

impossible without the assistance of our Parliamentarians. Senate Parliamentarian Bob Dove, with the outstanding assistance of Senior Assistant Parliamentarian Alan Frumin, Assistant Parliamentarian Kevin Kayes, and Parliamentary Assistant Sally Goffinet, provides an unparalleled level of expertise and understanding of Senate procedure.

Our growing C-SPAN audience has no doubt become familiar with the commanding voice of Legislative Clerk Scott Bates and his assistant David Tinsley; Bill Clerk Kathie Alvarez has also become a notable presence. Kathie is assisted in her duties as bill clerk by Danielle Fling and Mary Anne Clarkson. Our legislative and bill clerks deserve the thanks and respect of all Senators for their keen attention to detail and their patient professionalism.

Journal Clerk William Lackey and his assistants Patrick Keating and Mark Lacovara; Enrolling Clerk Tom Lundregan and his assistant Charlene McDevitt; Executive Clerk David Marcos and his assistant Michelle Haynes; Daily Digest Editor Thomas Pellikaan, Assistant Editor Linda Sebold, and Staff Assistant Kimberly Longworth, all have my gratitude for their long hours and hard work.

I also would like to thank and commend again our official Reporters of Debates for their hard work: Chief Reporter Ronald Kavulick and Assistant Chief Reporter—and Congressional Record Coordinator—Scott Sanborn; Morning Business Editor Ken Dean and Assistant Editor Lee Brown; Expert Transcriber Supervisor Eileen Connor and her assistants, Donald Corrigan and Eileen Milton; and the Official Reporters of Debates: Jerald Linnell, Raleigh Milton, Joel Brietner, Mary Jane McCarthy, Paul Nelson, Katie-Jane Teel, and Patrick Renzi.

I also want to thank our Senate Doorkeepers, directed by Arthur Curran and Donn Larson, for the friendly, and helpful attitude they bring to their jobs, often in the face of long and uncertain hours. Without their assistance and that of all of our Senate support staff, our work simply could not get done.

Finally, Mr. President, I want to thank my own staff and the staff of the Democratic Leadership Committees, whom I share with Senators REID, ROCKEFELLER, and KERRY. These bright, talented people are dedicated to the effort to serve the people of South Dakota and the Nation, as well as every Democratic senator and their staffs. They do a tremendous job, and I owe each of them a debt of gratitude.●

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR JOHNSTON

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I salute my old friend and colleague the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. JOHNSTON] as he reaches the end of his distinguished Senate career.

It has been my special good fortune to know BENNETT JOHNSTON as a friend,

quite apart from our collegial work here in the Senate. I have enjoyed his hospitality on many occasions and have appreciated his good sportsmanship on the tennis court. As I said when he announced his intention to retire last year, he can always be called a straight shooter, in the best sense of the word.

He will, of course, best be remembered for his landmark work as chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, particularly as that committee grappled with the new challenges posed by nuclear energy. I salute him for that, and I know that he has charted new ground where others will surely follow.

One of the most difficult aspects of leaving this body is the loss of daily contact with colleagues whose friendship has enriched the experience of Senate service. BENNETT JOHNSTON has truly been one such colleague, and I wish all the best for him and his lovely wife, Mary, in all that lies ahead.●

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR HEFLIN

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, sometimes there are those among us whose Senatorial persona overshadows the full measure of past achievement.

Such a man is the retiring senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN]. Those who witness his wisdom and dignity of bearing on the floor of the Senate have no difficulty in envisioning him as the chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court. But they may not perceive the U.S. Marine of World War II who was wounded twice in combat and awarded the Silver Star.

My own special insight into the exceptional character of Judge HEFLIN came when we shared the discomfort of a field trip into the Brazilian rain forest. As always his qualities of wit and wisdom shown through.

Here in the Senate, his unshakable demeanor and integrity have endeared him to all and served as a model for the sort of decorum and comity which should pervade our proceedings. It was inevitable that we should award him with the thankless task of chairing the Select Committee on Ethics.

I thank Judge HEFLIN for all he has done to enrich the life of the Senate, and I wish him well as he returns to Alabama.●

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR EXON

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to express my best wishes to Senator JAMES EXON, who is retiring from the Senate after 18 years of dedicated service to his constituents in Nebraska. He is a true friend and a respected and trusted colleague.

As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator EXON has provided invaluable leadership in ensuring the integrity of our national defense. I have had the honor of working with him on the problem of U.S. nuclear weapons testing.

At the end of the cold war, Senator EXON utilized his common sense and Midwestern values to grapple with the difficult task of defense downsizing. Senator EXON was not afraid to take on this, and other, difficult issues—deficit reduction and restricting foreign takeovers of businesses that are vital to our national security.

JIM EXON has earned the respect and gratitude of his colleagues, constituents, and citizens of our Nation. I know that I shall miss my colleague from Nebraska and I wish him well in his future endeavors.●

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR COHEN

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I would like to pay tribute to Senator WILLIAM COHEN who is returning to his homestate of Maine after serving with distinction in the Senate for 18 years. I'm glad to have the opportunity to honor my friend who has made such an outstanding contribution to our region and the country.

I have often lamented the rise in partisanship that has permeated this Chamber over the past several years. I continue to believe that our Nation is best served by leaders who have respect for different views and the ability to compromise and negotiate meaningful policy. Senator COHEN is not only a man who I believe shares this view, but has practiced it and made bipartisan consensus his trademark.

Senator COHEN has been a leader in foregoing bipartisan solutions to some of our Nation's most vexing problems. To ensure the public's trust in Congress, Senator COHEN worked tirelessly with Senator LEVIN to help enact a lobby disclosure and gift ban. When America was embroiled in the Iran-Contra affair, Senator COHEN joined Senator Mitchell in examining and investigating allegations of misconduct by the executive branch. Senator COHEN has always sought a dialog to consider as many views as possible and supported legislation that holds all Senators to the highest standard.

My colleague from New England, the senior Senator from Maine, is also the author of eight books. Senator COHEN is still a young man and while he will be greatly missed in the Senate, I wish him well in what I am sure will be a bright future.●

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BROWN

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I salute the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. BROWN] on the occasion of his retirement from the Senate. During this term here he has contributed a great deal, especially in his work on the Committee on Foreign Relations.

During the first years of his term, he served as the ranking Republican member of the Subcommittee on International Relations, where I especially appreciated his bipartisan support in helping to forge the State Department authorization bill.

Subsequently, in the 104th Congress, he assumed the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and conducted a remarkable number of hearings on matters relating to the area. I was especially pleased that he shared my strong and long-standing interest in the India subcontinent.

While we frequently found ourselves on different sides of the issues, I always appreciated the great good humor that HANK BROWN brought to his work on the committee, along with his unflagging energy. I thank him for that, and wish him well in all that lies ahead for him and his family. He is a fine man and one for whom I have high regard.●

SOME PARTING THOUGHTS

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, as I approach the end of my sixth term in the Senate, I look back at the 36 years with wonder and awe at what we have passed through, but with some concern for the future of our institutions in the century ahead.

My concern is rooted in apprehension that human nature may not be keeping pace with the means now at our disposal to influence opinion and effect change.

A long range, telescopic view of our place in history puts this concern in perspective, particularly as we approach the end of the second millennium. The thousand years that began with a tradition of chivalry in dank Medieval castles, ends with a distinctly unchivalrous, albeit more comfortable, world community tied together by the instant miracle of electronic communication and jet flight, but overshadowed by the still lingering threat of mass destruction.

Considering these extremes, I am led to reflect that the rules of human behavior in the conduct of public affairs have not developed as rapidly as the provisions for human comfort, or the means of communication—or indeed, of mass destruction.

Sometimes, it almost seems, to paraphrase a common humorous expression, as though we should “stop the world” and let the human spirit catch up with technological progress. So now I ask myself what guidance can we give to those who follow that would help them, short of stopping the world, to reconcile the realities of the day with the realm of the spirit?

When I came to the Senate in 1961, it was, in retrospect, a time of almost unlimited possibilities. Most of us were imbued with a rather exuberant mindset conditioned by recent events. We had lived through the economic crises of the 1930's and we had survived the cataclysm of World War II, and in both cases it had been the dominant role of a strong central government which had saved the day. So it was not surprising that we brought with us a great sense of confidence in the role of government.

We extended that faith in progressive government into many other areas, and I believe we did many good things in its name in the years that followed. I am very proud of the fact that I was able to play a modest part in these endeavors, particularly in the field of education.

But hovering over us for the three decades that followed was the numbing specter of the cold war that tested our endurance and our nerve. It was in the peripheral engagements of the cold war, first Korea and then, most conclusively, in Vietnam, that the basic tenets of our commitment were put to the test. And in the latter event, they were found wanting in the minds and hearts of many of us.

In retrospect, it may well have been the widespread disillusionment with foreign policy in the Vietnam era which sowed the seeds of a broader cynicism which seems to be abroad in the land today. And with it came an end to that sense of unlimited possibilities that many of us brought to public life.

Many other factors have contributed to that current of cynicism, but primary among them, in my view, is the impact of the electronic media, particularly in its treatment of politics and public affairs. At its worst, it glorifies sensationalism, thrives on superficiality and raises false expectations, often by holding people in public life accountable to standards which are frequently unrealistic or simply not relevant.

Unfortunately, the rise of the electronic media has coincided with the coming of age of a new generation of Americans which is both blessed and challenged by the absence of the unifying force of a clear national adversary.

I am reminded, in this connection, of Shakespeare's reference to “the cankers of a calm world and a long peace,” referring to the age of Henry IV, when a temporary absence of conflict had an adverse effect on the quality of recruits pressed into military service. In our time, the sudden ending of the cold war removed what had been a unifying national threat, leaving in its wake a vacuum of purpose which I fear has been filled in part by the cankers of the electronic media.

The result has been a climate which exploits the natural confrontational atmosphere of the democratic process by accentuating extremes without elaborating on the less exciting details. It is a climate which encourages pandering to the lowest levels of public and private greed, a prime example of which is the almost universal defamations of the taxing power which makes it virtually impossible to conduct a rational public debate over revenue policy.

The times call for a renewed sense of moral responsibility in public service, and for service performed with courage of conviction. To be sure, this is not a new idea. One of my favorite political quotations in this regard is an excerpt from a speech by Edmund Burke to the Electors of Bristol in 1774:

Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

It must be noted that Mr. Burke was thrown out of office not long after making this speech, demonstrating a courage of conviction on his part and on the part of the electors as well. But he stands as a model, nonetheless, of the sort of selfless dedication to principle which must be brought to bear in the current climate.

Beyond individual virtue, I believe we must strive in a corporate sense for a qualitative change in public dialog. If I could have one wish for the future of our country in the new millennium, it would be that we not abandon the traditional norms of behavior that are the underpinning of our democratic system.

Comity and civility, transcending differences of party and ideology, have always been crucial elements in making Government an effective and constructive instrument of public will. But in times such as these, when there is fundamental disagreement about the role of Government, it is all the more essential that we preserve the spirit of civil discourse.

It has been distressing of late to hear the complaints of those who would abandon public service because they find the atmosphere mean spirited. They seem to suggest that the basic rules of civilized behavior have been stifled.

They make a good point, although I hasten to say that this was not a consideration in my own decision to retire at the end of my present term. After more than 35 years, I have some to expect a certain amount of rancor in the legislative process. But I certainly agree that it seems to have gotten out of bounds.

I say this with all respect for my colleagues in the Senate. They are wonderfully talented men and women, dedicated to serving their constituents and to improving the quality of our national life. I do not expect to have the good fortune again to work with such a fine, well-motivated and able group. But even this exceptional group sometimes yields to the virus of discontent which has infected the body politic.

In 1995, before retiring from the Senate to become president of the University of Oklahoma, my good friend David Boren sent a letter to his colleagues lamenting the fact that “we have become so partisan and so personal in our attacks upon each other that we can no longer effectively work together in the natural interest.” It was a thoughtful warning that has meaning far beyond the U.S. Senate and applies to our whole national political dialog.

The fact is that the democratic process depends on respectful disagreement. As soon as we confuse civil debate with reckless disparagement, we have crippled the process. A breakdown of civility reinforces extremism and