

missed by every Member of this Chamber. I wish him all the best as he returns to his home State of Oregon and resumes his career in education, and I thank him for his dedicated service to this body and the Nation.

#### SENATOR BILL BRADLEY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I pay tribute today to the senior Senator from New Jersey, BILL BRADLEY, who has, unfortunately, decided to retire from the Senate after three terms.

BILL BRADLEY has brought to the Senate a keen mind and an athlete's drive to cut through highly complicated, but vital issues affecting the economy of the United States, especially the Tax Code's treatment of the middle class, and the need to eliminate the accumulation of deductions and special interest provisions which have skewed our tax code in multifarious and unfair ways.

In tackling the most vexing and wide-ranging problems affecting the economy, Senator BRADLEY had a central impact on the Tax Reform Act of 1986 after 4 years of hard work, perseverance, and studious attention to these very difficult issues. Using the springboard of his seat on the Finance Committee to grind away at his colleagues and the Senate as a whole as to the need for basic reform of the Tax Code, BILL showed that he could go the extra mile, and through sheer determination use the legislative process in textbook fashion. He produced far-reaching proposals on issues that have made a real difference for Americans, based on careful study and on convincing the rest of us to stand up, pay attention, and support the soundness of his position.

He has tackled a variety of other tough and central problems facing American society, including deficit reduction, pension reform, college loan programs, Medicaid reform, and a variety of initiatives in the energy area through his active membership on the Senate Energy Committee. In addition, he has been extremely industrious as a legislator on a wide range of issues in the education field, from community-based initiatives involving families, to reform of higher education. BILL BRADLEY has gone much further than legislative initiatives, however. He has sponsored a number of enduring seminars and special programs for high school and college students and athletes, all with a dual focus on effective citizenship and educational excellence.

Senator BILL BRADLEY added his engaging personality, integrity, and studious manner to the mosaic of the Senate, and gave this body another dimension. His unique background as a Rhodes Scholar, and as a former professional basketball player turned U.S. Senator sent a message to our young people that intellectual and athletic excellence need not be two competing worlds.

In all his work in the Senate, BILL has performed with dignity, grace, and

with great respect for the opportunity that the Senate affords for informed debate. Unfortunately, informed debate has not always been a great hallmark of recent years in the Senate, and I regret that this body will no longer have the benefit of BILL BRADLEY's keen mind and tenacious, yet gentlemanly approach to the issues of our day.

Senator BRADLEY is a young, vibrant, vigorous man with, God willing, a long span of productive years ahead of him. I am pleased to note that he has recently been writing and speaking out on a variety of fundamental issues concerning the Nation, including race relations; the need for a more responsible civil society where grassroots and local institutions assume more responsibility for our civic life; on the need for campaign finance reform; on the need for economic transformation and growth more fairly shared across the full range of economic groups in American society; and on the role of faith in the fabric of American society. Of particular interest is his comparison of American society with a three-legged stool made up of the private sector, government, and civil society. Obviously Senator BRADLEY is correct when he points out that our future depends on all three.

BILL BRADLEY is an independent, and thoughtful thinker on some of the most fundamental issues confronting our Nation.

Senator BRADLEY has focused his considerable mental powers well on a broad landscape of difficult problems which will trouble our Nation in the years ahead.

The breadth of issues on BILL BRADLEY's plate clearly shows that he intends to make an indelible mark on the continuing American dialogue about solutions to these problems, and I, for one, encourage him and look forward to his contribution. It would not surprise me to see citizen BILL BRADLEY at the witness table at future Senate hearings giving us his views on many fundamental issues.

I wish BILL and his wife, Ernestine, the best as he departs from this latest stopping place in his varied and successful life, knowing that there is much more to come, and with the hope that he will return frequently to include the Senate in his personal quest for a better America.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BRADLEY

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, today I want to pay tribute to Senator BILL BRADLEY's distinguished service in the U.S. Senate.

From his election to the Senate in 1978, BILL BRADLEY has influenced the policymaking agenda in Washington by plunging into the intricacies of an impressive array of interests and learning the strengths and weaknesses of his opponents' arguments better than they did. His sheer intellectual dominance of issues has allowed him to succeed against the political odds on issues as

far-ranging as tax reform and water-use policy.

Senator BRADLEY has been a true leader on tax reform and fiscal responsibility. He was an early and persistent voice urging us to put our fiscal house in order. If we had had more BILL BRADLEY's in the Senate in the early 1980's, we could have avoided the deficits of the Reagan era and subsequent years that have left us with our enormous national debt. Last year, I was privileged to work closely with BILL BRADLEY in putting together a fair share budget plan that would have balanced the unified Federal budget. His advice was absolutely central to developing the specifics of the plan and bringing together a coalition of supporters.

In 1986, BILL BRADLEY almost single-handedly pushed through a tax reform bill that dramatically reduced the number and size of tax loopholes, gave middle-class American families tax relief, and greatly simplified the Tax Code. Since joining the Finance Committee, I have had the opportunity of working with BILL on tax policy, and his knowledge of the intricacies and politics of our Tax Code is truly astounding. We will sorely miss his knowledge on these issues as we consider tax issues in the future.

Senator BRADLEY has also been a courageous voice on other issues that many politicians choose to avoid. For example, he has been one of a very few Members of Congress to move beyond sound bites and talk honestly and directly about the issue of race in America. And he was a strong voice criticizing those who seek to use race to divide us for political purposes.

Senator BRADLEY also devoted a great deal of time to foreign policy. Whenever a complex foreign policy issue forced itself upon the Senate, it seemed like BILL had found time to think through the options and U.S. and regional interests involved.

In short, Mr. President, BILL BRADLEY has been an intellectual giant in the Senate. The U.S. Senate is losing a champion for average American families and particularly for the least fortunate among us. But I do not doubt that he will continue these fights. As he said when he announced his decision not to seek reelection, there are other places where he can put his skills to work making our country better and stronger. I wish him well as he seeks out the best place and way to continue his calling to public service.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to proceed for up to 10 minutes as if in morning business.

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

#### SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise this morning to speak not to an issue but to speak to a man—about a man.

Mr. President, I rise this morning on the floor of the Senate to perform a task that I am anxious to perform but, at the same time, reluctant to perform.

I have been in the Senate now for 24 years. I have had the opportunity in those 24 years to serve with some very famous, significant political figures in modern American history. When I arrived here in 1972, Richard Nixon was President. The Senate was markedly different in terms of its makeup and membership, so much so that I now find myself—I was No. 100 in seniority—I now find myself somewhere in the low teens in seniority, and finding only a half a dozen or so Democrats who have been here longer than I have.

The reason I bother to mention that is I have had an opportunity to meet and work with and become friends with some truly great and famous Members of the U.S. Senate. The loss—in some cases by death, such as in the case of Hubert Humphrey and Dewey Bartlett and others; in some cases as a consequence of having lost an election, in the case of people like Frank Church and other great leaders such as Jacob Javits; the loss in some cases on the part of a Senator deciding he did not wish to run again, like Senator Mansfield and others—has impacted on the Senate and has impacted on the country.

I know my Grandfather Finnegan—God rest his soul—was right when he always used to say, “Joey, don’t forget Paddy’s a 9-day wonder. When you’re gone, you’re gone.” In one sense that is true. In another sense it is not true because every once in a while someone passes this way. Every once in a while someone assumes a position in the U.S. Senate, or takes the place on the floor of this august body, who changes not only the nature of our laws and the attitude of our country about major issues but who impact upon how this institution functions.

In my mind, and I believe I reflect the view of the American public in this case, one of the things that is most troubling in our discourse is a growing lack of civility, not only in our public discourse but in our private discourse.

You need only go down this long aisle to the next, patterned after the Parliament in Great Britain. Look out this door. Many people who watch us on C-SPAN don’t realize that you walk through the door of this institution, this floor, and look out that door, and you look straight all the way through, you will see a similar set of doors at the other end that lead into another Chamber called the House of Representatives. For years and years, we have avoided the kind of invective that seems to have infected the debate on that end of the Capitol. And one of the reasons we have avoided it is because there have been men and women on the floor of this Senate who will not tolerate that kind of discourse and constantly remind us of our moral conscience: that we, as the greatest institution—not as individuals, but as an

institution—should not stoop to the level of engaging in uncivil conduct.

If the Presiding Officer, the former Governor of Missouri, will excuse my personal reference, it is like using profanity. You know that one may engage in using profanity in the locker room with a bunch of guys when you are in high school, but you would never do that in front of your mother. You would never do that in front of your grandmother. You would never do that in front of the people you most respected, even if you slipped and did it in front of the guys.

Well, the presence of Claiborne PELL on the floor of the U.S. Senate—just, literally, his physical presence on the floor—inhibits Members from yielding to the temptation of engaging in uncivil conduct, in conduct that, quite frankly, we should all realize is beneath us and demeans the public debate and demeans this institution. And I can say, without reservation, that in the 24 years I have served here there is not a single, solitary person whose mere physical presence in a committee, in a caucus room, on the floor of the U.S. Senate—just his presence inhibits negative behavior on the part of all of us. He is a man of such character, such gentility, such class, and such persuasion by his actions. I mean it. Think about it. I say to my colleagues who may be listening to this in their offices: Name for me a single solitary person with whom we have ever served who has that kind of impact—he walks into a room, and his mere presence exposes demeaning conduct that any of us, including myself, may be engaging in in the course of political discourse.

He likes to point out—and he never lectures, but he likes to point out—that he has never negatively referred to any one of his opponents.

I remember one of the highest compliments I ever received. We were at a candidate forum. The chairman and I, Senator PELL, a Democratic candidate, were getting ready for the last election. And one of the leading political advertisers for Democrats was up there showing us the latest ad, all the Members of the Senate who were running in the 1990 race, when Senator PELL and I ran together the last time. He was saying, “This is what works, and this is what the Republicans are doing, and this is what we should do.” This particular guy has great wit and was actually the guy doing my advertising, and may have been the one doing Senator PELL’s as well. I can’t recall. His name is Bob Squire, one of the leading political advertisers in the country, and a fine man. Actually he was doing the President’s campaign, if I am not mistaken. Bob Squire with his dry wit looked down at all of us, and said, “There are only two men in America that do not get it”—that you must respond to negative ads and you must be negative.

And I do not know whether it is true, if it was only two. It does not matter for purposes of what I am going to say.

He literally said, “CLAIBORNE PELL and JOE BIDEN.” Just for me to be mentioned in the same sentence with CLAIBORNE PELL—just to be mentioned in the same sentence—was one of the highest compliments I have received since I have been in the Senate.

I am not in CLAIBORNE PELL’s class. Few are. If you will forgive me, as we say, a point of personal privilege here, when I first came to the Senate, I say to the Presiding Officer, I came under circumstances that were not the most ideal. I was not anxious to come. There had been an accident involving my family, and I lost my wife and daughter.

Almost everybody, when I came, embraced me, Democrat and Republican, and they were very generous with their time and their concern. But I remember four people, only one of whom I will name today: CLAIBORNE PELL. CLAIBORNE PELL came to me, and in his inimitable way. He did not do what Hubert Humphrey did. Hubert Humphrey literally came over to my office and sat on my couch and cried with me, I mean literally cried with me. CLAIBORNE PELL did not do that.

I give you my word that there was not a week that went by without him at least twice a week personally coming to me and inquiring of me how I was doing, inviting me to his home, inviting me to stay with him in his home, offering me a room in his lovely home in Georgetown because he knew I commuted and my boys were still in the hospital. And that did not stop when my boys became healthy. That has continued for 24 years. And his wife, Nuala, is equally as wonderful.

In addition to that, CLAIBORNE PELL did something few were able to do for me at the time, and again continuing on this point of personal privilege. He invited me to dinner parties, private parties, private dinners at his home, knowing that it was important for me, in retrospect, just to get out, just to be somewhere with someone. He never did it in a way that made me feel beholden. He never did it in a way as if he were doing me a favor. He never did it in a way other than the way he does everything: in a purely genuine, straightforward, embracing way.

Mr. President, that has characterized everything about CLAIBORNE PELL.

Let me conclude by saying that everything about CLAIBORNE PELL’s public life has in fact emulated his private life. There are not many people who can say there is simply no distinction between their private conduct and their public conduct. CLAIBORNE PELL would not say that, but he can say that, and I can say that for him.

The last point I wish to make, and I will elaborate on this later when we finish this treaty or at another time before we leave, is this man is a man who is, to use a trite-sounding phrase, a quiet visionary. This is a fellow who wrote about the transportation system in the Northeast and predicted what would be needed and used a word I

learned as an undergraduate that no one had ever heard of—"megalopolis"—and he talked about Richmond to Boston and what would have to be done to accommodate the needs of this area of the country. He is the guy who came up with the notion of ACDA. He has been the single most consistent, persistent spearheader of the notion of bringing about the diminution of the number of nuclear weapons that exist in this world. He is the man who has been devoted to the notions and concepts embodied in the United Nations. He is a man who has been the leader in education and learning, a man who comes from considerable standing in terms of his own personal wealth and education but has bent down to make sure that people of competence, regardless of their economic status, would be able to achieve the same intellectual competence, capability, and background as he has achieved.

This is a wonderful man, I say to my friends. You all know it. But not many have passed this way who have his personal characteristics and capabilities, and I doubt whether very many will come this way again. I will truly miss his presence in the Senate.

I yield the floor and thank my colleagues.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Delaware. He was unable to come to a meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee this morning at which we spent 1½ hours paying tribute to this wonderful man, and I agree with everything that Senator BIDEN has said about Senator PELL.

At the meeting this morning, a resolution of commendation for Senator PELL was adopted by standing ovation, and I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

RESOLUTION OF COMMENDATION FOR SERVICES RENDERED BY THE HON. CLAIBORNE DEB. PELL

Whereas Senator CLAIBORNE DEB. PELL has been a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations since January 8, 1965; served as Ranking Minority Member from January 5, 1981 until January 6, 1987; served as Chairman from January 6, 1987 until January 3, 1995; and served again as Ranking Minority Member from January 4, 1995 until the present;

Whereas by serving as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Pell became the second Rhode Islander, following The Honorable Theodore F. Green, to serve the State of Rhode Island as Chairman of this distinguished Committee;

Whereas as a Member and Chairman of the Committee Senator Pell has always been courteous, extending to all Members true respect for their views, and leaving an indelible mark on the Committee as a true gentleman of diplomacy;

Whereas in the discharge of his duties as chairman, Senator Pell has at every opportunity encouraged the development and furtherance of a bipartisan foreign policy;

Whereas Senator Pell, having served on the International Secretariat of the San Fran-

cisco Conference which drew up the Charter of the United Nations, has always worked to find international solutions to global problems in such areas as the environment, the oceans, climate control, human rights, the plight of refugees, and the rights of oppressed minorities throughout the world;

Whereas Senator Pell has steadfastly argued for greater contact and dialogue between all nations so as to reduce tensions, resolve differences, and promote the development of democracy, advocating negotiations and diplomacy as an alternative to armed conflict and military action;

Whereas Senator Pell has been instrumental in the initiation of arms control accords such as the Environmental Modification Treaty and the Seabed Arms Control Treaty, in the successful Senate consideration of numerous arms control treaties with such goals as the limitation, reduction and elimination of various classes of nuclear weapons, in the passage of legislation to restrain the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and in the inception, fostering and strengthening of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency;

Whereas Senator Pell, through his energy and vision, has contributed immeasurably to the development of United States leadership in world affairs and the establishment of better relations among nations;

Whereas Senator Pell has announced his intention to retire from the Senate in January 1997; and

Whereas Senator Pell's leadership and wisdom will be sorely missed by his colleagues on the Committee and his many friends in the Senate: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Foreign Relations expresses its warm and deep affection for Senator Claiborne Pell, its profound appreciation for his devotion to duty and its sincere gratitude for the outstanding service which he has rendered to the Committee, the Senate, the United States of America, and to the entire world through his great ability, initiative, and statesmanship.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

#### INTERNATIONAL NATURAL RUBBER AGREEMENT, 1995

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now go into executive session and proceed to the consideration of Executive Calendar No. 23, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Treaty Document 104-27, the International Natural Rubber Agreement of 1995.

*Resolved (two thirds of the Senators present concurring therein)*, That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of The International Natural Rubber Agreement, 1995, done at Geneva on February 17, 1995, subject to the following declaration:

It is the sense of the Senate that "no reservations" provisions as contained in Article 68 have the effect of inhibiting the Senate from exercising its constitutional duty to give advice and consent to a treaty, and the Senate's approval of this treaty should not be construed as a precedent for acquiescence to future treaties containing such a provision.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the pending business is the resolution of ratification. The previous order provides that the proposed declaration to the resolution is agreed to. Debate on the resolution

is limited to 1 hour, of which 30 minutes is under the control of Senator PELL and Senator HELMS, 30 minutes under the control of Senator BROWN.

Who yields time?

Mr. HELMS. Would the Senator like to go first?

Mr. PELL. The Senator should.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, please advise me when I have used 10 minutes.

Mr. President, one of the most important responsibilities of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and specified as such under the Senate rules, is to consider measures that "foster commercial intercourse with foreign nations and safeguard American business interests abroad."

Throughout the 104th Congress, I have placed a high priority on measures that promote American commercial interests in the United States and overseas. During this Congress the Foreign Relations Committee has reported six bilateral tax treaties providing for reduced withholding tax liabilities and protection against the double taxation of American goods and services.

During this Congress, the Foreign Relations Committee also reported nine bilateral investment treaties, or BIT's, as they are known around the world. BIT's between the United States and other countries can have an enormous impact in opening doors for American business in less developed markets. To date, the Senate has overwhelmingly approved all of the bilateral tax and investment treaties reported from our committee during the 104th Congress.

Today, the Senate is considering yet another treaty that expands opportunities for U.S. business and protects American jobs. This treaty, the International Natural Rubber Agreement (INRA) is designed to stabilize product and prices of natural rubber. This agreement has been in effect for 16 years and has proved a useful tool for maintaining a relatively stable supply of natural rubber at a fairly consistent price. The pending treaty would extend the agreement for an additional 4 years.

This commodity agreement essentially reauthorizes a buffer stock that stabilizes the price of natural rubber. The buffer stock is designed to buy and sell rubber in order to keep the price within 15 percent of a reference price established annually based on the market. The stock is financed by direct cash contributions from its members, who are both producers and consumers of natural rubber. Absent the development of a mature futures market for natural rubber, the agreement ensures predictable supplies of natural rubber priced at annual market rates.

Virtually all Americans, whether aware of it or not, depend on rubber products every day of the week. Any American who drives a car, or rides a