together on a host of other issues, including supporting strong investments in LIHEAP and our Nation's libraries. . . .

I could go on with all of my colleagues, just thanking them for their friendship, for their camaraderie, and for their commitment to the Nation and the Senate. As they depart, they have left an extraordinary legacy. Now it is our responsibility to carry on in so many different ways, and I hope we measure up to what they have done. If we do, then we can go forward confidently.

With that, I yield the floor.

FRIDAY, *December 21, 2012*

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, it is an unfortunate reality that the number of people in Washington working for bipartisan solutions is significantly smaller than the number of people claiming to do so or proclaiming the need to do so. Nearly everyone seeks the "bipartisan" label; fewer wear it comfortably or practice bipartisanship regularly.

That is one reason I am sad to see OLYMPIA SNOWE leave the Senate. Over three terms, Senator SNOWE has represented the people of Maine with intelligence and, yes, moderation. Here's how *Time* magazine put it in 2006, in naming Senator SNOWE one of the Nation's 10 Best Senators: "Because of her centrist views and eagerness to get beyond partisan point scoring, Maine Republican OLYMPIA SNOWE is in the center of every policy debate in Washington." I've been lucky to observe her work in those debates.

Start with her work on the Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee, where she has served both as chairman and ranking member. As a member of the committee, I have appreciated her dedicated advocacy for small business. She has worked hard to support SBA's Microloan Program and programs for women-owned businesses. She has helped improve SBA's trade and export finance programs; elevated the SBA's Office of International Trade and added export finance specialists to the SBA's trade and counseling programs; and established the State Export Promotion Grant Program, designed to increase the number of small businesses that export goods and services.

Senator SNOWE also has been an enthusiastic supporter of our Nation's manufacturers. As a former cochair of the Senate Task Force on Manufacturing, she has worked to strengthen programs such as the Manufacturing Extension Partnership, which helps American manufacturers research and develop new technologies, increase efficiency, improve supply chains and out-innovate our overseas competitors. American workers from Maine to Michigan and beyond are better off for her support of this vital sector of the American economy.

Beyond manufacturing, our States are linked in another way: the historical lighthouses that dot our shores. I was pleased that Senator SNOWE joined me in offering the National Lighthouse Stewardship Act, which would help local governments or nonprofit groups preserve these prized structures for the appreciation of generations to follow.

I was also fortunate to serve with her on the Armed Services Committee, where she served as chair of the Seapower Subcommittee. She was a strong advocate for the men and women of the Navy and Marine Corps, and worked diligently to ensure that the Department of the Navy had the people and hardware the Navy needs to defend our Nation's interests.

On these and other issues, Senator SNOWE has worked across party lines for the good of her constituents and our Nation. I can think of no issue that better demonstrates her ability to reach beyond partisan interest than one of the most controversial issues of our time together here: the Iraq war.

I worked with Senator SNOWE and a bipartisan group of Senators who believed the status quo in Iraq was no longer acceptable and who worked together to chart a new course.

We joined together to advance our collective view that the primary purpose of U.S. strategy in Iraq should be to pressure the Iraqi political leadership to make the compromises necessary to end the violence in Iraq while accelerating the training of Iraqi troops to take responsibility for their own security.

We made clear that the open-ended commitment of U.S. forces to Iraq was over, thereby undermining the Al Qaeda narrative that we were there as occupiers and signaling to the people and Government of Iraq that the time for political reconciliation had come.

As Senator SNOWE rightly pointed out at the time:

The Iraqi Government needs to understand that our commitment is not infinite. Americans are losing patience with the failure of the leadership in Baghdad to end the sectarian violence and move toward national reconciliation.

She continued:

It is imperative that Congress understands the importance of placing the future of Iraq's independence in the hands of those who should want it most—the Iraqi people and their government.

As members of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Senator SNOWE and I also worked as part of the committee's effort to investigate the misuse of pre-war Iraq intelligence by policymakers.

Senator SNOWE's support for the investigation and its findings, in the face of strong criticism from some in her own party, was important to bring transparency to the decision to go to war in Iraq and will help to ensure the American public is not similarly misled in the future.

Senator SNOWE recently took another principled stand, in what will likely be her last vote as a member of the Intelligence Committee, when she was the only Republican member to vote to adopt the committee's report on the CIA's Detention and Interrogation Program. That report definitively shows that torture is not effective in eliciting intelligence and will hopefully significantly influence how our Nation deals with the detention and interrogation of those we capture in the future.

OLYMPIA SNOWE's service has been of enormous benefit to the people of her State. She is rightly respected in this Chamber, and around this country, as a leader who has not just talked a good game when it comes to bipartisanship, but has followed words with action, often at the cost of no little political discomfort for her. To the very end of her tenure here, she has fought, as she put it just last week on this, "to return this institution to its highest calling of governing through consensus."

I want to thank her for the many ways in which she has supported programs important to Michigan, and for the thoughtful approach she has brought to the many challenges we have faced together. As she returns to Maine, I wish OLYMPIA and Jock every success in whatever endeavors may come. And I hope we can take to heart Senator SNOWE's wise words as we seek to answer the challenges before us.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, it has long been a Senate tradition to take a moment as the current session of Congress draws to a close to express our appreciation and acknowledge

the many contributions each retiring Senator has made to our legislative deliberations both on the floor and in committee. We will miss them when the gavel brings to a close the 112th Congress—especially Senators like OLYMPIA SNOWE who have made an important difference during their service.

With OLYMPIA's retirement Maine has lost a very powerful and effective legislator and our Nation's small business community has lost the support of a great champion. Throughout her service in the Senate OLYMPIA has shown her great understanding of our economy and her commitment to keeping our small businesses strong and vibrant. She knows that our small businesses are truly the backbone of our economies—on the local, State, and national level and everything we can do to keep them going strong will have the greatest impact on our efforts to keep our American dream alive and available to the people of our great Nation.

OLYMPIA has very strong roots in Maine, and she has an in-depth understanding of the priorities of the people of her home State and what they expect her to work on here in Washington. That is why she has a well-deserved reputation for being a thoughtful and careful legislator, one who looks closely at all the details of a bill before making her decision, based on its merits.

I don't think I've ever met a Senator who was a more avid reader than OLYMPIA. Whenever the Senate takes up an issue, she is always looking for more materials to read that will help her develop creative and innovative solutions to our Nation's problems.

Then, when the matter comes up for our review in committee or on the floor, she has at the ready several articles that will drive home and anchor the point she is making. No one is better at researching an issue than OLYMPIA and then, when the matter is up for debate, making it clear what she believes to be the best way to tackle the problem. No matter the topic, it's always a plus to have her on your side.

In the years to come, I will always remember OLYMPIA's dedication and firm resolve to get things done. As we worked together on several issues, it was clear she had a wealth of knowledge about how each provision of a bill would play out. She brought some very good ideas to the process and her input helped to make each bill better.

OLYMPIA had always been known as a powerful and effective speaker. Someone with the ability to not only present her position with clarity and precision, but who could also

persuade others to her point of view with her commonsense approach to problem solving. Those skills and so many more helped her to make a difference throughout her home State of Maine during her career in public service. In the end, that is why she was so successful in the politics of her home State. The people of Maine know OLYMPIA and they appreciate her efforts on their behalf. Over the years OLYMPIA has compiled a record of success of which she can truly be proud.

I know I join with the people of Maine in telling OLYMPIA how much we appreciate her willingness to serve. She could have followed so many different career paths, but she was determined to make Maine a better place for our children and our grandchildren. Thanks, too, for her friendship and her support on the issues on which we worked together. OLYMPIA is an individual of great strength and firm convictions and will be missed in the months to come.

I don't know what the Senator has planned for the next great adventure in her life, but whatever it is I am certain we haven't heard the last from her. We will always be pleased to hear her thoughts about the issues we have before us here in the Senate.

THURSDAY, *December 27, 2012*

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, in today's U.S. Senate, moderates are few. At the end of this Congress, we will lose another: Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE, who has served the State of Maine in the U.S. Senate for nearly two decades. She has spent nearly her entire adult life in public service, and the people of Maine have revered her dedication to her home State and to civic engagement.

Just the 23d woman to serve in the U.S. Senate, Senator SNOWE has risen through the ranks in her tenure in this body, most recently serving as the top Republican on the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee. There she has focused on promoting women in small business. She was instrumental in establishing Women's Business Centers through the Small Business Administration, a network of nearly 100 centers designed to level the playing field for women looking to start a small business. Most recently, she has worked to advance legislation to establish a task force specifically devoted to women entrepreneurs.

Senator SNOWE has been a great friend to the environment as well. She has worked closely with me to protect our na-

tional forests and environment. She has partnered with me to strengthen the Forest Legacy Program—important to both Vermont and Maine—as well as the Land and Water Conservation Fund. She has been a stalwart advocate for the Community Development Block Grant Program, and for years, she and I teamed together to protect this important community development program. Senator SNOWE has been a strong supporter of the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program, LIHEAP. The shared challenges of our States—rural, New England States—have given us many reasons to work together, and our partnership in these issues is one that I will miss.

Notably, Senator SNOWE, at a time when so many simply tow the party line, never feared voting her conscience over her political affiliation. Her support for the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, which spurred development amid the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, was instrumental in funneling necessary resources to the States. She supported advancing comprehensive health care reform legislation to the Senate floor, so the Senate as a whole could debate the issue. And she has stood up for women in important health care choices.

When Senator SNOWE announced earlier this year that she intended to retire, she lamented the partisan shift she has seen in Congress. During her long career in public service, Senator SNOWE put her State and the Nation first. It's a lesson we can all follow. I wish OLYMPIA the best in her retirement and I will truly miss serving with her. Her farewell speech to the Senate should be required reading in every high school and college civics and government class.

FRIDAY, *December 28, 2012*

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I would like to pay tribute to the Senators who will not be returning when the 113th Congress commences next month. I have already spoken about Senator Kyl and about Senator Inouye, one of the truly great Americans and giants of this institution. At the time of his death, Senator Inouye was just a few weeks short of celebrating 50 years of Senate service. Only Senator Byrd served in this institution longer.

Turnover is a natural occurrence, but it's important to acknowledge that the Senators who are departing have served in the Senate for a combined total of 237 years, or

nearly 20 years per Senator, on average. Add Senator Inouye, and the total is close to 300 years. That service represents an enormous amount of expertise on issues ranging from national defense and foreign affairs to the Federal budget to energy policy. The departing Senators will also take with them vast institutional knowledge and bipartisan friendships and working relationships that will leave a void we will need to fill. . . .

Mr. President, few people have faced the personal adversity Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE has overcome on her way to becoming the youngest Republican woman ever elected to the U.S. House of Representatives; the first woman to have served in both houses of a State legislature and both Houses of the U.S. Congress, and the first Greek-American Congresswoman. Senator SNOWE, a first-generation American, was orphaned at a young age and then her uncle, who was raising her with his family, died a few years later. Her first husband was killed in a car accident when she was just 26 and, later, her 20-year-old stepson died from a heart ailment. And yet, Senator SNOWE didn't just persevere. She ran for her late husband's seat in the Maine House of Representatives at the age of 26 and won. She was reelected to the State house in 1974 and, in 1976, won election to the Maine Senate. She was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1978, and represented Maine's Second Congressional District from 1979 to 1995.

Senator SNOWE successfully ran for the seat vacated by former Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell in 1994, winning 60 percent of the vote. She was reelected in 2000 and 2006, winning 69 percent and 74 percent of the vote, respectively. In nearly 40 years of holding elective office, Senator SNOWE has never lost an election.

During her time in office, Senator SNOWE has been a quintessential Yankee Republican, putting her constituents and the Nation ahead of political party. While she served in the House, she was a member of the moderate wing of the Republican Party known as Gypsy Moths, working with southern Democrats known as Boll Weevils to forge bipartisan budgets. Here in the Senate, she was a member of the Gang of 14. Prior to that, during the Senate's 1999 impeachment trial of then-President Bill Clinton, she worked with her Maine colleague, Senator Susan Collins, to find a middle ground approach, drafting a motion that would have allowed the Senate to vote separately on the charges, and the remedy a "finding of fact" resolution. When the motion failed, Sen-

ator SNOWE and Senator Collins demonstrated the courage of their convictions by voting to acquit the President on the grounds that his actions didn't warrant his removal from office.

During consideration of the 2001 tax cuts, Senator SNOWE worked with former Senator Blanche Lincoln, a Democrat from Arkansas, to increase the amount of the child tax credit and make it refundable, so that low-income families who don't earn enough to pay Federal taxes could still benefit from the credit, ensuring that it would assist an additional 13 million more children and lift 500,000 of those children out of poverty. But 2 years later, she joined Senators Lincoln Chafee and John McCain as the only Republicans to oppose the 2003 tax cuts. Pragmatism, not fealty to a rigid political ideology, has been her guiding principle.

Senator SNOWE was one of eight Republican Senators to vote to repeal the "don't ask, don't tell" policy. Although she represents a largely rural, pro-hunting State, she has supported sensible gun control measures. She teamed with our former colleague, Senator Ted Kennedy, to coauthor the landmark Genetic Nondiscrimination Act, which prevents insurance companies and employers from denying or dropping coverage based on genetic tests. I have been proud to work with Senator SNOWE on a number of small business initiatives, including our legislation to increase the cap on surety bonds.

Senator SNOWE has stated repeatedly that she inherited a legacy of bipartisanship and independence from former Maine Senator Margaret Chase Smith, who delivered her seminal "Declaration of Conscience" speech against the bullying tactics, smear campaigns, and intimidation of former Senator Joe McCarthy. As Senator SNOWE remarked in her farewell speech the other day, Senator Smith's stand demonstrated truly uncommon courage and principled independence. Senator SNOWE has been a worthy heir and guardian of Senator Smith's legacy. We will miss her common sense, her pragmatic approach to governing, and her ability to promote bipartisan consensus. . . .

Mr. President, these men and women who will be leaving the Senate soon have made extraordinary sacrifices to serve our Nation. We are fortunate that they have chosen to spend significant parts of their lives in public service. All Americans owe them a debt of gratitude. Those of us who will be in the Senate next month when the 113th Congress convenes can best honor the legacy of our departing colleagues by

reaching across the aisle as they have done so many times to forge bipartisan consensus and solutions to our Nation's most vexing problems. The men and women who will be leaving the Senate at the end of this Congress understand that compromise isn't a dirty word; it is the genius at the heart of our political system. We will miss them.

SUNDAY, *December 30, 2012*

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I rise to recognize my colleague and friend, Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE, as she plans to retire from the U.S. Senate. Her nearly four-decade career in Congress has been one of distinction and unwavering public service to Maine and the United States.

Senator SNOWE's achievements are numerous. In 1978 she became the youngest Republican and first Greek-American woman to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1994 when she was first elected to the U.S. Senate, she became the fourth woman to serve in both Houses of Congress. She also has the distinction of being the first Republican woman to secure a full-term seat on the Senate Finance Committee. In total, she has won more Federal elections in Maine than any other person since World War II—a testament to how loved she is by her constituency.

Senator SNOWE has worked extensively on a number of issues, including budget and fiscal responsibility, veterans, education, national security, welfare reform, oceans and fisheries issues, and campaign finance reform. It has been my pleasure to work with Senator SNOWE on the Senate Oceans Caucus, where together we have stressed the importance of ocean policy and the crucial role our oceans play in all aspects of life in our respective States and across America.

I also appreciate Senator SNOWE's leadership on the Small Business Committee, where she has been a strong advocate for small businesses in Maine and across the country.

I know that I speak for all the female Senators in the U.S. Senate when I say it is sad to see such a well-respected female colleague retire. Senator SNOWE deserves the highest accolades for her service to this Nation. This is a woman who has done remarkably well by the American people, by her constituents in Maine, and by her colleagues in the U.S. Senate.

I personally admire her efforts to always work in a bipartisan manner. Her moderation and willingness to listen to all

sides of an issue are examples for us all. I am encouraged that she intends to continue her efforts to advance good public policy by working to help elect those who are unafraid to stand in the middle and work to build consensus.

On behalf of the U.S. Senate, I thank Senator SNOWE for her dedication to her country, and I congratulate her on her retirement. I also want to recognize her husband Jock, who has also been an amazing public servant.

MONDAY, *December 31, 2012*

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I wish to recognize my colleague OLYMPIA SNOWE for her many years of distinguished service and leadership on behalf of our country and the great State of Maine.

OLYMPIA has long been a friend and mentor to me. In fact, she was assigned to be my official Republican mentor in the Senate, and she has been a great one.

That was almost 6 years ago. So much has happened in that time, but throughout it all I have continued to be impressed with OLYMPIA's grace, composure, and unfailing ability to find commonsense solutions. Time and again, she has reached across the aisle to put politics aside and get things done for the good of her State and the country.

In addition to being a voice for bipartisanship, OLYMPIA has earned a reputation as one of the Senate's most masterful policymakers. I've seen this first hand, while working with her on a number of different issues over the years. OLYMPIA cosponsored my very first major bill in the Senate, "Carbon Counter" legislation to reduce carbon emissions and combat global climate change.

I also had the pleasure of working with her to create an airline passengers bill of rights, which was included in the 2011 FAA reauthorization bill and has led to a significant decrease in tarmac delays. We joined forces again this year, on legislation aimed at addressing sexual assault in our military by improving the process for tracking and reviewing claims.

Working with OLYMPIA these last 6 years has been an incredible privilege for me. I've respected her as a policymaker, particularly for her work on national security and small business issues. I've admired her for her outspoken leadership and commonsense approach to legislating. And maybe most important, I've genuinely enjoyed her as a friend and

a colleague—for her kindness, her wisdom, and her unfailing good nature.

OLYMPIA has been a truly outstanding voice for the State of Maine and a great leader for the people of this country. To say that she will be missed would be a tremendous understatement, but I know she will continue to find ways to improve our great country and give back to the State she loves so much. Thank you, Senator SNOWE. I wish you the best.

WEDNESDAY, *January 2, 2013*

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my colleagues, Senators Kay Bailey Hutchison and OLYMPIA SNOWE.

We have served together in the Senate for two decades and I will dearly miss their grace and their friendship. I know that whatever the next chapter brings, both Senator Hutchison and Senator SNOWE will leave a lasting and important legacy.

Both of these Senators are true pioneers. When she first entered Congress, Senator SNOWE was the youngest Republican woman ever to serve in the House of Representatives. Senator Hutchison graduated law school in 1967 as one of only 5 women in a class of 445 men. When she arrived in the Senate in 1993, she became the first woman to represent Texas in this Chamber.

Throughout her career, Senator SNOWE has been a strong advocate for the people of Maine. Whether they were children, families, consumers, or small business owners—the people of Maine knew they had a great champion in Senator SNOWE.

Senator SNOWE always worked across party lines to get things done for the American people. During her time in the House, she worked with Senator Mikulski to lead the fight to end the exclusion of women in health trials at the National Institutes of Health. She worked with Senator Rockefeller to help bring the Internet to America's libraries and classrooms. She worked with Senator Ted Kennedy to pass the Genetic Nondiscrimination Act.

Senator SNOWE and I worked together on many bills over the years, but I will especially remember our work on the passengers' bill of rights to provide basic protections for airline passengers. I will also remember the many times we

fought together to ensure equality for women around the world.

Senator SNOWE was a true leader and her presence in the Senate will be greatly missed. . . .

I will miss my colleagues, both on the Senate floor and at our monthly women Senators dinners.

I wish them both well in all their future endeavors.

THURSDAY, *February 7, 2013*

ORDER FOR PRINTING OF TRIBUTES

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed as a Senate document a compilation of materials from the *Congressional Record* in tribute to the retiring Members of the 112th Congress.

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

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