

understand that we can move in that direction—carefully, slowly—adding some diversity to our energy supply, we can also do a better job in cleaning up our coal and using some of it for electricity.

We can, indeed, open up our public lands to exploration instead of hiding them, as if drilling a well that produces huge amounts of natural gas for Americans—and for whatever we need to grow and prosper—as if that is something terrible rather than something very good. It is something where we ought to hold our heads up and say: We own it. It is American. If we produce it, it is ours. We do not have to be dependent.

And, yes, there is no question that we ought to look at the refining capacity of America. We have not built a new refinery in 16 years, I say to the occupant of the chair.

What is that all about? It is because we have put environmental rules ahead of America's energy needs. We refuse to look at real cost benefits and reasonable mainstream protection rather than extraordinary protection that in many instances is meaningless but costly and many times stops the production of things such as refineries, pipelines, and the like.

I have much more that I will talk about from time to time on the floor of the Senate, but I come today to say, I hope we do not have to turn off our Christmas trees in New Mexico during this Christmas season, nor in the Senator's State of Colorado. I hope we can turn them back on in California.

Frankly, the only reason they cannot—and the only reason California suffers—is because nobody will make tough decisions. We are sitting back suggesting that things are really going well; that we will fix the American energy supply with windmills. I can deliver a specific talk on why that will not work for all our energy, but we ought to continue it. But it will never give us the kind of energy supply we need as we look to the future.

Do you know that the underdeveloped countries of the world, which intend to grow—and we say to them: Grow, prosper—by 2020 will use as much energy as the United States of America? Where are they going to get it? What are they going to use? What are we going to suggest they do?

Are we going to sit back and say America can grow but they can't? Are we going to say they can use some new kind of energy source but we won't?

So our leadership in the world, moving towards democratization and growth and prosperity for the poorest of nations, will come to a grinding halt if, in fact, we cannot have energy supply in the world.

Why should we have an agreement to preserve ambient air qualities and in that report not mention nuclear power? Why should leaders do that? I have had experts, physicists, who know what they are talking about, saying that alone is enough to put that docu-

ment over here on a table and declare that it is not real.

If you want clean air in the future, you cannot say we will do it by using only natural gas, that we will not build any more coal burning powerplants, even though we could develop the technology to do that, that we will not consider nuclear power, even though we have a nuclear Navy that since 1954 has gone all through the waters of the seas and oceans of the world with it, with one or two powerplants right inside the hull of the boat, with never an accident. Never has anything happened, and we are so frightened we will not even talk about it.

I think we will talk about it. I think we will talk about opening up American public domain for production. I think we will have a real debate about ANWR, rather than an emotional debate, a real one about what we ought to do to relate our energy needs to that area of the world, not just putting our hands up and saying it cannot be touched, that you can do nothing.

So there is much to be talked about and much leadership needed. But the point is, energy problems in America, without major changes, will get more pronounced. We will have more crises; the prices will go higher, not lower across the board in America for gasoline and natural gas.

I am hopeful the new President will put somebody in the Department of Energy who will help America address this issue with its eyes open, ready to make some really tough decisions.

But the biggest thing I seek is to set the record straight. When that occurs, as the energy crisis creeps across America, I hope we will remember that the seeds have been sown before the swearing in of this President. They are there; the lack of doing the right thing in America is already in place.

This President and his Cabinet and his Secretary and his Environmental Protection Agency head are going to have to help solve a crisis they did not create. We ought to know that, and we ought to set the record straight that that is the case.

I want to close by saying there is plenty of blame to go around. But we will not solve this problem without some leadership that is willing to tell us the truth and suggest that there is really no need for the State of California to be running out of electricity. It is because we have been short-sighted, misled—and they have been in their State because there is the potential for plenty of energy to go around out there. We just have to decide that America needs energy for its future, and that we cannot grow more dependent, that we ought to grow less dependent.

So rather than proceed with details about each of the sources of energy which I had chosen to talk about today, I will do that on another day. Suffice it to say, we will not continue to grow—the Federal Reserve Board notwithstanding—if we cannot solve

the problem of how much energy we need and make sure we have it.

Some people thought that because of Silicon Valley, because it is so clean and because it is built around new technology and computerization, we would not need new energy sources. But it turns out that if you want that kind of growth and that kind of productivity increase, and if you want the future of our country to be built upon the technology that evolved with the Silicon Valley in California and other mini "silicon valleys," you need a lot of energy to create the new productivity that that brings to America.

I want to also add that new technology, led by computerization, is part of the reason we have had the sustained growth; they added a dimension of productivity we did not even measure for many years. They added growth to technology by way of productivity increases: The more computers you had, the more you got out of your personnel per unit of work. You got more because of high technology. That has added immensely to our productivity and has permitted us to grow without inflation. That is peaking out.

Surely, if we do not add more energy to the mix of the base, we will have to start trading off one source of growth in America for another. I do not believe that is going to work, and somebody will be blamed, especially since it does not have to happen.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended until 12:30.

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

SERVING IN THE SENATE

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise today on what is a somewhat bitter-sweet occasion to reflect on my time in the Senate, and to look ahead to the future.

Next to being a husband, a father, and a grandfather, these past 6 years have provided without a doubt the most exciting and also the most inspiring moments in my life. To serve as a Member of the greatest deliberative body in the world—entrusted with fulfilling the hopes and wishes of the people across the United States as well as the people of Minnesota—has been humbling beyond words. When your view out the front window is of the U.S. Capitol, and when your daily travels take you down the same halls once walked by John Quincy Adams, Abraham Lincoln, and Daniel Webster, and you spend your hours working for people who ask nothing more of you than to make government work a little bit better, well, going to the office to work each day is a real pleasure.

I am going to miss the Senate, not at all because of the prestige it is said to represent, but because this relatively small group of people is instilled with the power to accomplish so much good. And every day in this Chamber, my colleagues plow their passions into doing that. Yes, we routinely disagree. We have our partisan battles. And as men and women with strong ideas about what is right for America, we can be as stubborn as any creature God ever put onto this Earth. But there is never any doubt that as Senators, my colleagues act out of a deeply held belief that they are doing the right thing for the people who sent them here.

I have had the opportunity to serve with many remarkable individuals. They have taught me a great deal, not just about being a Senator, although there was certainly a major part of that, but they also helped me to recognize that compromise does not have to mean compromising one's beliefs, that a small victory is often better than no victory at all, that "obstacle" is just another word for opportunity, and that sometimes the best way to get past a mountain is to go around it, and not necessarily tunnel right through it.

The majority leader, TRENT LOTT, has been a good friend, and I have appreciated his counsel and his willingness to listen to even the most junior members of this chamber. I'll say the same of his predecessor, Senator Bob Dole, who was in so many ways a mentor to this Senator, and I truly admire him as a wonderful and caring leader and man. The assistant majority leader, DON NICKLES, has been a tremendous example to my colleagues and me, and I want to thank him for his guidance and friendship. I consider it my great fortune, and a great honor, to have been able to work closely with so many other good people on both sides of the aisle, such as Democrat Leader TOM DASCHLE and Assistant Democratic Leader HARRY REID. I have learned from you daily; and, from our most senior and respected Members of this body, Senator ROBERT BYRD and Senator STROM THURMOND; my committee chairmen, JESSE HELMS of Foreign Relations, PHIL GRAMM of Banking, PETE DOMENICI of Budget, and FRANK MURKOWSKI of the Energy Committee.

Before I got to the Senate, I never would have guessed that every question would have exactly one hundred different answers. But each of our exchanges forced me to look at old ideas in new ways, and I'm a better person for every challenge you posed. These years with you have been like watching a history book come to life.

I want to recognize my colleagues who are also leaving the Senate at the conclusion of this Congress. The distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee, BILL ROTH, has been one of this Chamber's greatest champions of the taxpayers, and a Senator of whom I have the highest regard. JOHN ASHCROFT and SPENCE ABRAHAM con-

tinually set the highest standard of public service; we came into the Senate together, and I was honored to work closely with them during the past six years. CONNIE MACK, a colleague on the Banking Committee, has served this Senate with great distinction, as has the Senator from Washington, SLADE GORTON. On the other side of the aisle, the Senate is losing one of its most respected voices with the retirement of DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. He represents to me the ideal of the character of a public servant. The same can be said of BOB KERREY. I also wish the very best to RICHARD BRYAN, FRANK LAUTENBERG, and CHUCK ROBB, all of whom earned my admiration.

As to the rest of my colleagues, I won't try to thank you individually here, but I will do so privately, and know that you each have my respect and my gratitude.

Not only have I served with exceptional colleagues, but I was elected to serve here during remarkable times. We've been confronted with moments that tested America's resolve in the world, such as the war in the Balkans and the bombings of our U.S. embassies abroad. Other events, like the Oklahoma City tragedy and the recent uncertainty over the presidential election, have tested us domestically. Despite a strong economy, the challenges posed early on in my term by unending deficits and high taxes threatened families and job creators. These have been hard times in my home state as well, with problems on the farm and a series of natural disasters that challenged our citizens with floods and tornadoes.

We accepted these challenges because the American people expected us to, and at the end of the day, I'm proud to say that we've left things a little better than we found them. Deficits are a thing of the past, taxes are still a crushing blow for families, but a little less so, welfare is no longer a prison sentence, and trade opportunities have opened up around the world for American products.

Is it enough? Of course not, because it's never enough. There's always one more person needing a helping hand, one more bridge to build or road to pave, one more bill to introduce. But I'm confident that we've made the government work a little better for the folks who sent us here, and for the moment, that's enough for this Senator. I leave here with a few more wrinkles and maybe a gray hair or two, but no regrets.

I wish my colleagues the very best as you struggle with the challenges that lie ahead.

With a fifty-fifty split between the parties come January, you'll undoubtedly be tested in ways you haven't imagined. The Senate will adapt, though, as the Senate always has throughout its history, because the people will be counting on you. Senator-elect DAYTON will be in my prayers, and I know the people of Minnesota will stand behind him as they've stood behind me.

On every level, this Senate is a family, and it wouldn't feel right to leave here without expressing my thanks to not just my fellow Senators, but everyone who helps this body go about its daily work. Whether it's the food service workers, pages, officers of the Capitol Police force, elevator operators, parliamentarians, and the others who have become such familiar presences, I've enjoyed getting to know you and I appreciate your professionalism. The dedication to this institution extends far beyond those privileged to stand in the well of the Senate to all of its employees.

In a Senate office, where the ink on the employee roster is barely dry before somebody leaves for a better opportunity and someone else steps in to fill his or her place, I've been blessed to have as loyal and as caring a staff as any Senator could ask for. Going all the way back to my service in the U.S. House, they've stood by me through good times and the most difficult of days. As staffers do, they worked anonymously. They spent long hours at their jobs. They didn't come to work for me expecting to get rich and besides, a paycheck cannot reward that kind of loyalty. So all I can offer them today is my humble thanks and some well-deserved public recognition by inserting their names in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent their names be printed in the RECORD at an appropriate place.

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

(See Exhibit I)

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, in conclusion, I appreciate their service to my office and to the people of Minnesota. I hope they understand that they have all helped to make a difference.

Also, I return to Minnesota a little bit older, hopefully a little bit wiser, and feeling mightily blessed for all the opportunities that have come my way. In conception and execution, the American Government—and the Senate in particular—is an institution that has never been equaled anywhere else in the world. I have been honored to be a part of it.

I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT I

MINNESOTA STAFF

Erik Aamoth, Andrea Andrews, Donna Bauer, Maryann Carl, Jennifer Casanova, Dave Chura, Karyn Diehl, Tim Engstrom, Eric Felton, Josh Gackle, Joe Isaacs.

Pat Johnson, Jessica Knowles, Michelle Koke, Rich Kunst, Dave Ladd, Kim Lichy, Jack Meeks, Mark Neuville, Mike Nikkel, Annie Paruccini, Rob Patterson.

Merna Pease, Tara Pryde, Matt Quinn, Erik Rosedahl, Noah Rouen, Barb Sykora, Jack Tomczak, Randy Wanke, Hayley Wesp, Linda Westrom, Kurt Zellers.

WASHINGTON STAFF

Perry Aanness, Bertt Adams, Mike Amery, Steve Behm, Jeff Bloemker, Eric Bearse, Dave Berson, Jami Bjorndahl, Brian Bowman, Morgan Brown, Alan Brubaker, Krista Canty, Barbara Cohen, Nicole Converse, Anne Crowther.

Chris Cylke, Joseph Dworak, Jason Einertson, Erik Einertson, Don Erickson, Pat Eveland, Jensine Frost, Chris Gunhus, Lianchao Han, Elizabeth Heir, Peter Hong, Todd Hower, Eric Huebeck, Jay Jackson, Dan Kauppi.

Jason Kelley, Pat Kenny, Anthony King, Adam Knapp, Ray Livengood, Diane Lochner, Careen Martin, Darrell McKigney, Andrea Miles, Brent Moore, Tim Morrison, Gretchen Muehlberg, Vaughn Murphy, Joe Natalicchio, Amy Novak.

Matt O'Donnell, Mark Olson, Merna Pease, Linda Pope, Heidi Rasmussen, Anthony Reed, John Revier, Jill Rode, Erik Rudeen, Gary Russell, Fritz Schick, Mark Sherid, Maggie Smith, Tim Stout, Michael Tavernier.

Braden Tempas, Herb Terry, Pam Thiessen, Joe Trauger, Kiel Weaver, Jeffery Weekly, Linda Westrom, Krista Winter, Tom Yedinak.

INTERNS

Jerry Aanerud, Brandon Adams, Margery Amundson, Kent Anderson, Gulzar Babaeva, Joel Brusewitz, Cheryl Budewitz, Kate Busby, Steve Chappell, Cristi Cota, Amanda Daeges, Brad Davis, Michelle Dhein, Ryan Ellis, Jenny Erickson, Julie Fishman, Charlie Fox, Tom Goetz, Kristen Gross, Kevin Gustafson.

Jennifer Halko, Chris Hansen, Nancy Hartwell, Elicia Heir, Christian Heitzman, Dan Herrboldt, Jon Herzog, Michael Hiltner, Kelly Huebner, Jessica Inda, Andy Irber, Tom Johnson, Jay Johnston, Kari Klassen, Rob Kloek, Mark Knapp, Jason Kohler, Tim Kohls, Joey Kramlinger.

Margo Larson, Brad Lein, Jeff Love, Melissa Maranda, Brian McCarty, Jennifer McWilliams, Stephanie Moore, Ed Moreland, Jon Nelson, Hue Nguyen, Loc Nguyen, Ben Nicka, Jared Nordlund, Olga O'Hanlon, Gabe Perkins, Gretchen Printy, Jessica Qually, Allison Rajala, Stephanie Richard, Oscar Rodriguez.

Miranda Rollins, Julie Schellhase, Patrick Schott, Meghan Shea, Anne Sigler, Valerie Sims, Matt Skaret, Tanetha Smith, Pat Spieker, Andrea Staebler, Tom Starshak, Amy Thorson, Kristian Vieru, Christine Vix, David Webb, Benjamin Wilson, Kristy Wolske, Ryan Wood.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

SENATOR ROD GRAMS

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, our distinguished colleague, Senator GRAMS, will go on to, I hope, an even greater challenge.

What a privilege it has been for me and I think all in this Chamber to have had his service for a few years. I was particularly impressed by Senator GRAMS' willingness to take on assignments which others felt they would rather not have because of the challenge—particularly on the Foreign Relations Committee and those relating to Africa, those relating to the United Nations, and issues which are very vital not only to our Nation but to the whole world.

I wish to commend the Senator. I hope that he will continue to apply his talents and his wisdom and energy to solving those difficult challenges.

I recently visited the U.N. with Ambassador Holbrooke. Time and time again, I was in consultation with him and other ambassadors from other na-

tions in regard to the budget situation. Senator GRAMS was instrumental in the landmark piece of legislation, Helms-Biden.

I hope he will continue to apply his talents.

I wish Senator GRAMS and his family well.

Mr. GRAMS. I thank very much the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator yield?

Mr. GRAMS. I graciously yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I asked the Senator to yield because I want to share in the good wishes that have been expressed by the distinguished senior Senator from Virginia to the Senator who is about to depart from our midst.

Let me say that the Senator has always been nice to me. He is always cheerful and is always ready to reach out a welcoming hand. I appreciate that.

The Senator and I don't serve on any committees together. I am sorry I never had that opportunity or that pleasure.

But I shall miss the Senator. I shall miss his ready smile and his firm hand claps.

I, too, wish him well in the days to come. Our Senate is better for his having served here. My life is better for having known him and having had the opportunity to serve in this great body with him.

I hope he will come back to see us. I hope I shall get to see him again. I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. GRAMS. I thank the very honored and respected man in the Senate, the Senator from West Virginia, for his kind words.

THE LOW INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, one of the most significant bipartisan achievements by Congress and the Clinton Administration is the increase in the Low Income Housing Tax Credit that we should enact this week. However, I am concerned that the Internal Revenue Service is taking a position in audits that may undermine the goal of the credit.

Last month, the IRS issued a series of five technical advice memoranda, TAM, on the credit, in response to questions about an audit of a low-income housing developer earlier this year. The memoranda described what may be included in the basis of a property to calculate the amount of the credit that a state can allocate for a development.

The memoranda were requested and issued because no regulations currently exist to clearly define the eligible basis for determining the credit. In the absence of regulations, this highly technical advice is all that taxpayers have available, but these specific instructions for a single taxpayer should not

necessarily be the final word on the wide variety of developments across the nation. Regulations would be much clearer and would be fully developed by the Treasury Department.

A further issue is that the memoranda are inconsistent with current industry practice. The positions taken in the memoranda could lower the eligible basis by over 15 percent, reducing available credits for a project. I am concerned that such a sharp reduction in the credit would mean that many planned developments for affordable housing will no longer be economically feasible, and will force developers to decide against building affordable units. It is also possible that this reduction in available credits for projects could be applied retroactively—nullifying credits that have already been allocated and destroying confidence in this important program that Congress worked so hard to establish.

Since States are allocated a fixed number of credits based on population, the memoranda do not save the Treasury any revenues. They simply limit the amount of credits available per project, making individual projects less attractive to developers. The result is fewer affordable housing units at a time when housing prices have soared in many communities across the country.

I am also concerned about the lack of opportunity for public comment on this issue. Preparing regulations requires comment, but issuing such memoranda does not. Many constituents—tenants as well as developers—have strong concerns about the credit, and they should have the opportunity to express those concerns adequately. Developers and housing advocates can provide valuable information on the application of these credits, and their views should be taken into consideration.

With the growing regional and national economy, housing prices are increasing faster in Massachusetts than any other state. Many studies have shown that we must increase production in new affordable housing units throughout the state to meet the overwhelming demand for affordable housing. We must do all we can to see that the low income housing tax credit is used effectively to meet this pressing need.

I urge the Treasury Department to begin the process of developing appropriate regulations on this important issue, including opportunities for detailed public comments.

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR RICHARD H. BRYAN

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, when the 106th Congress finally adjourns sine die in the next several days, it will mark the end of the Senate service of one of this body's most thoughtful and respected members, Senator RICHARD BRYAN.

DICK BRYAN came to the Senate having already distinguished himself as a