

Dirksen in what became known as the Ev and Jerry show. Neither one of us was bashful about criticizing the shortcomings of the Great Society. Yet our differences with the Johnson White House, however sharp they might seem at the time, were programmatic, not personal. We might question the other side's ideas, but rarely its motives and never its patriotism.

Indeed, Everett Dirksen had a great line. "I live by my principles," he liked to say, "and one of my principles is flexibility." Perhaps to some who are disillusioned by politicians whose only principle seems to be flexibility, Dirksen's folk wisdom may appear a cynical contradiction in terms. I didn't see it that way. As far as I'm concerned, there are no enemies in politics—just adversaries who disagree with you on this vote, and might be might you on the next one.

Moreover, I've always thought that you had to listen before you could lead. It's pretty hard to listen to each other if you're busy screaming at each other. It's even harder to hear the voice of those who sent you to Washington in the first place.

If partisan political parties are out of favor with most Americans, perhaps it's because they appear to have forgotten that ours is a representative democracy. To many voters—and even more non-voters—parties today are suspected of being decidedly unrepresentative. At worst, they appear as little more than conduits for huge amounts of special interest money.

But fundraising abuses are by no means the only cancer eating away at our democracy. Today we look with horror upon the smoke filled rooms of legend. Over the years, I've sat in more than my share of smoked filled rooms. So has Mel. I think it is fair to say, we've even inhaled from time to time.

I ask you: who is more accountable to the voters—those in the smoke filled room whose jobs depended on keeping their word—and who gave us Lincoln, both Roosevelts, Truman and Eisenhower—or the professional hired guns of today whose services are for sale, whose convictions are located in focus groups, and whose loyalty may not outlast election day?

Based on personal experience, our parties will never regain public confidence until they look beyond the consultants and the tracking polls. As President, facing a stiff challenge from the right wing of my own party in 1976, I was urged to abandon our efforts to promote black majority rule in what was then Rhodesia. Did Henry Kissinger really have to choose at the height of the Republican primary season to fly to Africa and denounce the vestiges of colonial rule?

The pre-primary Texas polls gave one answer, and individual conscience a very different one. Kissinger went, I lost a few primaries, and Rhodesia was set on the course of self-rule as the independent nation of Zimbabwe.

There are dangers that arise when any leader starts to calculate his chances at the expense of his conscience. In the high stakes game of history, only those who are willing to lose for principle deserve to win at the polls. Only those whose principles do not blind them to the search for common ground, can hope to rally a political system that was intentionally designed by the Founders to frustrate utopian reformers.

This much I know for sure: at the end of the day, no leader worth his salt will take comfort in the polls he conducted or the tactical victories he may have racked up. Anyone can take a poll. Only a leader can move a nation.

All his life, Mel Laird has given that kind of leadership—to Wisconsin, to America, to the world. As a result, no historian tracing

the evolution of this country during the second half of the twentieth century will be able to overlook the life and legacy of the man from Marshfield. He remains today what he has always been—a model public servant, a can-do conservative who went into politics because he liked people even more than he distrusted bureaucrats. A man who reflects honor upon Washington and the people who sent him there. A patriot before he is a partisan.

Thank you, old friend, for all you have done for the Fords—for all you have been to Wisconsin—for all you have given to America. We are all better for having known you.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Ms. SNOWE:

S. 1731. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel FALLS POINT; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. GORTON:

S. 1732. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel VESTERHAVEN; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. REID:

S. Res. 193. A resolution designating December 13, 1998, as "National Children's Memorial Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COVERDELLE:

S. Con. Res. 81. A concurrent resolution honoring the Berlin Airlift; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. GORTON:

S. 1732. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel *Vesterhavet*; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

JONES ACT WAIVER FOR THE VESTERHAVET

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce a bill to grant a waiver to the Jones Act to a vessel named the *Vesterhavet* owned by Brett Snow. I ask unanimous consent that the full text of this bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

S. 1732

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That notwithstanding sections 12106 and 12108 of title 46, United

States Code, section 8 of the Passenger Vessel Act (46 U.S.C. App. 289), and section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920 (46 U.S.C. App. 883), the Secretary of Transportation may issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel VESTERHAVET, (United States Official Number 979206).

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 414

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the name of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 414, a bill to amend the Shipping Act of 1984 to encourage competition in international shipping and growth of United States imports and exports, and for other purposes.

S. 656

At the request of Mr. WARNER, the name of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI] was added as a cosponsor of S. 656, a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to exclude from the definition of employee firefighters and rescue squad workers who perform volunteer services and to prevent employers from requiring employees who are firefighters or rescue squad workers to perform volunteer services, and to allow an employer not to pay overtime compensation to a firefighter or rescue squad worker who performs volunteer services for the employer, and for other purposes.

S. 766

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the name of the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 766, a bill to require equitable coverage of prescription contraceptive drugs and devices, and contraceptive services under health plans.

S. 778

At the request of Mr. LUGAR, the names of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. GRAMS] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. DEWINE] were added as cosponsors of S. 778, a bill to authorize a new trade and investment policy for sub-Saharan Africa.

S. 1069

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the names of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN] were added as cosponsors of S. 1069, a bill entitled the "National Discovery Trails Act of 1997."

S. 1325

At the request of Mr. FRIST, the name of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1325, a bill to authorize appropriations for the Technology Administration of the Department of Commerce for fiscal years 1998 and 1999, and for other purposes.

S. 1422

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the name of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SESSIONS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1422, a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to promote

competition in the market for delivery of multichannel video programming and for other purposes.

S. 1530

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. SMITH] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS] were added as cosponsors of S. 1530, a bill to resolve ongoing tobacco litigation, to reform the civil justice system responsible for adjudicating tort claims against companies that manufacture tobacco products, and establish a national tobacco policy for the United States that will decrease youth tobacco use and reduce the marketing of tobacco products to young Americans.

S. 1618

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the names of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUE] were added as cosponsors of S. 1618, a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to improve the protection of consumers against "slamming" by telecommunications carriers, and for other purposes.

S. 1677

At the request of Mr. CHAFEE, the names of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] and the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI] were added as cosponsors of S. 1677, a bill to reauthorize the North American Wetlands Conservation Act and the Partnerships for Wildlife Act.

S. 1684

At the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON, the name of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SESSIONS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1684, a bill to allow the recovery of attorneys' fees and costs by certain employers and labor organizations who are prevailing parties in proceedings brought against them by the National Labor Relations Board.

S. 1711

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1711, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to eliminate the marriage penalty tax, to increase the income levels for the 15 and 28 percent tax brackets, to provide a 1-year holding period for long-term capital gains, to index capital assets for inflation, to reduce the highest estate tax rate to 28 percent, and for other purposes.

S. 1724

At the request of Mr. DEWINE, the name of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1724, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to repeal the information reporting requirement relating to the Hope Scholarship and Lifetime Learning Credits imposed on educational institutions and certain other trades and businesses.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 65

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the names of the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] and the Senator from

Ohio [Mr. GLENN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Concurrent Resolution 65, a concurrent resolution calling for a United States effort to end restriction on the freedoms and human rights of the enclaved people in the occupied area of Cyprus.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 71

At the request of Mr. NICKLES, his name was withdrawn as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 71, a concurrent resolution condemning Iraq's threat to international peace and security.

SENATE RESOLUTION 155

At the request of Mr. LOTT, the names of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN] and the Senator from Texas [Mrs. HUTCHISON] were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 155, a resolution designating April 6 of each year as "National Tartan Day" to recognize the outstanding achievements and contributions made by Scottish Americans to the United States.

SENATE RESOLUTION 189

At the request of Mr. TORRICELLI, the names of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. AKAKA], the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO], the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN], the Senator from Illinois [Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN], and the Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 189, a resolution honoring the 150th anniversary of the United States Women's Rights Movement that was initiated by the 1848 Women's Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, and calling for a national celebration of women's rights in 1998.

AMENDMENT NO. 1724

At the request of Mr. DEWINE the name of the Senator from Montana [Mr. BAUCUS] was added as a cosponsor of Amendment No. 1724 proposed to S. 1173, a bill to authorize funds for construction of highways, for highway safety programs, and for mass transit programs, and for other purposes.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 81—HONORING THE BERLIN AIRLIFT

Mr. COVERDELL submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 81

Whereas the date of June 26, 1998, marks the 50th anniversary of the commencement of the Allied effort to supply the people of Berlin, Germany, with food, fuel, and supplies in the face of the illegal Soviet blockade that divided the city;

Whereas this 15 month Allied effort became known throughout the free world as the "Berlin Airlift" and ultimately cost the lives of 78 Allied airmen, of whom 31 were United States fliers;

Whereas this heroic humanitarian undertaking was universally regarded as an unambiguous statement of Western resolve to thwart further Soviet expansion;

Whereas the Berlin Airlift was an unqualified success, both as an instrument of diplo-

macy and as a life saving rescue of the 1,000,000 inhabitants of West Berlin, with 2,326,205 tons of supplies delivered by 277,728 flights over a 462-day period;

Whereas historians and citizens the world over view the success of this courageous action as pivotal to the ultimate defeat of international tyranny, symbolized today by the fall of the Berlin Wall; and

Whereas this inspiring act of resolve must be preserved in the memory of future generations in a positive and dramatic manner: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the 50th anniversary of the Berlin Airlift should include the presentation of a suitable gift of representational art from the citizens of the United States to the citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany, commemorating the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of the great city of Berlin; and

(2) civic and corporate leaders across the Nation are entrusted to fulfill the intent of paragraph (1) by using private subscription and volunteer effort with the encouragement and support of Congress.

SENATE RESOLUTION 193—DESIGNATING "NATIONAL CHILDREN'S MEMORIAL DAY"

Mr. REID submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 193

Whereas approximately 79,000 infants, children, teenagers, and young adults die each year in the United States;

Whereas the death of a child is one of the greatest tragedies suffered by a family; and

Whereas support and understanding are critical to the healing process of a bereaved family: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) designates December 13, 1998, as "National Children's Memorial Day"; and

(2) requests that the President issue a proclamation designating December 13, 1998, as "National Children's Memorial Day" and calls on the people of the United States to observe the day with appropriate ceremonies and activities in remembrance of infants, children, teenagers, and young adults who have died.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, today I am submitting a resolution that would set aside December 13, 1998 as the National Children's Memorial Day to remember all the children who die in the United States each year. While I realize the families of these children deal with the grief of their loss every day, I would like to commemorate the lives of these children with a special day as well.

I have had many constituents share their heart wrenching stories with me about the death of their son or daughter. I have heard heroic stories of kids battling cancer or diabetes, and tragic stories of car accidents and drownings. Each of these families has had their own experience, but they must all continue with their lives and deal with the incredible pain of losing a child.

The death of a child at any age is a shattering experience for a family. By establishing a day to remember children that have passed away, bereaved families from all over the country will be encouraged and supported in the