

Post as saying, "I am absolutely certain the harsher rhetoric of the Gingriches and the Doles * * * creates a climate of violence in America."

I do not know who the President was talking about yesterday when he said "loud and angry voices" spread hate and "leave the impression that, by their very words, that violence is acceptable."

Mr. President, this tragedy took the lives of innocent young children and adults alike. Surely in the effort to lay blame, our focus must rest with the criminals—the evil, cowardly, individuals who took the lives of so many innocent people. Surely, the focus of our hearts and our passion and our prayers must remain with the families that have been devastated.

I just hope and pray that those people who may be tempted to extract partisan advantage from this unbelievable act will look inwardly and find compassion in their hearts and not resort to playing politics with the lost lives of my fellow Oklahomans.

If you were there—Senator INHOFE and I were there, Governor Keating and others—and walked around in the ruins, and talked to the firemen and talked to the rescue people who were struggling to find additional survivors, the very idea that someone might be playing politics with this is almost beyond comprehension. It is offensive. I hope we do not hear it again.

Let us find those people responsible and punish them and show compassion for the families. Those families have had their lives ruined. They lost loved ones. They lost a child, a daughter, a spouse. They lost a father or a mother. Their lives in many cases have been more than devastated by a tragedy from which they may not be able to recover. If it were not for the grace and comfort of God, they may not be able to recover.

This Senate, by our resolution today, I think, will be expressing comfort and consolation to those families, our outrage at this unbelievable, unspeakable crime, and our sense that we in Congress want the law enforcement people to apprehend them and to punish them.

We compliment the law enforcement people for the outstanding job that they have done. We compliment the rescue efforts that are going on today and will probably be going on for some days ahead. We compliment our political leaders from President Clinton, Governor Keating, and the city officials, Mayor Norick, and many others who have put in so many tireless efforts, including fire officials and others.

We want them to know we support them and we appreciate their efforts. We appreciate the sacrifices they made to show that good can overcome evil. I think we have seen that in my State. I am very proud of the State of Oklahoma and our country as a result. I yield the floor.

Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may consume such time as I may require.

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

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR JOHN STENNIS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President once again, the silver cord has been loosened and the golden bowl has been broken: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." These words from Ecclesiastes—spoken probably ten centuries before the birth of Christ—bare the indelible stamp of permanency. Somewhere, every day, every hour, every minute, they are brought home to someone, and in their train, follow the inevitable pain and sorrow and tears, that we all must bear when loved ones and friends depart from us in this earthly life. The angel of death is no respecter of persons, and each of us will one day hear the beating of his wings—

Leaves have their time to fall,
And flowers to wither at the north wind's
breath,
And stars to set—but all,
Thou hast all seasons for thine own, O
Death!

Mr. President, it was with sorrow that I heard the sad news over the past weekend that our former colleague and friend, John Cornelius Stennis, had passed away at the age of 93. When I came to the United States Senate in January 1959, John Stennis was a Member of this body, and we served together 30 years—until he retired at the close of the 100th Congress in 1989. So, it is with sadness that I pay tribute to the memory of this departed colleague today. As we grow older, we are obliged to bid farewell to some friend almost every day, and thus does the circle gradually, and all too rapidly, diminish; for—

There is no union here of hearts
That finds not here an end.

Mr. President, John Stennis was a man who achieved greatly in life. For 41 years and 2 months, he represented a great and patriotic constituency in this Chamber, where some of the greatest men of the Republic have served and aspired to serve, and that achievement alone would mark him as a man among men. When we add to this the fact that he served as a member of the Mississippi State House of Representatives for 4 years, as district prosecuting attorney from 1932 to 1937, and as a circuit judge from 1937 to 1947, we begin to realize what a wonderful career we are remembering today—60 years in the public service—in elective positions, where neighbors and friends, who are often more critical than strangers, are the electors! What more could be said by way of eulogy? Volumes could be written and less said. Yet, that is the record of our former colleague and

friend, who, in the merciful dispensations of an all-wise Providence, has now passed on to the other side.

John Cornelius Stennis was born near DeKalb, Kemper County, Mississippi, on August 3, 1901. He attended the county schools; graduated from the Mississippi State College in 1923, and graduated from the University of Virginia Law School in 1928. He was admitted to the bar in 1928 and commenced practice in his home town of DeKalb. I had the honor of serving on the Arms Services Committee and on the Appropriations Committee with Senator Stennis, of both of which committees he had served as chairman before his voluntary retirement at the close of the 100th Congress.

John Stennis was an honest man, and he was a good man, as good men go in this life—plain and modest. He was amiable, courteous, and courtly—a southern Christian gentleman, in every sense of the word. He was intellectually honest, a man of great moral rectitude, simple in his habits, and completely devoid of hypocrisy. He was a Senator who loved the Senate and who was dedicated to its traditions. He was conscious at all times, of the great trust confided in him by the people he represented, and he carried in his heart a great reverence for this institution and for the Constitution of our country. His was a steady hand, an upright character. He was a man of justice and fairness to all. He was unassuming in his manner, sincere and firm in his convictions. Devoid of envy, he was ambitious only to serve the cause of justice and humanity, and being of, for, and from the people, he gave his life to their service. In him, the great people of Mississippi had an ever faithful friend and servant.

Mr. President, John Stennis was not a large man physically. He was actually rather slight. But he was a giant. The breadth of his character was huge, and the steel of his courage was formidable. Nothing defeated him—not the bruises of the legislative battlefield; not the frightful attack by thugs in the street, who almost caused his death, near his home; not the death of his beloved wife; not the loss of his leg to cancer.

Nothing defeated him. Nothing held him down for long. He always got up again and went on. He struggled, but he prevailed and endured. And he did it all with a quiet, unassuming dignity.

He was courtly—ever the gentleman. I called him a Senator's Senator. He represented everything fine about the Senate and everything fine about the human spirit. He was the cream of all things decent that one looks for in a leader and in a man.

Had he lived in another age he would have been just as great, as respected, as beloved, and as revered as he has been in his own time. He would have enhanced any company in any situation in any age.

But most of all, the indomitable fortitude stands out. There is a courage

possessed by some men which is extraordinary—far beyond what most individuals can ever muster in even their best and bravest moments. It is rarely accompanied by bombast and breast beating. It is carried with a quiet and calm demeanor. No outward show is necessary. In his case, the kindly visage gave no clue to the inner steel. He bore his duties and his crises, his joys and his sorrows, with equal dignity.

But it was awesome actually to watch. How many times have I come to this Chamber for a vote, bone-weary, and at some dreadful hour in the morning, and seen him sitting straight as an arrow at his desk! There he would be, 17 years my senior, frail, missing one leg, with a pleasant greeting for all, in spite of the hour. In this age of clock-watching, and quality-of-life advocacy, that kind of dedication may seem an anachronism. But John Stennis was dedication and duty epitomized in the human flesh. He showed us by his example. He never lectured, never said, "Do as I do." He just lived an exemplary life, and that was enough to teach all who were fortunate enough to be around to learn. He taught us how to be Senators, he taught us how to bear sadness and brutality without bitterness or surrender or despair. He did so by just being what he was.

Mr. President, all that even the greatest of scientists can do is to try to interpret and apply the laws, the immutable laws, the eternal laws of God. Scientists cannot create matter and they cannot create life. They can mold and develop and shape and use them, but they cannot call them into being. They are compelled to admit the truth of the old nursery rhyme, which I am sure the Presiding Officer and the other distinguished Senator from Oklahoma will remember along with me:

Nor you, nor I, nor nobody knows,
how oats, peas, beans, and barley grows.

But the Scriptures tell us of the laws of God, and reveal to us the Source from whence this Earth, the universe, and all of us who dwell here—for a split second, as it were—between two eternities: "In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth." The Scriptures also reveal to us that God created man from the dust of the ground, and "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." God then gave Adam a helpmate, Eve, and from those ancient parents, we have all descended, and from them, we have all inherited death. Only a Milton could so incisively provide a fitting epilogue to man's fall from grace.

They, looking back,
all the eastern side beheld of Paradise,
so late their happy seat,
waved over by that flaming brand;
the gate with dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.
Some natural tears they dropped,
but wiped them soon;
the world was all before them where to choose
their place of rest, and Providence their guide.
They, hand in hand, with wondering steps
and slow,
through Eden took their solitary way.

As so, it is our inevitable lot to die. But the Scriptures also tell us that we may live again in that long lost paradise from whence our parents came. There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name appears in extra-Biblical texts as early as 2000 years before Christ. His name was Job, and from his patient, suffering lips came the age-old question, "If a man die, shall he live again?", and later from his lips came the answer to his own question: "Oh, that my words were written and engraved with an iron pen upon a ledge of rock forever, for I know that my Redeemer liveth and some day He shall stand upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this Body, yet, in my flesh shall I see God; whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another."

Mr. President, many years ago I read a story of an old Anglo-Saxon king who had his barons at a great banquet. They were eating their venison and quaffing their ale. It was a bitter night outside. The storm raged. The snow was falling thick and fast. Suddenly, into the rude chamber in which they were gathered, there flew through some crack or crevice in the roof a little bird. Blinded by the light and perplexed, it flew wildly here and there and beat itself against the rude beams. Finally, it found another crevice and out it went again into the night. The king, advanced in years, spoke to his barons and said,

That bird is like a life;
it comes from out of the night.
It flits and flies around a little while,
blinded by the light,
and then it goes back out into the night
again.

Mr. President, as we witness the passing of a great and good man like John Stennis, we may well take appraisal of our own public and private merits and remember that we, too, only flit about for a little while, our voices resound in this Chamber for a few days or months or years, and then we are gone. These things are evanescent. Real substantial qualities of honesty, integrity, gentleness, modesty, and generosity will make the life of John Stennis remembered when much of what we say and do here in this Chamber shall have passed away and perished. John Stennis is gone,
. . . with your skysail set
For ports beyond the margin of the stars . . .

And those of us who had the honor and privilege of serving with him may say of him:

His life was gentle,
and the elements so mixed in him
that Nature might stand up and say to all
the world,
"This was a man."

To the family and friends of John Cornelius Stennis, my wife Erma and I extend our deepest sympathy.

I saw the sun sink in the golden west,
No angry cloud obscured its latest ray.
Around the couch on which it sank to rest
Shone all the splendor of a summer day.
And long, though lost to view, that radiant
light,

Reflected from the sky, delayed the night.

Thus, when a good man's life comes to a close,

No doubts arise to cloud his soul with gloom.
But faith triumphant on each feature glows,
And benedictions fill the sacred room.
And long do men his virtues wide proclaim,
While generations rise to bless his name.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. NICKLES addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I wish to compliment my friend and colleague, Senator BYRD, for the tribute to our colleague, Senator Stennis, who served in this body so ably, so well, for so long. His service of 41 years—only the Senator from West Virginia would know who has exceeded that besides Senator Hayden, I guess—but he had a remarkable tenure in the Senate.

I had the pleasure of serving with Senator Stennis. He was a person that had enormous credibility and reputation prior to my coming to the Senate going back for many years. He was even referred to in the Senate as a person known as the ethical watch guard of the Senate, and certainly a Southern gentleman in every single way. He was a real asset to this body, certainly to the State of Mississippi and to our country, as well. We shall all miss him, but not forget the contributions that he made to his State and country.

I compliment my colleague from West Virginia for a beautiful tribute to a wonderful colleague and Senator.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank my friend.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, today the Senate formally adds its voice of condemnation and outrage of the mindless and heartless massacre carried out in Oklahoma City last week. I join my colleagues in stating in absolute and unequivocal terms that such acts will never be tolerated in this country and that we resolve to do all in our power to make sure that the perpetrators of this heinous crime are found and brought to justice. In our society, the rule of law reigns over the rule of terror and it follows that swift and assured retribution must await those who harbor the thought that such acts can somehow alter that equation. The victims deserve no less; the criminals can expect no more.

As this tragic event causes us to pause and reflect upon a myriad of questions as to how and why such an event could occur, I urge us all to exercise the temperance and reason which are the characteristics of a civilized society. This most uncivil and unhuman of acts cannot be explained simply or logically by rational thought. In the rush to pinpoint blame and cause, already occurring it seems in the public discourse about this incident, too often we overstep the mark and compound the harm already suffered. For the moment, let us attend to the most immediate tasks at hand, that of the continued efforts to search for survivors, to

care for the wounded, to comfort the families and friends who have lost loved ones, and to apprehend and punish those responsible. That is more than enough for now and it will keep us busy for days to come. Then we will have the time for reflection on the broader, though not any less important, questions as to what we may be able to do to thwart such acts in the future.

My heart goes out to those families and friends grievously affected by this unthinkable tragedy. The losses they have suffered are immeasurable and I join the entire country in expressing the consolation and sympathy. I also salute the heroic efforts being made to deal with this event and in particular commend the Oklahoma City Police, Fire, and Emergency Medical Departments, President Clinton, Attorney General Reno, the Justice Department, the FBI, FEMA, and all others for their excellent work in dealing with this incident. I pledge whatever assistance I may be able to give and will work to do what I can to diminish the chances of such an event from occurring in the future.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I rise to support Senate Resolution 110 and join with my colleagues in denouncing the violent attack on Federal workers and their children last week in Oklahoma City.

Our world is full of daily tragedies, so much so, that each of us runs the risk of growing numb to the pain. But this violence struck close to home in many ways. Those murdered by the cowardly terrorists who planned and carried out this bombing appeared to be targeted because they worked for the U.S. Government, or were the children of these workers. I urge the administration to employ the strongest efforts under law and our Constitution to bring the killers to justice.

These killings also struck home in another way for me. In my current role as chairman, and previously as vice chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate, I have seen firsthand the squalid housing conditions that plague many Indian and native American communities. I have also noted the many fine efforts of dedicated Federal employees who try to counteract these conditions with funds and authorities that are all-too-often inadequate to address the overwhelming need.

Among those killed in this bombing were a number of Federal employees who have dedicated their lives to improving Indian and Alaska native housing conditions. Killed in the blast, or still missing or unaccounted for as of yesterday, are 10 individuals who have played very prominent roles in supporting the development of housing opportunities in Indian communities. While I do not give up hope that those missing or unaccounted for will still be located alive, I do wish to take this opportunity to describe what I know about 10 of these employees.

These 10 people have worked for the Office of Native American Programs [ONAP] within the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD], or for the HUD Area Counsel's Office on Indian housing issues. Under Secretary Cisneros' leadership, HUD recently had announced a substantial streamlining of its administrative structures so that it could dramatically bolster its efforts to improve housing conditions in Indian communities. These employees were part of the new thinking underway at HUD, and I, and many tribal leaders, will sorely miss each one of these HUD workers and their dedicated efforts.

Most Americans would be shocked if they saw the housing conditions that Indian and Alaska Native families must endure day in and day out. Approximately 90,000 Indian families are homeless or underhoused. One out of every five Indian homes lacks complete plumbing facilities. According to 1990 census figures, 18 percent of all American Indian households on reservations are "severely crowded." The comparable figure for non-Indians is 2 percent. Likewise, while 33 percent of all reservation households are considered crowded, the comparable figure for all households nationally is 5 percent. The typical Indian home on a reservation has 4.4 rooms, nearly a whole room less than the national median of 5.3 rooms.

These are the conditions that the 10 Oklahoma HUD workers who are confirmed dead or missing sought to improve. I am outraged that their constructive efforts are cut short by the destructive acts of cowardly terrorists.

HUD officials have informed me that ONAP maintained a staff of 26 in Oklahoma City. Another 10 Oklahoma City HUD employees, including the Office of Area Counsel, provided support to the native American programs. I know from the reports of Indian tribes in Oklahoma, Kansas, Louisiana, and Texas that ONAP staff had developed a very cooperative and productive relationship with the native American communities there. I am told that the Oklahoma HUD staff have been exemplary in their professional respect for the rich cultural traditions of their counterparts among tribal Government staff. It was not unusual to see ONAP staff at pow-wows and other native American events on the weekends, joining with those they served in celebration of the beauty and enduring cultures of these communities.

The bombing exacted an extremely heavy toll on ONAP personnel. As of yesterday, two staff members were confirmed as casualties, George Howard and Lanny Scroggins. Three additional staff members were still unaccounted for—Jules Valdez, Don Burns, and Dave Burkett. From the Area Counsel's Office, Clarence Wilson, Mike Weaver, Kim Clark, and Lee Sells remain unaccounted for. Susan Ferrell, the lead attorney for native American programs and one of HUD's top Indian law attorneys, has been confirmed as a casualty.

Mr. President, these staff were some of HUD's best. They were dedicated, loyal, hardworking, and personally committed to the goal of providing decent, safe, and sanitary housing and community development for this Nation's native American communities. Their contributions over the years have been extremely important to HUD's vital work in Indian country. Their loss at the hand of these senseless killers means the tribes and Indian families they served in that region will pay a high personal cost. Equally high will be the price paid by the dedicated colleagues left behind in HUD's ONAP and Area Counsel's Office. Many of these survivors carry physical injuries from the blast, some quite serious. All of them carry emotional scars that understandably run quite deep. I hope these survivors can find courage for these days.

The bombing was the act of cowards. I condemn it in the strongest of possible terms. I mourn the loss it has caused to the family members of its victims, to its survivors who now must live with this great pain, and to HUD's Indian offices and the Indian tribes who must now piece back together a program that has always struggled against nearly insurmountable odds.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, like every Member of this body and millions of people around the globe, I deplore in the strongest possible terms the senseless murders of the innocent children and adults in Oklahoma City. This was an atrocity and a barbaric act against humanity that truly shocks the conscience. I have joined in voting for the resolution presented by the majority leader and the minority leader because I wholeheartedly agree with virtually every statement made in the resolution.

Congress must condemn, in the strongest possible terms, the heinous bombing attack against innocent children and adults.

Congress should send its heartfelt condolences to the families, friends, and loved ones of those whose lives were taken away and injured by this abhorrent and cowardly act; and express its hopes for the rapid and complete recovery of those wounded in the bombing.

Congress should commend the rapid actions taken by the President to provide assistance to the victims and apprehend the perpetrators of this horrible crime. I also believe that we should be sure that Federal laws aimed at combating acts of terrorism are comprehensive and effective in preventing and punishing these acts.

At the same time, I must express one reservation concerning one provision of the resolution that indicates congressional support for the President and the Attorney General's position that Federal prosecutors will seek the maximum penalty authorized by law, including the death penalty, for those responsible. I am opposed to the death penalty, but I recognize that current

federal law provides for the death penalty in cases such as Oklahoma City.

I understand the feelings which lead people to call out for imposition of the death penalty in heinous cases, such as this. However, I do not believe that it is generally the Senate's role to make a statement on what specific type of penalty the prosecutors should seek in any particular case, whether it be the death penalty of life imprisonment or whatever. Congress should not endeavor to step across the line which separates the judicial functions of the United States to attempt to direct prosecutors in the discharge of their functions. The law currently provides for the death penalty in this case and regardless of whether I support or oppose these provisions in existing law, it is for the Federal prosecutors, not Congress, to determine what penalty should be sought and ultimately, it is for a jury of Americans to make the final judgment as to guilt and punishment for those who are brought to trial in this case.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I rise today to ask my colleagues to continue mourning the brave and innocent men, women, and children who lost their lives this past Wednesday in Oklahoma City.

As I speak, I know that search and rescue workers continue to dig toward the bottom of the Alfred Murrah Federal Building where the bodies of more Federal workers lay. These public servants paid the ultimate price in the service of their country.

Mr. President, most of the victims of this tragedy were men and women of our Federal Government. These people put their lives on the line just by being associated with the U.S. Government. These were common, decent human beings that were trying to make their Government work better. I urge my colleagues to always remember the countless, nameless Federal workers who work long, hard hours, committed to making our system of government work for the better who put their lives on the line for the U.S. Government.

It was also an American community—working women and men with families providing for their children, who were affected by this horrible tragedy. The past week, this American community has come together as a shining example of why America is so strong. Local police and firefighters, Federal law enforcement agents of the FBI, ATF, Secret Service, and Federal Emergency Management Agency personnel show us what Americans want from their public servants: efficiency, competence, cooperation. Americans rallying to overcome a crisis that threatens their stability. This is the American spirit.

I urge my colleagues to keep the victims and their families in your thoughts and honor them with your prayers. Thank you, Mr. President, and I yield the floor.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in express-

ing our outrage at the senseless, brutal murders and injuries sustained by defenseless citizens and children in Oklahoma City last week.

We all know that Oklahoma City, and indeed our Nation, will never be the same again. We all know that we will never have all the answers as to why something this tragic can happen. But one thing we can know is that we will not rest until the perpetrators of this heinous act are brought to justice.

The resolution we will approve overwhelmingly today is just the first step Congress will take in attempting to address this tragedy. We will work with the administration to pass legislation expanding the FBI's powers to combat such acts of terrorism. We will work to do all we can to see that no one has to go through this experience again.

Mr. President, there are not words to express the sorrow we feel for the families who have lost loved ones. No one can prepare themselves for a tragedy of this magnitude. No one can prepare themselves to see innocent infants robbed of their futures. And no one can prepare themselves for the grief and loss we know those personally affected by this tragedy will experience for the rest of their lives.

One thing we can do is reach out to them, offer our prayers, our comfort and support. As the President recently said, "you have lost so much, but you have not lost everything. And you certainly have not lost America, for we will stand with you for as many tomorrows as it takes."

In closing, Mr. President, I want to personally express my sincere thanks and appreciation for the tireless efforts of this administration, the Oklahoma officials, the rescuers, investigators, police officers, and firemen, our clergy, and so many thousands of others who have given of themselves in this tragedy. They are all heroes and their work will never be forgotten, just as we as a nation will never forget April 19, 1995.

MILITIA GROUPS AND THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, 2 weeks from today, we mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi surrender in World War II. And just a week ago, we witnessed an event that should remind us all of just what we were fighting.

I am speaking, of course, of the bombing in Oklahoma City. Our sympathy and solidarity go out to the victims of this terrible crime and their families. And we learn that 50 years after the war, the battle against hate is not over.

We Montanans like to call our State the "last, best place." We take pride in our low crime rate and our civil society. And we like to think we are immune to the crime and violence that so sadly affects our country.

But we are not immune. Our easy-going ways now seem to attract some of the worst elements in our country. We find that anti-Semites, right-wing extremists, and terrorists believe they can find a home in our State.

THE MILITIA AND THE FREEMEN

In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, you may have heard about the so-called Militia of Montana. Let me tell you something about this group and its friends.

The Militia of Montana was founded by a few people associated with the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations group. Their literature and videos talk about international conspiracies, shadow governments, and banking elites—code words that anyone familiar with the history of anti-Semitism recognizes immediately.

Associated with the militia leaders is the even more extreme Freemen movement. This group says in public that the income tax is illegal and the Federal Government is a conspiracy. In private, it says people who are not white are beasts; the Bible was written for the white race.

With these organizations come hate, lawlessness, and terror.

The Federal Government and Federal officials are targets. Jews are targets. We had a swastika painted on a house in Big Timber last month. A Jewish child taunted in Helena. Militia members have gone so far as to distribute hate literature—Nazi-style pamphlets called "Strength of a Hero" and "Warrior Song"—in the Montana Legislature.

Women are targets. In the past year, fanatical opponents of abortion rights bombed a clinic in Kalispell and burned the Blue Mountain Women's Clinic in Missoula to the ground.

And law enforcement is a target. Just a few weeks ago, seven armed militia members threatened the marshal in the small town of Darby with guns after he had pulled over one of them for driving in a car whose license plates expired 3 years ago. On the other side of the State, Freemen have posted bounties for law enforcement officials, saying they were to be executed by hanging.

Thoughtless politicians and radio broadcasters encourage this by loose talk of revolution, and intemperate attacks on Federal bureaucrats—which is to say, our neighbors who work for USDA, the Forest Service, and law enforcement. Some have even brought militia proposals before the Montana Legislature.

The results of this toleration for hate are obvious. In March, an eastern Montana county attorney wrote me to say:

The more the federal and local law enforcement agencies behave with a "hands-off" attitude, the more bold and daring these groups become.

And a constituent from Ravalli County writes, just 9 days before the bombing:

You see Freemen with guns in the post office, grocery store and gas stations. If it gets to any one of them that a person doesn't like the "Freemen," they will call or confront a person face to face. They tell people that we are all going to "die like the Jews."

NO PLACE FOR HATE

The situation is serious. But if we face up to it, we can solve it before it gets worse.

The ringleaders of the hate groups are few in number. Garfield County Attorney Nick Murnion has studied them closely. He believes the Freemen and militia have no more than 25 to 30 core members around the State.

The hard-core leaders, in many cases, are common criminals. They refuse to pay their taxes and will not live by the laws. Those who have broken the laws should be arrested, tried and put in jail. And we can do it if we give law enforcement the support it requires.

But dealing with the rank and file is a responsibility of the entire community. Most militia members are not Nazis or potential terrorists—merely loud, deluded people who are an embarrassment but not a threat. And all of us need to show them that hate has no place under Montana's big sky, and no place in America.

Hate groups, threats of violence and racism must be met in the open. They grow and spread in darkness and silence but they vanish in the sunlight. The entire American family must show them that they are not welcome.

THE BILLINGS MENORAH MOVEMENT

And that will work. I know, because I have seen it work. When the vast majority of ordinary, decent people stand together, the small number of haters and extremists are always defeated.

In November 1993, a group of skinheads came to a Jewish house in Billings, MT, and threw a bottle through the glass door. A few days later they put a brick through the window of another Jewish house, with a 5-year-old boy in the room. Then they smashed the windows of Catholic High School, which had a "Happy Hanukah" sign on its marquee.

Events like these can isolate their victims. They can silence people of good will and open broader campaigns of hate and violence. But that did not happen. Instead, Billings rallied with the Jewish community.

The Billings Gazette printed up thousands of paper menorahs. People all over town pasted them in their windows as a sign of solidarity. Billings held the largest Martin Luther King Day march ever in our State. And the skinheads left town.

As good people again speak out, that will happen with the militias and Freemen too. They must know they are not welcome in our churches, our grocery stores, our towns. We must stand with law enforcement as they track down clinic bombers and arrest radical tax protesters. And when the American family stands together against the hate groups, as Billings stood against the skinheads, they will vanish.

Mr. President, nothing will undo the pain in Oklahoma City. But the suffering of the bombing victims and their families need not be in vain.

Let us reflect on this horrible event.

Let us remember the sacrifice our fathers made across the seas 50 years ago.

And let us rededicate ourselves to ending hate here at home in America.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF EXTREMISM

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, on the matter of the extremism which the distinguished Senator from Montana so thoughtfully addressed, I want to just address the environment; not necessarily the extremists, not the hate groups—I want to address our conduct, namely the public servants.

We read in the morning's paper, for example, where David Broder uses that description of this Government here in Washington, the greatest gift to free people the world around, a representative form of government that works so well—he uses the words of our distinguished Speaker, "the corrupt liberal welfare state."

You know Mr. GINGRICH is not going to blow up any buildings and neither is Senator HOLLINGS. But what has come from my experience is a reaction against this particular environment, because it is created by pollster politics.

I ran for 20 years without ever seeing a political poll. You addressed the issues as concern the citizenry, going down the Main Street, out into the farms, the rural areas, the small towns, as well as the civic club meetings in the cities. You had a feel for what is going on. But that is not allowed today in the pollster world. What you do is you take a poll, find out what they call the six or seven hot button issues, and take the popular side of those particular issues and blame everybody else.

Specifically, if you want to run for office up here in Washington, it has gotten to an environment of running against the Government. This is sheer nonsense, but this is the fact. I think we are elected to make this Government work. The approach of the environment, under the contract and otherwise, is to get rid of the Government, dismantle it. It is not needed. Cut the money so they cannot do the job or whatever else it is. But as long as you can run against the Government, with the cry, "The Government is not the solution, the Government is the problem," that is the problem I wish to address here. Because all the attention and editorials will now go with respect to the hate groups.

Unfortunately, they have prospered over the past 15 years. I was inaugurated as Governor of South Carolina in 1959. After I took the oath of office, I ran back up the steps to get on different clothes for the parade. I looked on my desk and I found a green envelope, gold embossed, from the Ku Klux Klan, Grand Klavern of America, giving me a lifetime membership. Well, I was lawyer enough. I said, "We are going to return that with a return receipt requested." But I asked for the

head of my law enforcement division, Mr. Pete Strom, I said, "Have him here at the end of the parade. I want to see about this."

At the end of the parade, I asked Chief Strom. I said, "We have the Klan in South Carolina?" I was down in Charleston, and we did not have that activity in the city of Charleston, not that we were any better than any part of the State.

But he says, "Yes. We got 16,721 members."

I said, "You keep a count?"

He said, "Yes. We keep a count of them but none of the Governors wanted to do anything."

I said, "Do anything?"

He said, "Yes. Get rid of the crowd."

I said, "Well, I agree with you. We ought to get rid of them. What do you need?"

He said, "I need your cooperation. If you can get me a little money for informant fees, if you can help me infiltrate this group, we will get rid of them."

And at the end of my 4-year term we integrated now Clemson University—then Clemson College—without incident, because we were able to bring it down from 16,721 to less than probably 200.

In fact, they told me. I did not know about any meetings. But some of my informants were called in the meetings and informing and everything else, and we dispelled the Klan from South Carolina. But unfortunately, Mr. President, that now has grown back.

When they talk, and write in erudite fashion in the morning news, do not worry about this violence and racism, that we had it back in the 1920's. Do not give me the 1920's. Let us go back just 30 years ago or 40 years ago, from 1954 with the Brown against the Board of Education decision and come on up 40 years to 1994. I can tell you categorically we have more racism today in my home State than we had at that particular time.

This environment really bothers me in the context of what I experienced back home just this past Easter break. We had an annual meeting of our State Chamber of Commerce. To that meeting I was invited, of course, the two Senators, and the six Congressmen. Most of us, of course, were in attendance and we answered the questions. One of our distinguished Congressman had gotten on to the matter of the abolition of, getting rid of, closing down the departments of Government. I was just sort of taken aghast. But I thought I would hit them right head on.

When my turn came, I said, "Wait a minute. You folks are talking now of abolishing the Department of Commerce?" Here I am meeting with the State Chamber of Commerce, and I could see the faces light up, and they started almost clapping saying, yes. I said, "The Department of Commerce, Education?" We had former Governor,