

reports of the negotiations that went on into the wee hours this morning. Also, we will get a report on how negotiations are going on the illegal immigration bill.

Last night, we did file a cloture motion with regard to the illegal immigration conference report with a roll-call vote on invoking cloture occurring on Monday, September 30, at a time to be determined by the two leaders. We assume that would be mid-afternoon, perhaps around 2 o'clock on Monday. So Senators need to be aware that it will occur before 5 o'clock in all likelihood, and they would need to be here for a vote earlier than that during the day.

The reason for that, obviously, is it is the end of the fiscal year, and we will have other business we will be having to work on. If we get an agreement worked out, of course, then the chance is that the illegal immigration bill would be put into the CR, and it would not be necessary to have a cloture vote or further debate on the bill at that time. We will keep all Senators advised over the next couple hours what is happening with the negotiations, and, of course, we do hope to get up some of these conference reports today.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH). Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 12 noon, with Senators permitted to speak therein not to exceed 5 minutes each. Specifically, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN], has 20 minutes; the Senator from Maine [Mr. COHEN], has 45 minutes; the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO], has 10 minutes; the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], has 30 minutes; the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], has 20 minutes.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The Senator from Georgia is recognized for up to 30 minutes.

SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I suspect that all Senators, when we first come to this great institution we call the U.S. Senate, look around this Chamber for role models and mentors to help us become effective and productive Senators. I was privileged, after graduating law school at Emory University 1962, to come to Washington and work for Congressman Paul Vinson for nearly a year. I was privileged to follow in

the footsteps of Senator Richard Russell. These were certainly two great Georgians who set an example of public service that I have sought to emulate. I was honored to have served with many Senators I have learned from, including Senator John Stennis and Senator Scoop Jackson, two legendary Senators who served in the Richard Russell tradition.

I have also learned very much from a unique Senator, the Senator from West Virginia by the name of ROBERT BYRD. Before I leave the Senate which I love, I want to take a few moments to thank my colleague and my good friend, Senator ROBERT BYRD, for the encouragement and assistance he has given me during my entire career here in the Senate and for the example he has set for all of us who served here and who have observed his leadership and his personality.

It has been said that great men are like eagles. They do not flock together. You find them one at a time, soaring alone, using their skill and their strengths to reach new heights and to seek new horizons. Such a man and such an eagle is ROBERT BYRD.

Twenty-four years after I first came to the Senate, Senator BYRD continues to be a role model for me. His tremendous understanding and deep reverence for the role of the Senate in our democracy; his total commitment to serving the people of his beloved State of West Virginia and the people of this country; his life-long commitment to learning; his sense of honor and integrity; his commitment to high moral standards; and his tremendous work ethic represent the highest ideals of public service.

ROLE OF THE SENATE

The "Almanac of American Politics" has what I think is a very appropriate description of Senator BYRD. "Robert Byrd, senior senator from West Virginia," says the Almanac, "may come closer to the kind of senator the Founding Fathers had in mind than any other." Mr. President, the ideals of the Founding Fathers and the role they envisioned for the Senate have always shaped Senator BYRD's performance of his duties.

ROBERT BYRD reveres the Senate of the United States, not just because he serves in it, but because of his respect for its role in the history of our Nation and the world. Over the years, Senator BYRD has devoted an enormous amount of time and effort to the study of the Senate's role in our history and its duties under the Constitution. His four volumes of speeches on the history of the Senate mark Senator BYRD as the most knowledgeable person on the history of this body to ever serve in the Senate, and he is the leading expert on this subject in the country today.

By the power of his intellect and the depth of his understanding of the Senate's history and rules, Senator BYRD is not just the Senate's institutional memory. He is also the custodian of the Senate ideals and values that go

back to the Founding Fathers and even to ancient Rome—as he reminded us in his extraordinary series of speeches on the Senate of the Roman Republic in 1993. I have heard Senator BYRD recall the words of Majorianus, a Roman Senator, who said that when he was crowned emperor in 457 A.D. that he still gloried in the name of Senator. "That," Senator BYRD is fond of saying, "is my bottom line."

Like the authors of our Constitution, Senator BYRD views the legislative branch as closest to the people and the primary safeguard of their rights and liberties. In his speeches on the history of the U.S. Senate, Senator BYRD points out that the Senate is unique not only because its rules allow unlimited debate, and that, of course, attracts a lot of attention from time to time. Unlike some legislative bodies in the world, the Senate can originate legislation. In addition, Senator BYRD reminds us:

The Senate not only has the power to legislate. It also has the power to investigate, to approve the ratification of treaties, to confirm nominations, and to try impeached persons. Thus, it has judicial, legislative, executive and investigative powers. This combination of powers makes the Senate unique.

Senator BYRD's knowledge of the rules and procedures of the Senate has become legendary. Senator BYRD recalled that in 1967, when he was elected Secretary of the Senate Democratic Conference, "I began to study the book of precedents and the book of rules, and soon came to know something about floor work. As a result, I became proficient in the use of the rules." Mr. President, saying that ROBERT BYRD is proficient in the use of the rules is like saying Rembrandt knew something about painting. I suspect there have been few Members of the Senate in the last 200 years who approached Senator BYRD's knowledge of the rules and precedents of the Senate.

As a result of his exhaustive study of Senate procedure, Senator BYRD has had a major impact in shaping the rules and precedents under which the Senate operates today. Some of these precedents bear his name. The Byrd rule has become a household term for anyone who follows the progress of reconciliation bills in the Congress. That rule, of course, precludes consideration of provisions in reconciliation bills that are not related to the deficit reduction goals of the reconciliation process.

In his farewell address earlier this year, the majority leader, another remarkable legislator, Senator Dole, paid an unusual tribute to Senator BYRD when he said, "I have learned from a lot of people in this room. I have even gone to Senator BYRD when I was the majority leader to ask his advice on how to defeat him on an issue. If you know ROBERT BYRD as I do, he gave me the answer." That is high praise indeed from a man with Senator Dole's great skills as a legislator in this body, who was in the opposing party—actually

going to Senator BYRD and asking him, "What rule can I use to defeat you on this motion?" That is about as high a compliment as an individual can be paid in this body.

In his devotion to the U.S. Senate, Senator BYRD has always shown a personal concern for the people who serve in this institution—not just Senators but all those who are part of the Senate family. Despite his responsibilities in the Senate leadership or his duties as chairman or ranking Democratic member on the Appropriations Committee, he has never been too busy to ease the burdens, remember a birthday, or share in the joys and sorrows of a colleague or staff member with a note or a bit of poetry. I have never forgotten a dinner given in my honor by my friends in Dublin, GA, in February 1975. Senator BYRD came to Georgia for that dinner. He gave a speech and brought down the house when he played "Going Up Cripple Creek" on his fiddle, all for a junior member of his party who had only been in the Senate for 2 years. My friends from Georgia, needless to say, were very impressed.

Over the years I have received tremendous support from Senator BYRD as a member and then chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Senator BYRD has always been a strong supporter of national defense and of our men and women in uniform. I am proud of the fact that the Armed Services Committee has passed a Defense authorization bill every year since I have served in the Senate. During my chairmanship, Senator BYRD's leadership as majority leader and his parliamentary skills were absolutely essential to completing Senate action on this national security legislation.

I have also had the pleasure of participating in delegations to foreign countries headed by Senator BYRD. I remember two trips in particular. One was a trip to the People's Republic of China early in my Senate career in 1975, back when Chairman Mao and Chou En-Lai, President Chou En-Lai were still alive. We did not visit with them because they were very ill, but it was a crucial time, not only in Chinese history but in United States-Chinese relationship. The other was a trip to the Soviet Union in 1985 to meet with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Senator BYRD led the bipartisan Senate delegation on both of these trips. He was a very effective spokesman for U.S. interests, and he always managed to leave our foreign hosts with an understanding of the role of the Senate in U.S. foreign policy.

Mr. President, from the day I came to the U.S. Senate in 1973, whether the issue was foreign policy, national security policy or Senate floor procedure, Senator BYRD has been my teacher and my colleague; in many cases, my legislative partner. And, most of all, my friend.

SERVING THE PEOPLE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Senator BYRD's reverence for the U.S. Senate is matched only by his

commitment to serving the people he represents in West Virginia.

Senator BYRD was first elected by his fellow citizens of West Virginia 50 years ago to represent them in the State legislature. He has retained that trust and won every public office he has sought since then. Few people are ever accorded the honor and responsibility of being elected to represent their fellow citizens—a very high compliment. ROBERT BYRD has sought that honor and that responsibility 13 times and 13 times he has succeeded, starting with his election to the first of two terms in the West Virginia House, a term in the State Senate, three terms in the House of Representatives and seven terms in the U.S. Senate.

This makes 50 years—5 decades—of public service to the people of West Virginia by this remarkable man.

Senator BYRD has served in the Senate longer than any of the 29 other United States Senators who had been elected from West Virginia. Next year, he will become the fourth longest serving Senator in the history of our Nation. He is also only the third Senator to be elected to seven 6-year terms. Think of it, seven times he has been elected to 6-year terms, along with Senator Carl Hayden and another remarkable Senator, the President pro tempore, our colleague, Senator STROM THURMOND from South Carolina. This week, Senator BYRD cast his 14,577th rollcall vote—14,577 rollcall votes—more than any other Senator who has ever served in this body.

In his seven elections to the U.S. Senate, Senator BYRD has won with an average of 72 percent of the popular vote—72 percent. Twice he has carried every single county in his State, the only person in the history of West Virginia to do so.

For all the time he has spent in the Nation's Capital, Mr. President, ROBERT BYRD has never forgotten where he came from or why the people of West Virginia sent him here. His childhood during the Depression taught him about the plight of people who had a hard time in life, including the people who worked in the coal mines. His father moved the family from town to town looking for work, but despite these constant moves, ROBERT BYRD graduated first in his high school. He married his high school sweetheart, Erma James, after he graduated from high school and found a job—ROBERT BYRD, the son of a coal miner, marrying a coal miner's daughter. At a time when America is suffering from the breakdown of the family which causes so many more of our other problems, the 59-year marriage of ROBERT BYRD and Erma James Byrd and their dedication to their family should serve as an example to each and every one of us, not only in this body but in America.

Senator BYRD had to save for 12 years before he could afford to attend college, even part time, but he made great use of his time. Working as a gas sta-

tion attendant, a produce boy in a coal company store, a shipyard welder, and meat cutter, he learned about the lives and the hardships of ordinary people, and he learned about the hopes and the dreams of the citizens of West Virginia.

ROBERT BYRD's legislative priorities have been shaped by the needs of his State—investment in highways and other infrastructure projects to stimulate economic development badly needed in West Virginia; adequate and affordable health care, particularly for the coal miners of his State; and education to improve the lives of young people, not only in West Virginia but across the Nation.

Senator BYRD's diligence and approach to every challenge he undertakes is summed up in the passage from Ecclesiastes he is fond of quoting:

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.

Mr. President, everything ROBERT BYRD does he does with all of his might. He brings an intensity to his work that few of us could match and none of us could sustain. Watching ROBERT BYRD serve as majority leader and as leader of the Appropriations Committee, it is clear to everyone that when the going gets tough, ROBERT BYRD doubles his efforts and just works harder.

So, Mr. President, from humble beginnings, Senator BYRD has made himself into something truly extraordinary in the history of our Nation. He was not born with wealth or connections. He certainly wasn't born with any power. He has made himself what he is today by working harder and studying harder than anyone else, and in doing so, he has become a wonderful example for the young people of this Nation of what can be achieved through the old-fashioned values of integrity, hard work, faith and perseverance.

LIFE-LONG COMMITMENT TO LEARNING

Mr. President, from the experience of his past, Senator BYRD has become a strong proponent of investing in our future, our people and our infrastructure in this country. Children are our most important resource, and he knows that there is nothing more important to the future of our children than education. But the Senator from West Virginia is living proof that education is not just for young people preparing for a career. He has given all of us an example that education is a lifetime experience. ROBERT BYRD has never stopped learning. He has never stopped trying to improve himself. He has never been satisfied that he knows everything he needs to know, and he never will be. That is the nature of this remarkable man.

Like the senior Senator from New York, Senator MOYNIHAN, the Senator from West Virginia is both a student and a teacher who constantly absorbs information, he soaks it in, and who shares his knowledge and his wisdom with his colleagues to the benefit of this entire institution and the Congress. Senator BYRD started his Senate career as a student, absorbing the lessons of history, its traditions and its

rules, from men like Richard Russell and John Stennis. Over the years, the student ROBERT BYRD has become the teacher ROBERT BYRD, but also remains the student ROBERT BYRD—a remarkable combination.

He has devoted his time and energy to formal education, earning a law degree while serving as a Member of Congress. Imagine that, all the duties of a Congressman and also getting a law degree, the only time in history that anyone has both begun and completed law school while serving in the Congress.

But just as important, the Senator from West Virginia also studies for his own enjoyment because he loves to learn, he loves to study and he loves to go through self-improvement, and he does it every day. ROBERT BYRD's devotion to learning is reflected in his work. When Senator BYRD offers an amendment, manages a bill, or speaks on an issue, he knows what he is talking about, and all of us recognize that on both sides of the aisle.

As chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Senator BYRD's advice and counsel led to the system of discretionary spending caps we have been using for the last 6 years. These spending caps and the reductions in Federal discretionary spending they have enforced have made the most significant contribution to deficit reduction of any policy we have adopted in the last decade.

If we in the Congress took the same kind of step on entitlement programs that we have done under Senator BYRD's leadership on discretionary programs, the fiscal outlook for our country and the future of our children and grandchildren would dramatically improve.

Too often today, when important matters are being considered, the media and some politicians look to opinion polls first for guidance. The Senator from West Virginia is not one of those individuals. The Senator from West Virginia is much more likely to follow the advice of Winston Churchill who said: "Study history, study history. In history lies all the secrets of statecraft."

Mr. President, Senator BYRD's knowledge of history and the relevance of history to the issues we face today—it is not just knowledge of history, it is the parallel between what we should learn from history and the kind of challenges we face today—and his deep appreciation of the connection all Senators should feel to those who have gone before us are the hallmarks of his service and, indeed, I think the unique contribution he has made to this institution.

When Senator BYRD speaks on issues like the line-item veto, for instance—and I agree with him that in the future the Senate will regret turning over this power to the executive branch. It has been done. We will see how it works, but I am one of those in the ROBERT BYRD school on the line-item veto. I do not think it will be used to bring down

the deficit. I think it will be used by the President for whatever power he would like to display on whatever his priorities are at the moment, depending on the President.

But when he speaks on issues like the line-item veto, ROBERT BYRD speaks with the knowledge born of long hours of study of the development of constitutional Government and of separated and shared powers in the history of England and ancient Rome as well as our own country.

Historian ROBERT BYRD knows how long it took for the legislative branch to attain the power of the purse. He knows what it means to have the power of the purse. He knows what it means for the President to have the power of the purse, because that has been done more frequently in history than having the legislative body with that power. He also is keenly aware of what it means to lose the power of the purse.

ROBERT BYRD understands and articulates better than any Member of this body the crucial role that an independent legislature plays in a democracy. You do not have a democracy without a legislative branch. The Senator from West Virginia knows that we cannot have democracy without an independent legislative branch.

Mr. President, I could speak about the leadership and virtues of ROBERT BYRD for a long time. But let me wrap up my remarks by quoting the senior Senator from West Virginia in his history of the Senate, a magnificent quote in my view, summing up his view, and I hope increasingly all of our views, of the role of this great body.

After two hundred years, [the Senate] is still the anchor of the Republic, the morning and evening star in the American constitutional constellation. It has had its giants and its little men, its Websters and its Bilbos, its Calhouns and its McCarthys. It has been the stage of high drama, of comedy and of tragedy, and its players have been the great and the near-great, those who think they are great, and those who will never be great. It has weathered the storms of adversity, withstood the barbs of cynics and the attacks of critics, and provided stability and strength to the nation during periods of civil strife and uncertainty, panics and depressions. In war and peace, it has been the sure refuge and protector of the rights of the states and of a political minority. And, today, the Senate still stands—the great forum of constitutional American liberty!

Mr. President, the U.S. Senate still stands as a great forum of constitutional liberty, in large part because of the vision of our Founding Fathers and the genius and durability of our constitutional system of Government. The men and women who serve in the Senate have a solemn obligation to understand this history and to protect the combination of powers that make the Senate unique under the Constitution.

Senator BYRD further reminds us of this solemn obligation in his addresses on the history of Roman constitutionalism when he said:

For over two hundred years, from the beginning of the republic to this very hour, [the American constitutional system] has

survived in unbroken continuity. We received it from our fathers. Let us surely pass it on to our sons and daughters

Mr. President, it is my hope and prayer that our successors will study the words, study the life and emulate the deeds of ROBERT BYRD, U.S. Senator from West Virginia, as he has studied the words and emulated the deeds of our forefathers. If they do, the Senate of the United States will stand as a beacon of liberty, and the lamp of America's freedom will shine for the next 200 years. That will be the ultimate tribute to the service in the U.S. Senate of a remarkable individual—ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank the Chair.

Mr. FEINGOLD addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GREGG). THE SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN. Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, let me first say it is an honor to simply have heard the tribute by the Senator from Georgia directed at the Senator from West Virginia. It is an honor to simply serve with these two men. I was delighted to hear the tribute. I thank the Senator. We will all miss him very, very much in this body.

TAX CUTS

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, we are nearing the end of the 104th Congress, a time when many will review the accomplishments and the failures of the last 2 years.

Though the dramatic budget disputes have dominated much of the brief history of the 104th Congress, there have in fact been a number of bipartisan successes that have not been as publicly noted. These bipartisan efforts have included congressional compliance, unfunded mandates legislation, lobby and gift reform, modest, but helpful, health insurance reform, and the promising beginnings of campaign finance reform.

But, Mr. President, perhaps the biggest achievement of this Congress has been something that was not done. This Congress did not enact any of the massive, fiscally irresponsible tax-cut proposals that Members of both parties have proposed.

Mr. President, a recent headline in the Washington Post read, "Dole's Tax Cut Centerpiece Has Yet To Strike a Chord With Voters." It is a telling story about the inability of the Dole campaign to gain significant political benefit from his proposal to cut taxes by nearly half a trillion dollars.

To a certain extent, I think the same kind of story could be written, in fairness, about President Clinton's tax-cut proposals. The bulk of the success that the President has enjoyed—I believe will continue to enjoy—clearly comes not from his tax-cut plans, but from his handling of the economy and his record on deficit reduction.

So, Mr. President, I think neither candidate has benefited in any significant way from proposing tax cuts. The reason is straightforward. Voters understand we simply cannot afford to