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# Daniel Patrick Moynihan

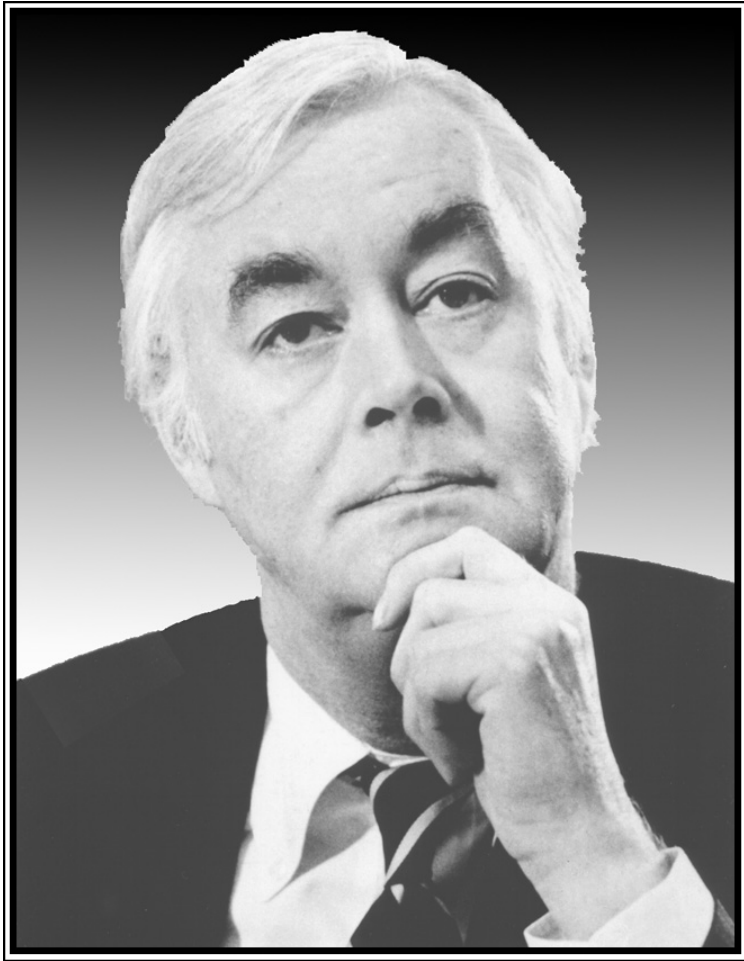
LATE A SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES AND  
OTHER TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF  
THE UNITED STATES



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Daniel Patrick Moynihan

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S. Doc. 108-5

# Memorial Addresses and Other Tributes

HELD IN THE SENATE  
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE UNITED STATES  
TOGETHER WITH A MEMORIAL SERVICE  
IN HONOR OF

## DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

*Late a Senator from New York*

One Hundred Eighth Congress  
First Session



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## BIOGRAPHY

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN served as the senior U.S. Senator from New York. First elected in 1976, Senator MOYNIHAN was re-elected in 1982, 1988, and 1994. He then became a university professor at Syracuse University and a senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. In May 2001, President George W. Bush appointed him co-chair of the President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security. He also served as a member of the National Commission on Federal Election Reform (2001).

Senator MOYNIHAN was the ranking minority member of the Senate Committee on Finance, having earlier served as chairman. He was on the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works of which he was also formerly chairman, and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. He was also a member of the Joint Committee on Taxation and the Joint Committee on the Library. A member of the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford, Senator MOYNIHAN is the only person in American history to serve in the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet for four successive administrations. He was U.S. Ambassador to India from 1973 to 1975 and U.S. Representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1976. In February 1976 he represented the United States as president of the U.N. Security Council.

Senator MOYNIHAN was born March 16, 1927. He attended public and parochial schools in New York City and graduated from Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem. He attended the City College of New York for 1 year before enlisting in the U.S. Navy. He served on active duty from 1944 to 1947, last serving as Gunnery Officer of the U.S.S. *Quirinus*. In 1966 he completed 20 years in the Naval Reserve and was retired. He earned his bachelor's degree (*cum laude*) from Tufts University, studied at the London School of Economics as a Fulbright scholar, and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Tufts' Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Senator MOYNIHAN was a member of Averell Harriman's New York gubernatorial campaign in 1954 and thereafter served 4 years on the Governor's staff, in positions including

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acting secretary to the Governor. He was a Kennedy delegate at the 1960 Democratic Convention. From 1961 to 1965, he served in the U.S. Department of Labor as Assistant to the Secretary, Arthur J. Goldberg, and later as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research. In 1966, Senator MOYNIHAN became director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was a professor of government at Harvard, having earlier been an assistant professor of government at Syracuse University, and a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University. He has received 65 honorary degrees including a doctorate of laws from Yale University in 2000 and from Harvard University in 2002. Senator MOYNIHAN is the author or editor of 18 books. His last book, *Secrecy*, was published by Yale in the fall of 1998. The study expands on the report of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy, of which he was chairman. Starting in 1977, Senator MOYNIHAN published an annual accounting of the flow of funds between the Federal Government and the State of New York. In 1992, the analysis became a joint publication with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government at the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard and began including all 50 States.

Senator MOYNIHAN was a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). He was chairman of the AAAS section on Social, Economic and Political Science (1971–1972) and a member of the board of directors (1972–1973). He served as a member of the President’s Science Advisory Committee (1971–1973). He was vice chairman (1971–1976) of the board of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

He was founding chairman of the board of trustees of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (1971–1985), for which he received the Smithsonian Institution’s Joseph Henry Medal in 1985. From 1987 to 2001, he was a member of the Smithsonian’s board of regents, and in 2001 was named regent emeritus.

In 1965, Senator MOYNIHAN received the Arthur S. Flemming Award for his work as “an architect of the Nation’s program to eradicate poverty.” He has also received the International League of Human Rights Award (1975) and the John LaFarge Award for Interracial Justice (1980). In 1983, he was the first recipient of the American Political Science Association’s Hubert H. Humphrey Award for “nota-



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ble public service by a political scientist.” In 1984, Senator MOYNIHAN received the State University of New York at Albany’s Medallion of the University in recognition of his “extraordinary public service and leadership in the field of education.” In 1986, he received the Agency Seal Medallion of the Central Intelligence Agency in recognition of his “outstanding accomplishments as a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, . . . serving with full knowledge that his achievements would never receive public recognition.”

He has also received the Laetare Medal of the University of Notre Dame (1992); the Thomas Jefferson Award for Public Architecture from the American Institute of Architects (1992); the Thomas Jefferson Medal for Distinguished Achievement in the Arts or Humanities from the American Philosophical Society (1993); and the Thomas Jefferson Medal in Architecture from the University of Virginia (2000). In 1994, he received the Gold Medal Award honoring “services to humanity” from the National Institute of Social Sciences. In 1997, the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University awarded Senator MOYNIHAN the Cartwright Prize. He was the 1998 recipient of the Heinz Award in Public Policy for “having been a distinct and unique voice in this century—independent in his convictions, a scholar, teacher, statesman and politician, skilled in the art of the possible.” In August 2000, he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Nation’s highest civil honor. He was the recipient in October 2001 of the second annual Urban Land Institute-J.C. Nichols Prize for Visionary Urban Development in recognition of his lifelong dedication to excellence in urban design, public building architecture and community revitalization issues.

Elizabeth Brennan Moynihan, his wife of 47 years, is an architectural historian with a special interest in 16th century Mughal architecture in India. She is the author of *Paradise as a Garden: In Persia and Mughal India* (1979), editor of *The Moonlight Garden: New Discoveries at the Taj Mahal* (2001) and numerous articles. Mrs. Moynihan is a former chairman of the board of the American Schools of Oriental Research. She served as a member of the Indo-U.S. Subcommission on Education and Culture, and is currently on the visiting committee of the Freer Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian. She is vice chair of the board of the National Building Museum and serves on the Trustees Council of the Preservation League of New York State. There are three

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Moynihan children: Timothy Patrick, Maura Russell, and John McCloskey; along with two grandchildren: Michael Patrick and Zora Olea.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES  
AND  
OTHER TRIBUTES  
FOR  
DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN



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## Proceedings in the Senate

WEDNESDAY, *March 26, 2003*

### TRIBUTE TO DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mrs. CLINTON. Madam President, I come to the floor on very sad business, both for this body, for my State, and my country. We have just received word that Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN has passed away. For those of us who were privileged to know him, to work with him, to admire and respect him, this is a loss beyond my capacity to express.

Senator MOYNIHAN for decades represented the highest ideals and values of the United States of America. A son of Hell's Kitchen in New York City, he rose to be a confidante and adviser to Presidents. He is responsible for many of the most important ideas and legislative programs that have improved the lives of people in New York, people here in Washington, DC, and our country and around the world.

I am very honored to hold the seat that Senator MOYNIHAN held for so long and so well. Along with his wonderful wife Liz Moynihan, they have been great counselors and advisers to me personally. I will miss him greatly.

Sometimes when I sit here on the floor of the Senate, I wish that Senator MOYNIHAN could be here in spirit as well as body, that his wise counsel could influence our decision-making, that he would remind us that what we do, what we say, what we vote for is not just for today, it is for all time. It goes down into the history books. It represents the judgments that we make. It truly displays the values that we claim to hold.

He understood that being a U.S. Senator was a precious trust. Anyone who ever heard him speak knows the experience of learning more than you ever thought possible in a short period of time. He could explain and expound on such a range of subjects that it took my breath away. I remember riding with him through western New York on a bus during the 1992 campaign and hearing the most exquisite disposition about the history of the Indian nations, the Revolutionary War, the geological formations. The love he had for New

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York and America was overwhelming and so obvious to anyone who spent more than a minute in his company.

He also held high standards about what we should expect from this great country of ours. He wanted us to keep looking beyond the short term, looking beyond the horizon, thinking about the next generation, understanding the big problems that confront us, having the courage to tackle what is not immediately popular, even not immediately understandable, because that is what we are charged to do in this deliberative body.

Senator MOYNIHAN's scholarly undertakings also will stand the test of time. He sometimes was ahead of his time. In each of his writings or his speeches, whether you agreed with him or not, you were forced to think and think hard. He certainly opened my eyes to a lot of difficult issues.

I could not have had a stronger, more helpful adviser during my campaign than Senator MOYNIHAN. I started my listening tour of my exploration of whether or not to run for this office at Pindars Corners, his farm in upstate New York, a place that he loved beyond words.

I met him in a little schoolhouse, a 19th century schoolhouse that was on the property where he wrote. He would walk down the road from his house to that little schoolhouse every day where he would think deeply and write about the issues that he knew would be important, not just for tomorrow's headline but for years and years to come.

There is not any way that anyone will ever fill his place in this Senate, not just in the order of succession definition but in the intellectual power, the passion, the love of this extraordinary body and our country. He will be so missed.

On behalf of myself and my family and the people I represent, I extend my condolence and sympathy not only to his wonderful family and not only to New Yorkers who elected him time and time again, increasing majorities from one end of the State to the next, but to our country. We have lost a great American, an extraordinary Senator, an intellectual, and a man of passion and understanding about what really makes this country great.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I rise in abject sadness on the horrible news that Senator MOYNIHAN has passed from our midst. When it was announced in our caucus that this terrible event had occurred, you could just see the energy come out of the room and the sadness come on everybody's face. Senator MOYNIHAN was a unique individ-

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ual. He wasn't just another Senator. He wasn't just another human being. He was very special.

Rarely has one man changed society so with his ideas, the idea that one man can change society for the better. Senator MOYNIHAN's life was testament to that fact. His life was testament to the fact that one man who just thinks can make an enormous difference. He was truly a giant—a giant as a thinker, as a Senator, and as a human being. He was a kind and compassionate person, a loving husband. Liz, our thoughts go out to you and to all of the Moynihan children and family. I have known him for a very long time.

When I was a student at Harvard College, I audited his course. I got to know him a little bit then. As I went through my congressional career, we used to have lunch every so often. He was a complete joy to just sit down and have lunch with and exchange ideas.

He looked out for people. He cared about people. He had real courage. When he disagreed with the conventional wisdom, nothing would stop PAT MOYNIHAN from making his view heard and making it heard in such an interesting and intellectually and thoughtful way.

Again, he changed our world for the better. There are hundreds of millions of human beings in this country who do not know it, but he made their lives better. There are billions of people in the world, and through his work he made their lives better.

Senator MOYNIHAN was loved in my home State of New York from one end of the State to the other. We are a big, broad, diverse State. It is very hard to find consensus with 19 million New Yorkers, but just about everybody loved PAT MOYNIHAN. He did it through a big heart and a great mind.

He is now with his Maker. I know I will be looking up to the heavens for inspiration, as I looked to Senator MOYNIHAN's office when he was still with us.

I very much regret his passing. I pray for the Moynihan family and for the children. I hope God gives us a few more PAT MOYNIHANS in this Senate and in this country. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I commend the distinguished Senator from New York for his eloquence and his empathy for the family especially of our departed colleague, PAT MOYNIHAN.

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The Senator from New York used the term “giant,” and, indeed, in this case, I can think of no better word to describe the man, the magnitude, the depth, the history, the persona of PAT MOYNIHAN.

*The Almanac of American Politics* called PAT MOYNIHAN the Nation’s best thinker among politicians since Lincoln and its best politician among thinkers since Jefferson. Scholar, educator, statesman, adviser to four Presidents—Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford—Pat MOYNIHAN was the only person in American history to serve in a Cabinet or sub-Cabinet position in four successive administrations.

As my colleagues have noted, he represented the State of New York for 24 years in the Senate with unique vision, imagination, intelligence, and integrity. In many respects, PAT MOYNIHAN was larger than life, whether on the streets of New York or in the corridors of this Capitol. He was a beloved father, grandfather, friend, and colleague to so many of us.

I, too, extend my condolences on behalf of the entire Senate to his wife Liz, to his children, Tim, Maura, and John, his grandchildren, Zora and Michael Patrick. New York and the Nation have lost a giant.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I was very sorry to learn of the passing of our good friend and great Senator from New York, Senator MOYNIHAN. I wanted to come and extend condolences on behalf of myself and a lot of other Senators to the family, the children, the grandchildren, and the people of New York, and to America because we have lost truly a great man in Senator PAT MOYNIHAN.

Sometimes people do not realize the types of relationships we do build in this Chamber across the broad philosophical and partisan divide. But PAT MOYNIHAN was not that kind of man. He was always willing to work with Senators, no matter where they were from or what their views were, to try to do the right thing.

Since I have been watching the Senate over the last 30 years up close and personal, as a House Member and a Senator, I have not known a more brilliant and more erudite Senator than the distinguished Senator PAT MOYNIHAN of New York. He served his country in so many different critical roles.



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He studied, wrote papers, and made us realize problems we would just as soon not talk about—problems with the children in America, the problems of poverty, the importance of the world community.

He did so many exceptional things for Democratic administrations and, yes, Republican administrations, and in the majority and in the minority in the Senate. I grew to admire him and appreciate him, to seek his advice, and even try to get his vote on occasion, and on occasion he gave it because I was able to convince him that maybe it was the right thing to do.

He also had a sense of humor I learned to appreciate. But more than anything, I will remember my encounters with Senator MOYNIHAN in the little dining room downstairs. About once a week—sometimes not that often, maybe once a month—I would go down to get a bite to eat and he would be there. He always ate strange orders of food, I might say, but I just loved his knowledge. It became an opportunity for me to learn about the world. I would pick a country: Tell me about India. An hour later he was still talking.

I remember one time, I said, “I do not quite understand what is going on in East Timor,” and he corrected my pronunciation and told me what was going on in that part of the world, what had happened historically—such a wealth of knowledge—all the players involved, the religious considerations, what the solutions could have been, what the solutions might be, what the future would hold. More than once—I would say at least three times—before I got back to my office, before the afternoon was out, a book would arrive that he had written or that I should read to understand what was going on in the world. What a special touch.

Senator PAT MOYNIHAN tried to help educate this Senator, one who needed a lot of help. He gave me a greater appreciation of our relationship with countries and people all over the world.

This was a giant of a man, a giant of a Senator, a humble man, in many respects. I have missed him since he left the Senate, and we will all miss him now that he has gone on to his great reward.

I had to come to the floor and express my personal feelings about the great Senator from New York and how much he meant to me personally, to the Senate, and to the country.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I have just heard the sad-denning news that our former colleague, Senator MOYNIHAN of New York, has passed away. This is a great loss for the

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State of New York, but it is also a great loss for the people of the United States. He was one of the truly outstanding public servants of his time and one of the intellectual towers of this body.

I first met PAT MOYNIHAN when I served in the Nixon administration working at the Department of Transportation. I can say with some accuracy that the name PAT MOYNIHAN filled us all with dread and fear because he was the President's counselor on domestic issues. We were afraid he would come to the Department of Transportation and expose all of our weaknesses; that with his intellect he could discover very quickly where we were doing things wrong.

I met him at the White House as we would go over and discuss various transportation issues. On one occasion, Secretary Volpe invited Mr. MOYNIHAN to come to the department and address all of the department's senior management. We had a program of management dinners where all of the senior officials of the department would gather together and we would have a speaker come in and talk with us. Mr. MOYNIHAN was the first of those speakers, along with Bryce Harlow, who came at my invitation, a little later. That was my moment in the sun with Secretary Volpe, that I was able to call Bryce Harlow and get him to come over and give the address.

I still remember very clearly what PAT MOYNIHAN said to us on that occasion and the lesson he gave us. Being the student of history that he was, he went back to relatively recent history in describing pivotal events in America. He made this point: Political scientists assume that President Kennedy and President Johnson were activist Presidents, whereas President Eisenhower is always described as a passive President, or a pacifist kind of President. He said that particular characterization is given by their opponents, as well as their defenders, people defending Eisenhower's passive attitude toward government, as well as those attacking it, and so on with Kennedy and Johnson.

However, he said, history will show that President Eisenhower affected life in the United States more than all of the things done by Kennedy and Johnson put together. Why? Because President Eisenhower was responsible for the creation of the interstate highway system.

Recognize again, he was addressing a group of officials at the Department of Transportation. He had done his homework and focused on a transportation issue. He outlined for us the changes in American life that came from the inter-

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state highway system, how cities that were left off the system more or less withered and died and other cities that found themselves on the system had tremendous growth; how the system created efficiency for the transportation of goods and people all over the United States.

I remember one statistic, when I worked at the Department of Transportation, that said 95 percent of intercity trips took place on the interstate highway system. We focused on travel as being a competition in those days between air travel and rail travel, and indeed in the industrial age, going back to Abraham Lincoln's time and after the Civil War, almost all intercity trips were by rail. Then the airlines came in and we talked about the airlines cutting into the rail industry.

He pointed out it was not the airline industry that destroyed railroad passenger traffic; it was the interstate highway system and the convenience that came with the opportunity to take one's own automobile and go from one city to the other and then have local transportation while there. They did not have to catch a cab when they came out of the train station. They brought it with them.

It was this ability to see beyond the specifics of conventional wisdom, step back and see the overall picture that defined PAT MOYNIHAN. He did it for us in that particular speech, but he did it throughout his entire career.

I remember as we became acquainted that he talked with me about the work he did with my father when my father was in the Senate and he was in the Nixon administration. They were talking about programs that the Nixon administration tried to put into place which, for one reason or another, the Congress did not accept. He said to me, if we had prevailed in that program that Wallace Bennett was for, we wouldn't have many of the urban problems that we have today.

I won't try to imitate his accent because it was distinctly his and was part of his charm.

One of the things that I had not understood but that I came to know while PAT MOYNIHAN was in the Senate was the role he played in the rejuvenation of Washington, DC. The story is told and accepted as conventional wisdom that when John F. Kennedy went in his inaugural parade from the Capitol to the White House, he noticed how rundown Pennsylvania Avenue was—and it was. Those of us who remember Pennsylvania Avenue in the 1960s remember it as a place of rundown seedy shops and disreputable buildings

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that were badly in need of replacement. The conventional wisdom is that John F. Kennedy noticed that as he went by in his limousine and said, “We have to do something about that.” And the rejuvenation of Pennsylvania Avenue began in the Kennedy administration.

In fact, that is not true. It was not John F. Kennedy who noticed it; it was PAT MOYNIHAN who noticed it and called it to the attention of John F. Kennedy, who, then, in the spirit of all of us in politics, took his staffer’s advice and put it forward as his own.

PAT MOYNIHAN, as chairman of what we used to call the Public Works Committee—now it is the Environment and Public Works Committee—saw to it that Pennsylvania Avenue was turned into the kind of memorial avenue that the world’s greatest power deserves; that it changed from what it had been to become the architectural delight that it is today.

I had not realized that until I read PAT MOYNIHAN’s memos. He shared them with me, in another circumstance, and going through the memos I realized he was personally the driving force behind that kind of an effort. That demonstrates how much of a renaissance man he was. He was interested in architecture. He was interested in art. He was one of those who helped create the National Endowment for the Arts.

Yes, as a legislator he was interested in public issues and public policy, but as a renaissance man he remained interested in just about everything else.

I can’t think of any career covering a wider number of opportunities than his: Ambassador to the United Nations, Ambassador to India, serving Presidents regardless of party, regardless of ideology, with wisdom, clarity, and again the ability to see the big picture, the overall historical circumstance, and not just the issue directly in front of him.

I remember when he was chairman of the Finance Committee and we were locked in this Chamber in a bitter battle over health care. He did his duty. He was the good soldier. He did his best to carry the water for the administration. But in private conversations with him he would candidly share some of the same concerns that the rest of us had. While he was the good soldier all the way to the end, I know he gave the administration Dutch uncle advice as to what they should be doing.

I remember sitting in the Cabinet Room of the White House when President Clinton had a group of us down to

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talk about what we needed to do to get trade authority, to get fast track. All of us were being appropriately respectful of the President, as you are in that kind of circumstance. All of us were trying to put forward our opinions in as tender and gingerly expressed a way as we could because we were with the President. PAT MOYNIHAN sat at the President's left and the President said, "What do we need to do to get trade authority passed?"

He said, "Sir, you need to get more Democrats."

That warmed my heart. The Republicans were in favor of fast track. We didn't want to say it. And PAT MOYNIHAN summarized it: "Sir, you need to get more Democrats."

The President looked at him and said; "PAT, you are absolutely right. How do we do that?"

Then they had a very candid discussion.

He was not overly awed by anyone, regardless—with respect to their position. But he was always awed by any human being who had something to tell him. His attitude was that he could learn from anyone.

His health was not the best. His passing is not unexpected. But this is a time for us to rejoice in the opportunity of having known him, having worked with him in this body and having been blessed by his intellect, his humor, his humility, and his great understanding. We shall miss him, and we express our great condolence to his wife Liz and to all of the members of his family.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Coleman). The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I am glad I had the opportunity to hear the Senator from Utah talk about our friend PAT MOYNIHAN because in 1969 the Senator from Utah and I had different jobs. I was working for Bryce Harlow in the White House and he was working for Secretary Volpe, both of us in the Nixon administration.

One of the things I think many people will find interesting about the Nixon administration, is what an extraordinarily diverse group of individuals the President was able to attract. The Senator from Utah and I were young persons. I am not talking about us at that time. But I am talking about Henry Kissinger and Arthur Burns and Bryce Harlow and foremost among them was PAT MOYNIHAN.

Particularly when we look at a Washington, DC, where so many issues are so divisive and so partisan—there was a lot of partisanship back then. Look back at 1969. Here was PAT

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MOYNIHAN, a Harvard professor, Kennedy Democrat, who became the Republican President's domestic policy adviser. He was an extraordinary person. He was, as the Senator from Utah pointed out, a man who could see a long distance.

In the 1960s he coined the phrase "benign neglect," when he talked about the breakdown of the American family and the effect it might have on African-American families. He was courageous enough to talk about that. He predicted at that time that if the rate of breakdown of families that was then occurring among African-American families were to occur among all families, it would be a catastrophe for America. That percentage has long since been surpassed. PAT MOYNIHAN was willing to talk about it.

He was a great teacher. He attracted into the White House at that time a cadre of young MOYNIHAN devotees who are still around today—for example, Checker Finn, a young Harvard graduate who is a leading education expert; and Chris DeMuth, who has had a distinguished career here. All of those young people were attracted by his intellect and his sense of public service.

He had an ability even then to be a person who crossed party lines. He was one of the old Democratic liberals such as Al Shanker—some of them are called neoconservatives today—who saw our country in a very accurate and clear way.

He believed in America. Though born in Tulsa, OK, he had the soul of an immigrant, a great immigrant, an Irish immigrant, with all the characteristics that we think of when we think of great Irish immigrants. But he was an American first. He was proud of his ancestry but he was prouder of the country to which his ancestors came.

He loved politics. His favorite character was George Washington Plunkitt, the boss of Tammany Hall. He wrote a foreword for a book on Plunkitt. Plunkitt's favorite comment was, "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em."

He went to the United Nations where he pounded the desk. He went to India as Ambassador. He ran for the Senate. Think of this. He ran in 1976, a man from the then-disgraced Nixon administration. I know what that was like. I was in that administration. I had been a candidate myself in 1974—lost; and here was PAT MOYNIHAN in New York State, a Democratic State, running for the Senate as a Democrat, able to be elected because of the respect people had for him.

I watched him during his whole career. When I was Education Secretary he came down and lectured me from this

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body because he wanted me to be more aggressive on standards. But he was always such a gentle person.

As I have gone along in life, I have especially appreciated people who are well known and famous who take time for people who are not so well known and famous. I can remember when my wife and I, in our early thirties—I was, she was younger—went to Harvard, to the John F. Kennedy School of Government, where PAT had gone in the early 1970s. He was a famous man, a great professor, a former adviser to Presidents. Everyone knew him. No one knew us. But he saw us and he spent 45 minutes or an hour with us. He was a teacher and we were his students.

I am glad to be on the floor today to hear my friend from Utah speak about such a distinguished American. We need more Senators, more public leaders, with the breadth and the intellect and the understanding of American history that PAT MOYNIHAN had. We need more who have the capacity to work across party lines, to solve tough problems such as Social Security, which he helped to solve, and to enjoy politics, to love George Washington Plunkitt, and the rough and tumble of Tammany Hall politics, but at the same time, when the Nation's issues are foremost, to put them first.

So I rise today to salute a great American, a real patriot, and perhaps a person who most of us—Senators or students—will remember as a great teacher.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I rise with sadness on the word we heard this evening with regard to the death of one of our most notable former Members this afternoon.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN served in the Senate over a period from 1977 to 2001. But he served our country in so many different roles over the past half century, as we have heard through other tributes tonight. Rising from the depths of Hell's Kitchen in New York, he became one of America's true leading intellectuals whose foresight and whose ability brought to public attention a mass of critical issues long before others even realized these issues existed. From identifying the stresses and challenges of urban America to spearheading the reformation of Pennsylvania Avenue, from President Nixon's welfare reform plan to Y2K, from Soviet spying to bringing our state of National security into the sunshine, PAT MOYNIHAN was at the center of most of our public policy challenges in the last half of the 20th century.

PAT MOYNIHAN, a confidant and essential aide to Presidents of both parties, came to Washington's attention in the early 1960s as a steward of President Kennedy's effort to

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bring Pennsylvania Avenue back to life. His ability brought him to President Nixon's Cabinet as Head of the Domestic Policy Council, and he later became Ambassador to India and Gerald Ford's Ambassador to the United Nations, where he served so well defending the West against totalitarian regimes.

Elected to the Senate in a notable class, he quickly became a leading voice on an extensive range of public policy. While the Senate recognized his ability as chairman of both the Finance Committee and the Environment and Public Works Committee, his contributions to our work were broad and deep.

For example, at a time when Social Security was reeling and near insolvency, PAT MOYNIHAN stepped forward and, with Senator Dole, Alan Greenspan, and President Reagan, rescued the system for the benefit of millions of Americans. In that role, he bridged partisan differences and rose above petty politics to forge a successful solution that brought stability and security to that system. He did that conscious of the need to be responsible not only to the current recipients but to the future beneficiaries who at the time were not even born.

This spirit animated his observations and animated his work, not just on Social Security but other great domestic programs, such as Medicaid, Medicare, and welfare.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN served not only as a Senator from New York, he was one of our leading lights and innovative thinkers. He never hesitated to offer a timely observation, a useful insight, or a historical analogy that not only demonstrated his vast knowledge but was truly useful in analyzing the challenges ahead. His contributions to public policy and his influence in this Chamber will echo for decades to come.

Indeed, our condolences go out to his family and to loved ones, as well as to his many friends and former staff members. We are a better institution, and we are all better public servants for having known PAT MOYNIHAN.

#### SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following Senate resolution was read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. SCHUMER (for himself, Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Frist, Mr. Daschle, Mr. Lott, Mr. Akaka, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Allard, Mr. Allen, Mr. Baucus, Mr. Bayh, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Biden, Mr. Bingaman, Mr. Bond, Mrs. Boxer, Mr. Breaux, Mr. Brownback, Mr. Bunning, Mr. Burns, Mr. Byrd, Mr. Campbell, Ms. Cantwell, Mr. Carper, Mr. Chafee, Mr. Chambliss, Mr. Cochran, Mr.



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Coleman, Ms. Collins, Mr. Conrad, Mr. Cornyn, Mr. Corzine, Mr. Craig, Mr. Crapo, Mr. Dayton, Mr. DeWine, Mr. Dodd, Mrs. Dole, Mr. Domenici, Mr. Dorgan, Mr. Durbin, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Ensign, Mr. Enzi, Mr. Feingold, Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Graham of Florida, Mr. Graham of South Carolina, Mr. Grassley, Mr. Gregg, Mr. Hagel, Mr. Harkin, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Hollings, Mrs. Hutchison, Mr. Inhofe, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Jeffords, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Kerry, Mr. Kohl, Mr. Kyl, Ms. Landrieu, Mr. Lautenberg, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Levin, Mr. Lieberman, Mrs. Lincoln, Mr. Lugar, Mr. McCain, Mr. McConnell, Ms. Mikulski, Mr. Miller, Ms. Murkowski, Mrs. Murray, Mr. Nelson of Florida, Mr. Nelson of Nebraska, Mr. Nickles, Mr. Pryor, Mr. Reed, Mr. Reid, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Santorum, Mr. Sarbanes, Mr. Sessions, Mr. Shelby, Mr. Smith, Ms. Snowe, Mr. Specter, Ms. Stabenow, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Sununu, Mr. Talent, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Voinovich, Mr. Warner, and Mr. Wyden):

S. Res. 99. A resolution relative to the death of DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, former United States Senator for the State of New York; considered and agreed to.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Res. 99 submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 99) relative to the death of DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, former United States Senator for the State of New York.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 99) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. RES. 99

Whereas DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN served in the United States Navy from 1944 to 1947;

Whereas DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN held cabinet or sub-cabinet positions under Presidents John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Gerald Ford from 1961 to 1976;

Whereas DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN served as Ambassador to India from 1973 to 1975;

Whereas DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN served as the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1976;

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Whereas DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN served the people of New York with distinction for 24 years in the United States Senate; and

Whereas DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN was the author of countless books and scholarly articles which contributed enormously to the intellectual vigor of the nation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, former member of the U.S. Senate.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased;

*Resolved*, That when the Senate adjourns today, it stand adjourned as a further mark of respect to the memory of the Honorable DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the provisions of S. Res. 99 as a further mark of respect for our friend and colleague, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, following the remarks of Senator Sessions for up to 10 minutes.

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

Mr. FRIST. The Senator from Alabama.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I wish to share a few thoughts on the passing of the remarkable DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, one of America's most brilliant leaders. He graced this Senate and served this country in innumerable ways.

He, of course, was a great social scientist, a person able to study complex data and make serious judgments. I remember being in the subway at a point not too long before he left the Senate. Some numbers had come out that indicated we were doing a little better in marriage, fewer children were being born out of wedlock. We were standing there and somebody said something about that point. With great intensity and passion, he said, "That's nothing. In the history of the world, no Nation has ever seen a collapse of marriage like we are seeing in this country."

It just hit me he was giving us a scientific analysis of a very serious social problem with which we needed to deal, and he took it very seriously.

Another incident I recall was being in a small dining room. We were working late one night and voting. I went in with

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the majority leader, Trent Lott, and was talking to Trent about Colombia, the revolutionaries there, the Marxist group, the drug dealing group and wanted to do some things better for Colombia. We sat down and Senator MOYNIHAN was there. Trent said, "PAT, tell me about Colombia; what's going on in Colombia."

We just sat in rapt attention as he described the last 50 years in Colombia in detail—how this country had developed a history of violence, how they were having revolutionary problems, and how it was going to be very difficult to eliminate those problems. I was stunned at the encyclopedic knowledge he displayed.

As we left, Trent said, "I love to ask him those questions. He always knows those kinds of things." He said, "I do it frequently just to see what he will share with us."

I remember asking about serving as Ambassador to India. He told a story, a complex story, that gave such great insight into the good people of India.

PAT MOYNIHAN was an extraordinary person. He operated on a higher level. He benefited this country in many ways. He served Republican Presidents and Democratic Presidents, and he served in this body. He helped point out the problems with welfare and helped us move toward reform. He served on the commission that courageously gave insight into how we may improve Social Security. He in many ways had the ability and the credibility to move the country in a way that some lesser Senator may not have been able to do.

I wanted to take a moment before we adjourned to express my thoughts about Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, one of the most brilliant statesmen to ever grace this body.

THURSDAY, *March 27, 2003*

TRIBUTE TO DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I wish to pay tribute to a dear friend who passed away yesterday, Senator forever, PAT MOYNIHAN.

I came to the Senate 6 years after he arrived here, and we served together for 18 years. We left together at the same time in 2001.

I personally will miss him and think fondly of the moments we shared together, but, at the same time, say thank goodness—thank goodness—that this place and this country had Senator PAT MOYNIHAN.

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He was a great man, with a brilliant mind, an incredible wealth of knowledge. He will have left a mark forever on our government and on our society, even at a time when our culture has exhibited an ephemeral quality.

We can think of the moments we shared with him, all of us who had the good fortune to serve with him. Because New York and New Jersey are neighboring States and have many similar concerns, he and I worked closely on many issues. We served together on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

He will be rightfully remembered as one of the giants who has served in this Senate. He will be able to be compared to the greats at the founding of this country because his half century of contributions to this body and to New York and to the region and to the Nation and to the world are immeasurable.

He, like many who are serving now and have served, was born in modest circumstances and was raised in an area on the west side of New York called Hell's Kitchen, a rough and tumble area. He joined the Navy. He served in World War II. And then he went on to earn degrees at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

In the early 1950s, PAT MOYNIHAN worked for the International Rescue Committee, one of the earliest and most effective human rights organizations. Then he joined the administration of New York Governor Averill Harriman, where he met his beloved wife and someone we all love, Liz.

PAT and Liz came to Washington with the Kennedy administration, and PAT went on to serve in the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet of the next three Presidents, two of whom were Republicans. He served as U.S. Ambassador to India and as U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

All the while, he had a busy and prolific career in academia, with teaching positions at Syracuse and Harvard and other universities. It is often said that PAT MOYNIHAN has written more books than most people have read. And those books were on subjects as diverse as ethnicity, welfare policy, secrecy as a form of regulation, and international law. His books and essays and op-eds were always erudite and displayed a wit and wisdom and grace few people have. His books were well received whenever they were produced.

I doubt anyone else ever entered the U.S. Senate with a greater breadth of experience or knowledge. PAT MOYNIHAN was made for the Senate, and the Senate was made for men like PAT MOYNIHAN.

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PAT was not only a great intellectual; he was a man of principles, deeply held and eloquently expressed. And yet he had that remarkable ability of being able to disagree without being disagreeable. There isn't a single Member of the Senate who served with him who didn't also love and revere him.

We are poorer for Pat's passing, but rather than dwell on that, I would like to express my gratitude that someone with such inestimable talents and energies devoted them to public service. We are definitely richer for that.

We send our sympathy to Liz Moynihan, and to the children, Timothy and Maura and John, and to the grandchildren, Michael Patrick and Zora.

We live in tumultuous and dangerous times. No one understood that better than PAT MOYNIHAN, and we would benefit from his counsel. I will include for the *Record* a commencement address that PAT delivered at Harvard University about world events and foreign policy, and I commend it to my colleagues.

On a more personal note, my legislative director, Gray Maxwell, was Pat's legislative director from 1995 to 2000. When PAT retired, Gray wrote a tribute that was printed in *Long Island Newsday*. I will also ask that the tribute be printed in the *Record*.

In closing, I note that one of Pat's great abiding passions was public works—not just in New York but here in Washington. He authored much of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, ISTEA, he fought for Amtrak and mass transit, he wrote the guiding principles for Federal architecture, he shepherded the Union Station redevelopment and the Thurgood Marshall and Ronald Reagan buildings to completion, and he almost singlehandedly transformed Pennsylvania Avenue. I think what was written in St. Paul's Cathedral in London for Sir Christopher Wren would serve as an equally fitting tribute to PAT MOYNIHAN: Si monumentum requiris circumspice [If you would see the man's monument, look about you.].

I ask unanimous consent that his commencement address delivered at Harvard University on June 6, 2002, to which I referred, and an article written by a person on my staff, Gray Maxwell, who was on the MOYNIHAN staff before that, that demonstrates beautifully the character and capability PAT MOYNIHAN brought to his job and to all of us, be printed in the *Record*.

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

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS,

JUNE 6, 2002

(by DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN)

A while back it came as something of a start to find in the *New Yorker* a reference to an article I had written, and I quote, “In the middle of the last century.” Yet persons my age have been thinking back to those times and how, in the end, things turned out so well and so badly. Millions of us returned from the assorted services to find the economic growth that had come with the Second World War had not ended with the peace. The Depression had not resumed. It is not perhaps remembered, but it was widely thought it would.

It would be difficult indeed to summon up the optimism that came with this great surprise. My beloved colleague Nathan Glazer and the revered David Riesman wrote that America was “the land of the second chance” and so indeed it seemed. We had surmounted the Depression; the war. We could realistically think of a world of stability, peace—above all, a world of law.

Looking back, it is clear we were not nearly so fortunate. Great leaders preserved—and in measure extended—democracy. But totalitarianism had not been defeated. To the contrary, by 1948 totalitarians controlled most of Eurasia. As we now learn, 11 days after Nagasaki the Soviets established a special committee to create an equivalent weapon. The first atomic bomb was acquired through espionage, but their hydrogen bomb was their own doing. Now the cold war was on.

From the summer of 1914, the world had been at war, with interludes no more. It finally seemed to end with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the changes in China. But now . . .

But now we have to ask if it is once again the summer of 1914.

Small acts of terror in the Middle East, in South Asia, could lead to cataclysm, as they did in Sarajevo. And for which great powers, mindful or not, have been preparing.

The eras are overlapping.

As the United States reacts to the mass murder of 9/11 and prepares for more, it would do well to consider how much terror India endured in the second half of the last century. And its response. It happens I was our man in New Delhi in 1974 when India detonated its first nuclear device. I was sent in to see Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with a statement as much as anything of regret. For there was nothing to be done; it was going to happen. The second most populous nation on Earth was not going to leave itself disarmed and disregarded, as non-nuclear powers appeared to be. But leaving, I asked to speak as a friend of India and not as an official. In 20 years time, I opined, there would be a Moghul general in command in Islamabad, and he would have nuclear weapons and would demand Kashmir back, perhaps the Punjab.

The Prime Minister said nothing, I dare to think she half agreed. In time, she would be murdered in her own garden; next, her son and successor was murdered by a suicide bomber. This happened while nuclear weapons accumulated which are now poised.

Standing at Trinity Site at Los Alamos, J. Robert Oppenheimer pondered an ancient Sanskrit text in which Lord Shiva declares, “I am become Death, the shatterer of worlds.” Was he right?

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At the very least we can come to terms with the limits of our capacity to foresee events.

It happens I had been a Senate observer to the START negotiations in Geneva, and was on the Foreign Relations Committee when the treaty, having been signed, was sent to us for ratification. In a moment of mischief I remarked to our superb negotiators that we had sent them to Geneva to negotiate a treaty with the Soviet Union, but the document before us was a treaty with four countries, only two of which I could confidently locate on a map. I was told they had exchanged letters in Lisbon [the Lisbon Protocol, May 23, 1992]. I said that sounded like a Humphrey Bogart movie.

The hard fact is that American intelligence had not the least anticipated the implosion of the Soviet Union. I cite Stansfield Turner, former director of the CIA in Foreign Affairs, 1991. "We should not gloss over the enormity of this failure to forecast the magnitude of the Soviet crisis. . . . The corporate view missed by a mile."

Russia now faces a near-permanent crisis. By mid-century its population could well decline to as few as 80 million persons. Immigrants will press in; one dares not think what will have happened to the nuclear materials scattered across 11 time zones.

Admiral Turner's 1991 article was entitled "Intelligence for a New World Order." Two years later Samuel Huntington outlined what that new world order—or disorder—would be in an article in the same journal entitled "The Clash of Civilizations." His subsequent book of that title is a defining text of our time.

Huntington perceives a world of seven or eight major conflicting cultures, the West, Russia, China, India, and Islam. Add Japan, South America, Africa. Most incorporate a major nation-state which typically leads its fellows.

The cold war on balance suppressed conflict. But the end of the cold war has brought not universal peace but widespread violence. Some of this has been merely residual proxy conflicts dating back to the earlier era. Some plain ethnic conflict. But the new horrors occur on the fault lines, as Huntington has it, between the different cultures.

For argument's sake one could propose that Marxism was the last nearly successful effort to westernize the rest of the world. In 1975, I stood in Tiananmen Square, the center of the Middle Kingdom. In an otherwise empty space, there were two towering masts. At the top of one were giant portraits of two hirsute 19th century German gentlemen, Messrs. Marx and Engels. The other displayed a somewhat Mongol-looking Stalin and Mao. That wasn't going to last, and of course, it didn't.

Hence Huntington: "The central problem in the relations between the West and the rest is . . . the discordance between the West's—particularly America's—efforts to promote universal Western culture and its declining ability to do so."

Again there seems to be no end of ethnic conflict within civilizations. But it is to the clash of civilizations we must look with a measure of dread. The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* recently noted that "The crisis between India and Pakistan, touched off by a December 13 terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament marks the closest two states have come to nuclear war since the Cuban Missile Crisis." By 1991, the minute hand on their doomsday clock had dropped back to 17 minutes to midnight. It has since been moved forward three times and is again 7 minutes to midnight, just where it started in 1947.

The terrorist attacks on the United States of last September 11 were not nuclear, but they will be. Again to cite Huntington, "At some point . . . a few

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terrorists will be able to produce massive violence and massive destruction. Separately, terrorism and nuclear weapons are the weapons of the non-Western weak. If and when they are combined, the non-Western weak will be strong.”

This was written in 1996. The first mass murder by terrorists came last September. Just last month the Vice President informed Tim Russert that “the prospects of a future attack . . . are almost certain. Not a matter of if, but when.” Secretary Rumsfeld has added that the attack will be nuclear.

We are indeed at war and we must act accordingly, with equal measures of audacity and precaution.

As regards precaution, note how readily the clash of civilizations could spread to our own homeland. The Bureau of the Census lists some 68 separate ancestries in the American population. (Military gravestones provide for emblems of 36 religions.) All the major civilizations. Not since 1910 have we had so high a proportion of immigrants. As of 2000, one in five school-age children have at least one foreign-born parent.

This, as ever, has had bounteous rewards. The problem comes when immigrants and their descendants bring with them—and even intensify—the clashes they left behind. Nothing new, but newly ominous. Last month in Washington an enormous march filled Pennsylvania Avenue on the way to the Capitol grounds. The marchers, in the main, were there to support the Palestinian cause. Fair enough. But every 5 feet or so there would be a sign proclaiming “Zionism equals racism” or a placard with a swastika alongside a star of David. Which is anything but fair, which is poisonous and has no place in our discourse.

This hateful equation first appeared in a two-part series in *Pravda* in Moscow in 1971. Part of cold war “agit prop.” It has since spread into a murderous attack on the right of the State of Israel to exist—the right of Jews to exist!—a world in which a hateful Soviet lie has mutated into a new and vicious anti-Semitism. Again, that is the world we live in, but it is all the more chilling when it fills Pennsylvania Avenue.

It is a testament to our First Amendment freedoms that we permit such displays, however obnoxious to our fundamental ideals. But in the wake of 9/11, we confront the fear that such heinous speech can be a precursor to violence, not least here at home, that threatens our existence.

To be sure, we must do what is necessary to meet the threat. We need to better understand what the dangers are. We need to explore how better to organize the agencies of government to detect and prevent calamitous action.

But at the same time, we need take care that whatever we do is consistent with our basic constitutional design. What we do must be commensurate with the threat in ways that do not needlessly undermine the very liberties we seek to protect.

The concern is suspicion and fear within. Does the Park Service really need to photograph every visitor to the Lincoln Memorial?

They don’t, but they will. It is already done at the Statue of Liberty. In Washington, agencies compete in techniques of intrusion and exclusion. Identity cards and x-ray machines and all the clutter, plus a new life for secrecy. Some necessary; some discouraging. Mary Graham warns of the stultifying effects of secrecy on inquiry. Secrecy, as George Will writes, “renders societies susceptible to epidemics of suspicion.”

We are witnessing such an outbreak in Washington just now. Great clamor as to what the different agencies knew in advance of the 9/11 attack; when the President was briefed; what was he told. These are legitimate



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questions, but there is a prior issue, which is the disposition of closed systems not to share information. By the late 1940s the Army Signal Corps had decoded enough KGB traffic to have a firm grip on the Soviet espionage in the United States and their American agents. No one needed to know about this more than the President of the United States. But Truman was not told. By order, mind, of Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Now, as then, there is police work to be done. But so many forms of secrecy are self-defeating. In 1988, the CIA formally estimated the gross domestic product of East Germany to be higher than West Germany. We should calculate such risks.

The “what-ifs” are intriguing. What if the United States had recognized Soviet weakness earlier and, accordingly, kept its own budget in order, so that upon the breakup of the Soviet Union a momentous economic aid program could have been commenced? What if we had better calculated the forces of the future so that we could have avoided going directly from the “end” of the cold war to a new Balkan war—a classic clash of civilizations—leaving little attention and far fewer resources for the shattered Soviet empire?

Because we have that second chance Riesman and Glazer wrote about. A chance to define our principles and stay true to them. The more then, to keep our system open as much as possible, with our purposes plain and accessible, so long as we continue to understand what the 20th century has surely taught, which is that open societies have enemies, too. Indeed, they are the greatest threat to closed societies, and, accordingly, the first object of their enmity.

We are committed, as the Constitution states, to “the Law of Nations,” but that law as properly understood. Many have come to think that international law prohibits the use of force. To the contrary, like domestic law, it legitimates the use of force to uphold law in a manner that is itself proportional and lawful.

Democracy may not prove to be a universal norm. But decency would do. Our present conflict, as the President says over and over again, is not with Islam, but with a malignant growth within Islam defying the teaching of the Q’uran that the struggle to the path of God forbids the deliberate killing of non-combatants. Just how and when Islam will rid itself of current heresies is something no one can say. But not soon. Christianity has been through such heresy—and more than once. Other clashes will follow.

Certainly we must not let ourselves be seen as rushing about the world looking for arguments. There are now American Armed Forces in some 40 countries overseas. Some would say too many. Nor should we let ourselves be seen as ignoring allies, disillusioning friends, thinking only of ourselves in the most narrow terms. That is not how we survived the 20th century.

Nor will it serve in the 21st.

Last February, some 60 academics of the widest range of political persuasion and religious belief, a number from here at Harvard, including Huntington, published a manifesto: “What We’re Fighting For: A Letter from America.”

It has attracted some attention here; perhaps more abroad, which was our purpose. Our references are wide, Socrates, St. Augustine, Franciscus de Victoria, John Paul II, Martin Luther King, Jr., Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We affirmed “five fundamental truths that pertain to all people without distinction,” beginning “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”

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We allow for our own shortcomings as a nation, sins, arrogance, failings. But we assert we are no less bound by moral obligation. And, finally, reason and careful moral reflection teach us that there are times when the first and most important reply to evil is to stop it.

But there is more. Forty-seven years ago, on this occasion, General George C. Marshall summoned our Nation to restore the countries whose mad regimes had brought the world such horror. It was an act of statesmanship and vision without equal in history. History summons us once more in different ways, but with even greater urgency. Civilization need not die. At this moment, only the United States can save it. As we fight the war against evil, we must also wage peace, guided by the lesson of the Marshall Plan—vision and generosity can help make the world a safer place.

Thank you.



#### SUI GENERIS

(by Gray Maxwell)

As the final summer of Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN's public career comes to an end, I think back to one languid Friday afternoon three summers ago. Not much was happening; the Senate was in recess. So Senator MOYNIHAN —my boss at the time—and I went to see an exhibit of Tyndale Bibles at the Library of Congress. Tyndale wrote the first English Bible from extant Greek and Hebrew manuscripts. Senator MOYNIHAN was eager to learn more about a man whose impact on the English language, largely unacknowledged, is probably equal to Shakespeare's.

One might wonder what Tyndale has to do with the U.S. Senate. Not much, I suppose. But like Tennyson's Ulysses, Senator MOYNIHAN is a "gray spirit yearning in desire to follow knowledge like a sinking star." He has unbounded curiosity. I'm not one who thinks his intellectualism is some sort of an indictment. Those who do are jealous of his capabilities, or just vapid. In a diminished era when far too many Senators know far too little, I have been fortunate to work for one who knows so much and yet strives to learn so much more.

There is little I can add to what others have written or will write about his career in these waning moments. But I would make a few observations. On a parochial note, I know of no other Senator who shares his remarkable facility for understanding and manipulating formulas—that arcane bit of legislating that drives the allocation of billions of dollars. He has "delivered" for New York but it's not frequently noted because so few understand it.

More important, every time he speaks or writes, it's worth paying attention. I think back to the summer of 1990, when Senator Phil Gramm offered an amendment to a housing bill. Gramm wanted to rob Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds from a few "rustbelt" States and sprinkle them across the rest of the country. The amendment looked like a sure winner: more than 30 States stood to benefit. Senator MOYNIHAN went to the floor in opposition. He delivered an extemporaneous speech on the nature of our Federal system worthy of inclusion in the seminal work of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay as *The Federalist No. 86*. (The amendment was defeated: New York's share of CDBG funding was preserved.)

While Senator MOYNIHAN has been enormously successful as a legislator, I think of him as the patron Senator of lost causes. By "lost" I mean right but unpopular. Every Senator is an advocate of the middle class; that's where the votes are. What I most admire and cherish about Senator MOY-

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NIHAN is his long, hard, and eloquent fight on behalf of the underclass—the disenfranchised, the demoralized, the destitute, the despised.

T.S. Eliot wrote to a friend, “We fight for lost causes because we know that our defeat and dismay may be the preface to our successors’ victory, though that victory itself will be temporary; we fight rather to keep something alive than in the expectation that anything will triumph.” This wistful statement, to me, captures the essence of Senator MOYNIHAN and his career. Too many of today’s tepid, timid legislators are afraid to offer amendments they think will fail. They have no heart, no courage. Senator MOYNIHAN always stands on principle, never on expediency. He’s not afraid to be in the minority, even a minority of one.

His statements over the years on a variety of topics constitute a veritable treasury of “unpopular essays.” He characterizes the current bankruptcy “reform” bill as a “boot across the throat” of the poor. A few years ago, he fought against a habeas corpus provision in the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (a truly Orwellian name for that bill). He argued, in vain, that Congress was enacting a statute “which holds that constitutional protections do not exist unless they have been unreasonably violated, an idea that would have confounded the framers . . . thus introducing a virus that will surely spread throughout our system of laws.” These are just a few examples. Others include his passionate opposition to welfare repeal, the balanced budget act, the line-item veto, the Constitutional amendment to ban flag desecration. The list goes on.

For the past quarter-century, Senator MOYNIHAN has been the Senate’s reigning intellectual. But he has also been its—and the Nation’s—conscience. His fealty as a public servant, ultimately, has been to the truth. He seeks it out, and he speaks it, regardless of who will be discomfited. He has done so with rigor, wit, a little bit of mischief now and then, and uncommon decency.

When Thomas Jefferson followed Benjamin Franklin as envoy to France, he told the Comte de Vergennes, “I succeed him; no one could replace him.” Others will succeed Senator MOYNIHAN; no one will replace him. We are fortunate indeed that he has devoted his life to public service.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, when I first came to the Senate, I had the good fortune, as my friend the distinguished Senator from Montana did, to serve on a committee with PAT MOYNIHAN. My friend had it double; he not only got to serve with him on the Environment and Public Works Committee but also the Finance Committee.

Even though this is a time of sadness because we have lost a giant in the history of America, for those of us who spent time with PAT MOYNIHAN, just mentioning his name brings a smile to our faces. There is no one I have ever served with in government or known in government who is anything like PAT MOYNIHAN. He was a unique individual.

I was over in the House gym this morning, meeting with someone I came to the House of Representatives with, Ed Towns, from New York. We were talking about PAT MOYNIHAN. Congressman Towns said the last conversation he

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had with PAT MOYNIHAN was a very pleasant conversation. PAT MOYNIHAN called him—very typical of PAT MOYNIHAN.

I wish I could mimic his voice. People who worked for PAT MOYNIHAN can talk just like him. I can't. But he said—with his distinctive staccato delivery—he wanted to name this big building in Brooklyn for Governor Carey.

Congressman Towns said, "No, I have someone else." I don't need to embarrass that person by mentioning that name. He said, "I have someone else and I can't agree with you, Senator. I know Governor Carey was a good person, but I think we should name it after someone else."

Senator MOYNIHAN, the gentleman that he was, simply said, "Thank you very much."

Five or six weeks later he called back and said, "You know, Congressman Towns, I am getting old." He said, "This means a lot to me to have this building named after one of my close personal friends. I hope you will reconsider."

Ed Towns said, "I have reconsidered. You can do it."

Senator MOYNIHAN said, "Did I hear you just say I could name this building after Governor Carey?"

And Congressman Towns said, "Yes."

PAT MOYNIHAN said, "I am so happy."

Senator Baucus and I can imagine that conversation because he was truly a gentleman.

I had the privilege, as I indicated, of serving with him. I had the good fortune over many years to serve with many outstanding people in the Senate, men and women with extraordinary talent and achievements, people who have accomplished so much in their personal and professional lives, people highly educated, people who have great records of military service, and people who are just good public servants.

Certainly there have been many skilled orators in the Senate—today and in the past—and many other highly intelligent Senators, but I have to say, I trust nobody will disagree or be offended if I point out that PAT MOYNIHAN stood out as an intellectual giant in the Senate, not only for the time he served here but in the history of our country.

PAT MOYNIHAN spoke in a unique style, with a delivery that would not be taught in an oratory class.

He was a professor. He was a college professor, and he never lost that ability to teach.

I always felt, when I was in the presence of PAT MOYNIHAN, that I had the opportunity to learn from him, whether we were on the Senate floor, or in a committee hearing,

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or in an informal conversation. I hope no one is going to be upset with me, but when I ran the Democratic Policy Committee for a number of years, we would take down names of speakers. I cheated a little bit and always moved PAT high up on the list because I loved to hear him talk, and he did not have a lot of patience and would leave if you did not recognize him pretty quickly.

He would come to our luncheons, and I remember he usually ordered egg salad sandwiches. He would eat, listen for a while, and if it were not something he was really interested in, he would go back to his hideaway and start writing. That is what he did most of the time.

PAT was unlike most of us. We devote a lot of our time to constituent services. PAT MOYNIHAN did not do that. He was an intellectual giant, and he spent his time in the Senate reading and writing. He was a great thinker. Although he certainly did a good job of representing the State of New York, and served the interests of his constituents as his popularity makes clear, he often focused on the bigger picture and contemplated big ideas.

We identify PAT MOYNIHAN with New York. He was actually a native of the American West. He was born in Tulsa, OK. His family moved to New York when he was a child. His father abandoned them, and his mother, thereafter, struggled to provide for PAT and his siblings.

PAT always worked hard. He worked as a shoeshine boy, later as a longshoreman. He did not come from a privileged background, but he had a privileged education because of his great intellect. He was able to achieve much because he was a hard worker and extremely smart.

He graduated first in his class from high school in Harlem, and by serving in the Navy, he was able to attend college. He graduated from Tufts University and remained there to earn his Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He also studied at the London School of Economics as a Fulbright scholar.

PAT had enlisted in the Navy during World War II. Just a short time ago, when he was still serving in the Senate, he had back surgery for an injury sustained years ago while he was in the U.S. Navy. He was proud of his military service and grateful that he was sent to college for training as an officer. But he was, indeed, a scholar. He was a professor at Syracuse University early in his career and then later at Harvard. He published numerous articles and studies cover-

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ing a wide array of topics that reflected the tremendous breadth of his interests and depth of his knowledge.

I am not sure which Senator said this, although I think it was Dale Bumpers, who also recently has published a book—but if it was not Dale Bumpers, I apologize for not giving credit to the right Senator—who said he had not read as many books as PAT MOYNIHAN had written. That is how he looked at PAT MOYNIHAN. He was a voracious writer. He wrote 18 books, including 9 while he was a Senator. In addition, he wrote parts of many other books and articles too numerous to mention.

After one of his books was published, while we were here in the Senate, he asked me if I had read it. I said, “Pat, I didn’t receive the book.” He said, “Well, maybe somebody on your staff borrowed it.” So he gave me another copy, and I read it.

Much of his writing is famous. For me personally the most far-reaching, the most visionary article he wrote was called “Defining Deviancy Down.” In this brief article—probably no more than 30 pages—he discussed how our societal values have changed over the years, how one thing we would not accept 20 years ago, now we accept. It is a wonderful article that reveals his perspective and insights and calls on us to recognize we have to change what is going on in our society.

Senator MOYNIHAN had great compassion for America’s poor, especially for children growing up in poverty. He sought to develop public policy that took into account social scientific methods and analysis. He applied academic research to benefit people living in the real world.

PAT was also interested in architecture and historic preservation. He worked to improve the appearance of Washington, DC, to reflect its status as our Nation’s Capital, and of Federal buildings across the country. Those of us who leave the Capitol and travel along Pennsylvania Avenue, and see the beautiful buildings will remember his role in improving this area. When I was back here going to law school, that area of the city was a slum. Right off Capitol Hill, it was a slum. And PAT MOYNIHAN recognized, when President Kennedy was inaugurated, that should change. And he changed it. He personally changed it.

Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation was something that PAT MOYNIHAN thought up. When you drive down that street today, you see the beautiful building that we are proud of. That was the work of PAT MOYNIHAN.

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I can remember, there was one Senator who thought it was really bad that the courthouses we were building around the country were basically too nice. PAT MOYNIHAN proceeded to indicate to all of us that is what we should do, that we should construct buildings for the future that people would like to look at and that are nice inside. And PAT MOYNIHAN won that battle.

To serve on the Public Works Committee with PAT MOYNIHAN was like going to school and not having to take the tests because there was not a subject that came up that he did not lecture us on—the great architect Moses, not out of the Bible but of New York City. In everything we did PAT MOYNIHAN taught us to be a little better than ourselves.

My thoughts and sympathies are with Senator MOYNIHAN's wife Liz, his daughter Maura, his sons Timothy and John, and his grandchildren.

Mr. President, I wish words could convey to everyone within the sound of my voice what a great man PAT MOYNIHAN was, how much he did to benefit the State of New York and our country. Because of my contact with PAT MOYNIHAN, I honestly believe I am a better person. I better understand government. I do not have his intellect, his ability to write, but I think I understand a little bit about his enthusiasm for government and how important it is to people.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I have been listening to the tributes to a great man. I probably have a different feeling about PATRICK MOYNIHAN than most people do. Many people are not aware PATRICK MOYNIHAN came from Tulsa, OK, my hometown. Most people think of him as being a New Yorker, but really he is not. We hit it off many years ago before he was even in the Senate. I considered him one of the really sincere and lovable liberals of our time.

People would ask, why are the two of you such close friends? I would explain to them that we have many things in common, even though ideologically we have nothing in common. In fact, during the years we served together in the Senate, his office was next to mine. When the bell would ring to come over and vote, I would walk to the door and wait for him so I could have those moments with him.

I don't think there is anyone who has had a more colorful career than PATRICK MOYNIHAN. It is one we will remember for a long time. But he had courage also. I used to say this about Paul Wellstone. There are few people who are really sincere in their philosophy, and yet they want to do the right thing. I remember standing right here when PATRICK MOY-

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NIHAN, just a few seats over, stood up during one of our debates on partial-birth abortion, and he made this statement in a long and passionate speech, going into all kinds of detail as to what this barbaric procedure is. This is a quote. He said, “I am pro-choice, but partial-birth abortion is not abortion. It is infanticide.”

It took an awful lot of courage for him to say that.

I can tell you from when we knew each other back before our Senate days, following his colorful career has been a wonderful experience. I am hoping we will have others like him. We will be truly blessed if that is the case.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator MOYNIHAN. He was one of the most special, most erudite, forward-thinking persons I have had the privilege to meet. He was an amazing man.

Senator MOYNIHAN died yesterday at the age of 76. A little bit of history is in order—and then I will give a few personal anecdotes—he was elected to the Senate in 1976. I was elected in 1978, 2 years later. I had the privilege and honor to join both the Environment and Public Works Committee and the Finance Committee at the same time as Senator MOYNIHAN. Senator MOYNIHAN served as both chairman and ranking member of both committees. I had huge shoes to fill, as I immediately followed him as chairman and ranking member of each committee. I sat next to him many days and many hours. He was a wonderful man.

We all know about Senator MOYNIHAN’s great contributions in such important areas as foreign policy, trade policy, welfare, transportation, and environmental policy. They are enormous.

On the foreign side, Senator MOYNIHAN was a visionary. In 1979, while the CIA and others were talking about how strong the Soviet Union was, Senator MOYNIHAN predicted its downfall. I heard him say that many times. With keen understanding of history and the laws of economics, Senator MOYNIHAN understood the inherent weakness of the Soviet structure.

Senator MOYNIHAN’s foreign policy experience led him to his groundbreaking work on government secrecy, advocating greater openness as a core strength for any democracy.



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On trade policy, Senator MOYNIHAN had a vast depth of experience from being a trade negotiator to being a legislator. As a legislator, he was quick to educate his colleagues on the importance of pursuing a strong, bipartisan, open trade policy. With an unfailing independent voice, he was a firm believer in the principle that partisanship should not extend beyond our borders.

On welfare policy, Senator MOYNIHAN was the center of debate for more than three decades. From his groundbreaking report on family policy for President Johnson, to his work for President Nixon on his welfare proposal, to his own Family Support Act of 1988, the first welfare reform legislation passed in decades, to his passionate dissent to the 1996 welfare legislation, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN never forgot what it was like to grow up in a poor family. For him it was clearly always about helping the children.

On transportation policy, Senator MOYNIHAN was the author of the groundbreaking highway bill known as ISTEA. That legislation led to the dramatic improvement in transportation policy by focusing on surface transportation more broadly.

On environmental policy, Senator MOYNIHAN was one of the first to stress that good environmental policy should be based on sound science. I heard that many times—sound science. He was right. He absolutely insisted that we obtain a careful understanding of the problems on a scientific basis before we proceeded with environmental policy.

But his incredible contributions to our Nation did not stop there. One of his most enduring, but least known, contributions was his contribution to public architecture, particularly on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

Thomas Jefferson said: “Design activity and political thought are indivisible.”

In keeping with this, Senator MOYNIHAN sought to improve our public places so they could reflect and uplift our civic culture. He himself said it well in 1961. We all know he held many important positions in government, but it is not known so well that early in his career, in 1961, he was the staff director of something called the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space. That is right, in addition to all of his books, he once wrote a document called “The Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture.” He wrote it in 1961, and it remains in effect today. It is 1 page long. It says that public buildings should not only be efficient and economical, but

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also should “provide visual testimony to the dignity, enterprise, vigor, and stability of the American Government.”

For many years, PAT MOYNIHAN worked with energy and vision to put the goals expressed in the guidelines into practice. As an assistant to President Kennedy, he was one of the driving forces behind the effort to renovate Pennsylvania Avenue and finally achieve Pierre L’Enfant’s vision.

He followed through. There is the Navy memorial, Pershing Park, the Ronald Reagan Building, the Ariel Rios Building, and there are other projects. Along with Senator John Chafee, he had the vision to restore Union Station—now a magnificent building—and then to complement it with the beautiful Thurgood Marshall Judiciary Building not far away.

It is a remarkable legacy leaving a lasting mark on our public places that brings us together as American citizens. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN has had a greater positive impact on American public architecture than any statesman since Thomas Jefferson.

In St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, there is a description memorializing the architect of that cathedral, Sir Christopher Wren, and it reads: “If you would see his memorial, look about you.”

If years from now you stand outside the Capitol and look west down Pennsylvania Avenue, north at Union Station, and the Marshall Building, you can say the same about Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN; that is, if you would see his memorial, look about you.

A few years ago when we were naming the Foley Square Courthouse in his honor, I used the same quote. I must confess, I was very pleased to have found this quote in English history and hoped to impress my very learned colleague. However, as is often the case, I fell a little short. No one, it turns out, can match his learning.

After my remarks, Senator MOYNIHAN gave me a big hug. He was so happy. But he also corrected me quietly and politely. I had, he said, given the correct translation. I had said it was in Italian. He said, “Max, I think it’s in Latin.” Sure enough, it is in Latin.

In his honor, I stand corrected. The inscription memorializing the architect of St. Paul’s Cathedral, Sir Christopher Wren, reads: “Si monumentum requiris circumspice”; Latin for: “If you want to see the memorial, look about you.”

As we consider ways of memorializing Senator MOYNIHAN, I have a suggestion. He loved Pennsylvania Avenue. He in-

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spired its renovation. He helped design it. He helped build it. He lived there when he retired. It is his home. Therefore, I suggest that at an appropriate point on the avenue, we add this inscription: DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, Si monumentum requiris circumspice.

I might also add, Senator MOYNIHAN gave the commencement address this last June at Harvard University. I have read it. I was very impressed with it. I said to him: PATRICK, that was a great speech. Do you mind if I put that in the *Congressional Record*? He said, "I would love it."

About 2 months later, I received a letter from Senator MOYNIHAN, and it said: "Dear Max, you once offered, perhaps irrationally, to include my commencement address in the *Record*."

Mr. President, I think it is appropriate that Senator Lautenberg asked that Senator MOYNIHAN's speech be printed in the *Record*. It is the commencement address he gave last June 6 at Harvard University. I commend it to my colleagues.

Senator MOYNIHAN's speech includes many wise words about the future of our country, about terrorism, how to handle the world, which leads me to another memory of him. It was at the end of a session, and we were about to go on a 2-week recess. Senator MOYNIHAN's chair is behind me at the end of the aisle by the door. I said, "PATRICK, what are you going to do this recess?"

He said, "I am going to give the Oxford lecture."

I said, "What is that?" He explained it.

He said, "I am going to give the Oxford lecture. I am going over to England."

"What are you going to talk about? What are you going to say?"

"I am going to talk about the rise of ethnicity."

"What do you mean?"

At the end of the cold war, he talked about the urdu, an Israeli sect, which was very strong, which epitomizes the rise of ethnicity in the world at the conclusion of the cold war. It is so true, if one stops and thinks about it. The world order has collapsed, and we are now almost in a free-for-all when different ethnicities, different countries, different people are pursuing their own dreams, and it is very difficult to find some managed order in this chaotic world today.

That was Senator MOYNIHAN: The rise of ethnicity. It is very true.

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Another time, I had a wonderful encounter with him, a wonderful exchange. People often ask us: What is going to happen, Senator? Who is going to win this election? What is going to happen?

I always answered: Well, as Prime Minister Disraeli would always say, in politics a week is a long time. That was before television. That was before radio. Today, it is even a shorter period of time to try to predict what is going to happen in political matters. Sometimes it is just a minute.

I was standing in the well of the Senate and somebody asked me, “What is going to happen?” And I said, “Well, Disraeli said, ‘in politics a week is a long time.’”

Senator MOYNIHAN happened to overhear me, and very graciously and politely he walked up to me when the other Senators had left. He kind of leaned over to me and he said, “Max, now I think that was Baldwin.”

I looked it up. Sure enough, it was Lord Baldwin—it was not Disraeli—who said, “in politics a week is a long time.”

He was an absolutely amazing man, the Senator’s Senator, a professor. I have never known a Senator so gifted as Senator MOYNIHAN. We are all going to certainly mourn his passing, but even more important than that, we are going to have very fond memories of him and I think be guided and inspired by him in so many different ways. We are very thankful he chose to serve our country as his calling.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, PAT MOYNIHAN was a close personal friend. That sounds almost presumptuous to say. He was such a towering intellect and profound political figure, to claim a personal friendship with him seems to be somewhat presumptuous. But he was.

Of all that I recall PAT MOYNIHAN said and did, there is one thing that sticks in my mind that seems particularly appropriate on the day after his passing.

He once said, and I am paraphrasing but it is close to a quote, about John Kennedy’s death: There is no sense in being Irish unless you understand the world is eventually going to break your heart.

I want Mrs. Moynihan to understand that there are a lot of us—Irish and non-Irish—who have a broken heart today because of the passing of a man who was truly, truly a giant in 20th century American politics.

Mr. LUGAR. I will take at least a minute to commend our colleague, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, simply because he

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was a person. In my own experience as a young person, as mayor of Indianapolis I went with him to Brussels when he was a counselor to President Nixon, representing this country in a group called the Challenges for a Modern Society. We talked about the problems of urbanization in NATO countries, the problems of the environment, the problems of jobs for people. With DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN at my side, I invited the mayors of all the countries of the world to come to my city of Indianapolis in 1971, and he came.

He gave a great speech about international relations, what NATO could do. He gave it at a time when he was on the threshold, as it turned out, of going into diplomacy as our Ambassador to India and then to the United Nations.

I remember visiting with him when he was our Ambassador. It was a year in which both of us were considering candidacies for the Senate, which, in fact, occurred in 1976, successfully, for both of us. We came to this body together and served for 24 years.

Throughout that period of time, his counsel, I am sure if he were on the floor today speaking on some issue, would have been to be inclusive, to be hardheaded, to understand the facts, to understand the history, the traditions, the difficulties, sometimes the cynicism and the remorse, but also the triumphs that can come with successful diplomacy and successful international relations. Those were missions he undertook gladly on behalf of our country and finally in service with the Senate.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I know there is a group of us who wish to speak about Senator MOYNIHAN. I think that would be the next order of business, and so I will proceed.

Let me say that yesterday all of us were caused great sorrow when we heard the terrible news that Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, a giant among us, had passed from our midst. While the sadness is still there, today I rise to pay tribute to PAT MOYNIHAN and to the extraordinary life that he led.

It can rarely be said about someone that they changed the world and made it a better place just with their ideas. Senator MOYNIHAN was such an individual. He was a font of ideas. He was not afraid to utter them and he uttered them in such a way that people listened, paid attention, and changed the way they lived for the better.

PAT MOYNIHAN was a friend to me, a mentor. I first met him when I attended his course at Harvard while I was a student and he was a professor. Throughout the many years,

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he extended me so many kindnesses I can't even count them. But beyond the personal—and every one of us has our personal stories about Pat—is what he did for all of us. He was known in the Senate as a unique individual, as a person of ideas in a body that, frankly, has always needed more of them. He was the kind of Senator who the Founding Fathers, as they look down on this body, would look at and smile and say, “That’s the kind of person we wanted to serve in the Senate.”

I think the *Washington Post* editorial said it very well today. It said:

He pursued with distinction enough careers for half a dozen men of lesser talents and imagination—politician, Presidential adviser, diplomat, author, professor and public intellectual.

As someone who is barely managing to pursue only one of those many careers, I can't help but observe that, as you look around, there are no more PAT MOYNIHANS in part because of the man—PAT MOYNIHAN's vision, erudition, intellect, dazzling wit, and moral conviction were second to none—and in part because of the times. PAT MOYNIHAN was one of the pre-eminent public intellectuals in a time when such figures and their ideas could command the Nation's attention in a way that I fear is now all but gone from American life. I hope and pray that is not true.

But we mourn his passing. We mourn the passing of his time from the national stage and from this beloved institution that he loved and served so well for 24 years, the Senate.

In the coming days, many will pay tribute to PAT MOYNIHAN's leadership and vision on so many ideas where his mark on policy and his mark on individuals are well known. There are children born in this country and in foreign countries whose lives are better, who will live better lives because PAT MOYNIHAN lived and worked on this Earth.

His leadership in Social Security, in welfare reform, in poverty, in tax policy, in trade, in education, in immigration, in foreign policy, and most recently in government secrecy—any one of those would have been enough to be a capstone of an ordinary Senator's career. But PAT did them all.

As a fellow New Yorker, I am going to speak of PAT MOYNIHAN as a builder. He was known as a thinker, but we forget he was also a builder, a builder of bricks and mortar, somebody who taught us in New York and the country to think grandly of public works once again. Those who knew PAT MOYNIHAN best say that is where his heart truly lay.

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The week after I won election for the Senate, PAT MOYNIHAN called me into his office. He told me he would announce he wasn't going to run again. He said, "I am going to bequeath to you a gift. I am going to recommend that my staffer Polly Trottenberg work for you." Well I took his advice and hired her to be my legislative director and she has been with me ever since. He did many nice things for me. That was certainly one of them.

Because she worked so long and well for him, I asked Polly today what PAT MOYNIHAN had regarded as his greatest accomplishment and she said something that surprised me. But when you think about it, it should not be surprising. It was how he reclaimed Pennsylvania Avenue in this city and made it big and grand and beautiful again and how he lived out the rest of his days there with his wonderful wife Liz.

PAT MOYNIHAN not only taught us to think grandly about public works on the national scale, he also taught us to cherish our cities, to make them lively and beautiful, and none more so than his two beloved cities, New York and Washington.

His groundbreaking work on Federal transportation policy remains without equal. PAT MOYNIHAN is the father of ISTEA, the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991, the most important piece of transportation legislation since President Eisenhower's Federal Highway Act of 1956.

PAT MOYNIHAN, as a social scientist, urban planner, and old-fashioned New York politician, helped change the course of American transportation, weaning us from our highways-only approach that had destroyed so many urban neighbors.

Instead, ISTEA encouraged so many communities to invest in other modes, such as transit, rail, and even bipeds. I ride a bike every Saturday around New York. It is another small way I thank PAT MOYNIHAN.

He provided citizens with far greater say in what types of projects would be built in their communities. ISTEA was especially important to New York. It enabled the State to restore some of our most important but neglected public works, such as the magnificent Brooklyn Bridge as well as dream new dreams like I-86 across the southern tier, and the Second Avenue subway.

His passion and dedication to public architecture is well known and dates from his days as a young aide to President Kennedy who, right before his death, tasked MOYNIHAN with restoring Pennsylvania Avenue here in Washington. MOY-

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NIHAN succeeded brilliantly in his task, with the final piece of Pennsylvania Avenue, the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, unveiled a few years ago and instantly hailed as one of the best new buildings to grace the Capital.

Of course, Senator MOYNIHAN was also a leading force for architecture in New York. He was responsible for building a beautiful Federal courthouse at 500 Pearl Street in Lower Manhattan, which we were proud to name after him. Completed in 1994, the DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN Federal Courthouse embodies the same spirit as his previous architectural endeavors, an extraordinary work of art inside and outside.

He was responsible for the restoration of the spectacular Beaux-Arts Customs House at Bowling Green and for recognizing what a treasure we have in Governors Island.

He is beloved in Buffalo, at the other end of our State, for reawakening the city's appreciation for its architectural heritage, which includes Frank Lloyd Wright houses and the Prudential Building, one of the best known early skyscrapers by the architect Louis H. Sullivan, a building which Senator MOYNIHAN helped restore and then chose as his Buffalo office.

PAT MOYNIHAN has also spurred a powerful and passionate popular movement, which is gaining strength as he leaves us, in Buffalo to build a new signature Peace Bridge over the Niagara River.

His last project—one that I regret he didn't live to see completed—was his beloved Pennsylvania Station. In 1963, PAT MOYNIHAN was one of a group of prescient New Yorkers who protested the tragic razing of our city's spectacular Penn Station—a glorious public building designed by the Nation's premier architectural firm of the time, McKim, Mead & White.

It was PAT MOYNIHAN who recognized years ago that across the street from what is now a sad basement terminal that functions—barely—as New York City's train station, sits the James A. Farley Post Office Building, built by the same architects in much the same grand design as the old Penn Station. PAT MOYNIHAN recognized that since the very same railroad tracks that run under the current Penn Station also run beneath the Farley Building, we could use the Farley Building to once again create a train station worthy of our grand city.



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He then did the impossible: He persuaded New York City, New York State, the U.S. Postal Service, the U.S. Department of Transportation, Amtrak, congressional appropriators, and President Clinton himself, to commit to making this project succeed. And I can tell you, I don't think President Clinton even knew what hit him.

Herbert Muschamp, the noted *New York Times* architecture critic, praised the new Penn Station design, which brilliantly fuses the classical elements of the Farley Building with a dramatic, light-filled concourse, when he wrote:

In an era better known for the decrepitude of its infrastructure than for inspiring new visions of the city's future, the plan comes as proof that New York can still undertake major public works. This is the most important transportation project undertaken in New York City in several generations.

We have PAT MOYNIHAN to thank for that and so many other things.

The epitaph given to Sir Christopher Wren, designer of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, is an equally fitting epitaph for Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN: "Si monumentum requiris circumspice"—"If you would see this man's monument, look around."

And not only look at the buildings, look at people, look at highways, look at government projects and programs—all of which PAT MOYNIHAN had a tremendous effect on.

I join with every New Yorker and every American in mourning PAT MOYNIHAN's passing but celebrating his extraordinary life, his extraordinary career, celebrating the extraordinary man himself.

I give my heartfelt condolences to his family—Liz and Timothy and Maura and John and his grandchildren, Michael Patrick and Zora—and count myself among the many others who will miss him dearly.

Adam Clymer of the *New York Times* chronicled Pat's career and life movingly and brilliantly today. I ask unanimous consent his piece be printed in the *Record*.

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

[From the *New York Times*, March 27, 2003]

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN IS DEAD; SENATOR FROM ACADEMIA WAS 76

(by Adam Clymer)

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, the Harvard professor and four-term United States senator from New York who brought a scholar's eye for data to politics and a politician's sense of the real world to academia, died yesterday at Washington, D.C. He was 76.

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The cause, a spokesman for the family said, was complications of a ruptured appendix, which was removed on March 11 at the hospital, where he remained.

Mr. MOYNIHAN was always more a man of ideas than of legislation or partisan combat. Yet he was enough of a politician to win re-election easily—and enough of a maverick with close Republican friends to be an occasional irritant to his Democratic Party leaders. Before the Senate, his political home from 1977 to 2001, he served two Democratic Presidents and two Republicans, finishing his career in the executive branch as President Richard M. Nixon’s ambassador to India and President Gerald R. Ford’s ambassador to the United Nations.

For more than 40 years, in and out of government, he became known for being among the first to identify new problems and propose novel, if not easy, solutions, most famously in auto safety and mass transportation; urban decay and the corrosive effects of racism; and the preservation and development of architecturally distinctive Federal buildings.

He was a man known for the grand gesture as well as the bon mot, and his style sometimes got more attention than his prescience, displayed notably in 1980 when he labeled the Soviet Union “in decline.” Among his last great causes were strengthening Social Security and attacking government secrecy.

In the halls of academe and the corridors of power, he was known for seizing ideas and connections before others noticed. In 1963, for example, he was the co-author of “Beyond the Melting Pot,” which shattered the idea that ethnic identities inevitably wear off in the United States. Then, on the day that November when President Kennedy was shot in Dallas, he told every official he could find that the Federal government must take custody of Lee Harvey Oswald to keep him alive to learn about the killing. No one listened.

Friends also observed the intense sense of history he connected to immediate events. Bob Packwood, the former Republican senator from Oregon, recalled his Democratic friend’s response in 1993 when a reporter on the White House lawn asked what he thought of the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian agreement to share the West Bank. “Well, I think it’s the end of World War I,” he said, alluding to the mandates that proposed Middle Eastern boundaries in 1920.

Erudite, opinionated and favoring, in season, tweed or seersucker, Mr. MOYNIHAN conveyed an academic personality through a chirpy manner of speech, with occasional pauses between syllables. More than most senators, he could get colleagues to listen to his speeches, though not necessarily to follow his recommendations. He had a knack for the striking phrase, but unease at the controversy it often caused. When other senators used August recesses to travel or raise money for re-election, he spent most of them in an 1854 schoolhouse on his farm in Pindars Corners in Delaware County, about 65 miles west of Albany. He was writing books, 9 as a senator, 18 in all.

Mr. MOYNIHAN was less an original researcher than a bold, often brilliant synthesizer whose works compelled furious debate and further research. In 1965, his foremost work, “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action,” identified the breakup of black families as a major impediment to black advancement. Though savaged by many liberal academics at the time, it is now generally regarded as “an important and prophetic document,” in the words of Prof. William Julius Wilson of Harvard.

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Five years later, his memo to President Nixon on race relations caused another uproar. Citing the raw feelings provoked by the battles of the civil rights era, Mr. MOYNIHAN suggested a period of rhetorical calm—"benign neglect" he called it—a proposal widely misinterpreted as a call to abandon Federal programs to improve the lives of black families.

Nonetheless, he could also be an effective legislator. In his first term he teamed with Jacob K. Javits, his Republican colleague, to pass legislation guaranteeing \$2 billion worth of New York City obligations at a time when the city faced bankruptcy. In a brief turn leading the Environment and Public Works Committee in 1991 and 1992 he successfully pushed to shift highway financing toward mass transit—and get New York \$5 billion in retroactive reimbursement for building the New York State Thruway before the Federal government began the Interstate Highway System.

Although Mr. MOYNIHAN's junior colleague for 18 years, Alfonse M. D'Amato, became known as Senator Pothole for his pork-barrel efforts of New York, Mr. MOYNIHAN held his own in that department.

#### MONUMENT OF BRICKS AND MARBLE

Long before he came to the Senate, and until he left, he was building a monument of bricks and marble by making Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue, a dingy street where he came to work for President John F. Kennedy in 1961, into the grand avenue that George Washington foresaw for the boulevard that connects the Capitol and the White House. Nearly 40 years of his effort filled the avenue with new buildings on its north side, including the apartment houses where he lived, restored buildings on the south, and cafes and a sense of life all along.

Wherever he went, Mr. MOYNIHAN explored interesting buildings and worked to preserve architectural distinction, from converting the main post office in Manhattan into the new Pennsylvania Station, to the Customs House at Battery Park and all around Washington. Last year, over lunch and a martini at Washington's Hotel Monaco, an 1842 Robert Mills building that was once the city's main post office, he recalled how he had helped rescue it from decline into a shooting gallery for drugs.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN was born in Tulsa, Okla., on March 16, 1927, the son of an itinerant, hard-drinking newspaperman who moved the family to New York later that year to take a job writing advertising copy. They lived comfortably in the city and suburbs until 1937 when his father, John Moynihan, left the family and left it in poverty.

Mr. MOYNIHAN's childhood has been pseudo-glamorized by references to an upbringing in Hell's Kitchen, which in fact he encountered after his mother bought a bar there when he was 20. But there was enough hardship and instability in his early life so that when he later wrote of "social pathology," he knew what he was talking about.

Mr. MOYNIHAN's mother, Margaret Moynihan, moved the family, including a brother, Michael, and a sister, Ellen, into a succession of Manhattan apartments, and PAT shined shoes in Times Square. In 1943 he graduated first in his class at Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem. He also graduated to work as a stevedore at Piers 48 and 49 on West 11th Street.

He went to City College for a year, enlisted in the Navy, and was trained as an officer at Middlebury College and at Tufts University. Discharged the next spring, he went to work that summer tending bar for his mother, then got his B.A. at Tufts in 1948 and an M.A. at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts in 1949.

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In 1950 he went to the London School of Economics on a Fulbright scholarship, and he lived well on it, the G.I. bill and later a job at an Air Force base. He started wearing a bowler hat. He had a tailor and a bootmaker and traveled widely, including a visit to Moynihan cousins in County Kerry, Ireland.

Work on his dissertation did not consume him. In "PAT," his 1979 biography, Doug Schoen described a 1952 visit by two former Middlebury colleagues: "Impressed at first with his elaborate file cabinet full of index cards, they found that most of the cards were recipes for drinks rather than notes on the International Labor Organization."

Mr. MOYNIHAN came home in 1953 and went to work in the mayoral campaign of Robert F. Wagner. He went on to write speeches for W. Averell Harriman's successful campaign for Governor in 1954, joined his administration in Albany and rose to become his chief aide. It was there he learned about traffic safety, which he described in a 1959 article in *The Reporter* as a public health problem requiring Federal action to make automobile design safer.

#### A SEMI-MODEST PROPOSAL

Another former campaign worker who came to Albany was Elizabeth Brennan. Her desk and his were in the same room, and they grew friendly. Rather suddenly in early 1955, when they had never dated, Mr. MOYNIHAN did not formally propose but simply told her he was going to marry her.

They married in May 1955, and she often said she married him because he was the funniest man she ever met.

His wife survives him, as do their three children: Timothy, Maura and John, and two grandchildren.

While he was an enthusiastic supporter of John F. Kennedy, work at Syracuse University on a book about the Harriman administration and his Ph.D. kept his role in the campaign sporadic. But Liz Brennan Moynihan organized the campaign efforts in the Syracuse area.

His Ph.D. in international relations finally complete, he left Syracuse in 1961 for Washington and the Labor Department, rising to assistant secretary. One early research assignment on office space for the scattered department gave him an opportunity to assert guiding architectural principles that have endured and produced striking courthouses: that Federal buildings "must provide visual testimony to the dignity, enterprise, vigor and stability of the American government." That same report enabled him to raise the Pennsylvania Avenue issue, and he was at work on development plans on Nov. 22, 1963, when the word came that the President had been shot in Dallas.

Beyond his failed efforts to protect Mr. Oswald, Mr. MOYNIHAN marked that grim assassination weekend with a widely remembered remark about the death of the President he barely knew but idolized and eagerly followed.

On Sunday, Nov. 24, he said in a television interview: "I don't think there's any point in being Irish if you don't know that the world is going to break your heart eventually. I guess we thought we had a little more time." He added softly, "So did he."

His first book, written jointly with Nathan Glazer, had come out earlier that year. "Beyond the Melting Pot" looked at the different ethnic groups of New York City and scoffed at "the notion that the intense and unprecedented mixture of ethnic and religious groups in American life was soon to blend into a homogeneous end product." Ethnicity persisted, they argued.

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That concept won praise from the era's leading historian of immigration, Harvard's Oscar Handlin, who called it a "point of departure" in studies of immigrants. But in a foretaste of academic criticism in years to come, he said their methodology was sometimes "flimsy."

"The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," a paper he wrote at the Labor Department early in 1965, argued that despite the Johnson administration's success in passing civil rights laws, statutes could not ensure equality after three centuries of deprivation. He said the disintegration of black families had reached a point of "social pathology." He wrote: "The principal challenge of the next phase of the Negro revolution is to make certain that equality of results will now follow. If we do not, there will be no social peace in the United States for generations."

He cited black unemployment, welfare and illegitimacy rates. His emphasis on families headed by women led him to be accused of blaming the victims for their predicament, but in fact he wrote clearly, "It was by destroying the Negro family under slavery that white America broke the will of the Negro people." Now, he wrote, the Federal government must adopt policies especially in education and employment, "designed to have the effect, directly or indirectly, of enhancing the stability and resources of the Negro American family."

He left the administration in 1965 as liberals denounced his paper, and then ran for President of the New York City Council. He lost badly in the Democratic primary, but went on to Wesleyan University and, in 1966, to Harvard as director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies and a tenured professor in the Graduate School of Education.

He spoke out against disorder, in urban slums and on select campuses. Speaking to Americans for Democratic Action in 1967, he made it clear he thought liberal pieties would not solve black problems.

And in a passage that came to the eye of the Republican Presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon, he said liberals must "see more clearly that their essential interest is in the stability of the social order" and "make alliances with conservatives who share that concern." When Nixon was elected, Mr. MOYNIHAN made his alliance. He joined the White House staff as assistant to the President for urban affairs.

That startled his friends, and his wife refused to move to Washington. Mr. MOYNIHAN, who never developed, even after Watergate, the searing contempt for Mr. Nixon that animated so many contemporary Democrats, explained that when the President of the United States asks, a good citizen agrees to help. Another biographer, Godfrey Hodgson, says that while Mr. MOYNIHAN never stopped thinking of himself as a liberal Democrat, he shared the President's resentment of orthodox liberalism.

While his advice to the President to end the war in Vietnam stayed private, there were two ideas for which his time in the Nixon White House was known.

In 1970 he wrote to the President on race relations, arguing that the issue had been rubbed raw by "hysterics, paranoids and boodlers" on all sides. Now, he wrote, race relations could profit from a period of "benign neglect" in which rhetoric, at least, was toned down. In a return of the reaction to his paper on the Negro family, when this paper was leaked it was treated as if Mr. MOYNIHAN wanted to neglect blacks.

He may have invited that interpretation by his quaintly glib language, but in fact Mr. MOYNIHAN was pushing an idea that might have been of vast help to poor blacks, and whites. That other idea for which he was known, the Family Assistance Plan, sought to provide guaranteed income to the un-

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employed and supplements to the working poor, and together to stop fathers from leaving home so their families could qualify for welfare. The President made a speech for the program, sent it to Capitol Hill and let it die.

Afterward, though he remained on good terms with Mr. Nixon, Mr. MOYNIHAN went back to Harvard in 1970. Resentment over his White House service chilled his welcome back in Cambridge. His interests shifted to foreign affairs—perhaps because the charges of racism left him no audience for domestic policy, and made him welcome an appointment as Ambassador to India, where he negotiated a deal to end India's huge food aid debt to the United States. He returned to Harvard to protect his tenure in 1975, but moved that year to the United Nations as U.S. Ambassador.

There he answered the United States' third world critics bluntly, often contemptuously.

In his brief tenure he called Idi Amin, the President of Uganda, a "racist murderer," and denounced the General Assembly for passing a resolution equating Zionism with racism: "the abomination of anti-Semitism has been given the appearance of international sanction." After eight months of struggles with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who wanted a less confrontational approach, he resigned in February 1976.

That made him available for a run for the Democratic nomination for the Senate, and he edged out the very liberal Representative Bella Abzug in the primary before winning the general election easily over the incumbent, James L. Buckley, the Republican-Conservative candidate. With his wife in charge of each campaign, he won three landslide re-elections.

He set one high goal—a seat on the Finance Committee as a freshman—and reached it, along with a seat on the Intelligence Committee. Early in office he joined Gov. Hugh L. Carey, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts in a St. Patrick's Day appeal to Irish-Americans to stop sending money to arm the Irish Republican Army, whom he privately described as "a bunch of murderous thugs."

Every year he produced an analysis of Federal taxes and Federal aid, known as "the fisc," which showed that New York was getting regularly shortchanged by Washington. He worked to reduce that imbalance, both through Medicaid funding on the Finance Committee and public works on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

And his colleagues always knew he was around. Every day of the 2,454-day captivity of Terry Anderson, the Associated Press reporter captured in 1985 by the Hezbollah in Lebanon, he would go to the Senate floor to remind his colleagues, in a sentence, just how many days it had been.

#### QUARRELED WITH WHITE HOUSE

After loyally serving four Presidents, he quarreled with those in the White House while he was in the Senate. When he arrived in 1977, he found President Carter too soft in dealing with the Soviet Union and indifferent to its evil nature.

But he quickly came to believe that the Soviet Union was crumbling. In *Newsweek* in 1979 he focused on its ethnic tensions. In January 1980, he told the Senate: "The Soviet Union is a seriously troubled, even sick society. The indices of economic stagnation and even decline are extraordinary. The indices of social disorder—social pathology is not too strong a term—are even more so." He added. "The defining event of the decade might well be the breakup of the Soviet empire."

It was against that changed perception that he was sharply critical of vast increases in military spending, which, combined with the Reagan tax cuts,

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produced deficits that he charged were intended to starve domestic spending. He called a 1983 Reagan proposal for cutting Social Security benefits a “breach of faith” with the elderly, and worked out a rescue package that kept the program solvent for at least a decade into the 21st century.

He also scorned the 1983 invasion of Grenada, the 1984 mining of harbors in Nicaragua and the 1989 invasion of Panama as violations of international law, and voted against authorizing President George H. W. Bush to make war against Iraq. It was not enough, he wrote in his book “On the Law of Nations” in 1990, for the United States to be strong enough to get away with such actions. The American legacy of international legal norms of state behavior, he wrote, is “a legacy not to be frittered away.”

But probably his worst relations with a President came when Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton sought passage of national health insurance.

Certainly, the failure of health care legislation was not primarily Mr. MOYNIHAN’s responsibility, but he had become chairman of the Finance Committee in 1993, and health care fell within its jurisdiction. He said the administration should take on welfare reform legislation first, and carped on television about their health plan, quickly fixing on the role of teaching hospitals as the biggest issue in health care. But otherwise he waited for Mr. Packwood and Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader, to propose a compromise. Mr. Dole had decided all-out opposition was the better course for his party, and they never did.

Mr. MOYNIHAN’s career in the Senate was marked not by legislative milestones but by ideas. Even so, Senator Kennedy, the legislative lion, once described him in 1993 as an exemplar “of what the Founding Fathers thought the Senate would be about,” because of the New Yorker’s breadth of interests, “having read history, and thought about it, and being opinionated.”

Mr. President, I will end with a prayer. It is my hope, it is my prayer, that God grant us a few more PAT MOYNIHANS in this Senate, in this country, in this world.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I join my colleague in expressing our sense of loss at the passing of a man whom we knew, we admired, we respected, we enjoyed.

Yesterday, we lost more than “The Gentleman from New York.” We lost one of the great minds of America’s 20th century. He devoted more than 50 years of his life to public service in order to build a better world. For Senator MOYNIHAN, his service to his country and to the State he loved was more than his career. It was his calling.

For 24 years, New Yorkers had the benefit of his intellect and his dedication on the floor of this Senate. Whenever he headed to the Senate floor to speak, he kept the people of New York close to his heart. And he came armed with three signature items: his horn-rim glasses, a bow tie, and a great idea.

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No one believed more in the power of restoration than Senator MOYNIHAN: Restoration of our cities as economic and cultural centers; restoration of our historic buildings as public places of pride; restoration of the family, when given the proper tools to mend decades of despair; restoration of our government to better serve its people.

It was Senator MOYNIHAN who helped restore our sense of hope with his ability to look at an abandoned building, a neglected neighborhood, or an empty school, and see not only what it could become but how to make it so.

He could “see around corners,” to quote his Irish heritage. I always loved that phrase when applied to PAT MOYNIHAN because it so aptly described his unique ability to foresee how we might address a difficult problem. Time after time, he could see our Nation’s next pressing challenge—and its solution—even when it was decades away from our own national conscience.

His soul was anchored in the New Deal, but it was his ability to enhance the social contract to meet the challenges of the 20th and 21st century that transformed the lives of millions of New Yorkers and Americans.

Whether it was Social Security, Medicare, education, health care, the environment, fighting poverty, or historic preservation, every issue illustrated what Senator MOYNIHAN did best: He used the power of an idea as an engine for change. He was an architect of hope.

It was Senator MOYNIHAN who was able to articulate that poverty in an urban setting was just as isolating and devastating as in a rural setting. This helped launch the war on poverty and the idea that we now know as the earned income tax credit.

It was Senator MOYNIHAN who realized that States such as New York and others across the Northeast contributed more in taxes than we received back from the Federal Government. This prompted what he called the FISC Report, and his fight, which I carry on, to get New York its fair share.

It was Senator MOYNIHAN who looked at our historic places—from Pennsylvania Avenue right here in Washington, DC, to Penn Station in New York City—and saw how saving these great monuments to the past held meaning and purpose for our future.

It was Senator MOYNIHAN, as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who helped write the 1993 Budget Act, pass the Economic Act and the Deficit Reduction Act, that set the foundation for the prosperity of the 1990s, lifted 7



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million Americans out of poverty, and sent a clear message that the Federal Government did its best work when it did it responsibly, living within a budget. Unlike what we have just seen here on the floor over the last several days, Senator MOYNIHAN understood that a government which lived within its means made real choices, not false choices which involved putting it on a credit card for our children to have to pay.

It was Senator MOYNIHAN who, in addition to all of these domestic accomplishments, forged a new era of foreign policy for America with his work as Ambassador to India, and with his eloquence on behalf of the United States, speaking up during a contentious time as Ambassador to the United Nations.

On a personal note, it was Senator MOYNIHAN who welcomed me to his farm in Pindars Corners on a picture-perfect July day in 1999 and offered his support and encouragement, sending me on my way with a gesture of profound kindness that I will never forget.

A few months ago, Senator MOYNIHAN came to see me in my office. It is the office he was in for so many years. He sat with me, and we talked about the issues confronting this Senate. I asked his advice. I told him I wanted to have a chance to talk with him further about so many of the challenges that are facing us. Unfortunately, that was not to be. His illness prevented him from coming back to the Senate and from helping other Senators one last time.

Today, we are all thinking of him and his family. We extend our condolences, and our gratitude for the life he lived, the example he set, and the countless contributions he made.

Senator MOYNIHAN once said, in a very Irish way, "Well, knowledge is sorrow really."

He was right. The knowledge that he no longer walks among us brings sorrow to every New Yorker and American. He grew up in Hell's Kitchen, but he brought a bit of heaven to the Senate. We are grateful for his being amongst us; his looking around those corners, seeing further than any of us could on our own.

Our thoughts and prayers go out to his wonderful wife Liz, his children, his grandchildren. We wish them strength, and we want them to know that PAT MOYNIHAN was a blessing, a blessing to the Senate, a blessing to New York, and a blessing to America.

I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

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Mr. DODD. Mr. President, let me first of all commend both of our colleagues from New York, Senators Schumer and Clinton, for their very eloquent remarks about our former colleague and dear friend, PAT MOYNIHAN. I know not only the Moynihan family but the people of New York and others around this great country who have had the privilege of knowing and spending time with PAT MOYNIHAN deeply appreciate their comments and their words. I join in expressing my deep sense of loss of a towering figure of American life, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, whom we all know passed away yesterday. My heart certainly goes out to Senator MOYNIHAN's family at this most difficult time, his remarkable wife Liz and their three children, Timothy, Maura, and John, as well as the entire Moynihan family.

All of us, every single American, even those who may never have heard his name or are unaware of his contribution, lost a member of the family in a sense with the death of PAT MOYNIHAN. That is because for more than half a century, PAT MOYNIHAN served the American people as a soldier, teacher, author, assistant to four American Presidents, Ambassador to India and the United Nations and, of course, a Member of this Chamber for 24 years, from 1977 to the year 2001.

PAT MOYNIHAN, to those of us who knew him so well, was an intellectual giant who never lost sight of what makes America tick, in its most fundamental way our Nation's people and our Nation's families. He had a deep appreciation and abiding of America's families as the backbone of our Nation's social and economic structure that has provided us with stability and growth and success for more than two centuries.

And he was, of course, an unparalleled leader in pointing out weaknesses in America's families and ways in which we might strengthen them.

Generations of Americans, many of whom will never have known or possibly even have heard of PAT MOYNIHAN, will reap the benefits of this most compassionate and thoughtful leader among leaders.

A true American success story by any calculation, PAT MOYNIHAN rose from the rough neighborhood of New York City's Hell's Kitchen to become one of America's leading intellectuals. He earned a bachelor's degree, two master's degrees, and a Ph.D. as well as teaching appointments at Harvard, MIT, and Syracuse University.

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PAT MOYNIHAN was much more than simply a man of letters. He, above all else, combined his intellectual capacity with a strong sense of action; of getting things done.

PAT MOYNIHAN brought life to the notion that ideas serve as the engine of democracy. Many of the most thoughtful and progressive legislative programs that have improved the lives of his beloved New York and all around our Nation and across the globe for the past 40 years originated in the brilliant mind of PAT MOYNIHAN. From protecting underprivileged children, to passionately defending the Social Security system, to questioning America's role in the world at pivotal moments in our history, PAT MOYNIHAN's intellectual agility was only matched by his desire to make America a better nation, a fairer nation, and a more successful one.

The description "renaissance figure" is too liberally applied to people who don't deserve it, in my view. That is not the case with PAT MOYNIHAN. He truly was a renaissance figure, a person who could breeze easily and expertly from issue to issue. He would expound upon what is needed to improve mass transit systems nationwide one moment, explain what is needed to achieve excellence in our public education system in the next, and finish off with his latest idea to bring majesty to the architecture along Pennsylvania Avenue, all in a very seamless way.

I have heard the remarks of many of our colleagues and others over the last 24 hours in sharing their grief over the loss of our friend. As I have read and heard these remarks, in newspapers and public accounts, it struck me that the words describing PAT MOYNIHAN that are being most repeated over and over again are courageous, compassionate, principled, thoughtful, brilliant, and the like.

Few individuals have been so universally revered by so many here in Washington and across the Nation for their determination to make a difference in helping to steer our Nation in the right direction over a half century. That is because for decades PAT MOYNIHAN embodied the highest ideals and values of our Nation since its founding. This was recognized by Democratic Presidents and Republican ones alike. He served for both of them, and he served well. It was recognized by every one of his Senate colleagues, regardless of party or ideology, who had the great fortune to have worked with him in this Chamber.

Frederick Douglass once said, "The life of a nation is secure only while the nation is honest, truthful, and virtuous."

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For 40 years PAT MOYNIHAN lent those characteristics to the heart of the U.S. Government. PAT MOYNIHAN's death leaves a void in this Chamber, and in this country, that will not soon, if ever, be filled.

I would like to think that there will be more PAT MOYNIHANS coming down the pike, to serve in this Chamber, and in other important capacities nationwide. I would like to think that there will be more individuals with the style, and wit, and substance of PAT MOYNIHAN to help guide our Nation through the multitude of complex issues we confront now and into the future.

I would like to think so, but the truth is PAT MOYNIHAN was one of a kind. We will have to make do without him. I only count my blessings that I had a chance to serve with him in the U.S. Senate, and to have been able to call him a friend.

I conclude my remarks by expressing my deep sense of loss to Liz and the rest of the Moynihan family. This country has lost a remarkable individual, a person who made significant contributions to the health and well-being of this Nation. But to those of us who had the joy of serving with this delightful man from Ireland, we have lost a wonderful friend, someone we will miss with a great sense of loss for the rest of our lives.

I express my gratitude and those of my family to the Moynihan family, the people of New York, and to our colleagues and staffs and others who worked with him during those four decades of public service.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, today is a very sad day for America and for those of us who served in the U.S. Senate with one of its most visionary and accomplished Members, a great man, a great American, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN of New York, who died yesterday.

It stretches the mind just to think of all of the important positions that PAT MOYNIHAN held, including Cabinet or sub-Cabinet posts under four Presidents: John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Gerald Ford. He served as Ambassador to India in the 1970s and then as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. He came to the U.S. Senate in 1977 already a scholar, author and public official of great distinction and renown. In the 24 years he spent here, he only greatly expanded his enormous reputation and body of work. PAT MOYNIHAN was a Senator's Senator. Over the years, he

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earned the respect of every Member of the Senate—and we all learned a great deal from him.

PAT MOYNIHAN was a person who showed tremendous vision throughout his life. He showed foresight about the importance of a strong family and about the importance of strong communities in America. He raised the critical importance of these basic values and concerns about the deterioration of these family values, long before others. He showed great foresight about our Constitution. One of the highlights for me in my service in the Senate was joining Senator MOYNIHAN and Senator Robert Byrd in fighting successfully against the line-item veto as a violation of our Constitution. And, he showed great foresight about the world and the role of the United States in international affairs. His work at the United Nations and in the Senate, as a former vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and as chairman of the Finance Committee was marked by his perceptive, analytical, and worldly view on trade, foreign policy, and intelligence matters. Long before others, Senator MOYNIHAN was speaking of the economic and ultimately military weaknesses of the Soviet Union and predicting its collapse—at a time when most of the American intelligence community was overestimating its strength.

It is virtually impossible to list all of PAT MOYNIHAN's accomplishments in the U.S. Senate. Among the most lasting, however, will be his efforts on behalf of architectural excellence in the Nation's Capital. He was a crucial force behind the return to greatness of the Pennsylvania Avenue corridor between the U.S. Capitol and the White House, the restoration of Washington's beautiful, elegant, and historic Union Station, and the construction of the Thurgood Marshall Judiciary Building here on Capitol Hill.

And PAT could pack a punch, wielding his sharp sense of humor as a devastating weapon as when, in 1981, when the plastic covering used to protect the workers on the then-new Hart Senate Office Building was removed. No fan of the lack of architectural merit of the Senate's newest office building, he suggested that the plastic be immediately put back. He commented, "Even in a democracy, there are things it is as well the people do not know about their government."

The author or editor of 18 books, Senator MOYNIHAN was at the forefront of the national debate on issues ranging from welfare reform to tax policy to international relations. His most recent book, written in 1998, *Secrecy* expands on the report of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Govern-

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ment Secrecy of which he was the chairman. This is a fascinating and provocative review of the history of the development of secrecy in the government since World War I and argument for an “era of openness.”

At home in New York, in a State which is known for its rough and tumble politics, he demonstrated leadership again and again, exercising the power of intellect and the ability to rise above the fray. That has been a wonderful contribution not just to New York but to all of America.

The *Almanac of American Politics* once noted “DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN [was] the Nation’s best thinker among politicians since Lincoln and its best politician among thinkers since Jefferson.” PAT made a huge contribution to this body and its reputation. I will never forget him.

His wife, Liz, his children, grandchildren and the entire Moynihan family are in our hearts and our prayers today. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN’s memory will continue to serve as an inspiration to us all in the Senate family—as he was in life—to better serve the country that he loved so much.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, so many Senators have spoken so eloquently about the loss of Senator MOYNIHAN; but no one has been listened to in their speeches like they listened to our friend in the bow tie with the staccato delivery. Standing in this Chamber, he would overwhelm with his original thoughts, including overwhelming this Senator who had the good fortune to listen to his ideas for all 24 of his years here.

The saddest part about losing our friend is we lose him when we need him most.

He was the authority on Social Security, just when we need someone to stand up and expose the numbers that these voodoo tax cuts are taking out of the Social Security Trust Funds. He was the U.N. Ambassador who spoke bluntly, just when we need a guy with an opinion to straighten out those people up in New York. He was the architect who turned Pennsylvania Avenue into a grand boulevard, just when we need someone to figure out how to protect against terrorism and not undo the beauty he brought to this city.

Right to the point: he was from the world of intellect, not from the nonsense poll watchers. This Senator will miss the gregarious big man with the biggest of the big ideas, who nevertheless got things done in this Chamber.

My wife Peatsy joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his wonderful wife Elizabeth and their family.

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The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, our dear colleague, PAT MOYNIHAN, was a true giant in the Senate, and his loss is deeply felt by all of us who knew and admired him. He was a brilliant statesman and legislator, and he was also a wonderful friend to all the Kennedys throughout his extraordinary career in the public life of the Nation.

Forty-two years ago, President Kennedy enlisted many of the finest minds of his generation to serve in the New Frontier. Among the outstanding young men and women who answered his call was the brilliant young Irishman who became a Special Assistant to Jack's Secretary of Labor—and then an Assistant Secretary of Labor himself—DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. On that snowy Inauguration Day in January 1961, the torch was passed to that new generation of Americans, and PAT MOYNIHAN helped to hold it high in all the years that followed.

PAT leaves an outstanding legacy of extraordinary public service and brilliant intellectual achievement that all of us are proud of, and that President Kennedy would have been proud of, too.

Throughout his remarkable career, PAT was on the front lines on the great social, political, and cultural challenges of the day. To know him was to love him—the remarkable intellect, the exceptional clarity of his thinking—the abiding Irish wit that impressed and enthralled us all so often. We were not alone. Pat's qualities and achievements captivated, educated, and inspired an entire generation of Americans.

All of us in Congress and around the Nation learned a great deal from Pat, and we will miss him dearly. His wisdom and experience contributed immensely to the progress our country has made on a wide variety of issues. We loved the professor in him.

It was not unusual for Senators on both sides of the aisle to come to the Senate floor to hear PAT speak—Senators sitting like students in a class, trying to understand a complex issue we were struggling with.

The whole Senate loved and respected Pat. As he often said, "If you don't have 30 years to devote to social policy, don't get involved." He dedicated his brilliant mind and his beautiful Irish heart to that challenge, and America is a stronger and better and fairer nation today because of his contributions. With his great insight, and wisdom, he skillfully questioned the way things worked, constantly searching

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for new and better ways to enable all Americans to achieve their dreams.

In the 24 years PAT served with us in the Senate, he was the architect of many of the Nation's most progressive initiatives to help our fellow citizens, especially those in need. He left his mark on virtually every major piece of domestic policy legislation enacted by Congress.

He had a central role in shaping the debate on welfare reform, and he was a visionary when it came to protecting and strengthening Medicare and Social Security. He spearheaded the major transportation legislation that provides indispensable support for highways throughout the country and for mass transit in our cities.

An important part of Pat's legacy is the restoration of Pennsylvania Avenue, which my friend and colleague, Senator Schumer, referenced—the Nation's principal thoroughfare. The key to that dream was the preservation of Lafayette Park, right across from the White House. Jackie Kennedy Onassis put forward the vision that she and PAT shared to preserve that famous national square and the townhouses that surround it, which are such a vital part of our history and our architectural heritage.

Throughout his career, PAT worked brilliantly, effectively, tirelessly, and with great political skill, to promote the highest values of public service. And in doing so, he earned well-deserved renown and respect from all of us in Congress on both sides of the aisle, from Republican and Democratic administrations alike, from political thinkers, foreign policy experts, and leaders of other nations as well.

In a world of increasing specialization, there was no limit to his interest or his intellect or his ability. In so many ways, he was the living embodiment of what our Founding Fathers had in mind when they created the U.S. Senate. And he did it all without ever losing his common touch, because he cared so deeply about the millions of citizens he served so well, the people of New York.

One of my own happiest associations with PAT was our work together to end the violence in Northern Ireland and bring peace to that beautiful land of our ancestors. PAT and I worked closely with Tip O'Neill and Hugh Carey on that issue, and they called us the "Four Horsemen."

PAT believed very deeply in that cause and in all the other great causes he did so much to advance during his long and brilliant career. Whether serving in the Navy or as professor, adviser to Presidents, Ambassador, or Senator, PAT brought



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out the best in everyone he touched, and his mark on Earth will be remembered forever.

At another dark time in our history, after President Kennedy was taken from us, PAT said, “I don’t think there’s any point in being Irish if you don’t know that the world is going to break your heart eventually.” Pat’s loss breaks all our hearts today, and we know we will never forget him. We never forgot the lilt of his Irish laughter that stole our hearts away.

My heart goes out to Liz and the entire Moynihan family. We will miss PAT very much, and we will do our best to carry on his incomparable work to make our country and our world a better place.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I spoke briefly last night of the sorrow we all felt on hearing that our former colleague, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, passed away. This afternoon I join with Senators Schumer, Clinton, Kennedy, Dodd, and others to return to the floor to say a bit more for the *Record* about this truly remarkable man and about how much the Senate and the Nation will miss him.

Opening this morning’s newspapers at a time when news of the war in Iraq seems to eclipse all else, I found it fitting that DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN was—as he was so often during his long public career—once again front page news. Newspapers across the Nation—and indeed, around the world—are filled today with accounts of Senator MOYNIHAN’s life and work.

What has been written in just the short time since his death yesterday afternoon reminds us how extraordinary PAT MOYNIHAN really was.

The *New York Times*—the newspaper Senator MOYNIHAN read religiously every day, from cover to cover, we are told—reported that he “brought a scholar’s eye for data to politics and a politician’s sense of the real world to academia.”

The *Washington Post* noted that he “pursued with distinction enough careers for half a dozen men of lesser talents and imagination: politician, Presidential adviser, diplomat, author, professor, public intellectual.”

In talking about Senator MOYNIHAN with colleagues and friends last night and today, it strikes me that everyone seems to come back to one idea: People like PAT MOYNIHAN simply do not come along every day.

I said yesterday that he seemed larger than life. He was also, truly, one of a kind. Senator MOYNIHAN’s myriad public

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accomplishments are being—and will no doubt continue to be—well documented.

Today, I want to add to what has been said in the press and on this floor some of the less frequently mentioned things that made PAT special to those of us who had the privilege to know him and work with him.

PAT MOYNIHAN enlivened the Senate. He did so in many ways, but there are three in particular that come to mind for me today.

First was the way he applied his encyclopedic mind to the deliberations of the Senate. In our Democratic Caucus meetings, in committee hearings, and here on the floor, he elevated our discourse. He would make a point, and drive it home, by drawing on his sweeping knowledge of history, literature, poetry, and the arts. He could quote from hundreds of sources—from memory.

Listening to PAT speak extemporaneously, you might be treated to verbatim quotes from Disraeli or Churchill, Yeats or Robert Frost, Dylan Thomas, Evelyn Waugh, Arthur Conan Doyle, or Shakespeare. He always had just the right quote to support his argument, and he always quoted accurately.

I once read that the staff of the Shakespeare Theater here—where PAT was a frequent patron—often noticed him silently mouthing the words of the play—as the actors spoke them.

A second gift of Pat's that we all treasured was his ready sense of humor. It was a puckish, mischievous wit, and it never failed to surprise and amuse us.

I remember when the Hart Senate Office Building was completed. PAT was never an admirer of the architecture of the Hart Senate Office Building. In fact, he thought it was downright ugly. When the building was finished and the construction tarp was taken down, PAT introduced a resolution saying the tarp should be put back up.

PAT also knew how to use his wit to disarm. He was famously blunt and direct with the press. But he also knew how to use humor to avoid questions he preferred not to answer.

Nearly every week, he invited the New York press corps into his office in the Russell Building for coffee and to answer questions. If he chose to, he could crack a hilarious joke and have the press in stitches. By the time they got through laughing, they had forgotten the question altogether.

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Finally, PAT MOYNIHAN was a fierce Senate institution-  
alist—a quality that endeared him to me, to Senator Byrd,  
and to so many of us.

PAT MOYNIHAN loved and revered this institution—much  
as he loved and revered public service.

His respect for the Senate showed itself in many ways,  
from his stout defense of Senate powers and prerogatives to  
his keen interest in the architectural preservation of the  
Capitol Building and its environs.

PAT had a sentimental side, as many of us do, when it  
came to this building.

On special occasions, he loved to present friends with a gift  
of sandstone bookends made from the old East Front of the  
Capitol. With each presentation of those treasured stones,  
PAT loved to tell an elaborate story about the political in-  
trigue surrounding the extension of the East Front in the  
1950s.

These are just a few of the special things that come to  
mind as we reflect on the unique life and legacy of our friend  
and former colleague.

I said last night that in losing PAT MOYNIHAN, New York  
and the Nation have lost a giant. And, as Winston Churchill  
once said of another great patriot, we shall not see his like  
again.

On behalf of the entire U.S. Senate, I again extend sincer-  
est condolences to PAT's beloved wife and partner, Liz, to  
their children, Tim, John, and Maura, and to their grand-  
children, Zora and Michael Patrick.

We thank them for sharing so much of their husband, fa-  
ther and grandfather with us. Our thoughts and prayers are  
with them at this hour.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I rise today to join my col-  
leagues to mourn the passing of and express respect and ad-  
miration for the service of our former colleague, DANIEL PAT-  
RICK MOYNIHAN, whom we recently lost.

Before I came to this body, I had heard a great deal about  
PAT MOYNIHAN. Who had not? If you followed government, if  
you were interested in policy, PAT MOYNIHAN probably said  
something that was very important. He was way ahead of  
his time on some issues. On other issues, I disagreed with  
him rather strongly, but you knew if PAT MOYNIHAN spoke,  
it was going to be worth listening to. If you did not agree

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with him, you were going to have to work hard to counter it.

I had some disagreements with the distinguished Senator from New York. As a matter of fact, in the 1992 Highway Bill, I had a spectacular confrontation with him. We disagreed over a courthouse that was included in the highway bill. Thereafter, we became very good friends, and I think as a result of our rather tumultuous getting acquainted, I had the opportunity to spend a good bit of time with him.

We were neighbors in an area of the Capitol where we both had workspaces. I spent a number of evenings enjoying a discussion with him as we watched the debates on the floor of the Senate. His ability to discuss and have insightful observations about so many subjects was truly impressive. If I ever met a Renaissance man, it was PAT MOYNIHAN.

I will give one example. Everybody knows the great role he played in revitalizing Pennsylvania Avenue and the leadership he provided. He was a great student of architecture. One of the projects we worked on in Missouri was saving the Wainwright Building, the first steel-framed skyscraper designed by Louis Sullivan. I mentioned it to him one day. He proceeded to give me a short course in architecture and the role of Louis Sullivan and his draftsman, Frank Lloyd Wright, which went far beyond the knowledge I had of the building in St. Louis. As a student of architecture, as a student who appreciated the benefits architecture brings to the quality of life, he was absolutely without peer.

There were many other issues, and I know my colleagues will have many thoughts to share about him, but I wanted to rise to say to those he leaves behind that he was truly an outstanding servant, one whose friendship and whose insights and experiences I personally will always hold dear. I know this body is far richer for his presence and his service.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I also rise to join with my colleagues on the passing of PAT MOYNIHAN. Where does one start when a friend and colleague leaves us?

When Senator MOYNIHAN retired from the Senate, where he served our country and his State so well, he really did not leave us. Now in this, his last transition, he will not leave us. He left so much of himself with us. His words will remain with us for years to come.

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I did not join the Senate until 1989. Being on the opposite side of the aisle—I was one who had not earned his spurs yet—I did not have the opportunity to get to know him until we went on a trip together to the Persian Gulf during Desert Shield in 1990. I can say my life has been richly blessed serving with a lot of men and women who have since retired from this body. He was one of those people.

That was a great trip to the Persian Gulf. We spent a lot of hours in flight and spent a lot of hours in conversation, which was truly enlightening to this Senator from a rural State such as Montana. Our relationship grew from that point, and I realized what a marvelous man he really was.

He was a man true to his faith and principles. His intellect stood him apart from most men I have ever known, but he coupled that intellect with good old-fashioned common sense and deep wisdom.

The subject matter of the conversation did not make any difference. He could relate to anyone on a common ground. The ability to communicate with anybody who is not blessed with the same amount of institutional information or knowledge of any issue that may confront policymakers on a daily basis is a wonderful talent. He was one I held in high esteem, as he was one of the most intelligent men I have ever known.

It is unusual to find a person of that caliber to be blessed with a great sense of humor, and to put it on our level. He was quick, and his humor would sneak up on you. A man of his own style, very comfortable with himself, his presentations on the floor, in committee, or in public were strictly PAT MOYNIHAN. We shall miss his voice on the floor of the Senate for several reasons, and printed words cannot describe that distinct sound.

I notice my friend from West Virginia is in the Chamber. Senator MOYNIHAN sat only two seats behind Senator Byrd.

We can hear him today say, “Mr. President, may we have order.”

That was distinctly a call we all knew, understood, and respected. I shall miss him. I shall never forget him. Whatever accolades he may receive, he earned every one.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President.

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There is a Catskill eagle in some souls that can alike dive down into the blackest gorges and soar out of them again and become invisible in the sunny spaces. And even if he forever flies within the gorge, that gorge is in the mountains; so that even in his lowest swoop, the mountain eagle is still higher than other birds upon the plain, even though they soar.

I was saddened to learn last night of the death of one of the most educated, most versatile, and most gifted persons ever to bless this Chamber, and one of my favorites, our former colleague, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.

With master's and doctorate degrees from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, he was a Fulbright scholar and the author of a number of sometimes controversial, but important, books. He held academic positions at several of our country's most prestigious universities, including Syracuse, Harvard, and MIT.

Unable to settle into an academic life, PAT MOYNIHAN went on to serve in high positions in the administrations of Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Gerald Ford—making him the first and only person to serve in the Cabinet or sub-Cabinets of four successive administrations. His government work included serving as the American Ambassador to India and as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

Even with this background, and these accomplishments, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN still refused to rest. In fact, his greatest work, I might even go so far as to say his destiny, was still ahead. In 1976, he was elected to the first of four terms in the U.S. Senate.

I was then the Democratic whip. I knew I was going to be the next Senate majority leader, so I welcomed PAT MOYNIHAN to the Senate and assured him I would do my best to see that he got appointed to the Senate Finance Committee. That is where he wanted to go.

So it was in this Chamber that the talents, the skills, and the powerful intellect of this philosopher-statesman shined the brightest.

It was more than his outstanding work as a Senator from a large and powerful State.

It was more than his outstanding work as chairman of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee and as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

It was that he was a visionary with the strongest sense of the pragmatic, an idealist with the most profound grasp of what was practical, an internationalist who always put our country first. With his keen and profound historical perspective and his incredible breadth of knowledge ranging from

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taxes to international law, he had the uncanny ability to make us confront issues that needed to be confronted, and to cut to the core of a problem and then help us to solve it.

A person and a Senator not only of high intellectual quality, but also high intellectual honesty, Senator MOYNIHAN took on the complicated and politically sensitive issues, like Social Security, health care, and welfare reform, with passion and compassion; he took on these mighty subjects with determination and foresight and with unflinching integrity.

I have never forgotten, and will never forget, our valiant fight together to challenge and defeat the line-item veto. I wish he were here now. This was one of his many struggles to preserve and to protect our constitutional system. We need more PAT MOYNIHANS who would take an unflinching stand for the Constitution and this institution. He truly believed in our Constitution just as he truly believed in the mission as well as the traditions, the rules, and the folkways of the U.S. Senate. He knew that the American Government is not the monster that demagogues fear and like to portray but a positive, creative force in American life that has helped all Americans to enjoy better, safer, and more productive lives.

Senator MOYNIHAN retired from the Senate in the year 2000. But he was one of those Senators who was so much a part of this institution that he has never really left it. I still look over at his seat and sit in my own and turn it in that direction and listen to him. I can hear him; I can still see him. Yes, just like I still see Richard B. Russell who sat at this seat and who departed this life on January 21, 1971; like I can still see Everett Dirksen, that flamboyant Republican orator and leader; as I can see Lister Hill of Alabama, and the other great lawmakers with whom I have had the privilege and the honor of serving.

I look over there and see his unruly hair, his crooked bow tie, his glasses that always seemed about to fall off his face, and that unforgettable Irish twinkle in his eyes.

But I have missed his incredible grasp of the issues. I have missed his intellectual vigor, and his incisive wit and wisdom. In these difficult and trying times, I, and the Senate, have sorely missed his innate sense of fairness, and his unbounded and unqualified determination to do the right thing regardless of political party or political consequences. As I said when he retired from the Senate, "His conscience is his compass. . . . Senator MOYNIHAN states facts, the cold,

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hard truths that many others in high places refuse to face and that some are unable to see.”

Senator MOYNIHAN lived the lifetime of ten mortals. An author, ambassador, college professor, outstanding public servant, and a great U.S. Senator, he accomplished so much. He leaves an indelible mark on this country. His legacy is intact. His was a creative and successful life. And he was blessed with a wonderful and gracious wife, Elizabeth. My wife Erma and I extend our deepest and heartfelt condolences to PAT’s entire family.

I close my remarks by reciting the immortal words of Josiah Gilbert Holland:

God give us men!  
A time like this demands strong minds,  
great hearts, true faith, and ready hands.  
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;  
Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who have honor; men who will not lie.

Men who can stand before a demagogue  
And brave his treacherous flatteries without winking.  
Tall men, sun-crowned;  
Who live above the fog,  
In public duty and in private thinking.  
For while the rabble with its thumbworn creeds,  
It’s large professions and its little deeds,  
mingles in selfish strife,  
Lo! Freedom weeps!

Wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps.  
God give us men!  
Men who serve not for selfish booty;  
But real men, courageous, who flinch not at duty.  
Men of dependable character;  
Men of sterling worth;  
Then wrongs will be redressed, and right will rule the Earth.  
God Give us Men!

Mr. President, those of us who knew DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, especially those of us who served with him here in the Senate, will remember his “strong mind,” his “great heart,” his “true faith,” and his “ready hands.” We will remember him as a man of “dependable character” and “sterling worth.”

Thank you, God, for giving us Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BROWNBACk. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in offering a tribute to the late distinguished Sen-



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ator PATRICK MOYNIHAN, a role model, an inspiration, a friend, and my fellow Senator. I can only hope that with my poor speaking skills, in comparison certainly to his, I can do justice to his many virtues and innumerable contributions he made to this Nation. I know today many of my colleagues are lauding him for his principled stands, even if it meant feeling exiled in Siberia. He many times fought the lonely and oftentimes frustrating fight, but he knew what was right and that sustained him through the years of criticism and controversy and, ultimately, was normally proven right. He was a great role model.

In fact, when I first met the Senator from New York, one of the things that came to my mind was what the German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, once said, "Talents are best nurtured in solitude; character is best formed in the stormy billows of the world."

He also said, "He who is firm and resolute in will, molds the world to himself."

I can't think of anybody to which this statement applies better than to Senator MOYNIHAN. He has always been willing to stand upon his principles, in solitude if necessary, to weather the stormy billows of the world, to truly mold the world to himself.

He has been someone who has been the epitome of being firm and resolute in will, no matter the criticism, the controversy or the circumstances.

In fact, when he first wrote his report to President Johnson, for example, 40 years ago, highlighting the rising out-of-wedlock birthrates that were taking place in the country, he felt that this threatened the stability of the family, particularly minority families, one of the building blocks of our society. He was roundly attacked at that time. Rather than seeing this report rightly as a chilling foreboding of problems to come, people chose to turn a blind eye to the truth upon which he so correctly shed light. Now we have reached a stage where the out-of-wedlock birthrates in all the communities in our country have reached dangerous proportions, and everyone is in agreement about exactly how dangerous this is.

How many times we have heard, "PATRICK MOYNIHAN was right." How many times should we have had to hear it said? Senator MOYNIHAN always understood the overriding importance of the truth, of ensuring that there is substance behind one's politics and not just words. He showed this time and time again.

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For example, one of the most important chapters of our Nation's story of human freedom and dignity is the history and legacy of the African-American march toward freedom, legal equality, and full participation in American society. Senator MOYNIHAN understood the importance of this history, which is why in the 102d Congress he championed the effort to create a National African-American Museum, a vital project upon which Congressman Lewis and I now have spent several years working and which we hope to get to completion.

With Senator MOYNIHAN's leadership, at that time the museum idea successfully passed the Senate but, unfortunately, did not pass the House and to this day we picked up his mantle and are still working on it.

Senator MOYNIHAN understood why it was so critical to honor this history, truly the history of not just African-Americans but of our Nation. His commitment was key to the first efforts.

As I seek to move forward the legislation to create the museum, I am honored that I am now carrying on the work he began in this body. It certainly makes for very big shoes to fill, but I am only hopeful that in his memory I may do just efforts justice.

Billy Graham once said, "Courage is contagious. When a brave man takes a stand the spine of others are often stiffened."

This was always true when we associated with Senator MOYNIHAN. Somehow, people seemed to stand a little taller, act more resolute. They even argued better. No one could ever out-argue Senator MOYNIHAN, but somehow the challenge of having such a talented opponent made one's own skills sharper.

There is so much more to my friend, though, than what is so obviously and publicly known. For example, so many of us here experienced his wonderful and robust sense of humor, something I wish everyone could have had the pleasure of participating in seeing. Senator MOYNIHAN was all of this and much, much more.

He was often described as the great statesman of the Senate, a breed that seems more and more difficult to find in politics. He was always a steadfast defender of American principles. He was also someone who brought dignity, character, and humor to this body. He has been and always will be the role model of the true statesman.

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In the Second Epistle to Timothy, Paul writes, “I have fought the good fight, I finished the course, I have kept the faith.”

Senator MOYNIHAN certainly did so. All of us here and across the Nation have benefited.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, as we bring to a close what has been a very productive week over the last 4 days here in the Senate, we have had ups and downs and a lot of very productive debate. Many sad events and many happy events have actually been talked about on the floor, with the range from the death of DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, an icon who has spoken so many times from this floor to the American people—indeed, to the world—to the many comments made in morning business over the course of this week paying tribute to our men and women, our soldiers overseas; a resolution today commending the coalition of allies who support the United States and our British friends in the efforts that are under way as I speak today; all the way to a budget that is a culmination, in many ways, of weeks and weeks of work as we have defined the priorities of this body in spending the taxpayers’ dollars for the foreseeable future—a first step, the culmination of a lot of debate and discussion as we go through our conference with the House over the next several weeks.

We had a lot of ups and a lot of downs but a lot of progress, and we are doing the Nation’s business at the same time we are paying respect to the incidents that are playing out before us in the international and domestic realm. Last night I had the opportunity of introducing the resolution, along with Senator Daschle, paying respects to Senator MOYNIHAN and, as I mentioned in my opening comments today, once again, the great legacy that he leaves all of us.

I would like to pay one final tribute to him, and read just a few paragraphs from the commencement speech he gave at Harvard in 2002, which has previously been printed in the *Record*.

The commencement speech at Harvard, 2002, is entitled “Civilization Need Not Die” by DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN:

Last February, some 60 academics of the widest range of political persuasion and religious belief, a number from here at Harvard, including Huntington, published a manifesto: “What We’re Fighting For: A Letter from America.”

It has attracted some attention here; perhaps more abroad, which was our purpose. Our references are wide, Socrates, St. Augustine, Franciscus de

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Victoria, John Paul II, Martin Luther King, Jr., Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We affirmed “five fundamental truths that pertain to all people without distinction,” beginning “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”

We allow for our own shortcomings as a nation, sins, arrogance, failings. But we assert we are no less bound by moral obligation. And finally, . . . reason and careful moral reflection . . . teach us that there are times when the first and most important reply to evil is to stop it.

But there is more. Forty-seven years ago, on this occasion, General George C. Marshall summoned our Nation to restore the countries whose mad regimes had brought the world such horror. It was an act of statesmanship and vision without equal in history. History summons us once more in different ways, but with even greater urgency. Civilization need not die. At this moment, only the United States can save it. As we fight the war against evil, we must also wage peace, guided by the lesson of the Marshall Plan—vision and generosity can help make the world a safer place.

Those are the words of DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, again, in 2002. They reflect very much the global thinking, the compassion, the integrity, the foresight of this great icon in this body.

MONDAY, *March 31, 2003*

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I came to the floor to say a few words about Senator PATRICK MOYNIHAN. Obviously, I didn't know him for all of his very successful and rather stupendous life, but I knew him rather well for that portion spent in the Senate. Even as to that portion, it was not my privilege to spend a great deal of time on the same committees with the Senator. But it was obvious to me he was a very big man, not big only in stature—he was very tall—but clearly he spoke eloquently and could grasp the situation with a demeanor and in a manner that was not very common and ordinary here.

From my standpoint, we built up a friendship principally based upon his asking me a lot of questions about the budget and about my work as chairman or ranking member on the Senate floor.

Today it was my privilege to attend, with my wife Nancy, his funeral mass and some of the other ceremonial events that bid him goodbye. My wife Nancy and I got to share with his marvelous wife Elizabeth; everybody calls her Liz. We had had on one occasion as couples an opportunity to travel with Senator MOYNIHAN and his wife and others on a very

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lengthy trip that included China and other parts of the world, Japan. It was rather marvelous to have him regale us with stories and tales and history as we would be traveling from one country to another. When he was around on those kinds of events, you didn't have to have books to read. You would just get a seat close to him and ask questions, and he would tell you something significant, different, important, something you clearly never would read and never had heard.

We all miss him. There is no doubt about it.

One day I recall was the close of a budget session, a long debate on the budget. Final passage came up. It had been a very arduous and difficult one, much like the last one we just experienced, but more so. I had counted votes and thought I would win. I thought I would get 51 votes, which is what I needed. I noted that during the time of the debate and in particular the closing, Senator MOYNIHAN had listened a little more than I had expected. No reason for him to do that. Senators were in and out.

I had also noticed during the course of events that he would stop by and talk with me and say something to me about what was going on.

The vote occurred, and I was not paying attention to the vote. I knew I would get the votes necessary. But when the votes were counted, I had one more than expected. So I asked, who was that; what happened? Somebody on the other side of the aisle, without saying much and perhaps without talking to his own leadership, had voted for the resolution. Sure enough, it was PATRICK MOYNIHAN. I didn't have a chance then to say anything to him, but later on, I purposely found him and thanked him, and I asked him what was that all about.

He said: Well, to tell you the truth, that Budget Act is too confusing and confounds everybody. You worked too hard to try to get it done, and you made an awful lot of sense. I just decided that regardless of the philosophy, that was enough for me to vote for the budget resolution, in the sense that I was just voting for you.

Things like that don't happen very often. I am sure everybody has stories similar to that and more so. Today, as we attended the funeral mass, there were literally hundreds of people from all walks of life—kind of befitting what he had done and the life he had lived. On one side I noticed the Secretary of Defense had kind of eased his way into the church and was kneeling on one side there in an inconspicuous

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way—many Ambassadors, a lot of Senators, a very large entourage of Senators. Perhaps as many as 10 former Senators from our day who now live somewhere else doing other things had found their way into Washington to be there.

I choose today for these very few moments to say thank you to him for his great service in the Senate, to his family, and particularly to his wife, who obviously sacrificed greatly while he was being a Senator. She, too, has a profession of her own and was somewhat restrained and had to live more of a life in Washington, tied sort of to his career, than she had at other times in her life. But from what I have gathered, they were both great citizens and very pleased and proud to be part of this Senate.

I thank him and bid him adieu.

Mr. GRAHAM of Florida. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in mourning the passing of a giant of the 20th century—our former colleague, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. The list of his contributions to this Nation is long and impressive: from White House aide, to Ambassador to India and the United Nations, to Senator from the State of New York for 24 years. PAT MOYNIHAN left an indelible mark on our Nation and the world.

Senator MOYNIHAN has been described as the best thinker among politicians since Abraham Lincoln and the best politician among thinkers since Thomas Jefferson. Few Senators in the 241-year history of this institution have had the intellectual impact on public policy as did PATRICK MOYNIHAN. From tax policy to environmental protection, he was an always constructive and frequently dominant advocate. He frequently converted a Senate committee hearing or floor debate into what was his first passion, a college classroom. Those of us who were fortunate to be his students are forever in his debt.

Adele and I offer our condolences to Elizabeth and their family, and we will recognize in our prayers the loss that the Nation and each of us individually have suffered.

Mr. President, I add that I consider it a terrible irony that on the eve of Senator MOYNIHAN's death, March 26, the White House announced the signing of amended Executive Order 12,958. This Executive order delays the release of millions of long-classified government documents and grants to government bureaucrats new authority to reclassify information. The vast majority of these documents are more than 25 years old and were to have been automatically declassified on April 17 of this year.

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I consider this ironic because Senator MOYNIHAN was a champion of open government. Among his many writings, including 18 books, was *Secrecy*. Senator MOYNIHAN concluded that book with these words:

A case can be made that secrecy is for losers, for people who don't know how important information really is. The Soviet Union realized this too late. Openness is now a singular and singularly American advantage. We put it in peril by poking along in the mode of an age now past. It is time to dismantle government secrecy, this most pervasive of cold war era regulations. It is time to begin building the supports for the era of openness, which is already upon us.

Mr. President, we in the Senate and those in the White House should heed PAT MOYNIHAN's wise words. As a former chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, I can tell you that this administration is being excessively cautious in keeping information from the American people. Certainly, when we are at war and facing increased threats from international terrorist networks, we need to keep secret that information that could pose a threat to our security if it were to fall into the wrong hands. But that hardly seems to be the case with most of the information that is covered by this overly broad Executive order.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, it was with great sorrow that I learned last week of the death of our former colleague, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN of New York.

Senator MOYNIHAN was an intellectual giant in the Senate and throughout his service to our Nation. The breadth of his interests—and his knowledge—was extraordinary. From questions about the architecture and urban development of Washington, DC, to the problems created by single parent families to the workings of the International Labor Organization, Senator MOYNIHAN had thought deeply and designed policy answers. I don't think there was a Senator who served with PAT MOYNIHAN who didn't learn something from Senator MOYNIHAN's vast stock of personal experience, understanding of history, and ability to draw parallels between seemingly unrelated topics to enlighten our understanding of both.

I will always have fond memories of the several occasions on which I joined Senator MOYNIHAN in the Senators' private dining room and was treated to a lunchtime tutorial. I could ask a question on virtually any topic and get a dissertation in response. Our conversations ranged from art history to baseball, American history, our Middle East policy, the history of science and scientific advancement, and more. Seem-

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ingly there was no topic on which PAT did not have unique insight, and I always came away from those lunches feeling like I had just emerged from an intellectually stimulating graduate seminar.

I had the particular pleasure of serving with Senator MOYNIHAN on the Finance Committee for 8 years. As chairman and as ranking member of the Finance Committee, Senator MOYNIHAN was a true leader. Starting in 1993, when I took Senator Bentsen's seat on the committee and Senator MOYNIHAN claimed his chairmanship, Chairman MOYNIHAN successfully guided the 1993 economic plan through the committee and the Senate. That budget, which I was proud to help shape and support, laid the foundation for the record economic expansion of the 1990s.

After Republicans took control of the Senate in the 1994 election, Senator MOYNIHAN was a fierce critic of their excessive tax cut proposals. We joined in opposing shortsighted proposals to have Medicare "wither on the vine," turn Medicaid into a block grant, and destroy welfare rather than reforming it. Senator MOYNIHAN was, as always, an especially passionate defender of teaching hospitals, warning that the plan to slash spending for Medicare's graduate medical education would threaten medical research in this country—a fear that has proved well-founded as teaching hospitals have struggled to survive the much smaller changes enacted as part of the compromise Balanced Budget Act that emerged in 1997.

The Finance Committee—and the Senate —would not have been the same without him. Who else will be able to gently tutor witnesses on the relevance of the grain trade in upstate New York in the early nineteenth century to a current debate about health care policy? Who else will call for the Boskin and Secrecy Commissions of the future? And who else will educate his colleagues on the impact on our society of the demographic time bomb of the baby boom generation?

The Senate has lost a legend. The country has lost a brilliant and unconventional thinker who contributed greatly to our society on fronts ranging across transportation, welfare and poverty, racism and civil rights, and architecture and urban planning.

I will miss PAT MOYNIHAN. I will miss his sly wit, his apt and splendidly diverse quotations, his sharp questioning and distrust of glib answers, and his fierce humanity. On behalf of myself and my wife Lucy, I want to express my deepest



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condolences to his wife Liz, their children and the rest of his family and friends. My heart goes out to them.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, an intellectual pioneer who I felt honored to serve with in the U.S. Senate. He rose from humble beginnings to Harvard, and to a life of service in four different Presidential administrations, as an Ambassador to India and the United Nations, and as New York's Senator for four terms. Throughout his career in service, he paved his own path—one of integrity, independence and principled leadership on the critical national questions of our age.

Whenever he spoke I listened closely, because I knew I would always learn something from him. He possessed tremendous intellect and foresight, showed unflagging courage in championing unsung causes, and commanded extraordinary respect on both sides of the aisle. He was a true renaissance man who put action behind his diverse interests: from protecting the sanctity of the American family, to preserving historic art and architecture, to restoring Pennsylvania Avenue as America's "main street," to saving Social Security for future generations.

I offer my condolences to his wife Elizabeth, who was truly his life partner. There will no doubt be a memorial built in his honor someday soon on the streets of New York; but Senator MOYNIHAN's legacy is already living—in safer streets in our cities, a cleaner environment, and a stronger national community. To borrow a memorable MOYNIHAN phrase, his life defined public service and public policy for all who aspire to contribute to our country.

TUESDAY, *April 1, 2003*

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, the passing of Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN is a loss for all of us. PAT MOYNIHAN committed his remarkable life to his country: serving four Presidents, representing our Nation as Ambassador to India and the United Nations, and representing the State of New York as a Senator. His deep intellect and unyielding candor will be missed.

As a junior colleague, I was struck by Senator MOYNIHAN's generosity with his time and graciousness of spirit. I had the privilege of sitting next to Senator MOYNIHAN on the trip to

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Rhode Island for the funeral of our colleague the late Senator John Chafee. As we traveled, I was out of my depth listening to him discuss different styles of architecture in between offering endearing stories about our departed colleague.

Of all his gifts, PAT MOYNIHAN's ability to recognize great issues before they were commonly observed was his greatest. In public policy, he had an ability to appreciate and make sense of the larger picture rarely found in a politician. From the plight of broken families and inner cities, to the collapse of the Soviet Union, to the danger of ethnic conflict in the Balkans, to Social Security reform, MOYNIHAN was prophetic. In one of his last public speeches, at last year's Harvard commencement, MOYNIHAN again offered words that carry far more weight today than when he delivered them less than a year ago:

Certainly we must not let ourselves be seen as rushing about the world looking for arguments. There are now American Armed Forces in some 40 countries overseas. Some would say too many. Nor should we let ourselves be seen as ignoring allies, disillusioning friends, thinking only of ourselves in the most narrow terms. That is not how we survived the 20th century.

Nor will it serve in the 21st.

Senator MOYNIHAN's wit and wisdom will be greatly missed. My thoughts and prayers go to Liz Moynihan and the Moynihan family.

WEDNESDAY, *April 2, 2003*

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, today I pay tribute to one of our Nation's greatest public servants: DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. As a professor, as an adviser to four Presidents, and through 24 years in the Senate, he lent us the wisdom of his experience, the insights of his keen mind, and above all, the honor of his friendship.

Senator MOYNIHAN's example reminds all of us of what a Senator was intended to be. He was a leader who not only addressed the needs of his State, but who wrestled with the challenges facing the Nation. Senator MOYNIHAN was a great servant to the people of New York. But the legacy of accomplishments he leaves reaches beyond New York's borders to touch the lives of every American.

With a brilliant intellect and an unwavering dedication, Senator MOYNIHAN helped us to think through some of the toughest issues before this body, from welfare reform to tax

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policy. He worked to return secrecy to its limited but necessary role in government, an effort which I applaud, and an effort which we should continue to maintain even in times of national crisis. Especially right now with our Nation at war, I know we all miss Senator MOYNIHAN's keen grasp of international relations, his ability to put world events into a historical context, and his talent to tell us where they will lead us.

Senator MOYNIHAN's lifetime of public service, his wisdom and experience, were a wonderful gift to this body. I know my colleagues join me in my admiration for Senator MOYNIHAN as a public servant, my respect for him as a colleague, and my appreciation for him as a friend. It was a distinct honor for me to serve with Senator MOYNIHAN since I came to this body in 1993. My deepest sympathies go out to Liz Moynihan and the rest of Senator MOYNIHAN's family and friends.

THURSDAY, *April 3, 2003*

Mr. WARNER. I join all who had the privilege to serve with our late colleague, Senator PATRICK MOYNIHAN. Of the 24 years I have been here, 22 were spent with him. While my heart has sadness, it is filled with joy for the recollections of a wonderful friendship and working relationship we had in the Senate.

We shared a deep and profound love for the U.S. Navy. He served from 1944 to 1947 and was a commissioned officer. I served from 1946 to 1947 as an enlisted man. Whenever we would meet, he would shout out, "Attention on deck," and require me to salute him as an enlisted man properly salutes an officer. Then he would turn around and salute me, as I was once Secretary of the Navy, and he was consequently, at that point in time, outranked.

That was the type of individual he was. He filled this Chamber with spirit, with joy, with erudition, and he spoke with eloquence. We shall miss our dear friend.

I recall specifically serving with him on the Committee on Environment and Public Works, of which he was chairman for a while. He had a great vision for the Nation's Capital. Some of the edifices we enjoy today would not have been had it not been for this great statesman. The landmarks would not be there had it not been for him. I am talking about the completion of the Federal Triangle. The capstone, of course,

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is the magnificent building today bearing the name of our President Ronald Reagan.

He was a driving force behind the completion of that series of government buildings started in the 1930s, under the vision of Herbert Hoover and Andrew Mellon. They were great friends. They wanted to complete that magnificent series of buildings, but the Depression came along and the construction stopped. PAT MOYNIHAN stepped up and finished.

Many do not know that in Union Station, which today is a mecca for transportation, a transportation hub—we have rail, bus, and subway. PAT MOYNIHAN was the one who saved that magnificent structure for all to enjoy for years to come.

I suppose the capstone was the Judiciary Building. I remember full well how he came before the committee and expressed the importance for the third branch of government to have its administrative offices and other parts of that branch of the government encased in a building befitting the dignity that should be accorded our third branch of government. That building marks his genius.

In improving transportation, he was key in TEA-21, the landmark legislation that provided so much return to the States for their transportation needs, again, as chairman of Environment and Public Works.

He had a strong commitment to addressing poverty in rural America and was a strong supporter of the Appalachian Regional Commission which touched the States of West Virginia, Virginia, and others.

We are grateful to him. He understood the people as few did. I say goodbye to this dear friend. I salute him. I will always have joy in my heart for having served with this man who, in my humble judgment, had the wit, the wisdom, and the vision of a Winston Churchill.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, when PAT MOYNIHAN retired from the Senate in 2000, following four terms of devoted and distinguished service to the citizens of New York and indeed of the Nation, he left a great void; now, with his death, he leaves a greater void still. To paraphrase Thomas Jefferson, speaking of Benjamin Franklin when in 1784 he took Franklin's place as the Ambassador of the new American Republic in Paris, "others may succeed him in the many different roles he played in our national life, but no one will ever replace him."

No simple category was ever capacious enough to accommodate DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. With justification he

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has been called an intellectual, a scholar, an academic, an author, an editor, a politician, a diplomat, and a statesman. He has been known variously as a scholarly politician and a political-minded scholar; certainly as Nicholas Lemann has observed, “he was more of a politician, by far, than most intellectuals.” He was a fierce partisan of cities and the urban landscape, but he was equally devoted to the urban and rural spaces of his State of New York. Born in Tulsa, he was a quintessential New Yorker. He was also a proud citizen of this Capital City, where he and Liz, his wife and partner in every endeavor for nearly 50 years, chose to live at the very center. He was at home in academic communities wherever he found them. He was equally expert in domestic and foreign policy.

PAT MOYNIHAN grew up poor, and never, ever forgot the grinding, corrosive effects of poverty; many years removed from poverty himself, he characterized tough bankruptcy reform legislation as “a boot across the throat” of the poor. As a child he earned money by shining shoes; later he worked as a longshoreman. He served in the U.S. Navy. He went to college courtesy of the GI bill, earning his B.A. from Tufts University and his M.A. from Tufts’ Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Some years later he earned his Ph.D. in international relations at Syracuse University, but only after spending a year as a Fulbright scholar at the London School of Economics and working for a time in the office of the Governor of New York.

From the time he left Syracuse for Washington in 1961 until he ran successfully for the Senate in New York in 1976, PAT MOYNIHAN held a challenging succession of positions in public service and in the academic world. Although over the years PAT represented New York in the Senate, his colleagues became accustomed to that versatility, in retrospect it appears astonishing. He joined the Labor Department in 1961, eventually becoming the Assistant Secretary for Policy Planning, but left in 1965 to become director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies and a professor in the Graduate School of Education at Harvard. Four years later he returned to public life as an Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs, only to return the following year to Harvard, only to be called upon to serve as the U.S. Ambassador to India and then to the United Nations. In those 15 years he served in four different administrations and held six different positions. In every one of them he served with distinction and his accomplishments—many of them considered controversial

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at the time—are remembered respectfully today. They will not soon be forgotten.

New York’s voters first sent PAT MOYNIHAN to represent them in the Senate in 1976, and returned him every 6 years for three additional terms; he declined to run again in 2000, after 24 years of service. It was as though, in coming to the Senate, he had come home. He set his sights quickly on the Finance Committee, with its vital jurisdiction over Social Security, Medicare, and other social programs. In his third term he rose to the chairmanship, the first New Yorker to chair that committee in nearly 150 years. In that capacity he worked to enact legislation that proved to be the foundation for a period of economic growth that raised millions of Americans above the poverty level.

As a member of the Committee on the Environment and Public Works he worked hard, often with spectacular success, to promote awareness and assure the preservation of many of the buildings, once seemingly destined for demolition, that today we consider our priceless national heritage. For this the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1999 honored him with the Louise DuPont Crowinshield Award, its highest honor, noting, “The award is made only when there is indisputable evidence of superlative lifetime achievement and commitment in the preservation and interpretation of the country’s historic architectural heritage.” Everyone who walks along Pennsylvania Avenue in this city or through New York’s Pennsylvania Station is forever indebted to PAT MOYNIHAN. He procured the necessary funding to save Louis Sullivan’s Guaranty Building, in Buffalo, and promptly moved his district office into it. In his brief chairmanship of the committee he shepherded through to enactment ground-breaking legislation, the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991, ISTEA, which recast our thinking about surface transportation.

PAT MOYNIHAN’s formal academic training was in foreign policy. Here he will be remembered for his effective Ambassadorship to India, his forceful and principled representation of U.S. interests in the U.N. Security Council and his early conviction, little shared at the time he expressed it, that behind the facade of Soviet military might and empire lay a system in danger of collapse. He proved to be correct. He should also be remembered for his role as one of the “Four Horsemen” in the Congress, whose work often went unremarked. These four Members, whose families had come to this country from Ireland, worked tirelessly together in

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support of efforts to bring peace to Northern Ireland, and especially to steer U.S. policy in that direction. That Northern Ireland is no longer torn apart by violence is in some significant measure due to their efforts.

Once we have catalogued all PAT MOYNIHAN's many accomplishments, however, there remains the man himself. In everything he did he remained a teacher, with an amazing capacity to instruct and to inspire. He believed, with Thomas Jefferson, that "Design activity and political thought are indivisible"—an elliptical idea to many of us, until we find ourselves in the presence of the architectural monuments he helped to preserve. He brought to every undertaking an extraordinary historical perspective, and an astute appreciation of what he called, in his commencement address at Harvard just a year ago, "our basic constitutional design." In his turn of phrase and in his thought, he was unabashedly himself—deeply self-respecting, just as he was respectful of other people and other cultures. For all these reasons he remains a vivid part of our national life.

It is difficult to know just how to honor our former colleague, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, for his lifetime of service and his legacy. In the end, our best tribute will lie not in the words of remembrance we speak but rather his tangible achievements and his legacy. The best tribute we can pay is not the words we speak but rather in our rededication to the principles for which he fought.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, the Senate was enriched enormously by the services of the late Senator from New York, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.

He was appreciated and respected for his intelligence, his sense of humor, his seriousness of purpose, and the warmth and steadfastness of his friendship.

His death last week saddened this Senator very much. His funeral services at St. Patrick's Church here in Washington last Monday attracted a large crowd of friends, former colleagues, and staff members as well as his attractive family. This manifestation of friendship reminded me why PAT MOYNIHAN was such a successful public official. He liked people, and they liked him.

He took his job as U.S. Senator from New York very seriously. He worked hard for funding for the New York Botanical Gardens. He was also an active and effective member of the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution where it was my good fortune and pleasure to serve with him.

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He transformed the city of Washington, DC, through his determined efforts to enhance the beauty and protect the architectural integrity of Pennsylvania Avenue.

His scholarly articles and books on the subject of the cultural and social history of our Nation were informative and influential. The correctness of his assessment of the importance of the family unit in our society changed our attitudes about the role of Federal Government policies.

His influence was also felt on tax policies as a member of the Senate Finance Committee.

I convey to all the members of PAT MOYNIHAN's family my sincerest condolences.

THURSDAY, *April 10, 2003*

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I want to pay tribute to DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, a man for whom I had the utmost respect.

One of the first times I was presiding in the Senate, Senator MOYNIHAN was speaking from the floor. What he had to say and the way he said it made a lasting impression on me. The next day I asked for a copy of the statement and have kept it in my desk ever since. Senator MOYNIHAN began:

Mr. President, it is agreed that I will begin these brief remarks in order that our chairman might conclude the debate and proceed to the vote which I think has every prospect of being prodigious in its majority.

He continued to explain one of the most complicated and difficult issues that we will deal with here in the Senate in a clear and concise manner.

In very short order, I would simply like to recapitulate the four simple steps which will put Social Security on an actuarially sound basis for the next 75 years. They are: 1. Provide for an accurate cost-of-living adjustment. In 1996, the Boskin Commission originally estimated that the CPI overstates changes in the cost-of-living by 1.1 percentage points; now they say it is 0.8 of a percentage point; 2. Normal taxation of benefits; 3. Extend coverage to all newly hired State and local workers; 4. Increase the length of the computation period from 35 to 38 years.

I don't know if this is the answer, but I will always refer to it when the topic of Social Security comes up. He laid out a plan with professorial clarity and a complete grasp of the issue. Whether you agreed or disagreed with Senator MOYNIHAN, you had to appreciate his style.

Although I did not have a close working relationship with Senator MOYNIHAN, I am truly impressed with the depth and



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breadth of his career achievements. From his pioneering work on Social Security reform, his almost encyclopedic knowledge of fiscal policy, to his championing of environmental and transportation issues, Senator MOYNIHAN was the kind of Senator worth emulating. I also admired his ability to always look at the long view of the steps taken today and their impact on future generations. Senator MOYNIHAN had an unwavering commitment to care for all people in need and was willing to cross party lines to accomplish his goals. His work as adviser to Presidents of both parties is testament to the high regard that official Washington had for his intellect and integrity.

As a dear friend of my father's for over 25 years, my strongest sense of the Senator comes from hearing my dad speak of Senator MOYNIHAN with reverence and true admiration. Upon my father's passing, Senator MOYNIHAN included an excerpt from a wonderful poem by W.B. Yeats, "The Municipal Gallery Revisited," in his tribute. Those kind words were a great comfort to our family.

In the words of another poem by the poet W.B. Yeats:

The man is gone guided ye, unweary, through the long bitter way,  
Ye by the waves that close in our sad nation,  
Be full of sudden fears,  
The man is gone who from this lonely station—  
Has moulded the hard year . . .  
Mourn—and then onward, there is no returning  
He guides ye from the tomb;  
His memory is a tall pillar, burning  
Before the gloom

Our Nation will mourn, but Senator MOYNIHAN would insist that we move on. On behalf of my mother and the Chafee family, we send our sincere condolences to Liz and all her family.

FRIDAY, *April 11, 2003*

Mr. AKAKA. Madam President, I rise to join my colleagues in honoring the memory of our dear friend and colleague, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. Millie and I extend our deepest condolences and prayers to his wife Elizabeth and the Moynihan family.

History will remember DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN as one of the most prescient American voices on public policy and international relations issues for the second half of the 20th century. As a professor, author, adviser to four Presidents,

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Ambassador to India, and Ambassador to the United Nations, he had a rich and distinguished career, and a tremendous impact on our Nation's public policy and foreign relations, prior to his election to the Senate.

In the Senate, PAT MOYNIHAN's illustrious service to his country and to his constituents in New York for four terms in the world's greatest deliberative body gave greater truth to that appellation. Many of my colleagues have spoken of Senator MOYNIHAN's intellect, the encyclopedic width and breadth of his knowledge on an incredible range of public policy issues—history, architecture, culture, and philosophy, to name a few. He used the power of his intellect, along with great wit and dogged persistence, to fashion a record of accomplishments in the Senate that stands as a testament to his commitment to the preservation of the family and the welfare of children and the poor, his staunch and principled opposition to communism and totalitarianism, his dedication to civil rights, the Constitution, and the rules and traditions of the Senate, and his passion for historic preservation and architectural distinction.

As chairman and ranking member of several Senate committees, and frequently as a clarion on the Senate floor, PAT MOYNIHAN helped shape transportation policy, international trade, intelligence matters, foreign policy, and economic and fiscal affairs that strengthened our Nation and our communities. For his myriad achievements, I don't think Senator MOYNIHAN has received the credit he deserves for his role in shaping and shepherding through the Senate President Clinton's deficit reduction and economic plan in 1993. I remember that in the midst of all the responsibilities and pressures he faced as chairman of the Finance Committee, he responded to my request to discuss a few tax issues of particular importance to Hawaii by inviting me to his office for a cordial and illuminating discussion on an array of subjects. PAT MOYNIHAN was always generous with his time and his wisdom. He served his country and the people of New York with elan, style, and grace. He will always be remembered as the gentleman from New York.

We mourn for his passing from this life, but we and future generations will continue to find inspiration, guidance, and courage in the splendid legacy of public service bequeathed the Nation by this brilliant statesman and patriot.

Ms. SNOWE. Madam President, I rise today to pay tribute to Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN—whose words, thoughts, and deeds will forever reverberate throughout this

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Chamber and, indeed, throughout our country. I also extend my most heartfelt sympathies to his wife Liz and Senator MOYNIHAN's entire family. We share in their profound sense of loss.

I was privileged to serve with Senator MOYNIHAN from 1995, when I first arrived in the Senate, to his retirement in 2001. He was one of those truly legendary figures on the political landscape, but it was a reputation built not on procedural savvy or the brokering of power, but rather on the crafting and expression of ideas. It was the process of transforming intellectual thought into action—and not simply the process of politics—that will always remain the hallmark of Senator MOYNIHAN's entire, exceptional life.

His was a life not wanting for opportunities to contribute. The curriculum vitae of DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN reads more as a biography of a man driven to synthesize the world of academics with the realm of politics in order to make a difference—and he did, too, wherever he served, whether at the Labor Department or at Harvard or as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations or in the Senate. Perhaps most impressive, no man or woman is requested to serve four different Presidents—of both parties—unless they exhibit only the most extraordinary qualities that engender the kind of trust a President must have in an adviser and confidant.

It could certainly never be said that Senator MOYNIHAN equivocated on an opinion for fear of controversy. If he spoke—or wrote, which he did often and well—you always knew it was a viewpoint born of a careful study of history and a keen eye on contemporary society. He believed that society could be influenced to change itself for the better through its leaders—indeed, that those in a position to leave such a mark are obliged to do so.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN was a Democrat, but he was less about party and more about policies that would build a better country for all Americans—regardless of whatever political stamp such initiatives might bear. As Jonathan Alter observed in his column in tribute to Senator MOYNIHAN, he “consistently frustrated the foolishly consistent.”

In my own experience, I was privileged to work with him across the party aisle on a number of issues important to our region of the country, and also to men and women across the Nation. We worked together to try to strengthen and improve welfare reform in 1996, to enhance treatment under the National Breast and Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program for uninsured women, to bolster our Nation's trans-

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portation system, and to encourage private sector investment in bringing more advanced Internet access to the people of rural America.

We also joined forces on numerous occasions to ensure that the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program was funded at levels sufficient to help those families in the cold and in need. And, together, we fought to ensure the Northeast States that were devastated by the historic ice storm of 1998 received the Federal assistance they required, and deserved.

Throughout his tenure, regardless of whether one agreed or disagreed on an individual issue, it could always be said that Senator MOYNIHAN was a thoughtful, gentlemanly force for good. He had an influence on countless social policy initiatives over his tenure, offered his views for strengthening and protecting Social Security, and fought tirelessly on behalf of causes as diverse as public transportation and teaching hospitals.

Above all, he was never superficial, and he had the ability to see—and foresee—what others could not. Indeed, how fitting that a man of ideas would serve a nation founded on ideas. Senator MOYNIHAN stood at the intersection of intellect, insight, and integrity, and in so doing left a lasting and positive impact on the people of the State of New York and the United States of America.

George Bernard Shaw said that “Life is no brief candle to me—it is like a splendid torch which I have hold of for the moment and I want it to burn as brightly as possible before handing it over to the next generation.” That is the credo by which DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN lived his life, and we are the beneficiaries of his extraordinary spirit.

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## Proceedings in the House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, *March 26, 2003*

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mrs. MALONEY. I rise today to pay tribute to Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, and, on behalf of my colleagues and constituents, to join with them in mourning his passing today.

Senator MOYNIHAN was one of our truly inspiring legislators. He was a scholar, a legislator, an ambassador, a Cabinet officer, a Presidential adviser in four administrations, the only person in history to serve four consecutive administrations. He was a teacher, a writer, and one of the best Senators ever to grace the halls of this institution.

He was unmatched in his ability to craft innovative solutions to society's most pressing problems, from welfare to Social Security, to transportation, to taxes. His legislative stamp is everywhere.

Known as, and I quote from the *Almanac of American Politics*, "the Nation's best thinker among politicians since Lincoln, and its best politician among thinkers since Jefferson," Senator MOYNIHAN moved people through the power of his ideas. He was a unique figure in public life, a man of pure intellect, who was unafraid of speaking inconvenient truths.

Senator MOYNIHAN's life exemplified the American dream. He grew up in a slum known as Hell's Kitchen. Abandoned by his father, his mother became the sole supporter of the family during the Depression. Small wonder that Senator MOYNIHAN grew up to be a strong voice on welfare issues. He recognized the danger of fostering a culture of dependency, while understanding the importance of maintaining a strong safety net.

He proved to be one of the most accurate prophets of our era. Time and time again he correctly predicted future consequences, even though many refused to believe him when his prediction ran counter to conventional wisdom. In the

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1980s, he predicted the coming collapse of the Soviet Union. In the 1990s, he expressed concern about the tendency of our society to define deviancy down.

For New Yorkers, Senator MOYNIHAN has and always will be one of our own homegrown heroes, our proud gift to the Nation. Despite his reputation for attention to the more scholarly pursuits—he authored 18 books—Senator MOYNIHAN never forgot those of us who elected him.

He was a hero to landmark preservationists for his effort to preserve the Custom House and the Farley Post Office, the new train station on the Farley site, which he helped plan and which he helped to fund, but it does not yet have a name. I believe that it should be named for DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.

When the Coast Guard left Governors Island, he persuaded President Clinton to agree to give the island to New York for \$1, and it was this Congress that was able to make that pledge a reality. As Ambassador to the United Nations, he denounced the resolution equating Zionism with racism. Seventeen years later, the United Nations reversed itself, revoking this shameful resolution.

Senator MOYNIHAN was a prime mover behind ISTEPA, which changed the way highway and transportation funds are distributed. He was widely credited with shifting transportation priorities and making it possible for us to invest in alternatives, like high-speed rail.

As a member of the Senate Finance Committee, he was a guardian of Social Security; and he focused his attention on the importance of opening up government filings and reducing secrecy in government. I was proud to have worked with him on the passage of the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Bill. After 50 years, Americans finally are beginning to get a glimpse of the things that our government knew.

Senator MOYNIHAN was also a tireless worker on getting an accurate census for our country.

Senator MOYNIHAN's passing will make this country a poorer place. I join my constituents and my colleagues in paying tribute to the great Senator from the great State of New York.

Senator MOYNIHAN was truly an American treasure. He was a great friend and mentor to me, and we will miss him greatly. My colleagues and I send to Elizabeth and their family our deep concern and condolences.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the *Record* a biography of this remarkable man.

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DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN was the senior U.S. Senator from New York. First elected in 1976, Senator MOYNIHAN was re-elected in 1982, 1988, and 1994.

Senator MOYNIHAN was the ranking minority member of the Senate Committee on Finance. He served on the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. He also was a member of the Joint Committee on Taxation and the Joint Committee on the Library.

A member of the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford, Senator MOYNIHAN was the only person in American history to serve in four successive administrations. He was U.S. Ambassador to India from 1973 to 1975 and U.S. Representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1976. In February 1976 he represented the United States as president of the U.N. Security Council.

Senator MOYNIHAN was born on March 16, 1927. He attended public and parochial schools in New York City and graduated from Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem. He went on to attend the City College of New York for 1 year before enlisting in the U.S. Navy. He served on active duty from 1944 to 1947. In 1966, he completed 20 years in the Naval Reserve and was retired. Senator MOYNIHAN earned his bachelor's degree (cum laude) from Tufts University, studied at the London School of Economics as a Fulbright scholar, and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Senator MOYNIHAN was a member of Averell Harriman's gubernatorial campaign staff in 1954 and then served on Governor Harriman's staff in Albany until 1958. He was an alternate Kennedy delegate at the 1960 Democratic Convention. Beginning in 1961, he served in the U.S. Department of Labor as an Assistant to the Secretary, and later as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research.

In 1966, Senator MOYNIHAN became director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has been a professor of government at Harvard University, assistant professor of government at Syracuse University, a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University, and has taught in the extension programs of Russell Sage College and the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. Senator MOYNIHAN is the recipient of over 60 honorary degrees.

Senator MOYNIHAN was the author or editor of 18 books. His most recent work is *Secrecy*, published in the fall of 1998, an expansion of the report by the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy. Senator MOYNIHAN, as chairman of the commission, led the first comprehensive review in 40 years of the Federal Government's system of classifying and declassifying information and granting clearances.

Since 1977 Senator MOYNIHAN has published an analysis of the flow of funds between the Federal Government and New York State. In 1992 the analysis became a joint publication with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government at Harvard University, and includes all 50 States.

Senator MOYNIHAN was a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). He was chairman of the AAAS' section on Social, Economic and Political Science (1971-1972) and a member of the board of directors (1972-1973). He also served as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1971-1973). Senator MOYNIHAN was vice chairman (1971-1976) of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He served on the National Commission on Social Security Reform

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(1982–1983) whose recommendations formed the basis of legislation to assure the system’s fiscal stability.

He was the founding chairman of the board of trustees of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (1971–1985) and served as regent of the Smithsonian Institution, having been appointed in 1987 and again in 1995. In 1985, the Smithsonian awarded him its Joseph Henry Medal.

In 1965, Senator MOYNIHAN received the Arthur S. Flemming Award, which recognizes outstanding young Federal employees, for his work as “an architect of the Nation’s program to eradicate poverty.” He has also received the International League of Human Rights Award (1975) and the John LaFarge Award for Interracial Justice (1980). In 1983, he was the first recipient of the American Political Science Association’s Hubert H. Humphrey Award for “notable public service by a political scientist.” In 1984, Senator MOYNIHAN received the State University of New York at Albany’s Medallion of the University in recognition of his “extraordinary public service and leadership in the field of education.” In 1986, he received the Seal Medallion of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Britannica Medal for the Dissemination of Learning.

He has also received the Laetare Medal of the University of Notre Dame (1992), the Thomas Jefferson Award for Public Architecture from the American Institute of Architects (1992), and the Thomas Jefferson Medal for Distinguished Achievement in the Arts or Humanities from the American Philosophical Society (1993). In 1994, he received the Gold Medal Award “honoring services to humanity” from the National Institute of Social Sciences. In 1997, the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University awarded Senator MOYNIHAN the Cartwright Prize. He was the 1998 recipient of the Heinz Award in Public Policy “for having been a distinct and unique voice in the century—independent in his convictions, a scholar, teacher, statesman and politician, skilled in the art of the possible.”

Elizabeth Brennan Moynihan, his wife of 44 years, is an architectural historian with a special interest in 16th century Mughal architecture in India. She is the author of *Paradise as a Garden: In Persia and Mughal India* (1979) and numerous articles. Mrs. Moynihan is a former chairman of the board of the American Schools of Oriental Research. She serves as a member of the Indo-U.S. Subcommittee on Education and Culture, and the visiting committee of the Freer Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian Institution. She is vice chair of the board of the National Building Museum, and on the Trustees Council of the Preservation League of New York State.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Mr. Speaker, I want to join the gentleman from New York (Mrs. Maloney) in agreeing that the tribute that she paid Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN was one that is well deserved and one that is going to be remembered throughout the country by many thousands of people who learned to love Senator MOYNIHAN.

THURSDAY, *March 27, 2003*

The House met at 10 a.m.

Sister Benedict Kesock, O.S.B., principal, St. Charles School, Arlington, VA, offered the following prayer:



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Lord God, what a great idea to make us all different.

May we come to know one another and the ministry to which we have been called, especially those who meet within these great walls. You have asked us to be leaders, caretakers, role models. Be with us as our counselor and our support as we continue the journey of ministering to others and to one another in a world of turbulence. All that lies ahead of us is yet unseen.

We pray for our President and his advisers, for all those who make decisions which affect our lives on a daily basis. We pray, especially, for our military families, those who are separated at this time, for those who have lost their lives, and for their families; for the people of Iraq, for their suffering homeland.

We are a family of nations. Experience and history has taught that community formed out of diversity is dynamic and beautiful. Lord, keep us motivated and challenged that we may gain an ability to listen to one another and to grow. There can be unity and strength in our diversity. May our differences be stepping stones to a lasting peace and to a new tomorrow.

We ask You, Lord, to renew our humanity in Your image and likeness and to introduce us into a world where all hostile forces are overcome. We pray for those who need to have a change of heart, for a world where we communicate in love, joy and peace, for and with the people of our universe.

Father, fill our hearts, our homes, our Nation, our world with peace, and let it begin with each one of us.

We especially remember this morning our dear friend and colleague Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN and his family.

Feel the Spirit. Live the Spirit. Spread the Spirit. Lord, we are the Spirit. May it be said that the world is a better place because we are here. Amen.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Monahan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agreed to the following resolution:

#### S. RES. 99

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, former Member of the U.S. Senate.

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ON THE DEATH OF SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, today we mourn the passing of a great American.

For decades, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN was a central figure in the Nation's political and intellectual life. He was a committed, determined, and diligent leader who represented the citizens of New York in the U.S. Senate for four terms. We came to know him as a uniquely independent thinker and great friend to both political parties.

Those of us from the Washington, DC, metropolitan area will always note the critical role Senator MOYNIHAN played in revitalizing Pennsylvania Avenue, the grand route between the Capitol and the White House that was in disrepair when he first arrived here during the Kennedy administration. He recognized the benefits in revitalizing the avenue and invested his skills to make this vision come alive. The Pennsylvania Avenue effort was one of the most successful redevelopment projects in the Nation. Throughout his Senate career he was an authoritative collaborator in shaping this historic project.

The revitalization of Pennsylvania Avenue attracted projects to the city that might not have come otherwise. Subsequently, this project was used as a model for other redevelopment projects in the city, such as the MCI Center and the Washington Convention Center. Not only has the District benefited, but so has the entire country. Thousands of visitors can come each year to visit the Nation's Capital and be proud to stand on "America's Main Street" as it was intended to be. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN's fingerprints will forever be on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Mr. Speaker, today I want to express my gratitude for Senator MOYNIHAN's pioneering work and salute him as a scholar, leader, and gentleman. He will be sorely missed.

MONDAY, *April 7, 2003*

SALUTING SENATOR MOYNIHAN

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, much has been written recently about Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, scholar, politician, diplomat, public servant. We have been reminded again, in the wake of his passing, of his intellectual and political contributions dealing with the most sensitive and complex questions of our society. Ideas that were controversial

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when he first advanced them are now accepted as conventional wisdom.

I rise today to salute this giant and his greatest gift, which is to influence how America faces its challenges. He was regarded appropriately as a tremendous architectural influence. No one over the last third of a century has done more to shape American communities. His influence can be seen from the steps of the Capitol with the creation of the Pennsylvania Avenue Redevelopment Corporation. He worked to restore once magnificent James Farley Post Office in New York back to life as a new Penn Station. He was the intellectual force behind the revolutionary 1991 ISTEA legislation, allowing communities to use transportation resources to shape their development rather than transportation choices shaping our communities. His legacy gave more power to citizens at all levels and made the money go farther to do more and better things.

As we begin the reauthorization this Congress of his landmark ISTEA legislation, we deal with many opportunities to revitalize America's communities through wise infrastructure investment, a critical and underappreciated part of the MOYNIHAN legacy. But, Mr. Speaker, I think there is an even more important part of his legacy for those of us who serve in this Chamber. At a time when our problems appear more complex and difficult and when our divisions appear deeper than ever before, Senator MOYNIHAN gave us a blueprint for channeling the riches and power of America to greatness at home and abroad. At a time when the activities here somehow make the most monumental occasions appear smaller than life, we can look to this intellectual and political giant, himself larger than life, who had a gift to magnify the things he said and did. His advice for us would be to put aside the narrow and the partisan, not to rationalize what we know to be reckless or inappropriate in the name of the legislative process, and have the courage to have the free exercise of ideas and debate, not to stifle discussion here on this floor.

Some of the Senator's more profound contributions initially appeared extraordinarily controversial. Only after they were entered into debate did their meaning take root and the controversial become the accepted. People here can honor the legacy of Senator MOYNIHAN by doing the time-honored work of Congress, debating, listening, legislating, and working together in committee and in the House Chamber; and seize the tremendous opportunities to deal with world peace, the

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protection and economic security of our families and safeguarding the environment.

In honoring the memory of Senator MOYNIHAN in practice, we will be honoring the trust that has been given to us by our constituents. We too can be larger than life rather than a side show while the real drama is worked out in some back room. We can reflect our own hearts and visions and the needs of our communities rather than being orchestrated by focus groups and special interests. Part of what characterized Senator MOYNIHAN's genius was simply that he presented ideas regardless of the short-term public relations and political consequences. This meant that some people in Washington, DC, were nervous working with him. It made it harder for some of the powers that be and the media pundits, but as the Senator proved time and time again, it made it easier to push America to do the right thing.

As someone raised in an often bipartisan or even non-partisan Oregon political culture, this simple truth seems so obvious but somehow elusive in today's Washington, DC. By doing our job as legislators, as independent, thoughtful representatives, we can make vital contributions during the most critical times since we were fighting Hitler and recovering from the Depression. I suspect the Senator himself would deem that to be a most fitting tribute to his legacy.

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## Mass of Christian Burial

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN  
March 16, 1927–March 26, 2003

Church of St. Patrick  
619 Tenth Street, Northwest  
Washington, District of Columbia

Monday, the Thirty-first of March,  
Two thousand three  
Ten o'clock

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*“How many loved your moments of glad grace”*

W.B. Yeats

Entrance Procession all stand

*Repeat after the cantor*

The King of love my shep- herd is,  
Where screams of liv- ing wa- ter flow  
Con- fused and fool- ish oft I strayed,  
In death's dark vale I fear no ill  
You spread a ta- ble in my sight;  
And so through all the length of days

Whose good- ness fails me nev- er;  
My ran- somed soul he's lead- ing,  
But yet in love he sought me,  
With you, dear Lord, be- side me,  
Your sav- ing grace be- stow- ing;  
Your good- ness fails me nev- er;

I noth- ing lack if I am his,  
And where the ver- dant pas- tures grow  
And on his shoul- der gent- ly laid,  
Your rod and staff my com- fort still,  
And O! what trans- port of de- fight  
Good Shep- herd, may I sing your praise

And he is mine for ev- er.  
With food ce- les- tial feed- ing.  
And home, re- joic- ing, brought me.  
Your cross be- fore to guide me.  
From your pure chal- ice flow- ing!  
With- in your house for ev- er.

Kyrie—*Sung by the choir*

*Palestrina—Missa Brevis*

Kyrie, eleison. Lord, have mercy.  
Christe, eleison. Christ, have mercy.  
Kyrie, eleison. Lord, have mercy.

Opening Prayer

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### **Liturgy of the Word**

First Reading—*Wisdom 3:1–6, 9*

Read by Maura Moynihan and  
Michael Patrick Avedon

Responsorial Psalm—*Psalms 23*

The Lord is my shep- herd; there is noth- ing I shall want.

Second Reading—*Revelation 14:13*

Read by John McC. Moynihan

Glo- ry and praise to you, Lord Je- sus Christ!

Holy Gospel—*John 11:17–27*

Homily

Msgr. Peter J. Vaghi, *pastor*

Intercessions

Please respond “Lord, hear our prayer.”

### **Liturgy of the Eucharist**

Preparation of the Gifts

sit

Presented by Timothy P. Moynihan,  
Tracey Moynihan and Zora Moynihan

Offertory Song—*Sung by the choir*

*Remember Not, Lord, Our Offences*—Henry Purcell

Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of  
our forefathers;

but spare us, good Lord, neither take thou vengeance of  
our sins,

spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy  
most precious blood,

and be not angry with us for ever. Spare us, good Lord.

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Eucharistic prayer stand

Sanctus—*Sung by all*

Ho- ly, ho- ly, ho- ly Lord,  
God of power and might,  
heav'n and earth are full of your glo- ry.  
Ho- san- na in the high- est,  
ho- san- na in the high- est.  
Blest is he who comes  
in the name of the Lord.  
Ho- san- na in the high- est,  
ho- san- na in the high- est.

Consecration kneel

The Lord's Prayer stand

Agnus Dei—*Sung by the choir*

*Missa Brevis—Palestrina*

Agnus Dei, qui tollis	Lamb of God, who takes
peccata mundi . . . miserere	away the sins of the
nobis . . . dona nobis	World have mercy on us
pacern.	. . . grant us peace.

Communion kneel

*Justorum Animae—C.V.*

*Stanford*

Justorum animae in	The souls of the just are in
manu Dei sunt, et non	the hand of God, and the
tanget illos tormentum	torment of malice shall
malitiae. Visi sunt oculis	not touch them: in the
insipientium mori, illi	sight of the unwise they
autem sunt in pace.— <i>Wis-</i>	seemed to die, but they
<i>dom 3</i>	are in peace.



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### **Rites of Farewell**

Final Commendation stand

I know that my Redeemer lives, and at last he will stand upon the earth; and after my skin has been thus destroyed, even then from my flesh, I will see God, my Savior.

Procession from the Church

*Nunc Dimittis—A. Arkhangelski*

Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou has prepared before the face of all people to be a light to lighten the gentiles, and to be the glory of Thy people, Israel. Glory be to the Father, and the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen.

Pall Bearers

Timothy P. Moynihan	Peter W. Galbraith
John McC. Moynihan	Lawrence O'Donnell, Jr.
Tony Bullock	Robert A. Peck
Richard K. Eaton	Timothy J. Russert

The ushers are friends who all served on the staff of DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN in the United States Senate.

Music selected and directed by  
Benjamin Smedberg  
Director of Music & Organist  
St. Patrick Church

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