

# Dale Bumpers

U.S. SENATOR FROM ARKANSAS

TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF  
THE UNITED STATES







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Tributes  
Delivered in Congress

Dale Bumpers  
United States Senator  
1974-1998



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## BIOGRAPHY

First elected to the U.S. Senate in 1974, U.S. Senator DALE BUMPERS is serving his fourth term as a Democratic Senator from Arkansas. He was reelected in 1992 with more than 60 percent of the vote.

Before joining the U.S. Senate, BUMPERS served two terms as Governor of Arkansas, where he reorganized State government and trimmed the number of State agencies from 69 to 13; doubled the number of State Parks; started the State Kindergarten Program and launched an initiative that doubled the number of doctors trained at Arkansas' only medical school.

Before entering politics, BUMPERS lived in his home town of Charleston, where he practiced law; operated a small hardware, furniture, and appliance store; raised cattle; and pursued several other business interests. During those years, BUMPERS was active also in community affairs, serving as city attorney, school board president, and president of the Chamber of Commerce.

After serving in the U.S. Marine Corps for 3 years in the South Pacific during World War II, Senator BUMPERS returned to continue his undergraduate work at the University of Arkansas, and later received his law degree from Northwestern University.

BUMPERS is married to the former Betty Flanagan of Charleston. They are the parents of three children, Brent, Bill, and Brooke, and they have six grandchildren.

A champion of the taxpayer and a foe of government waste, Senator BUMPERS fought for a balanced budget long before it became a publicized national issue. He led the successful battle to cancel the \$12 billion Superconducting Super Collider, and he is continuing his efforts to ground the \$100 billion space station, a boondoggle he contends offers few, if any, scientific benefits. While supporting a strong but not bloated defense, Senator BUMPERS has fought to eliminate Star Wars, a pipe dream that would make the heavens a battlefield and cost citizens hundreds of billions of dollars for an illusion of security; and the F-22, an unneeded fighter plane that sports a price tag of \$180 million each.



From his position as the ranking member of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, BUMPERS also fights policies that attack the common good. Calling it “the biggest ongoing scam in America,” Senator BUMPERS has, for 9 years, sought to stop the giveaway of America’s public lands. Since 1872, mining interests, many of them foreign-owned, have paid as little as \$2.50 an acre for mineral-rich public lands and extracted billions of dollars worth of gold, silver, platinum and palladium while paying not a penny in royalties to American taxpayers. “Mining companies get the gold and the taxpayers get the shaft,” he says of this staggering abuse of public assets.

Also, he has fought for nearly 20 years to bring competition to the operation of concessions in National Parks, which, because of preferential treatment for contracts, rake in about \$700 million a year but offer taxpayers a meager 2.4 percent return on the use of their land.

Senator BUMPERS was one of only three Senators to vote for the 1981 Reagan budget cuts but against the reckless 1981 tax cuts. Had a majority adopted his positions, Federal budget deficits would have been eliminated by 1985.

A student of history with a profound respect for the intelligence, ideals and vision of the country’s founders and a healthy skepticism of passing fads in economic and social theory, Senator BUMPERS is hesitant to change the Constitution, which he calls a “sacred document.”

As a Senator from a rural State and the top ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, DALE BUMPERS has fought to protect family farmers, to expand rural housing and to promote rural development, especially the water and sewer programs that improve the quality of life and help bring jobs to rural areas.

A dedicated environmentalist, Senator BUMPERS believes we must preserve America’s natural heritage and warns that America’s fate may hinge on stopping and preventing threats to our air, land, water and habitats. And he has played a crucial role in protecting the integrity of national historic sites, such as the Manassas Battlefield in Virginia.

Senator BUMPERS and his wife Betty have long been national leaders in protecting the health of children by promoting childhood immunization. Their efforts have helped Amer-

ica reach a record high level of immunizations. Since 1991, Mrs. Bumpers and Rosalyn Carter have been actively involved in “Every Child by Two,” a program dedicated to fully immunize every American child by the age of two.

In January, 1997, Senator BUMPERS became the highest ranking Democrat Member of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and also in 1997 introduced the first comprehensive legislation of the 105th Congress to deregulate the electricity industry, which could save consumers billions of dollars. He also sits on the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee and is a member of the Small Business Committee.

During his tenure in the Senate, BUMPERS has kept in close touch with the people of Arkansas, making more than 100 appearances in the State annually.

Senator BUMPERS has received numerous awards and honors. In April 1996, because of his tireless efforts on behalf of research projects for the University of Arkansas, the University’s Board of Trustees renamed the College of Agriculture the Dale Bumpers College of Agricultural, Food and Life Sciences.

In a poll by The Hill newspaper in 1994, Senate staff members chose him as the second best-liked Democratic Senator, just behind the majority leader. Admired for his unshakable integrity and his willingness to cast the occasional unpopular vote, BUMPERS has been described by the respected political weekly National Journal as a Senator to whom “other Senators pay attention.”

BUMPERS reveres the Senate’s traditions of deliberation and debate and is widely recognized for his gift of public speaking. BUMPERS has been named one of the ten best U.S. Senators in a poll of Washington correspondents, and was chosen as the top Senator orator in a USA Today poll of Senate press secretaries.

Senator BUMPERS received the 1993 Medal of the Society Award from the National Park Foundation for his commitment to scenic and historic preservation. He also was awarded the 1993 Dream Award from the National Association of Home Builders for his support of rural housing and tax credits for first-time home buyers.

More recently, Senator BUMPERS and Mrs. Bumpers received the 1995 Maxwell Finland Award from the National Foundation for Infectious Diseases for their longstanding efforts to improve health care, especially in the realm of childhood immunization. In 1997, he received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the League of Conservation Voters for his work protecting the environment.

TRIBUTES  
TO  
DALE BUMPERS

## Proceedings in the Senate

THURSDAY, *June 18, 1998.*

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I must also observe, before yielding the floor, that my good friend from Arkansas, who is the distinguished ranking Democrat on the subcommittee on agriculture appropriations, is helping manage this bill this year, and it will be his last opportunity to exercise this important responsibility.

He has chosen not to seek reelection in the State of Arkansas for another term in the Senate. And I must say that it pains me to contemplate going through the process of developing and helping to write an agriculture appropriations bill without his intelligent and thoughtful assistance. He has been a good friend to me since I have been in the Senate. We have worked closely together on a number of issues, not only in agriculture, in rural development, but in other areas as well.

I pointed out earlier in my statement that in recognition of his outstanding service for the people of Arkansas in the U.S. Senate, and particularly for his work on agriculture research issues, there is included in this bill a general provision to designate the U.S. National Rice Germplasm Evaluation and Enhancement Center in Stuttgart, AR, the "Dale Bumpers National Rice Research Center."

The distinguished Senator from Arkansas has been a very effective advocate of agriculture research funds for this ARS Research Center. I think he is the father of that center. I believe it is most appropriate to name this facility in his honor.

THURSDAY, *July 16, 1998.*

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I express my sincere appreciation to all Senators for their assistance and cooperation in the consideration of the agriculture appropriations bill. In particular, I thank my distinguished colleague and good friend from Arkansas, who has served for 20 years as

a member of this committee and was helping manage the agricultural appropriations bill for the last time in his Senate career. He has been not only a very good friend but very helpful, thoughtful, intelligent and effective as a Senator in this capacity, helping shape this legislation during the time we have had the opportunity to work together as members of the Appropriations Committee.

I am going to miss him very much. The Senate is going to miss DALE BUMPERS. He is one of the most astute, articulate and effective Senators serving in the Senate today.

I want Senators to know, too, that at my request, this bill includes a general provision to designate the United States National Rice Germplasm Evaluation and Enhancement Center in Stuttgart, AR, the Dale Bumpers National Rice Research Center.

In my judgment, Senator BUMPERS is the father of this center. He has helped guide the development of the research there in this important agriculture sector. I think it is very appropriate and I was pleased that the subcommittee included that in our committee print. It was approved by the full committee and is included in the bill that was passed by the Senate.

WEDNESDAY, *October 7, 1998.*

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my retiring colleague from Arkansas, Senator DALE BUMPERS. Arkansas is a State with a small population, and it is a State where politicians of even opposing political parties and philosophies find their lives and careers intersecting and intertwining.

As a high school student, I followed DALE BUMPERS' meteoric rise from an unknown country lawyer from Charleston, AR, to the Governor of the State and a man who became known in Arkansas politics as the giant killer, defeating such luminaries of Arkansas politics as Win Rockefeller and J.W. Fulbright.

I worked for DALE's opponent in 1980, not because I was enamored by his opponent, but because I was upset with some of DALE's votes. That has always been the way with DALE BUMPERS; you either agreed with him passionately or you disagreed vehemently.

While DALE has always been as smooth as honey, he has never tried to varnish his views or dilute his positions to

make them more palatable to the general public, whether it was the Panama Canal or the space station.

Mr. President, I mentioned that in Arkansas, political lives and careers intersect frequently. In 1986, my brother Asa, then a U.S. attorney and now serving in the U.S. House of Representatives, ran against Senator BUMPERS in his second reelection campaign.

I worked in Asa's campaign, and I encountered and experienced firsthand the high esteem in which the people of Arkansas hold DALE BUMPERS. After Senator BUMPERS won that race resoundingly, delivering a good old country thumping to the Hutchinsons, I returned to my service in the Arkansas legislature and Asa became the State GOP chairman. We continued to follow Senator BUMPERS' career from afar, occasionally bumping into him at events in the State.

In 1990, Asa ran for attorney general of Arkansas. It was a politically tough, mean, even nasty race. It was hard fought and a very close race. I remember 1 day as I was working in Asa's headquarters in Little Rock, DALE BUMPERS walked in off the street unannounced. He came by, he said, to wish us well and to say that he always respected us and thought well of us. I saw a side of DALE BUMPERS that those who know him well see all the time. He knows well that there is life beyond the political arena and that politicians are, first and foremost, human beings.

I saw this again in 1996 when I was running for the U.S. Senate. It was the closing days of a very close race. DALE and my predecessor, Senator David Pryor, were campaigning for my opponent in a fly around of the State. I suppose DALE was returning the favor from a decade before when I was campaigning for his opponent.

In the closing days, my son Timothy was involved in a tragic and terrible automobile accident. Timothy was seriously injured, and I was in the hospital room, not sure whether he was going to make it or not. The phone rang, and it was DALE BUMPERS. He called to assure me of his thoughts and his prayers and to tell me that he and David were suspending campaigning until it was clear that my son was going to be OK.

DALE, we will miss you around this place. I won't miss your votes, but I will miss you. I will miss your stories, and I will miss your humor. I will miss your eloquence, and I will miss your passion. I am grateful that our Senate careers

overlapped for these 2 years. Thanks for your advice and counsel, and best wishes on this next phase of your life.

THURSDAY, *October 8, 1998.*

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I would like to pay a brief tribute to my friend and colleague and neighbor from the State of Arkansas for his 24 years of service in the Senate.

I have had the pleasure of working with Senator DALE BUMPERS since I was elected to the Senate 18 years ago. So I am completing three terms. He is just completing four terms. Twenty-four years in the Senate is a long time. But I think the Senate has been blessed by his humor, his levity. The camaraderie that Senator BUMPERS has brought to the Senate floor and to the Senate group has been enjoyable, educational, and humorous, to say the least.

I have had the pleasure of serving with Senator BUMPERS on the Energy Committee where he has been ranking member for the last several years. We have worked together on a lot of legislation. We passed some good legislation, I might add, as well. So I compliment him for his years of service.

He served 4 years as Governor of Arkansas; I think he was elected in 1970; and elected to the U.S. Senate in 1974. It seems like he has been in the same chair for years. He has been the same Senator who will still get excited on a speech and pull his microphone cord to the limit. Maybe he might test the limit of the cord as much as anybody I know in the Senate—a very good speaker, a very good friend who has served his State very well.

We worked together on several pieces of legislation, including legislation that dealt with the exchange of lands, both for the Forest Service and for protecting lands in both Arkansas and Oklahoma, that would not have happened if it had not been for his good work and leadership. And frankly, he was a pleasure to work with on that bill, and many other pieces of legislation throughout our careers.

So I certainly wish DALE BUMPERS and his wife Betty every best wish in their days ahead. He has made a valuable contribution as a Member of the U.S. Senate and as a Member of our Senate family.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Let me first join my good friend from Oklahoma in his accolades for Senator BUMPERS. I expect that I, as a Republican, probably supported some of Senator



BUMPERS' pieces of legislation more than any other Republican. And I had an opportunity to work with him on many that were not popular with some of the people, especially in the far West. But I point out that I have enjoyed so much working with him, especially on things which most all of us agreed on, as the preservation of Civil War sites and other of our historical aspects which are so important to this Nation.

I am going to be so sorry to see him leave. We had many wonderful times together. And I expect we will have some more out in his great State.

FRIDAY, *October 9, 1998.*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, one of the things that makes the Senate such a unique and enjoyable place to work is the fact that there are 100 unique personalities that make up this institution. While each member takes his or her duties seriously, I hope that I do not offend anyone when I say that not all are gifted orators. One person who definitely can engage in articulate and compelling debate, and is also able to bring a little levity to our proceedings through his wit and ability to tell a story is the Senator from Arkansas, DALE BUMPERS.

First elected to the Senate in 1974, Senator BUMPERS arrived with an already well established and well deserved reputation for having a commitment to serving his constituents and our Nation. He served in the United States Marine Corps during World War II, as well as the Governor of Arkansas, having been elected to that post in 1970. Clearly, his training as the chief executive of his home State, along with experiences as a trial lawyer, gave him the skills that would make him an effective and respected Senator.

For the past more than 20-years, Senator BUMPERS has worked hard to represent his State, and in doing so, has made many valuable contributions to the U.S. Senate. I regret that we have not shared any committee assignments, but I have always respected and valued the opinions of the Senator from Arkansas. His exit from the Senate leaves this institution without one of its most impressive and effective advocates.

I am certain that DALE and his lovely wife Betty will enjoy the more deliberate lifestyle and pace that being out of poli-

tics will afford them and I wish the both of them health, happiness and success in the years ahead.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, the U.S. Senate is about to lose one of the great orators of its long history. I never had the opportunity, of course, to hear Webster or Clay or Calhoun. But, I have heard DALE BUMPERS of Arkansas on the Senate floor and it's hard to imagine anyone could have been a more forceful, eloquent, or effective speaker.

I was reminded recently by a former staff member of one debate in particular. The issue was the proposed real estate development in Northern Virginia at the site of the Second Battle of Manassas. The debate had stretched into a Friday evening and a larger than usual number of Senators were on the floor. The manager had made an effective presentation when DALE BUMPERS, the author of a more restrictive version of the bill rose to speak.

Knowing that many of his colleagues love history, DALE BUMPERS using detailed maps laid out the story of the Second Battle of Manassas more than a hundred years ago. Every Senator on the floor that night listened with rapt attention. As he reached the climax of his performance, DALE BUMPERS said:

"Well, I could go on and on, but I want to just simply say \* \* \* I believe strongly in our heritage, and I think our children ought to know where these battlefields are and what was involved in them. And, I don't want to go out there 10 years from now with my grandson and tell him about the Second Battle of Manassas \* \* \* and he says, "Grandpa, wasn't General Lee in control of this war here—didn't he command the confederate troops.?"

"Yes, he did."

"Well, where was he?"

"He was up there where that shopping mall is."

Senator BUMPERS then said, "I can see a big granite monument inside that mall's hallway right now: 'General Lee Stood On This Spot'. Now if you really cherish our heritage, as I do, and you believe that history is very important for our children, you'll vote for my amendment."

Rarely in the modern Senate do we see issues actually decided in debate on the floor. But, I suspect that that night I watched DALE BUMPERS, with that speech, win the "Third Battle of Manassas".

DALE BUMPERS has served in the Senate for four terms. He has been one of the most consistent voices for elimination of wasteful government spending. We will all miss his lead-

ership in efforts to reform Federal mining law and grazing fees. His battles against the Clinch River Breeder Reactor which he won in 1984, the superconducting super collider which he finally won in 1993 and the space station which he did not win, have become legendary.

DALE BUMPERS and I both take pride in the fact that we were among the few Senators to vote against the Reagan tax cut and unfunded defense buildup of 1981 which together led to the huge deficits of the 1980's.

DALE would have made a great President because he is a person whose clarity of expression is matched by the courage of his vision and his commitment to America's working families.

Mr. President, when the 106th Congress convenes next year, the Senate will seem an emptier body in the absence of one of its most memorable leaders and all of us in the Senate family with miss DALE and Betty Bumpers.

SATURDAY, *October 10, 1998.*

Mr. DOMENICI. First let me talk for a moment, since he is present on the floor, of Senator BUMPERS, the senior Senator from Arkansas. Let me use a couple of minutes of my time to say a few words about him before I proceed to talk about the budget and a few other matters.

First, I want to say to Senator BUMPERS, I don't think he needs me to repeat again what I have said in committee. He is going to be missed. He has been a real credit to this place called the U.S. Senate. I have never known him to behave, act, or in any way conduct himself as to demean this place. He has held it in respect, and that makes it a better place when we do that.

But I also want to remind the Senate, since it has not been stated here on the floor as I know of, that in the energy and water appropriations bill it was my privilege, at the behest of some of DALE BUMPERS' good friends here in the Senate, with the help of his staff and others, to include a resolution honoring him for his diligent and hard work on behalf of the public domain in the United States—the forest lands, the wilderness, the parks. In that bill, the resolution says we want him to be known for as long as there is an Arkansas. Thus, we took eight wilderness areas that are in his State that he had a lot to do with, and for name purposes we made

all of them part of one wilderness called the Dale Bumpers Wilderness Area.

That is now 91,000 acres in total that will bear your name. I know many other things could be done to indicate our esteem for you, but many of us thought that this might just be one that would strike you as quite appropriate. And we hope so. It is now the law of the land. The President signed it about 22 hours ago. Thus, I am here saying it in your presence.

I thank you personally on behalf of our side of the aisle for everything you have done.

Then, might I say to Senator BUMPERS, that aisle, from your podium on down here to the first step into the well, is going to get a deserved rest when you leave. That aisle and the carpet there is going to take a new breath and say there is nobody walking up and down on top of us, because DALE BUMPERS is not walking, walking the floor there as he delivers his eloquent speeches on the Senate floor. I only say that by way of the great respect we have for the way you talk to us, and talk to the American people. I am very pleased that you used that little 30 feet of carpet and hall as your place to talk.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, this is one of those moments that one feels a bit overwhelmed—to follow DALE BUMPERS in a discourse that he gives here on the floor. This is a task that I never liked—to get on the floor after DALE BUMPERS moved us with his oratory and described his feelings for this institution and our responsibility. But there is another reason that I am really feeling uneasy; that is, the prospect that this place will be without DALE's voice, without his wit, his humor, but more importantly, his commitment to the people of this country.

I want you to know, DALE, what a sacrifice I make today. I decided to stay here rather than to go to a budget conference down the hall trying to wrestle with the issues of the day. So I sacrificed that time just so I could stand on this floor to hear your terminal speech. That is devotion and friendship, I assume.

I have to say that one could see the position that DALE has earned over the years, because people were as generous and as warm and as friendly from the other side of the aisle. That doesn't mean that we always agree, and it doesn't mean that we always share a similar direction for our country.

But DALE has succeeded in winning friends, in making sure that we never forgot about who it is we are here to

serve. We could make lots of jokes, but one never wants to compete with DALE's humor. I think about the only close match was with DALE BUMPERS and Alan Simpson. That was a good team. The jokes were always better when we were off the floor somehow. But beyond the wit, beyond the humor, beyond the jokes was always this incredible pursuit of what is right for our country and what is right for our people.

I have submitted a written statement without the kind of eloquence I wish I could have borrowed from DALE. He was right, he was accurate when he said his impression of his IQ was overblown. All of us agree with that.

We know DALE well. We love him. We love to tease him a little bit. There were very few times on this floor when DALE could not get attention from others, and it wasn't just the volume; it was the substance of his mission that we all paid attention to. They kid him about stretching the cord that holds our microphones, but everybody was anxious to hear what DALE had to say or read what was in the Record.

So I just wanted to have a chance to say how pleased I am for the opportunity to be here at the last speech Senator DALE BUMPERS was going to make in this Chamber. It has been an honor to serve with DALE as well as to serve with people such as John Glenn. John Glenn is one of the finest people who, it is fair to say, has ever left this Earth. But we are going to see John Glenn at the end of the month and witness his heroic and incredible mission into the sky. John Glenn was with me when I was sworn into the Senate. We happened to be in Colorado on a vacation just 16 years ago, and he stood while I found a magistrate to swear me in because there was an opportunity based on the resignation of the then-appointed Senator.

At the same time we are saying goodbye to Wendell Ford. Wendell is someone who you could fight with, get your blood pressure up, more often than not you would lose the argument and lose the debate. But Wendell Ford got things done. And I want to tell you, if I had to be served by a Senator, I would want that Senator to have the same concern about my State and my well-being and my family and my future as did Wendell Ford. He never let an opportunity go by without defending his people and the State of Kentucky. Although we disagreed on lots of occasions, I always walked away with a high degree of affection and respect for Wendell Ford.

So when I listen to DALE BUMPERS summarize his life, I think about where we are, because too often the arguments

here overtake the purpose of our functioning. But DALE BUMPERS, Senator DALE BUMPERS reminds us that the mission is almost a holy one and that we have to step back and take a deep breath and get down to the business of the American people.

I wish to thank the Democratic leader for giving me these few minutes. I also wanted to take an opportunity to say so long to Senator Dan Coats. Dan Coats was a formidable opponent for me when New Jersey persisted in sending its trash out to Indiana where it was welcomed by the communities that had the certified landfills and all that. But Dan Coats didn't object when New Jersey sent its All-American football players to Notre Dame or to the University of Indiana. But serving with Dan also has been a privilege.

Mr. President, I wrap up just by saying that DALE BUMPERS, if you listened to his words, arrived here encouraged by a father who saw the value of government service, and it is an interesting and touching explanation of what it is that provided his motivation. My father also motivated me to engage in whatever enterprise I could to serve the public. But he didn't know it then. He worked. He tried to survive with his family during the lean and tough years, ashamed that he had to resort to a job with the WPA. I will never forget how discouraged he was when he came home, but, he said, he needed the job; he had to feed his family. My father died at the age of 43, after a year of illness with cancer. I had already enlisted in the Army. He disintegrated in front of our eyes, leaving not only an empty house but an empty wallet. My mother had to work. I had to send home my allotment to help pay the bills that were accumulated during that period of time.

But we both got here because we were encouraged by things that occurred in our families, messages that were sent by our parents, mine perhaps less articulate than the one I heard DALE BUMPERS describe. But we are here because they were able to give us that opportunity and we are here because we want to serve, to do something, to give something back as a result of having that opportunity.

To Senator DALE BUMPERS and the others, we say farewell. This place will be a lesser place without your presence, but because of your presence this place will continue to gain strength and to do what we have to do for the future. Rest assured that America will be strong. It will be different forces and different faces, but the work will continue to be done here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator will suspend for just a minute, I am going to stretch the prerogatives of the Chair to say I came over to talk about Senator BUMPERS, whom I have gotten to know recently. We worked on park bills. I know no one more committed nor more easy to work with and who keeps his word any better.

I am sorry to say that, but I needed to.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I don't think anyone could say it any better than that, and I appreciate the Presiding Officer's comments. They are certainly well spoken and very appropriate. I join my colleague from New Jersey in expressing feelings that are very hard to express in public. Senator BUMPERS and I have some things in common. I am not as eloquent as he is, but I feel at times such as this probably as emotional.

I love his sense of humor. I have used more BUMPERS material in my public career than anybody else in this Chamber. I don't think this is his story, but I might as well start with it. There was a time when Senator BUMPERS was at a dinner. We all go to these banquets over and over and over. We all drag our wives along. And they are so good to come with us so often. Betty was at this particular dinner with Senator BUMPERS, sitting, as she always does, at his side supportive and smiling.

The emcee introduced Senator BUMPERS as one who is a model legislator, a model politician, a model spokesperson for Arkansas, just a model person all the way around. On the way home, DALE commented to Betty about what a wonderful introduction that was. They got home; Betty brought the dictionary to DALE, sitting now in his own study, and read to him the word "model," as it is defined in Webster's. There it is defined as "a small replica of the real thing."

Senator BUMPERS is a model in the truest sense of the word. In many respects I call him my model, for how he speaks, for what he stands for, for how he interacts with his colleagues, for how he represents his State, for all of the courageous positions he has taken. I don't know how you do better than that. I don't know who it was who once said, "If we are to see farther into the future, we must stand on the shoulders of giants." DALE BUMPERS is a giant. And it is upon his shoulders that we have stood many, many, many times to see into the future, as I have seen. He persuades us, he cajoles us, he humors us, he always enlightens us.

As I heard Senator Domenici, the senior Senator from New Mexico, say earlier: "He does it in a way that is not in fash-

ion perhaps, not in keeping with what the normal rules of the body are.” The normal rules are, you are supposed to stay at your desk. Not Senator BUMPERS. Senator BUMPERS has the longest cord in Senate history. I joked the other night, when we finally see Senator BUMPERS depart, we are going to cut up his cord and give 10 feet to every Senator and save 10 more for the next. He goes up and down that aisle.

Since, as we are prone to do in this body, we name things after our colleagues—I happen to be fortunate enough to reside in the Byrd suite—I am going to start referring to that as the Bumpers corridor. And I am pointing, for the record, to my left. For anybody who has served with DALE, I don’t have to point at all. We all know what the Bumpers corridor is.

So it is a bittersweet moment. We recognize the time comes for all of us to depart, to say goodbye. As others have noted, and I am sure more will note before the end of the session, we say goodbye not only to our dear, wonderful friend DALE, but to his wife Betty as well. There is no question, as we all know, he over-married. There is no question who the real force in the family is. There is no question who the visionary and the giant is. As Senator BUMPERS so capably noted, there is no question who is beloved in the State of Arkansas. We will miss Betty Bumpers and her vision and her humor and all of her contributions.

I asked my staff to put some thoughts together and I really want to share some of them because I think, for the record and for our colleagues and for those who may be watching, it is important to remember who it was we just have heard from.

We heard from a Marine. We heard from a man who volunteered to serve during World War II. We heard from a person who grew up in a small town, Charleston, AR—I don’t have a clue where it is—where he worked as a smalltown lawyer and taught Sunday school. He may not have been a Methodist preacher, but he was a Sunday school teacher. He told us about his decision, in 1970, to run for Governor. What he did not say is that he was one of eight candidates vying for the Democratic nomination. He did indicate that polls taken at the start of the race gave him a 1-percent approval rating. That is half of what it is right now. He sold a herd of Angus cattle for \$95,000 to finance his TV ad campaign. You couldn’t get that much for Angus cattle today.



He finished the primary in second place, behind someone whose name we all know, Orville Faubus, whose race-baiting brand of politics still dominated much of Arkansas Democratic politics. He beat Orville Faubus in a runoff and went on to beat the incumbent Republican, Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, in a general election by a margin of 2 to 1.

After being elected Governor, DALE BUMPERS was asked by Tom Wicker, then a reporter for the New York Times, to explain how a man would come from obscurity to beat two living legends. He answered simply, "I tried to appeal to the best in people in my campaign." And that is what he has done his entire public career; he has appealed to the best of people.

As Governor, he worked aggressively and successfully to modernize the State government. He put a tremendous emphasis on improving education and expanding health services. Then, in 1973, with 1 year remaining in his term, he made the decision to challenge another living legend, William J. Fulbright, for the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate. Senator Fulbright was, at that time, a 30-year incumbent Senator. It probably did not come as any surprise to people in Arkansas, but it must have to the Nation, because when all the votes were counted, DALE won that race too, 2 to 1.

In the Senate, there is not a colleague in this Chamber who has not been affected by his eloquence and his reasoning on everything from arms control to the environment. He has been a champion for rural America. He has been a consistent advocate for fiscal discipline. In the 1980's he voted against the tax cuts, arguing that they would explode the Federal deficit. In the 1990's he took the tough votes needed to eliminate those deficits.

He has been a tireless defender of the U.S. Constitution and the separation of powers it guarantees. He did not mention this, but he should have. In 1982 he was the only Senator from the Deep South to vote against a proposal stripping the Federal courts of their right to order school busing. He said at the time, while he opposed the use of busing to achieve racial balance, he opposed even more "this sinister and devious attack on the Constitution \* \* \* [this] erosion of the only document that stands between the people and tyranny."

This past July, shortly before launching the last of his annual attempts to kill the international space station, Senator BUMPERS told a reporter that he expected to lose again but

he would try anyway because he thought it was the right thing to do. Then he added, "I probably lost as many battles as anybody who ever served in the U.S. Senate."

I want to tell my friend as he prepares to end his Senate career, if you did in fact lose more battles than someone else who may have served here, it is only because you chose tougher and more important battles. Even more than the outcome of your battles, you have earned your place in history for the dignity and the courage and the eloquence with which you have waged those battles.

I remember, having just arrived—I was elected in 1986, sworn in in 1987—by the end of the year, in 1987, I had already decided who my man for President was. I remember the conversation as if it took place yesterday. I was reminded again, as our colleague spoke on the Senate floor, about his ambition. That was the ambition for many of us as well. He would have been the same kind of outstanding President that he has been the outstanding Governor and Senator we know today. That was not to be. But in the eyes of all of us, DALE BUMPERS will always stand as the giant we knew, as the respected legislator we trust, and as the friend we love.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I compliment my colleagues on their fine remarks about our colleague, SENATOR BUMPERS. I already made a speech complimenting him for his service to the Senate. I noticed my speech had several things in common with the speech of Senator Daschle. I alluded to the fact of Senator BUMPERS' sense of humor, which all of us have enjoyed, Democrats and Republicans, and I also referred to the fact that he had the longest microphone cord in the Senate. He has used it extensively, and we have all enjoyed that as well.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, in the bustling commotion of the ending days of the 105th Congress, Members are preoccupied with efforts to enact sought after objectives important to their constituents. We are busy tying up loose ends, putting the finishing touches on projects, and looking forward to going home to our constituents and to a break in the hectic schedule of the U.S. Senate. Regrettably, as this session of Congress adjourns, we are also faced with the difficult task of saying goodbye to colleagues who have chosen to follow a new path in life.

As I reflect on my years in Congress and on my association with its many Members and their various personalities, their goals and, yes, sometimes, their eccentricities, I am re-

minded of some very important milestones in history made possible by these fine Americans. I am reminded of my good fortune to have been associated with men and women representing the American people from all walks of life and from all corners of the United States.

In my reflections, I have thanked my Creator for allowing me to serve my country with such fine men and women, and I am, indeed, sorrowful at the upcoming loss of some of the finest men I have ever known.

I pay tribute today to an exceptional U.S. Senator, a man with whom it has been my honor to serve and to have been associated with—a man of unusual conviction, passion, and resolve. He has been called the last Southern liberal, and he is proud of it. He often quotes from “To Kill a Mocking Bird.” He is THE commanding foe against the space station.

The above discourse clearly references the actions of only one man—Senator DALE BUMPERS, Democrat from Arkansas. He is the U.S. Senator responsible for “right-turn-on-red,” his first legislative victory and one for which, I am told, he received devilish teasing from a colleague who warned that “many people might want to drive straight!”

I will miss my friend, who is retiring following 24 years of service. He leaves a legacy that has made a difference, not only to the people of Arkansas, but to all Americans. His tireless efforts to end Federal policies that he believes give away resources that belong to the taxpayer will long be remembered by certain mining and ranching interests out West. And more than a few NASA space station contractors will continue to run when they hear his name! Contractors who worked on the now-terminated superconducting super collider can only wish that Senator BUMPERS had chosen to retire earlier.

While many a press story covered his crusades against alleged lost causes, Senator DALE BUMPERS is a man that leaves this Senate with a triumphant record for the American people. In particular, Senator BUMPERS has been a national leader in protecting the health of children. In fact, along with his wife, Betty, Senator BUMPERS has long promoted childhood immunizations, known safeguards in protecting the health of millions of children.

As the ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, formerly the chairman, DALE BUMPERS has represented the rural heart of America. He has fought for policies to help rural families, including securing funding for basic infrastructure projects that provide water

and sewer facilities to small towns throughout the Nation. I personally wish to thank Senator BUMPERS for being a leading advocate for funding on these vital projects, and I share his concern for the millions of Americans who do not have access to a clean, ample supply of drinking water.

Senator BUMPERS has further made a significant mark on efforts to protect family farmers. In particular, we owe our gratitude to DALE BUMPERS for his efforts to initiate programs to help young Americans become this Nation's next generation of family farmers, a dwindling breed at risk of extinction. In honor of his service to rural America, I am proud that this Congress, in the Fiscal Year 1999 Agriculture Appropriations Bill, is formally paying tribute to his work by designating an Agricultural Research Service facility as the DALE BUMPERS National Rice Research Center. This action follows the recognition by the people of Arkansas in dedicating the Dale Bumpers College of Agricultural, Food, and Life Sciences at the University of Arkansas.

Senator BUMPERS' noteworthy record also extends to many other constituencies. Through his ranking membership on the Senate Small Business Committee, he has fought to help self-employed people obtain health care. He has also been an advocate of funding for rural hospitals; for Medicaid; for the Women, Infants and Children feeding program. The list goes on and on.

DALE BUMPERS' legislative skills and record are clear. He is a modern hero to the underdog. But there is yet another side of the Senator from Arkansas that deserves recognition—the DALE BUMPERS who is a husband, a father, and a grandfather. Married to Betty Lou Flanagan, DALE's "Secretary of Peace," for 49 years, he is devoted to his marriage and his family. DALE and Betty have three children and six grandchildren, and DALE often speaks affectionately of his family and of their influence on his consideration of legislative issues. Yes, Senator DALE BUMPERS of Arkansas has a personal record of which he can be proud.

It is with regret that I bid farewell to my friend and colleague, who is now departing the U.S. Senate. I believe that the Senate has deeply benefited from the work of U.S. Senator DALE BUMPERS. As I say my farewell to DALE BUMPERS, I want him to know that when the 106th Congress convenes, I will remember his thoughtful recital of the fictional Atticus Finch in "To Kill a Mocking Bird," "For God's sake, do your duty."

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to an extraordinary person, a respected and honorable man, a true friend, and one whom I am truly saddened to see leave the Senate—Senator DALE BUMPERS.

Mr. President, Senator BUMPERS is, more than most, a true advocate for the citizens of the United States. I know of no better person who embraces issues with the passion and intellect that he demonstrates. His oratory skills are well-known and rarely matched. DALE is a true champion of the public's interests, and particularly when that clashes with special interests.

Throughout his decades of public service, as Governor of Arkansas and U.S. Senator, Senator BUMPERS has carried with him a strong, unyielding belief in a few basic ideas, ideas that have driven him in his tireless efforts to make our country—and the world—a better place.

Senator BUMPERS believes in ensuring equal opportunities for all, including the poor and indigent. He believes in providing high quality, comprehensive education and health care. He believes in the sanctity of our Constitution. He believes in the value of the arts and humanities in developing human creativity and a national culture. He believes in the importance of environmental conservation and preserving our natural resources. He believes in eliminating needless corporate subsidies and reducing wasteful defense spending. And he believes in the need to slow the growing gap between the rich and the poor.

Senator BUMPERS has never shied away from taking on the powerful special interests, year after year, even when he knows the odds are stacked against him and he is often disappointed with the results. But he has kept on trying.

We have all been witnesses to his eloquent and powerful discourses on a number of subjects. Every one of his presentations before us and before the country have been grounded in personal experience and intellectual strength. When Senator BUMPERS speaks, we know that he speaks from his heart.

Mr. President, in 1995, the Senate debated an amendment that would require zero tolerance for youth who had any amount of alcohol in their blood. Senator BUMPERS revealed his personal story about his parents and their friend who were killed by a drunk driver while returning from their small farm, just across the Arkansas River. Senator BUMPERS was in law school at the time, far away in Chicago.

DALE, more than most, has the power to sway with his words. That amendment was swiftly adopted.

Mr. President, also 3 years ago, the Senate was considering an amendment to add funds to the National Endowment for the Humanities. Now, the NEH is a small agency that can, and does, often come under the budget knife as an insignificant agency. Not to Senator BUMPERS. Senator BUMPERS took to the Senate floor, and told all of us about his high school English teacher, Miss Doll Means. He touched us with a personal story that was a turning point in his life. When he was a sophomore, Miss Doll Means told him, after he had read a page of "Beowulf" that he had a nice voice and he read beautifully. That one statement, from an English teacher in a town of 1,000 people, did more for his self-esteem than anybody, except, he said, his father. Not only does he indeed have a nice voice and he reads beautifully, he is among the best orators this Senate has ever seen.

Mr. President, earlier this year the Appropriations Committee passed an amendment naming a vaccine center at NIH after DALE and Betty Bumpers. For almost 30 years, the two of them have worked tirelessly on a crusade to vaccinate all children—and because of their efforts and others, we have made great progress toward that goal.

Mr. President, when the senior Senator from Arkansas leaves this body in a few weeks, there will be a noticeable void. We will lose a tireless champion for the underserved; a champion for the public's interest; a champion for responsible spending, not wasteful spending; and a champion for equal opportunity, for our environment, and for the arts and humanities. Senator BUMPERS has our respect, and he has the people's respect. We will miss him.

Mr. President, I wish my friend and his wife Betty, their children and grandchildren the very best for the future.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, five Senators will move on at the closing of this session of the 105th Congress. And they are Senators that have, with the exception of one, been here ever since I joined this body back in 1989.

Dirk Kempthorne from Idaho was elected after I was. And now after one term he has elected to go back to his home State of Idaho.

It seems like it becomes more and more difficult, as time goes by, to attract men and women to public service, and especially to public service when there are elections.

He brought a certain quality to this Senate. On his work on the Environment and Public Works Committee, he was

sensitive to the environment and all the public infrastructure that we enjoy across this country. It just seemed to fit, because he had come here after being the mayor of Boise, ID. And his very first objective was to tackle this business of unfunded mandates. He took that issue on and provided the leadership, and finally we passed a law that unfunded mandates must be adhered to whenever we tell local government, State government that it is going to take some of your money to comply with the laws as passed by the Federal Government.

He, like me, had come out of local government. He knew the stresses and the pains of city councilmen and mayors and county commissioners every time they struggle with their budget in order to provide the services for their people, when it comes to schools and roads and public safety—all the demands that we enjoy down to our neighborhoods.

We shall miss him in this body.

To my friend, John Glenn of Ohio, who has already made his mark in history that shall live forever, he has left his tracks in this body. And not many know—and maybe not even him—but I was a lowly corporal in the U.S. Marine Corps when he was flying in the Marine Corps. So my memory of John Glenn goes back more than 40 years to El Toro Marine Corps Air Station in Santa Anna, CA.

As he goes into space again at the end of this month, we wish him Godspeed. He gave this country pride as he lifted off and became the first American to orbit the Earth. And he carried with him all of the wishes of the American people.

To Dan Coats of Indiana, a classmate, we came to this body together in 1989. Our routes were a little different, but yet almost the same—he coming from the House of Representatives and me coming from local government.

He is a living example of a person dedicated to public service. But it never affected his solid core values. He has not changed one iota since I first met him back in 1989.

The other principal is on the floor today. It is Wendell Ford of Kentucky. I was fortunate to serve on two of the most fascinating and hard-working committees in the U.S. Senate with Senator Ford: The Commerce Committee and the Energy Committee. Those committees, folks, touch every life in America every day.

We flip on our lights at home or in our businesses. We pick up the telephone, listen to our radio, watch our televisions, move ourselves from point A to point B, no matter what the mode—whether it is auto, train or plane. Yes, all of the great

scientific advances this country has made, and research and the improvement of everyday life and, yes, even our venture into space comes under the auspices of the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee and the Energy Committee. Those two committees play such a major role in the everyday workings of America.

Wendell Ford was one great champion and one of the true principals in formulating policies that we enjoy today. He played a major role in each and every one of them.

Again, it was my good fortune to work with Senator BUMPERS on two committees: The Small Business Committee and the Energy Committee. There is no one in this body that has been more true to his deeply held beliefs than Senator BUMPERS. Our views did not always mesh—and that is true with Senator Ford. It was their wisdom and the way they dealt with their fellow Senators that we worked our way through difficult issues and hard times with a sense of humor. I always say if you come from Arkansas you have to have a pretty good sense of humor. My roots go back to Missouri; I know we had to develop humor very early. Nonetheless, it was the integrity and the honesty that allowed us to settle our differences, even though we were 180 degrees off plumb.

I think I have taken from them much more than I have given back to them. This body has gained more than it can repay. This Nation is a better Nation for all of them serving in the U.S. Senate.

In our country we don't say goodbye, we just say so long. But we say so long to these Senators from our everyday activities on the floor of the U.S. Senate. I am sure our trails will cross many times in the future. Should they not, I will be the most disappointed of all.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, I appreciate you presiding as you do in such a class fashion. I would like to make a few comments here. I have been touched and impressed by the fact of colleagues coming to the floor and paying tribute to those Members who are departing. I have listened because, as one of those Members who are departing, I know personally how much it means to hear those kind comments that are made.

Senator Ford, who just spoke, is leaving after a very illustrious career. I remember when the Republican Party took over the majority 4 years ago and I was new to the position of Presiding Officer, it was not unusual for Wendell Ford, who knows many of the ropes around here, to come and pull me aside and give me a few of the tips of how I could be ef-



fective as a Presiding Officer. I think probably one of the highest tributes you can pay to an individual is the fact that you see their family and the success they have had. I remember when Wendell Ford's grandson, Clay, was a page here. I think Clay is probably one of the greatest tributes paid to a grandfather.

DALE BUMPERS, often mentioned here on the floor about his great sense of humor, is an outstanding gentlemen. He is someone whom I remember before I ever became involved in politics. I watched him as a Governor of Arkansas and thought, there is a man who has great integrity, someone you can look up to. And then to have the opportunity to serve with him has been a great honor.

John Glenn. Whenever any of the astronauts—the original seven—would blast off into space, my mother would get all the boys up so we could watch them. I remember when John Glenn blasted off into space. Again, the idea that somehow a kid would end up here and would serve with John Glenn is just something I never could dream of at the time. In fact, John Glenn became a partner in our efforts to stop unfunded Federal mandates. You could not ask for a better partner.

Speaking of partners, he could not have a better partner than Annie. I had the great joy of traveling with them approximately a year ago when we went to Asia. That is when you get to know these people as couples. I remember that we happened to be flying over an ocean when it was the Marine Corps' birthday. On the airplane we had a cake and brought it out, to the surprise of John Glenn. But you could see the emotion in his eyes. I know the Presiding Officer is a former U.S. Marine, so he knows what we are talking about.

Dan Coats. There is no more genuine a person than Dan—not only in the Senate but on the face of the Earth. He is a man of great sincerity, a man who can articulate his position so extremely well. He is a man who, when you look into his eyes, you know he is listening to you and he is going to do right by you and by the people of his State of Indiana, and he has done right by the people of the United States. He is a man who has great faith, a man to whom I think a number of us have looked for guidance.

When you look at the Senate through the eyes of a camera, you see just one dimension. But on the floor of the Senate we are just people. A lot of times we don't get home to our wives and kids and sometimes to the ball games or back-to-school nights. There are times when some of the issues don't go as we would like, and it gets tough. At these times, we

hurt. There are people like Dan Coats to whom you can turn, who has said, "Buddy, I have been there and I am with you now." So, again, he is an outstanding individual.

MONDAY, *October 12, 1998.*

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, as the 105th Congress comes to a close, I want to take a moment to say thank you to my fellow colleagues who, like me, will be retiring this year.

I came to the Senate in 1974 with Senators Glenn and BUMPERS. It was a different time, when campaigns were still won by going door to door, when the Senate itself was much more open to compromise and bipartisanship.

Despite the changes in the Senate, Senator BUMPERS has continued to be a voice for his State, never giving up the fight for something in which he believed. And when the Senate itself began to listen, they began to respond. In fact, after fighting 19 years to reform the National Parks concessions operations, he finally won approval of the legislation on last Thursday.

And while it's true the Senate long ago lost its reputation as a place of eloquent debate, my colleague from Arkansas has proven time and again the power of words with his skillful oratory, whether the issue was arms control, education or balancing the budget. In all my years here in Washington, I was never so moved as I was by a speech he gave on preserving the Manassas, Virginia, Civil War Battlefield. He not only changed votes, but he reminded his colleagues and the American people that our greatest strength lies in our ability to give voice to our beliefs and to our constituent's concerns.

Like Mark Twain who came into this world with Halley's comet and left this world with the return, Senator Glenn came into the public eye with his historic orbit around the Earth and he will close out his public career with another historic flight into space. In between, he's demonstrated over and over that he's truly made of the "right stuff."

As the "Almanac of American Politics" wrote, he is "the embodiment of the small town virtues of family, God-fearing religion, duty, patriotism and hard work \* \* \*". And over the years, he has brought the same fight and determination that made him a brilliant fighter pilot to his efforts to expand educational opportunities, increase funding for scientific research, to clean up nuclear waste sites, promote civil rights and to make our government more efficient.

Despite their long list of contributions in the Senate, perhaps their greatest contributions to this Nation are still to come. Senator BUMPERS has talked about going back to Arkansas to teach and Senator Glenn has said once he gets back down to Earth, he'll work to steer young people toward public service. I can't think of a greater honor than to say I've served alongside these two men and shared their vision of a better America.

I also want to thank my two retiring colleagues on the other side of the aisle. We may not have always agreed on which road to take, but I believe we always shared a deep commitment to our country and its betterment. Whether you agree or not with Senator Coats' position on the issues, everyone in this Chamber will agree he's willing to roll up his sleeves and do the hard work necessary to accomplish his goals. He's brought the same tenacity to the Senate that found him at 3 percent in the polls when he began his first congressional bid and had him winning by 58 percent on election day. He got that win the old-fashioned way, organizing block by block and pressing his case one-on-one.

Senator Kempthorne has only been a part of this institution for just one term, but he has already proven that he can work with his colleagues to pass laws, like the unfunded mandates bill, in a place where it's often easier to move mountains than a piece of legislation. The Safe Drinking Water Act of 1996 was a perfect example of his ability to bring together scientists, activists on both sides of the issue, and public health experts to craft legislation that each one had a stake in seeing succeed. So while he may have spent just a short while in these Halls, he demonstrated that it is only through compromise that we can achieve solutions in the best interest of the Nation.

So Mr. President, let me tell my fellow retirees what a privilege it has been to serve with you over the years and how grateful I am for your commitment to public service and the American people.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, on Saturday, I had a chance to talk about our good friend, DALE BUMPERS. I'd like to take a few minutes to talk about four other friends who will be leaving us at the end of this Congress.

Shortly after he left the White House, Calvin Coolidge was called on to fill out a standard form. After filling in his name and address, he came to a line marked "occupation." He wrote "retired." When he came to the next line, labeled "remarks," he wrote "Glad of it." I suspect that our colleagues

who are retiring at the end of this Congress are also “glad of it”—at least in some small measure. But, in addition to relief, I hope they also feel a sense of pride—both for what they have accomplished here, and the dignity with which they have served.

In a short time here, Dirk Kempthorne has made all of our lives a little better. Thanks in large part to him, the Safe Drinking Water Act is now the law. Senator Kempthorne has also reminded us of the importance of State and local involvement in our decisions. We will all miss him.

I had the good fortune to travel with Senator Kempthorne to the Far East. As most of our colleagues know, as we travel we get to know one another even better. I know him and I admire him and I wish him well in his life after the Senate. I also applaud him for the nature with which he has continued to work with all of us. He has a very conciliatory, very thoughtful, a very civil way with which to deal with colleagues on issues. If we would all follow Dirk Kempthorne’s example, in my view, we would be a lot better off in this body. His manner, his leadership, his character, his personality is one that we are going to miss greatly here in the U.S. Senate.

We will also miss Dan Coats. With his thoughtful approach and uncompromising principles, Senator Coats has followed his heart above all else. And, as a result of his support of the Family and Medical Leave Act, millions of Americans are able to follow their hearts, too, and spend more time with their families when they need them most.

When Senator Coats announced his retirement in 1996, he said, “I want to leave (politics) when I am young enough to contribute somewhere else \* \* \* I want to leave when there is still a chance to follow God’s leading to something new.” Wherever Senator Coats and Senator Kempthorne are led, we wish them both the best. I am confident that they will continue to contribute much to their country and to their fellow citizens.

And we will surely miss our own three departing Senators.

DALE BUMPERS, Wendell Ford and John Glenn are three of the sturdiest pillars in this institution. They have much in common. They came here—all three of them—in 1974. For nearly a quarter-century, they have worked to restore Americans’ faith in their government.

Their names have been called with the roll of every important question of our time. And they have answered that call with integrity and dignity.

They are sons of small town America who still believe in the values they learned back in Charlestown, AR; Owensboro, KY; and New Concord, OH. They are also modest men.

Perhaps because they had already accomplished so much before they came to the Senate, they have never worried about grabbing headlines here. Instead, they have been content to work quietly, but diligently—often with colleagues from across the aisle—to solve problems as comprehensively as they can. They have been willing to take on the “nuts and bolts” work of the Senate—what John Glenn once called “the grunt work” of making the Government run more efficiently.

They were all elected to the Senate by wide margins, and reelected by even wider margins. And they all would have been reelected this year, I have no doubt, had they chosen to run again.

What I will remember most about each of them, though, is not how much they are like each other they are, but how unlike anyone else they are. Each of them is an American original.

As I said, I've already shared my thoughts about DALE BUMPERS. No Senator has ever had more courage than DALE BUMPERS.

And no Senate leader has ever had the benefit of a better teacher than Wendell Ford.

No leader has ever enjoyed such a loyal partnership as I have. No leader has ever had a better friend and counselor.

For the past 4 years, Senator Ford has been my right hand and much more. He is as skilled a political mind, and as warm a human being, as this Senate has ever known.

Carved inside the drawer of the desk in which Wendell sits is the name of another Kentucky Senator, “the Great Compromisor,” Henry Clay. It is a fitting match.

Like Henry Clay, Wendell Ford believes that compromise is honorable and necessary in a democracy. But he also understands that compromise is, as Clay said, “negotiated hurt.”

I suspect that is why he has always preferred to try to work out disagreements behind the scenes. It allows both sides to bend, and still keep their dignity.

In 1991, Wendell's quiet, bipartisan style convinced a Senator from across the aisle, Mark Hatfield, to join him in sponsoring the “Motor Voter” bill. Working together, they convinced the Senate to pass that legislation. To this day, it remains the most ambitious effort Congress has made since

the Voting Rights Act to open up the voting booth to more Americans.

Wendell Ford has served the Bluegrass State as a State senator, Lieutenant Governor, Governor and U.S. Senator. His love for his fellow Kentuckians is obvious, and it is reciprocated.

In his 1980 Senate race, Wendell Ford became the first opposed candidate in Kentucky history to carry all 120 counties. In 1992, he received the highest number of votes ever cast for any candidate in his State.

Throughout his years in the Senate, Senator Ford has also been a tenacious fighter for the people of Kentucky. He has also been a leader on aviation issues, a determined foe of government waste and duplication, a champion of campaign finance reform, and—something we are especially grateful for on this side of the aisle—a tireless leader for the Democratic Party.

He chaired the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee for three Congresses, from 1976 through 1982. And, in 1990, Democratic Senators elected him unanimously to be our party whip, our second-in-command, in the Senate—a position he still holds today.

We will miss his raspy and unmistakable voice, his good humor and wise counsel.

Finally, there is John Glenn. What can one say about John Glenn that has not already been said?

In all these 24 years, as hard as he tried to blend in with the rest of us, as hard as he tried to be just a colleague among colleagues, it never quite worked, did it?

I used to think that maybe I was the only one here who still felt awed in his presence. Two years ago, on a flight from China with John and a handful of other Senators and our spouses, I learned that wasn't so.

During the flight, we were able to persuade John to recollect that incredible mission aboard Friendship 7, when he became the first American to orbit the Earth. He told us about losing all radio communication during re-entry, about having to guide his spacecraft manually during the most critical point in re-entry, about seeing pieces of his fiberglass heat panel bursting into flames and flying off his space capsule, knowing that at any moment, he could be incinerated.

We all huddled around him with our eyes wide open. No one moved. No one said a word.

Listening to him, I felt the same awe I had felt when I was 14 years old, sitting in a classroom in Aberdeen, SD, watch-

ing TV accounts of that flight. Then I looked around me, and realized everyone else there was feeling the same thing.

I saw that same sense of awe in other Senators' faces in June, when we had a dinner for John at the National Air and Space Museum. Before dinner, we were invited to have our photographs taken with John in front of the Friendship 7 capsule. I don't think I've ever seen so many Senators waiting so patiently for anything as we did for that one picture.

A lot of people tend to think of two John Glenns: Colonel John Glenn, the astronaut-hero; and Senator John Glenn. The truth is, there is only John Glenn—the patriot.

Love for his country is what sent John into space. It's what brought him to Washington, and compelled him to work so diligently all these years in the Senate.

People who have been there say you see the world differently from space. You see the "big picture." You see how small and interconnected our planet is.

Perhaps it's because he came to the Senate with that perspective that John has fought so hard against nuclear proliferation and other weapons of mass destruction.

Maybe because he'd had enough glamour and tickertape parades by the time he came here, John chose to immerse himself in some decidedly unglamorous causes.

He immersed himself in the scientific and the technical. He looked at government with the eyes of an engineer, and tried to imagine ways it could work better and more efficiently.

As early as 1978, he called for Congress to live by the same workplace rules it sets for everyone else. More recently, he spearheaded the overhaul of the Federal Government procurement system, enabling the Government to buy products faster, and save money at the same time.

In 1974, the year he was elected to the Senate, John Glenn carried all 88 counties in Ohio. In 1980, he was reelected with the largest margin in his State's history. The last time he ran, in 1992, he became the first Ohio Senator ever to win four terms.

As I said, I'm sure he would have been reelected had he chosen to run again. But, as we all know, he has other plans.

For 36 years, John Glenn has wanted to go back into space. On October 29, he will finally get his chance. At 77 years old, he will become the oldest human being ever to orbit the Earth—by 16 years.

Many of us will be in Houston to see John and his Discovery crew mates blast off. If history is any indication, I suspect we will be wide-eyed once again.

In closing, let me say, Godspeed, John Glenn and DALE BUMPERS, Wendell Ford, Dirk Kempthorne and Dan Coats. You have served this Senate well. You are all "Senators' Senators," and we will miss you dearly.

TUESDAY, *October 13, 1998.*

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I have been honored to have the opportunity to hear Senator BUMPERS share his perspective on public service and his personal odyssey. His story is the story of the South—depression, hardship, tough economic times, small businesses, and the son of a shopkeeper. I, too, am the son of a storekeeper and can understand and identify the qualities that have shaped Senator BUMPERS' life.

I have had the opportunity to personally observe his service in this body for just 2 years, but in that short time I have been able to appreciate his many excellent qualities. He does indeed reflect the character of the people of Arkansas. He is part of that State; he comes from its people; and, he shares its values. As an attorney who has tried many cases, I have had the pleasure to see him work on the floor of the Senate. He is articulate, able, well prepared, logical, and persuasive. He states his case very effectively. I can just imagine him before a jury in Arkansas as he boils down complex issues to their essence and appeals to their sense of values. I can see just why people refer to him as an outstanding lawyer. Many denigrate that profession, and I have been a strong critic of some of the abuses of the legal profession, but the skills possessed by the Senator from Arkansas are those skills that make a lawyer most valuable. He cuts straight to the heart of the matter in words that are comprehensible by all.

Again, I am pleased to have served with the distinguished senior Senator from Arkansas and I wish him well in his future service. He has conducted himself with high standards and has not done anything to bring discredit on this body. He has stood courageously, alone if necessary, for the values that he believed in. There is no doubt, I say to the children and grandchildren of the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, that your father and grandfather has been an able and



noble practitioner in this great deliberative body of the greatest nation in the history of the world.

WEDNESDAY, *October 14, 1998.*

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I want to take a few minutes to talk in as glowing terms as I can about a great friend, a great Senator, and a person I have admired both as a Senator and as a plain good person for all the years I have been in Washington. And he is leaving us. He is retiring at the end of this session. I am speaking about perhaps the epitome of what I believe to be a good Senator, and that Senator is DALE BUMPERS of Arkansas.

I am really going to miss him, and this country is going to miss him as well. So will this Chamber. He is truly one of the finest Senators to have ever graced this body. He has done so many good things over the years. It is hard to know where to begin.

I know he started out as someone in the Marine Corps. As a Navy person I will not hold that against him. I can overlook that. But then he came back to Arkansas and practiced law, had a small business, and even raised some cattle. He had good practical experience, and knows the people of Arkansas and he knows the people of this country. The people of Arkansas rewarded that—first as Governor, and now finishing his tenure as a Senator. He was elected by more than 60 percent of the vote in the last two terms.

Senator BUMPERS came to the Senate at the same time I came to the House in 1974. For 24 years he has been here.

Someone said once about Senators in general that some Senators come here to coin a phrase, or coin a slogan, and think they have solved the problem. But not DALE BUMPERS. He has worked very hard to solve the problems of this country.

He has been a close friend, a person of immense common sense. When it comes to helping farmers, seniors, working people, and children there is no better person to have as an ally than DALE BUMPERS. He stuck to what he believed. He had the determination to get the job done with a strong commitment to the people of Arkansas. He is certainly one of the finest orators and debaters this Chamber has ever seen. He has led the fight in the Senate against government waste.

I loved to listen to his speeches on that \$12 billion boondoggle called the superconductor super collider. And he won.

Unfortunately, we wasted a lot of money on it. But, the people finally came to their senses and saw it as the boondoggle that it was.

I wasn't in the Senate at the time. I was in the House working to kill that other boondoggle called the Clinch River breeder reactor. Boy, you would think at that time it was the most important thing to civilization that we built that breeder reactor. But finally people came to their senses, and we stopped it. And we are better and we are stronger because of it. We saved billions of dollars that would have been wasted. DALE led the fight on that in the Senate.

He has led the fight against other wasteful spending such as star wars and the space station.

I believe that he has finally brought home to the American conscience the issue of mining interests and the abuse of our public lands and the fact that we need to update our laws.

Anyway, with a common sense approach he has been a strong ally on the Appropriations Committee where we need that kind of common sense approach.

On the Agriculture Committee, he placed the needs of America's rural communities at the top of the national debate including rural housing and rural economic development. He has been the strongest fighter for protecting the environment. On the Clean Air Act, and Clean Water Act, DALE BUMPERS has been in the forefront of America's fight to keep our country clean.

As the National Journal put it, DALE BUMPERS is the Senator to whom "other Senators pay attention."

In numerous polls of Senate staffers, DALE BUMPERS has consistently ranked as one of the best liked Senators.

So we are going to miss him when we start the 106th Congress in January. We are going to miss DALE and his eloquence, his determination and his stick-to-it-ness.

So to the entire Bumpers family, DALE and Betty, their children—Brent, Bill and Brooke—and their five grandchildren, I want to extend my gratitude, and the gratitude of the citizens of my State, that I am so proud to represent, for loaning DALE to us for the past 24 years. America is a much better place because of DALE's service in the Senate.

Mr. President, I want to close on the one note—the one area in which DALE has devoted so much of his time and effort, along with Betty on protecting our children from illnesses and diseases that have ravaged kids since time immemorial.

No one has fought harder for childhood vaccinations, and to make them universal, affordable, and accessible than DALE and Betty Bumpers.

So in recognition of their contributions, the Appropriations Committee, on which DALE served, voted unanimously, Republican and Democrats, to name a new vaccine facility at the National Institutes of Health after Senator BUMPERS and his wife, Betty. This new facility, now under construction, will be named the “Dale and Betty Bumpers Vaccine Research Facility.”

As I said, DALE has been our resident expert on immunization since early in his Senate career. He has been a tireless advocate for funding to purchase vaccines and provide the public health system with the resources necessary to deliver those vaccines to the children who are most in need. He advocated a grant incentive program in the Senate that the Appropriations Committee has used each year to reward States that have been successful in preventing unnecessary diseases.

So there have been a lot of tributes that have been paid to DALE. But, the most lasting tribute will be his and Betty Bumpers’ name on that research facility at NIH because, that is truly where his heart has been in making sure that kids in places like rural Arkansas and rural Iowa, and all over America—including our inner cities—to make sure they have a healthy start in life by getting immunized. To me that says it all about DALE BUMPERS.

We are going to miss him. I hope that he doesn’t go too far away. I for one look forward to his continued advice and counsel as I serve out my career in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, in these last few days of the 105th Congress, when I come to the floor, I often look wistfully to the aisle just to my left here, where DALE BUMPERS has trod up and down yanking the microphone cord and dispensing wisdom for just about 24 years now. The other day he gave his last speech here, and it was brilliant—an eloquent and moving reminder of the best purposes of politics. But now I want to look back and pay tribute to my friend DALE BUMPERS for what he has done and what he has been for me, for the Senate, for his beloved Arkansas and for our country.

DALE BUMPERS was born in Charleston, AR in 1925, and it’s from that little town he first drew the values he has eloquently proclaimed on this floor for two and a half decades. In a small town in western Arkansas during the Depression,

young DALE BUMPERS learned about human suffering and deprivation, learned to believe that it could be defeated and came to understand, on his father's knee, that the Government could be a force for good in that struggle. He saw typhoid in his hometown and saw a New Deal program put an end to it. He saw rural electrification light the countryside, projects that made the water cleaner, the roads safer, he saw the WPA and he saw the tenacity, and the ingenuity and the sense of community of the American people. One day as a boy he went to the nearby town of Booneville and saw Franklin Roosevelt himself, and he heard his father tell him that politics is an honorable profession—he took all that to heart and we are all the richer for it. He sometimes says, as his father did, “When we die, we’re going to Franklin Roosevelt.”

In 1943, DALE BUMPERS joined the Marines. He shipped out to the Pacific and he expected to be a part of the invasion force that would hit the beaches of Japan. He did not expect to survive it. The invasion never came, but that experience made a profound impression on him. When I hear him speak about the Constitution, our Founding Fathers and the flag on this floor it is plain how that wartime experience helped him comprehend the true stakes of the constitutional debate, how it informed his notions of patriotism and his sense of what America means. When he returned from the service he got a first-rate education at the University of Arkansas and Northwestern University Law School, all paid for, he is quick to point out, by Uncle Sam under the GI bill. He has been returning the favor to the American people ever since.

DALE BUMPERS started his career as a country lawyer in Charleston, a very successful one by all reports, and he got a reputation around Arkansas, even if he was, as he says, “the entire membership of the South Franklin County Bar Association.” As time went by, his practice grew, he took over his father's hardware store, he taught Sunday School and sang in the church choir and he and his wonderful wife Betty started a family. But he wasn't feeling complacent.

There are a lot of great DALE BUMPERS stories many people don't know. In the days following the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, tension was building in the South as school integration looked more and more inevitable. By 1957, we had the Little Rock Crisis, but there was one town in Arkansas that had already integrated by then, without any great trouble. It was the first in Arkansas, maybe the first

in the entire South. It was Charleston, AR, where DALE BUMPERS was a young lawyer, representing the school board. He saw what was coming and he knew what was right. He did a little research and he found out how much the district was spending to bus its black students to Fort Smith. He made his case to the school board about the right course, working those numbers into the argument. The board then voted to do what he had advised them to do—integrate the schools. It was not long after that he helped to integrate his church—the pastor of the local black Methodist church approached the all white congregation of his Methodist church, seeking help to repair a leaky roof. Why spend all that money and have two churches, why not just join our two churches together, said DALE BUMPERS, and it was done. Those are two quiet little pieces of history that tell us plenty about the principles and the persuasive powers of DALE BUMPERS.

Well, after a while, school board politics were getting to him, so DALE decided he would like to be the Governor of Arkansas. So off he went, eighth out of eight in the early primary polls, to do battle with Orval Faubus and other established politicians. His critics said he had “nothing but a smile and a shoeshine.” But then the people of Arkansas heard what he had to say. He beat everybody but Faubus in the primary, beat Faubus in the runoff and then he beat Winthrop Rockefeller. Arkansas had never seen a Governor like DALE BUMPERS. He reformed everything from education to health care and gained the lasting affection of the people while doing it.

After 4 years as Governor, he decided he wanted to go to the Senate. All that stood in his way was J. William Fulbright, an institution in his own right. But BUMPERS won, and he came to the Senate. As we have seen, this Chamber is the place where he always belonged.

When I came to the Senate, I had heard of Senator BUMPERS’ intelligence, his quick wit, his impatience with wasteful spending, his vigorous defense of the environment and his role as a relentless guardian of our Constitution. When it comes to amending the Constitution. DALE BUMPERS always says, “I’m a founding member of the ‘Wait Just a Minute’ club.” That is a great line, but it tells of a Senator who has risked defeat, has felt real contempt from those who disagree, all because he would not stand for the political use of the Constitution. He gave a great speech once called “The Trivialization of the Constitution” in which he made the case

that we must never casually fiddle with our Constitution for political gain or to deal with transitory policy issues. His work to defend the Constitution and inject sobriety into the constitutional debate, all by itself, qualifies him as a great patriot and Senator. Let the record reflect that I too am a member of the “Wait Just a Minute” club.

DALE BUMPERS’ leadership in cutting wasteful spending and his fiscal foresight are unsurpassed. In 1981, when Ronald Reagan was calling the shots in the budget debate, DALE BUMPERS was one of only three Senators to oppose Reagan’s tax cuts and support the spending cuts. If their position had prevailed, the budget would have been balanced in 1984. That was 14 years ago. Now there’s a fiscal role model.

Senator BUMPERS went after what we now call “corporate welfare” years before the term was coined, and years before others were willing to focus on the problem of government waste. From the international space station to the 1872 Mining Law, Senator BUMPERS has been resolute in his pursuit of excesses in the Federal budget. He has gone after sacred cows and hidden pork, and faced strong opposition from both sides of the aisle. But he has continued his work, tirelessly and often thanklessly, because he knows he is doing what is right for the American people. I have often felt great pride standing with DALE BUMPERS on an amendment, even when we knew we would lose, because when he made a stand, his allies knew they were doing the right thing.

His campaign against government waste is matched only by his efforts to protect the environment as chairman and ranking member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. Senator BUMPERS has been an outstanding leader on the committee, and has exhibited a conservation ethic unparalleled in the U.S. Senate. DALE BUMPERS was the first Senator to sound the alarm about the ozone layer and the danger of ozone-depleting gases, long before most of us had ever heard of them. And he always remembered his father’s hardware store—there never was a more relentless defender of small business in the Senate.

I have been honored to work with him on a number of conservation efforts, including public land reform and nuclear energy issues, and I know the Senate will miss his leadership in that area. His work to reform the 1872 mining law is the issue where his environmental stewardship and his determination to cut wasteful spending have gone hand-in-hand. I have been proud to join him in this fight, because it’s a crucially important one, an “outrage,” as he calls it, that

wouldn't be under scrutiny today if it weren't for the work of Senator BUMPERS. And I am confident, Senator BUMPERS, that your view will prevail on the mining law soon enough, because you are right and everybody knows you're right.

Everybody thinks of DALE BUMPERS first and foremost as an orator, a story teller, a raconteur and a dispenser of folk wisdom. He is common sense with a silver tongue and a sense of history. So let me finish my remarks with a tribute to his oratorical style. DALE BUMPERS often decried the idea that we could eliminate the deficit by cutting taxes and raising spending, he said "That reminds me of the combination taxidermist/veterinarian in my hometown. His slogan was 'Either way you get your dog back.' " When he saw a flaw in his opponent's argument he jumped on it like a duck on a junebug. He might declare. "His argument is as thin as spit on a rock!" Why is he such a masterful debater? Because he can explain the complex in a simple way, and expose the truth in uncomplicated language, without demagoguery or distortion. As he would say, "You gotta throw the corn where the hogs can get at it." He hated deficit spending, and when he saw a budget full of red ink, he said, "Well, you pass that and you'll create deficits big enough to choke a mule. That's just eating the seed corn!"

Being in this body, and having the honor of serving with DALE BUMPERS, has given me an invaluable chance to get to know a remarkable man, and to understand what his legacy in this body will mean for generations to come. The greatest thing he has taught me is not to fear the tough votes. Time and again, from the Panama Canal to the flag amendment, he has cast the hard votes. Time and again, he has gone home to Arkansas and made his case, explaining his votes to the people. He didn't always persuade them all, but he convinced them that his were votes of principle—and the people's confidence in his integrity has sustained him in the affection of even those Arkansans who disagreed.

DALE BUMPERS has plenty to be proud of, but he has always remembered who he is and where he came from. He mixed it up with the best of them during debate, but never with rancor. He is quick to point out the work of other Senators and his staff when things are accomplished. The other day he stood on this floor and thanked his grade school teacher, Miss Doll, for encouraging him more than 60 years ago! He never fails to credit all his success to his remarkable wife Betty, who has achieved so much in promoting peace and the health of children. He speaks always of his family

as the wellspring of his values and the source of his priorities.

So now he leaves the Senate having enriched this country and this institution in a thousand ways. His wisdom and courage and his persistent voice will echo long into the future. To every Member of the Senate, on both sides of the aisle, DALE BUMPERS is an admired friend and colleague. To those of us who share his principles and have learned from his leadership, he is nothing less than a hero. He is one of the great ones—and you don't need to be all broke out in brilliance to know that. Thank you DALE BUMPERS and good luck!

WEDNESDAY, *October 21, 1998.*

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, in this last day of the 105th Congress, I think it is appropriate that we take a little more time to express our appreciation and our admiration for our retiring Senators. I look down the list: Senator BUMPERS of Arkansas; Senator Coats of Indiana; Senator Ford, the Democratic whip, of Kentucky; Senator Glenn, who will soon be taking another historic flight into space; and Senator Kempthorne, who I believe is also going to be taking flight into a new position of leadership and honor. This is a distinguished group of men who have been outstanding Senators, who have left their mark on this institution. I believe you could say in each case they have left the Senate a better place than it was when they came.

Have we had our disagreements along the way? Sure, within parties and across party aisles. I have to take a moment to express my appreciation to each of these Senators. I especially want to thank Senator Ford for his cooperation in his position as whip. We worked together for a year and a half as the whip on our respective side of the aisle and we always had a very good relationship. Of course, I have already expressed my very close relationship for Senator Coats and for Senator Kempthorne.

To all of these Senators, I want to extend my fondest farewell.

As majority leader, I feel a responsibility to speak for all of us in bidding an official farewell to our five colleagues who are retiring this year.

It was 1974 when DALE BUMPERS left the Governorship of Arkansas to take the Senate seat that had long been held by



Senator Fulbright. There are several Senators in this Chamber today who, in 1974, were still in high school.

Four terms in the Senate of the United States can be a very long time—but that span of nearly a quarter-century has not in the least diminished Senator BUMPERS' enthusiasm for his issues and energy in advancing them.

He has been a formidable debater, fighting for his causes with a tenacity and vigor that deserves the title of Razorback.

It is a memorable experience to be on the receiving end of his opposition—whether the subject was the space station or, year after year, mining on public lands.

Arkansas and Mississippi are neighbors, sharing many of the same problems. From personal experience, I know how Senator BUMPERS has been an assiduous and effective advocate for his State and region.

No one expects retirement from the Senate to mean inactivity for Senator BUMPERS, whose convictions run too deep to be set aside with his formal legislative duties.

All of us who know the sacrifices an entire family makes when a spouse or parent is in the Congress can rejoice for him, for Betty, and for their family, in the prospect of more time together in a well earned future.

Senator Dan Coats and I have a bond in common which most Members of the Senate do not share. We both began our careers on Capitol Hill, not as Members, but as staffers.

I worked for the venerable William Colmer of Mississippi, chairman of the House Rules Committee, who left office in 1972 at the age of 82. Senator Coats worked for Dan Quayle, who came to Congress at the age of 27.

Despite the differences in our situations back then, we both learned the congressional ropes from the bottom up.

Which may be why we both have such respect for the twists and turns of the legislative process, not to mention an attentive ear to the views and concerns of our constituents.

Now and then, a Senator becomes nationally known for his leadership on a major issue. Senator Coats has had several such issues.

One was the constitutional amendment for a balanced budget. Another was New Jersey's garbage, and whether it would be dumped along the banks of the Wabash.

The garbage issue is still unresolved, but on other matters, his success has been the Nation's profit.

He has championed the American family, improved Head Start, kept child care free of government control, and helped prevent a Federal takeover of health care.

His crusade to give low-income families school choice has made him the most important education reformer since Horace Mann. His passionate defense of children before birth has been, to use an overworked phrase, a profile in courage.

Senator Coats does have a secret vice. He is a baseball addict. On their honeymoon, he took Marcia to a Cubs game. And when he was a Member of the House, he missed the vote on flag-burning to keep a promise to his son to see the Cubs in the playoffs.

To Dan, a commitment is a commitment. That is why he is national president of Big Brothers. And why, a few years ago, he kept a very important audience waiting for his arrival at a meeting here on the Hill.

He had, en route, come across a homeless man, and spent a half-hour urging him to come with him to the Gospel Rescue Mission.

Here in the Congress, we must always be in a hurry. But Senator Coats and his wife, Marcia, have known what is worth waiting for.

They have been a blessing to our Senate family, and they will always remain a part of it.

Senator Wendell Ford stands 12th in seniority in the Senate, with the resignation of his predecessor, Senator Marlow Cook, giving him a 6-day advantage over his departing colleague, Senator BUMPERS.

He came to Washington with a full decade of hands-on governmental experience in his native Kentucky. He had been a State senator, Lieutenant Governor, and Governor. With that background, he needed little time to make his mark in the Senate.

In that regard, he reminds me of another Kentuckian who make a lasting mark on the Senate.

Last month, I traveled to Ashland, the home of Henry Clay, to receive a medallion named after the man once known as Harry of the West. Senator Ford was a prior recipient of that award, and appropriately so.

Henry Clay was a shrewd legislator, a tough bargainer, who did not suffer fools lightly. That description sounds familiar to anyone who has worked with Senator Ford.

He can be a remarkably effective partisan. I can attest to that. There is a good reason why he has long been his party's second-in-command in the Senate.

At the same time, he has maintained a personal autonomy that is the mark of a true Senator. He has been outspoken about his wish that his party follow the more moderate path to which he has long adhered.

Senator Ford's influence has been enormous in areas like energy policy and commerce. Contemporary politics may be dependent upon quotable sound-bites and telegenic posturing, but he has held to an older and, in my opinion, a higher standard.

One of the least sought-after responsibilities in the Senate is service on the Rules Committee.

It can be a real headache. But it is crucial to the stature of the Senate. We all owe Senator Ford our personal gratitude for his long years of work on that Committee.

His decisions there would not always have been my decisions; that is the nature of our system. But his work there has set a standard for meticulousness and gravity.

All of us who treasure the traditions, the decorum, and the comity of the Senate will miss him.

We wish him and Jean the happiness of finally being able to set their own hours, enjoy their grandchildren, and never again missing dinner at home because of a late-night session on the Senate floor.

There are many ways to depart the Senate. Our colleague from Ohio, Senator John Glenn, will be leaving us in a unique fashion, renewing the mission to space which he helped to begin in 1962.

In the weeks ahead, he will probably be the focus of more publicity, here and around the world, than the entire Senate has been all year long.

It will be well deserved attention, and I know he accepts it, not for himself, but for America's space program.

For decades now, he has been, not only its champion, but in a way, its embodiment.

That is understandable, but to a certain extent, unfair. For his astronaut image tends to overshadow the accomplishments of a long legislative career.

In particular, his work on the Armed Services Committee, the Commerce Committee, and our Special Committee on Aging has been a more far-reaching achievement than orbiting the Earth.

With the proper support and training, others might have done that, but Senator Glenn's accomplishments here in the Senate are not so easily replicated.

This year's hit film, "Saving Private Ryan," has had a tremendous impact on young audiences by bringing home to them the sacrifice and the suffering of those who fought America's wars.

I think Senator Glenn has another lesson to teach them. For the man who will soon blast off from Cape Canaveral, as part of America's peaceful conquest of space—is the same Marine who, more than a half century ago, saw combat in World War II, and again in Korea.

His mission may have changed, but courage and idealism endure.

In a few days, along with Annie and the rest of his family, we will be cheering him again, as he again makes us proud of our country, proud of our space program, and proud to call him our friend and colleague.

Senator Dirk Kempthorne came to us from Idaho only 6 years ago. He now returns amid the nearly universal expectation that he will be his State's next Governor. It will be a wise choice.

None of us are surprised by his enormous popularity back home. We have come to know him, not just as a consummate politician, but as a thoughtful, decent, and caring man.

This is a man who took the time to learn the names of the men and women who work here in the Capitol and in the Senate office buildings.

In fact, his staff allots extra time for him to get to the Senate floor to vote because they know he will stop and talk to people on the way.

During the memorial ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda for our two officers who lost their lives protecting this building, Senator Kempthorne noticed that the son of one of the officers, overwhelmed by emotion, suddenly left the room.

Dirk followed him, and spent a half-hour alone with him, away from the cameras. The public doesn't see those things, but that's the kind of concern we expect from him.

His willingness to share credit gave us our Unfunded Mandates Act and reauthorization of the Safe Drinking Water Law. And his eye for detail and pride in his own home State led to the transformation of that long, sterile corridor between the Capitol and the Dirksen and Hart office buildings.

Now, as tourists ride the space-age mechanized subway, they enjoy the display of State flags and seals that form a patriotic parade. It delights the eye and lifts the spirit.

If you've ever visited Idaho, known its people, and seen its scenic wonders, you don't have to wonder why he's leaving us early.

You wonder, instead, why he ever left.

Years ago, he explained his future this way: That he would know when it was time to leave the Senate when he stopped asking "why" and started saying "because."

We're going to miss him and Patricia, and no one needs to ask "why." Even so, we know the Governor will be a forceful spokesman on the Hill for all the Governors.

They could not have a better representative. The Senate could not have a better exemplar. We could not have a better friend.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, as we approach the end of another Congress, we bid farewell to those Senators who will not be returning in January. Today I wish to say farewell to a good friend and one of the most honorable and respected members of this body—DALE BUMPERS.

DALE BUMPERS is the epitome of what a Senator should be. He entered public service because he believed that it was a noble profession, and throughout his political career he has performed his duties with the highest levels of integrity and decency. He has always been guided by his heart and his mind, not by any polls.

He almost seems like a character from a Frank Capra film. He was a World War II veteran from a small town who attended college and law school on the G.I. Bill. After practicing law for 20 years in his home town, he earned a reputation as a political giant-killer on his way to the Governor's mansion and eventually the Senate. Even his home address seems straight out of Hollywood. Believe it or not, he actually lives on a street named Honesty Way.

Oftentimes when you're watching DALE BUMPERS speak from the Senate floor, you can't help but think of the character made famous by Jimmy Stewart—Senator Jefferson Smith—whose political philosophy was "the only causes worth fighting for are lost causes," and whose most famous line was, "Either I'm dead right, or I'm crazy."

As Senator BUMPERS said just the other day on this floor, he's probably fought more losing battles than any other Senator. I can picture Senator BUMPERS right now, speaking from the heart on some issue about which he cares very deeply. He knows that he's right, but whatever he says, he can't seem to sway a majority of his colleagues. But no matter what, he won't give up. He won't back down. And in 18

years of serving with DALE BUMPERS, I can honestly say that I never saw him waver in his beliefs or back down from a good, honest debate.

Two years ago, when DALE BUMPERS was speaking on the retirement of his former colleague from Arkansas, David Pryor, he said, and I quote, "I am not a terribly effective legislator because I have a very difficult time compromising. I have strong beliefs, and sometimes compromise is just out of the question for me."

Maybe there is some truth to that statement. Maybe DALE BUMPERS could have scored a few more political victories if he had been more willing to compromise.

But I think that my friend from Arkansas is being a little hard on himself in his self-assessment. I think that he is an excellent legislator, and it was his candor and his devotion to his convictions that made him effective. Obviously, compromise is often essential to getting things done around here. But equally essential is having people around here who are passionate about issues and willing to fight for their beliefs in the face of opposition.

DALE BUMPERS is not only thought of highly by his colleagues, but I think that everyone in the entire Senate family thinks fondly of this man. And I know for a fact that many members of my staff share a deep admiration for Senator BUMPERS.

The past few weeks, there has actually been a "DALE BUMPERS watch" in the L.A. room in my office, much like the Mark McGwire watch that captivated the country during the baseball season. Every time Senator BUMPERS has come to the floor, hands have pulled back from keyboards and the volumes on television sets have been turned up, as my staffers have watched and wondered if this would be the last time that DALE BUMPERS will speak on the Senate floor. I only hope that they were watching C-SPAN on the afternoon of Saturday, October 10.

Of course, DALE BUMPERS will most likely be remembered for his unsurpassed oratory skills. One thing that made our friend from Arkansas such an effective speaker was that his positions were always based on common sense. Whether or not you agreed with DALE BUMPERS, you could always understand the logic behind his argument. But what set him apart was his passion. Not many people can get excited over a 120-year-old mining law, but DALE BUMPERS could speak on this issue and convince you that this was the defining issue of the decade.

I only regret that he was never elected majority leader so that he may 1 day come back to speak as a part of the Leaders' Speaker Series. Maybe we can come up with a waiver provision to let certain colleagues who were never majority leader speak—and call it the “Bumpers Rule.”

For DALE BUMPERS the final judgment on the merit of his arguments will not be rendered by the yeas and nays of his colleagues. It will rather be rendered by the illuminating perspective of time. And I have little doubt that time will rule in favor of the Senator from Arkansas.

Just the other day, Senator BUMPERS was on the floor talking about a speech he gave about the ozone layer in the mid 1970's. Most of his statements were considered alarmist at the time, but more than a decade later, an exhaustive study by the National Academy of Sciences confirmed that everything he said has in fact been proven true. And I am confident that time will ultimately prove that DALE BUMPERS was right far more often than he was wrong.

I also think that time will reveal that our friend from Arkansas was one of the most capable, intelligent, and principled legislators that this body has ever known. I can honestly say that it has been an honor to serve alongside DALE BUMPERS for the past 18 years. I will truly miss his friendship, and I wish him and his wife Betty only the best in all their future endeavors.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I know we are all going to greatly miss our friend Senator BUMPERS. He is certainly one of the finest orators this body has enjoyed since Daniel Webster. But I want to take a moment to personally thank Senator BUMPERS.

Senator BUMPERS and I came to the Senate as part of the class of 1974. So I had very mixed feelings last year when I heard that my good friend would be leaving this Chamber. He and I have shared many battles over the 24 years that we have spent in these halls and on this floor. And, as my good friend pointed out just a few days ago, I am not even half as entertaining as him, so his shoes will be hard to fill.

However, as Senator BUMPERS has often remarked, he has probably fought more losing battles in this Chamber than any other Member. He is leaving those battles for the rest of us to fight. He has laid down a marker for where our country must go in the next century. His challenge to us who remain in this Chamber is to frame laws that show respect to our country's founders and to our country's future.

He has fought tirelessly to defend our Bill of Rights and only yesterday warned this Chamber against of the temptation of amending what he has often called “our sacred document.” Senator BUMPERS has shown great courage over the years in his steadfast protection of our Constitution.

As he has pointed out many times, he has taken a lot of political heat for voting against popular issues like school prayer, flag burning and the balanced budget amendment. But even though he has voted against all of these things and voted for our Constitution, he is walking out of this Chamber by his own choice. His courage should guide us all in our choices between popular issues of the day and protecting our Constitution.

His legacy will also be marked by an intense desire to pass on to his grandchildren and to all of our grandchildren a world where you can still find places of solitude and beauty, streams where you can still catch trout and salmon and forests where you can still find trees older than your grandparents.

That is why it is only fitting that in the last few days of this Congress we are able to honor Senator BUMPERS by dedicating wilderness areas within the Ozark and Ouachita National Forests to his long, and often lonely, fight to protect our Nation’s most precious natural resources.

His marker also represents a world where children are free from disease and free from debt. DALE and his wife Betty have not only made a professional commitment to protecting the health of our children, but they have made this a personal commitment.

Even if DALE was still a Main Street merchant or a jackleg merchant, as he described himself, Betty would still be dragging him into these fights to protect our children’s health. Although I know that she has never had to pull very hard, because his commitment comes from the heart.

Many of us will remember Senator BUMPERS not only for a keeper of our national treasures, but also as a chaser of boondoggles. Whether it be reining in government subsidies for mining companies or chemical companies, he is never one to pull punches or mince words.

In fact, one of the only reasons I can come up with for Congress still not passing mining reform is that we all so love to see DALE take over the aisles of this Chamber and entertain us with his now re-known “Bumperisms.” Who else would think to compare the attraction between our mining



companies and government subsidies to a “duck on a June bug.”

Of course, DALE certainly would not be one to limit his battles to planet Earth. He has also taken on the black holes we’ve tried to build in outer space. I will not be surprised at all if we start receiving Bumper-Grams from Arkansas each week telling us how many millions we have spent in the last 7 days on the International Space Station. Although this fight is not over, Senator BUMPERS can leave here knowing he helped stop the ill-conceived “Star Wars” to make our heavens a battlefield.

Although we will certainly miss Senator BUMPERS for all his one-liners, impassioned speeches, and frank critiques, we will also miss his wonderful wife, Betty. As we leave here this week, I will look fondly on Senator BUMPERS future—spending his days with Betty, his three children, Brent, Bill, and Brooke and their five grandchildren.

Finally, Mr. President, let me help send our dear friend by quoting from another highly esteemed Arkansan, Johnny Cash, “ask that engineer if he will blow his whistle please, ‘Cause I smell frost on cotton leaves. \* \* \* And I smell that Southern breeze. Hey, Porter! Hey, Porter! Please get my bags for me, I need nobody to tell me now that we’re in Tennessee. \* \* \* Hey Porter! Hey Porter! Please open up my door. When they stop this train I’m gonna get off first ‘Cause I can’t wait no more. Tell that engineer I say, “Thanks a lot. I didn’t mind the fare. I’m gonna set my feet on Southern soil. \* \* \* And breathe that Southern air.”

We all hope that Southern air treats you and Betty well.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I understand that in his last campaign Senator BUMPERS used the slogan: “What a Senator Should Be.” I couldn’t have summed it up better myself.

Throughout his 24 years in this body, DALE BUMPERS has set new standards for the office of Senator. He is sincere and compassionate. He speaks with eloquence and clarity. He is an idealist and a realist. He is courageous and principled. He can stimulate a debate and broker a deal. He has a deep understanding of the issues and a quick wit that amuses us all. He is a true populist whose dedication to improving the lives of Arkansans has benefited our Nation as a whole.

I am deeply honored to have served with Senator BUMPERS for 6 years. I have learned a great deal from him. Because of him I have been fortunate to witness some of the Senate’s most animated debates, on such issues as mining law reform, electric utility restructuring, protecting small business, pre-

servicing our public lands, arms control and fighting the now infamous space station.

He has been a voice for our precious environment, champion of consumer rights, and he has always been willing to stand up for the “little guy”, for the interests of regular folks.

Senator BUMPERS’ illustrious career began long before he was elected to the U.S. Senate. As a young lawyer in Charleston, AR, DALE BUMPERS played a key role in the first integration of a public school after the Brown vs. Board of Education decision.

He went on to serve as Governor of Arkansas for 4 years, and was recently voted the “Greatest Governor” in the history of Arkansas by the Arkansas Times.

Fortunately, it was not often that Senator BUMPERS and I were on opposite sides of an issue. However, one of my most memorable moments in the Senate was one such occasion. We were debating an important agriculture issue and to emphasize my point, I brought a frozen chicken on the Senate floor and slammed it on a desk. Senator BUMPERS and Senator Pryor immediately raised a point of order and I had to remove that chicken from the Senate floor.

Anyone who has had to face off against Senator BUMPERS knows of the passion he feels for the issues he discusses and the people he represents. Even those who may oppose his views can’t help but admire his lively speeches and personal stories. I will miss hearing his familiar sayings about pigs squealing under gates and fights with Betty. I will miss his pointer flying as he paces up and down the aisles of the floor. I will miss the passion in his voice. And most of all, I will miss my friend.

Senator BUMPERS is someone on whom I have grown to depend, a man who has always given a kind word, and a person who has been a true role model for us all.

I thank the senior Senator from Arkansas for all that he has shared with us and all that he has taught us. No doubt there will be Senators who will continue to promote the causes he cared for so deeply. But I assure you, the debates will never have the same enthusiasm, the same passion or the same flare, that Senator BUMPERS brought to this august body.

It is with reverence, awe and deep affection that I pay tribute to the truly distinguished gentleman from Arkansas, Senator DALE BUMPERS. I will miss him dearly.

WEDNESDAY, *June 18, 1997.*

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, with sadness, I rise today to pay tribute to a remarkable member of the U.S. Senate, the senior Senator from Arkansas, DALE BUMPERS. Senator BUMPERS has announced his retirement after more than 25 years in public service, including the last 22 years in the U.S. Senate. When DALE BUMPERS leaves the Senate at the end of next year to return to his family and his beloved Arkansas, I will miss his leadership and his friendship tremendously.

There has rarely been a Senator in this body with the courage of his convictions like DALE BUMPERS. During his time here, he has stood up valiantly for the causes he believes in. He has been an advocate for his home State and has fought against a number of Government projects that he felt were wasteful or inefficient. His object has always been to protect the people of Arkansas and the American taxpayer. We have not always agreed with each other on the merits of every project. But I have always been able to count on Senator BUMPERS' integrity, his honesty, and his good humor.

When Senator BUMPERS retires, I think my colleagues will agree that the back of the Senate Chamber will never be the same. In an institution known for its orators, Senator BUMPERS is among the most accomplished of them. His passion for public debate, and his commitment to justice have been obvious to all Senators when DALE BUMPERS takes the floor of the Senate. He speaks with eloquence and with feeling, whether the issue is protecting our environment or cutting corporate welfare.

Throughout his career in public service, Senator BUMPERS has remained true to his constituents by being a strong advocate for his home State of Arkansas. He knows that a Senator's ultimate responsibility is to the people of his State. As a result of his advocacy and his honesty, Arkansas voters have returned him to Washington three times with landslide re-election victories. I have no doubt that the voters of Arkansas would have made it a fourth re-election landslide if he wished.

Senator BUMPERS' insights into the issues and problems we address in the Senate, and in his Environment and Public Works Committee have made him a valuable and trusted Member of this body. Our leadership, the Senate, and most

of all the State of Arkansas have greatly benefited from his service.

I believe that I speak for all of my colleagues when I say that the departure of Senator BUMPERS will leave a void in this institution. As he approaches retirement, I want to thank DALE BUMPERS for his service to his country and congratulate him for his extraordinary career. I wish him excellent health and happiness in retirement, and I will truly miss him.



#### FAREWELL ADDRESS OF SENATOR BUMPERS

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I rise this afternoon to speak, for what may be the last time, on the floor of the Senate. It is a very bittersweet time for me, after 24 years, most of which have been spent at this very desk. I might say at this moment that I have been blessed by having Senator Kennedy as my seatmate these many years, and before him Senator Gore—both truly outstanding men.

In order to deliver a speech such as I am about to deliver, Mr. President, I do not think there is anything wrong with listing some of the defining moments in my life, because this speech is really more for the benefit of my children and grandchildren than it is for my colleagues or the people of America.

First of all, I was blessed by my parents. I remind my brother from time to time that everybody was not so lucky in choosing their parents as he and I were. And that really is the reason that I stand here as one of 1,843 men and women ever to serve in the U.S. Senate. We were taught when we were children that when we died we were “going to Franklin Roosevelt”. And the reason we were taught that is because we were very poor. Most people do not realize that the South, from 1865 until about the time Franklin Roosevelt became President, was still living almost as a conquered nation. National politicians paid very little attention to the South.

In our household, we were poor during the Great Depression. And I might say, the Great Depression is certainly one of the most important defining moments of my life. But it was during the Great Depression that Franklin Roosevelt began to provide all kinds of things for people in the South that they had previously thought unthinkable.

We didn't have indoor plumbing. We didn't have running water. We didn't have paved streets. We didn't have much

of anything. The people in our community died of typhoid fever in the summertime because the outhouse was just a few steps away from the well from which we drew our drinking water. Then Franklin Roosevelt began to provide immunizations for children against smallpox and typhoid. It was free. We got those shots at school.

We had then what we called hoboes or tramps; today we call them homeless people. My mother always saved a few scraps after breakfast knowing that some tramp was going to knock on the back door and ask for food. That was back before welfare came into existence. So we were very poor.

I remember when I was 12 years old my father heard that Franklin Roosevelt was coming to Arkansas. He was a great believer in America and the political system and public service. He wanted my brother and me to see Franklin Roosevelt. So we drove over a gravel road 20 miles to Booneville, AR, and when the train on the Rock Island line pulled in, Franklin Roosevelt came out on the back platform, obviously being held up by a couple of Secret Service men. I tugged on my father's arm and I said, "Dad, what's wrong with him?" He said, "I will tell you later." On the way home, he told us that Franklin Roosevelt had contracted polio when he was 37 years old, he couldn't walk, and he carried 12 pounds of steel braces on his legs.

Then he told my brother and me that if Franklin Roosevelt could become President and couldn't even walk, there was no reason why my brother and I, with strong minds and bodies, couldn't become President, too. I never took my eye off that goal until many, many years later.

In the following year, my father was president of the Arkansas Retail Hardware Association. They gave our family \$300 to go to Los Angeles to the national convention. I can remember the big party at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles in 1937. I had never stepped on a carpet before in my life, and the Biltmore was filled with thick carpet. We just loved it. We didn't stay at the Biltmore. We were staying at the \$2-a-night cabin.

But the night of the big party, everybody was in tuxedos and long dresses, except my parents. And all the children were dressed in tuxedos, too, even in that Depression year of 1937. But I can remember my brother and I had on long pants and white shirts, no tie, no coat. We were terribly embarrassed. My father sensed that, and so the next day he told us that he knew we were embarrassed but he reminded us that the most important thing was that we were clean,

our clothes were clean, our bodies were clean, and the kind of clothes you wore really were not all that important. He made it OK.

When I was 15 years old, I had a high school English and literature teacher named Miss Doll. Every Member of the U.S. Senate has been influenced by a college professor or high school teacher, maybe a preacher or somebody else. She was my influence.

I remember my mother, who had a tendency—not to denigrate my mother—to not build our self-esteem. My father was working against that, trying to teach us self-esteem, not ego, but esteem.

We were reading Beowulf in English, a great piece of literature. We would read a paragraph and discuss it. One time it came my time to read. I started reading, and all of a sudden—I read about two pages and Miss Doll still hadn't stopped me—I looked up and she was standing there. She looked at me and she looked at the class and she said, "Doesn't he read beautifully?" "Doesn't he have a nice voice?" And she said, "And wouldn't it be tragic if he didn't use that talent." At first I thought she was making fun of me, but she did more for my self-esteem in 10 seconds than anybody, except my father, ever did. Some of my political detractors think she overdid it.

And then just out of high school, but only after 6 months at the University of Arkansas, I went into the Marine Corps. World War II was raging. It was a terrifying time. I fully expected to be killed in that war. The Marines were taking terrible casualties in the South Pacific. Happily, I survived that. The best part of it was when I got home there was a caring, generous, compassionate Federal Government, waiting with the GI bill.

While my father would have stolen to make sure we had a good education, my brother went to Harvard Law School and I went to the University of Arkansas and later Northwestern University Law School—both expensive schools my father could never afford. I studied political science and law. The reason I did that is because my father wanted me to go into public service. He wanted me and my brother to be politicians. He may be the last man who ever lived who encouraged his sons to go into politics.

In my first year in law school, he and my mother were killed in a car wreck. They were tragically killed by a drunken driver. Neither of them had ever had a drink in their life. That is what made it so bizarre. The big disappointment of

my life was that my father didn't live to see me Governor or Senator.

The next defining moment of my life is when our children were born—first Brent, then Bill and then Brooke.

The next defining moment was when I was practicing law in a little town of 1,200 people and decided to run for Governor. The day I filed, a poll was taken statewide. It was the last day of the filing deadline. I found that of the eight Democrats in the primary, I had 1-percent name recognition. It was probably the most foolhardy thing I had ever done in my life. But I was trying to keep faith with my father, and I believe strongly in our country and I believe in public service.

The next defining moment in my life was shortly after I was elected Governor I got an invitation to go to Kansas City to speak at a Truman Day dinner. I told them I couldn't go, the legislature was in session. I just assumed those legislators would screw the dome off the capital if I left town. They came back and said, "If you will agree to do this, we will let you spend an hour with President and Mrs. Truman," and that was more than I could resist. So I went and spent that hour with President Truman and he asked me how I liked being Governor. I said, "I don't like it, it's a real pressure cooker. I am just a country lawyer. This is all new to me and the press is driving me crazy."

I was telling him what a terrible job being Governor of Arkansas was, and it suddenly dawned on me I was talking to a man who had to make the decision to drop the atomic bomb that ended World War II. And so I shut up. And then he told me, as I left, "Son, while you are looking at the ceiling every night in the Governor's mansion, wondering what you are going to do, remember one thing: The people elected you to do what you think is right and that is all they expect out of you. They have busy lives. So, remember, always tell people the truth; they can handle it."

That didn't sound like very profound advice to me at the time. But indeed it was. I have thought about it every day of my life since then.

Second, he said, "When you are debating in your own mind the issues that you have to confront, you think about this: Get the best advice you can get on both sides of the issue, make up your mind which one is right, and then you do it. That is all the people of the State expect of you—to do what you think is right."

So when I drove off the mansion grounds 4 years later, coming to the Senate, as I told my Democratic colleagues the other night, most of whom know this, I came here with the full intention of running for President. I had a very successful 4 years as Governor. I thought the world was my oyster and I fully intended, as I say, to run. The reason I didn't run is because after I had been here for a year, I realized that this whole apparatus was much more complex than I thought it was.

I told my children, if I had three lives to live, at the end of the last one, I would look back prior to 10 years at the end of it and realize how dumb I was. I was so smart when I graduated from high school, I could hardly bear it. When I got out of law school, the problem was compounded. When I drove off the mansion grounds, I was quite sure I was ready to be king of the world.

The other night I told Senator Sarbanes I really regret that I have not been as effective a legislator as I should have been. He said, "Everybody feels that way." What I was really saying, I suppose, is I wish I had known then what I know now. In my dying breath I will look back and think about, really, how I was not as smart this Saturday afternoon as I thought I was. That is what a living, learning experience is.

So I chose not to run for President. By the time I felt that I was qualified to be President, I decided that it demanded a price that I was not willing to pay. Not to be purely apocalyptic about our future, because I am not, I must say, in all candor, partisanship has reached a point in this country, and the demands for political money have become so great—two very insidious things—that good men and women are opting out of public service, and not to enter public service. Money is corrupting the political process and it threatens our very democracy.

Since I announced that I would not run last year, I confess to you, Mr. President and colleagues, that I have voted in ways that I would not have if I were running. I think of the few times when I would have had to worry about what kind of a 30-second spot that vote would generate.

I have cast my share of courageous votes since I have been here, as Harry Truman admonished me to do. I have always tried to use simple tests as to how I voted; How would my children and grandchildren judge me? Did it make me stronger or the Nation stronger? Did it do any irreversible damage to the environment? Is it fair to the less fortunate among us? Does it comport with the thrust of our Constitu-



tion, the greatest document ever conceived by the mind of man? Or does it simply make me stronger politically because it satisfies the political whims of the moment? Or does it simply keep the political money supply flowing?

Speaking of courageous votes, I voted for the Panama Canal Treaties in 1978 and, in all fairness, in 1980, had I had a strong opponent, I would not be standing here right now. I lucked out. But I can tell you, people were absolutely livid about my vote on the Panama Canal Treaties—a fabricated political issue. I ask the American people and my colleagues, who today has been inconvenienced by the Panama Canal Treaties? Is this country any weaker? The truth is that it is stronger. Our relationship with Panama is much stronger. It was the Quemoy and Matsu issue of 1978.

Incidentally, Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma voted against the Panama Canal Treaties and made a minute-and-a-half speech in doing it, while the rest of us were pontificating for hours trying to justify our positions. He announced he would not run again because, coming from the conservative State of Oklahoma, he knew he didn't have a prayer of being re-elected, so hot was that issue.

When I voted against Ronald Reagan's prayer in school amendment—the only southern Senator to do so, my opponent tried to take advantage of it. But the American people and the people of my State—once you explained what was involved to them, where the school prayers would be written or adopted by the school board and required saying in the schools—came to understand the perils of the amendment. I always tell youngsters, and college groups particularly, when you think about that, you tell me which country that has an official state religion you want to live in.

Mr. President, one of the greatest moments of my life was when I was Governor and a man came into my office wanting me to talk to the highway department about a late penalty they were going to assess him for being 60 days late in completing a highway job. To shorten the story, I said, "If I do this for you, how do I explain to the next guy who walks in the door why I can't do it for him? I don't want to start down that road." After a long conversation, when he started to walk out after I told him I could not, under any circumstances, comply with the request, he said, "Governor, that's the reason I voted for you."

This institution is a great place. It is supposed to be the deliberative body. The Founding Fathers intended the lower House, the House of Representatives, to be the House of the

people. They expected this place to be the deliberative body. It is a curious thing—and the minority leader here knows this—every amendment, every bill that comes up, we immediately start trying to figure out, how stringently can we limit the debate on this issue? There are times when that is fully justified, and there are times when only if you fully air something do the Senate Members really come here well enough informed to vote on it.

We are still the oldest democracy on Earth. We are still living under the oldest Constitution on Earth, and without men and women of goodwill being willing to offer themselves for service, there is absolutely no assurance that that will always be. Thomas Jefferson said, “The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.” He was not just talking about military vigilance. We are still woefully inadequate in this country in the field of education. If I were the President of the United States and I were looking at a \$70 billion surplus, I would make sure the first thing we did was to pass a bill that said no child in this Nation shall be deprived of a college education for lack of money. Look at all the statistics where we rank among the developed nations in education. And look at the state of health care. It is good for those who can afford it. And 45 million who have no health insurance and no health care do the best they can.

Mr. President, I have been richly blessed in my life, as I said, mostly by devoted parents, and good Methodist Sunday school teaching. My mother wanted me to be a Methodist preacher and my father wanted me to be a politician. Think about growing up with that pressure. I am personally blessed with a great family. If I died tomorrow, the people of Arkansas would take note of it, and there would be headlines in all of the papers in the State. But if Betty died tomorrow the people of our State would grieve. She has founded two organizations.

When Ronald Reagan announced to this country that we might just fire one across the Soviet Union’s bow to get their attention, he terrified her. She and a group of congressional wives met around my kitchen table for about 6 months. Finally, I came home one night, and she said, “We are forming an organization. And we feel so strongly about it that we are going to put ‘peace’ in the name. We are going to call it Peace Links”. Ultimately, she had almost 250 congressional wives conscripted into that organization.

I told her “you are going to get your husband beat.” We are from a conservative State. People in Arkansas believe in

a strong defense. People across this Nation believe in a strong defense. She said, "You men are going to get my children killed."

She had already spent all of her public life, from the time I was Governor until this day trying to immunize all of the children in this country. And I am not going to go through all of the successes that she has had, which have been staggering.

The Western Hemisphere is free of polio. Africa will be free of polio by the year 2002. Asia will be free of polio by the year 2004. And measles is next.

I tell you, she deserves a lot of credit for the virtual elimination of childhood diseases in this country. She went to see President Carter when he first came to power. She said, "I tell you something you can do that will have a lasting effect on the health of this Nation, and it will help you a lot when you run again." He put Joe Califano at her disposal. And today she and Rosalynn Carter have an organization called "Every Child By Two." She is still going at it—peace and children.

I have three beautiful children, and six beautiful, healthy grandchildren. I have been blessed with exceptional staff members, most of whom are more than staff members. They are very good friends. I have been blessed with the support of the people of my State in winning almost every election by 60 percent or more of the vote. I was much more liberal than my constituents. I like to believe that they respected me because they knew what I stood for is what I believed instead of what was politically expedient at any given time. But, for whatever reason, I will always be grateful to them.

Our State does not deserve to have been torn apart for the past 6 years. I know so many innocent people who have been destroyed, financially and mentally, by a criminal justice system gone awry. You would have to go back to the Salem witchcraft trials to find anything comparable.

I do not, nor does any Senator, condone the President's conduct. Call it whatever you want—reprehensible, indefensible, unconscionable. Call it anything you want. But most of us take pride in President Clinton's Presidency. And the American people are still saying they like him. But completely aside from that, as I say, I weep sometimes for the unfair treatment to my State, and so many innocent people in it.

I have been blessed by unbelievable friendships of colleagues. Those friendships will probably wane. It is almost

impossible to maintain a relationship with a colleague once you leave here. That is really tragic. But I am realistic. And I know that is what it will be. I know we will have a difficult time having the same kind of relationship, if any at all. But I want them to know that I value their friendship. I value my service with them. I have served with some truly great men and women. And, as Senator Byrd likes to say, only 1,843 men and women have ever been so privileged to serve in this body.

I am already nostalgic about this Chamber—24 years in this Chamber, the Cloakroom, the hearing rooms, the Capitol itself. For 24 years, the first 20 of which I went home almost every weekend and came back on Sunday night, I never failed, as we flew by the Washington Monument, to get goose bumps. And I hope I never do. So, colleagues, I thank you for being my friend. To the people of my State, I thank you for allowing me to serve here.

I want to teach, in order to teach children that politics is a noble profession. My father said it long before Bobby Kennedy did. It is a noble calling. And the minute it becomes what so many people think it is, who do you think suffers? All of us do. So I want to inspire this oncoming generation, as my father did me, to get involved in the political process and public service. You have a duty and a responsibility.

So, to the U.S. Senate, to all of my colleagues, God bless and Godspeed.



#### ORDER FOR PRINTING OF INDIVIDUAL SENATE DOCUMENTS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed as individual Senate documents a compilation of materials from the Congressional Record in tribute to Senators Dan Coats of Indiana, Dirk Kempthorne of Idaho, DALE BUMPERS of Arkansas, Wendell Ford of Kentucky, and John Glenn of Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Craig). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LOTT. These clearly are five great Senators who have served their States and their country so well. And I am sure they will continue to do so, albeit in a different arena. Of course, I have said here, Dan Coats has been one of my closest friends for the past 20 years. I will miss him here but I will be with him in other areas.

And, of course, John Glenn makes history once again flying off into space. And many Senators and their spouses will be there to see that event.



## Proceedings in the House

TUESDAY, *October 20, 1998.*

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a man who has been a great leader and statesman for the State of Arkansas and for this country, U.S. Senator DALE BUMPERS. Senator BUMPERS will retire this year after 24 years in the U.S. Senate. A native of Arkansas, Senator BUMPERS has been active in community affairs most of his life, serving as city attorney, school board president, and president of the Chamber of Commerce. His service defines the term, public servant.

Senator BUMPERS served the people of Arkansas from 1970 to 1974 as our Governor. He trimmed the number of State agencies, doubled the number of State parks, launched an initiative to double the number of doctors trained at Arkansas' only medical school. He helped to build more and better State highways and improved our educational system.

There are so many good things in the State of Arkansas that would not be there if it were not for Senator DALE BUMPERS. The world is a better place because Senator BUMPERS has served. Arkansas and America are better places. With Senator BUMPERS' retirement comes the loss of one of Arkansas' finest public servants and a good friend to all those who have had the pleasure of working with him. I wish Senator BUMPERS and his wife, Betty, much health, happiness and success in the years to come.





## **ARTICLES AND EDITORIALS**



[From Roll Call, January 26, 1998]

SENIORITY BITES

MEMBERS WITH COLLECTIVE 437 YEARS OF SERVICE IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE ARE LEAVING POLITICAL OFFICE, TAKING WITH THEM SOME COLORFUL MEMORIES, MAJOR LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS, AND POLITICAL LESSONS

(By Francesca Contiguglia)

When Representative Lee Hamilton (D-IN) first came to Congress in 1965, septuagenarian House Speaker John McCormack (D-MA) had trouble remembering the freshman's name.

All that changed on the eve of a Caucus vote for Speaker, when McCormack called for Hamilton's vote. Hamilton said he would not be supporting the Speaker.

"From that day on, McCormack remembered my name," said Hamilton.

That's just one of the dozens of lessons learned over the years by Hamilton and the 17 other Members retiring at the end of this year. But even after a collective 390 years of service, 437 including resigning Members, some of these Members have regrets about not mastering those lessons sooner.

"I only wish I had known in 1975 what I know now," said Senator DALE BUMPERS (D-AR), who is retiring after four terms in the Senate. "I would have been a more effective Senator."

"You must live through the battles and develop an institutional memory," said BUMPERS. He counsels newcomers to remember that "you only have so many battles in you," so pick them carefully.

BUMPERS has picked plenty of battles, having been known as an unabashed liberal who is an adamant supporter of arms control. He once accused Reagan of not wanting "to spend money on anything that does not explode." BUMPERS, who is also known as a passionate orator, tells newcomers to remember that the life of a legislator can be frustrating.

"My goal from the time I was 12 years old was to come to Congress," he said. "But it's not long till you realize you're just one of the hundred," a sobering realization, he said.

Other Senate retirees include Glenn and Senators Wendell Ford (D-KY) and Dan Coats (R-IN). "There's never been three finer men serve in the U.S. Senate than those three," said BUMPERS.

Although Glenn is a national hero, he has had his share of disappointments. He dropped out of the 1984 Presidential race after a surprisingly weak showing. He later was dragged through the mud during the Keating Five affair, even though the Senate Ethics Committee cleared him of any wrongdoing.

"One of the greatest miscarriages of justice was Glenn being brought into the Keating Five hearings," said BUMPERS. "You couldn't hold a gun on me and make me think John had done anything wrong, ever in his whole life."

Glenn's clean-cut image was also scarred a bit by his role as ranking Member in the Senate Governmental Affairs campaign finance investigation last year. Republicans accused Glenn of being a defense attorney for the Clinton Administration and said he muffed a golden opportunity to make a bipartisan case for reform on the eve of his retirement—a charge that Glenn vociferously denied.

Ford, who came to the Senate in 1974 along with BUMPERS and Glenn, has distinguished himself as a fierce defender of the institution both as

chairman of the Rules and Administration Committee and as Democratic Whip for 7 years.

Known as a plain-spoken man from Kentucky, Ford has looked out for one of his State's top industries: tobacco. With an ever-present cigarette in his mouth—either during Congressional hearings or in the hallways of power—Ford has made sure that Senate rules allow individuals to smoke on his side of the Capitol.

Now 73, Ford is not slowing down. He gave a speech in September 1996 for a departing colleague, Senator James Exon (D-NE), and said, "I hope you live to be 105 and I'm one of your pallbearers."

Coats has spent less time in the Senate than his retiring colleagues, but he has made his mark for being upbeat and humorous, making his staff "more like a family," according to his press secretary of 9 years, Tim Goeglein.

Goeglein recalled Coats's first day in the Senate. The staff was unpacking the office when a squirrel snuck in through an open window and ran about wreaking havoc. Coats ran off a list of puns and jokes about having a small rodent running around a Senate office.

One of Coats's larger causes was the line-item veto, which passed in the 104th Congress. But he has also been devoted to family causes. Among other things, he supported the Family Leave Act and sponsored a law allowing parents to block dial-a-porn numbers.

Outside of politics, Coats is an enormous Chicago Cubs fan and has said if he weren't a Senator, he'd want to be the shortstop for the team. His wish almost came true on his 50th birthday, when he was called from the stands at Wrigley Field to throw out the first pitch, a surprise arranged by his staff.



[From The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, May 18, 1998]

#### BUMPERS PRESSES ON TOWARD LEGACY OF CHANGES ON HILL

(By Susan Roth)

WASHINGTON—It's Senator DALE BUMPERS' last chance, and he's making the most of it.

With his retirement in January, the Arkansas Democrat is taking advantage of his last opportunity to fight the legislative battles he has been waging for 23 years on Capitol Hill.

Despite the conservative climate and Republican majority in Congress, BUMPERS is pushing forward his longtime pet projects, including mining-law reform, electricity deregulation and changes in rules for concessions at national parks. The State's senior Senator also is continuing to rail at the burgeoning cost of the proposed international space station—and gaining some supporters among lawmakers who traditionally have backed the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's plan regardless of cost.

"I have never felt more comfortable than I do now with these issues, especially the space station and the mining laws," BUMPERS, 72, said in a recent interview. "It makes it more maddening knowing with some degree of certainty that you're going to lose."

The Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, of which BUMPERS is the ranking Democrat, recently held hearings on his mining-related bills, along with a Republican mining-reform measure he calls a "sham bill."

And the committee is scheduled to consider a bill on Wednesday to reform the contracting procedures for national parks concessions, a measure BUMPERS has negotiated with Republican leaders.

The Senator's mining bills are not expected to pass, and his bill on electricity deregulation—which would set Federal guidelines on the coming deregulation of the industry—is considered too complex an issue to make it to a floor vote in this short legislative year.

But sources on Capitol Hill say the committee and Senate are likely to pass one of BUMPERS' measures as a farewell gesture, and it looks like it could be the national-parks concessions reforms.

BUMPERS emerged happy and surprised from a recent meeting with Senator Craig Thomas (R-WY), chairman of the subcommittee handling the parks bill, and Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, among other officials.

"I'm very pleased about the progress we made," BUMPERS said. "I frankly couldn't believe it. I think those people know something ought to be done. It's my 19th year on that issue. I've sat down with them before and got nowhere."

His bill, introduced a year ago, would establish an open, competitive process for awarding concessions contracts in the parks. Companies that run the concessions now are virtually assured of renewing their contracts under current law that gives them a "preferential right," regardless of performance or cost, according to BUMPERS. Also, the bill would have the contract money go to a special account for the use of the National Park Service, rather than to the general fund as it does now.

BUMPERS, who joined the Senate in 1975, has introduced similar bills in each Congress since 1979. A pair of bills actually passed both the House and the Senate by overwhelming margins in the previous Congress, but a conference committee of both Houses could not agree on the measure and it never became law.

"Everybody agrees the existing law ought to be changed, but with the most diligent efforts I can put into it, it has not been changed, simply because the park concessioners have more clout with some Members of the Senate than have I," BUMPERS said when he introduced the bill. He argued that the country received only a 2.4 percent return, or \$16 million, in franchise fees on revenues of \$676 million for concession contracts in 1995, the last year for which he could get figures.

"Any property owner in the United States should ask yourself this question: Would you lease your property out for that kind of return when it was producing that kind of revenue for the lessee? You would not even consider it," said BUMPERS, a former Arkansas Governor. While he continues to press for his bill, BUMPERS has said he is willing to work with committee leaders, who have their own bill, to fashion a measure all can support.

"We're working with him," Thomas said of BUMPERS, adding that he agreed with BUMPERS on the preferential right of renewal and other issues. "Some of the provisions in our bill are not that different from his. We hope he'd like to work with us to get something passed. We'll get something."

Senator Frank Murkowski (R-AK), and chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, confirmed that BUMPERS would get a few tokens this year but he declined to say what they would be. "There are some things we've discussed that would be a kind of legacy for him that I feel sure we can accommodate him on, but I can't think of them right now," Murkowski said.

Murkowski indicated that he has serious problems with BUMPERS' mining bills. He was uncertain about passage of the Arkansas Senator's parks-con-

cessions measure. And he said he doubted electricity deregulation guidelines could be passed this year. "But there are some projects he wants very much for his State that I will be able to accommodate him on," Murkowski said. Although BUMPERS knows the chairman's positions and doubts that his mining bills will pass this year, he remains most passionate about reforming the Nation's mining law. The 1872 measure was designed to lure people to settle out West when the country was young.

The law, which BUMPERS has called "the most unjustified taxpayer giveaway in the history of the republic," allows hardrock-mining companies to take over public land for a tiny fraction of the value of the minerals underground and pay no royalties to the government on the income they receive from the minerals, including gold, silver, copper, platinum and palladium.

BUMPERS cited one case in which a company paid \$9,000 for 1,800 acres of land while estimating that the land contained \$11 billion worth of gold. "It is a license to steal and a colossal scam," BUMPERS said. "To paraphrase the old song, they get the gold and we get the shaft."

Oil, gas and coal companies must pay the government a percentage of their income under separate laws for their industries. One of BUMPERS' bills would establish a 5 percent royalty on minerals and prohibit the issuance of new deeds to mining-claimed public land. The royalties would go to a fund to reclaim land that has been damaged by mining operations. Mining industry representatives say such a royalty on their gross income would put them out of business. The Republican bill would have them pay royalties on their net income instead.

But BUMPERS argues that the GOP bill would allow companies to escape paying by deducting all sorts of expenses before calculating the royalties. And he says the industry never has complained about existing requirements that mining companies pay royalties to private landowners. BUMPERS also argued before the committee that the Republican bill would exempt most current mining claims on public land by grandfathering them under the old provisions.

Another of his bills would eliminate a tax deduction for mineral operations on public lands and those areas taken over by mining companies, and a third bill would impose a fee on the production of minerals on those public lands worked by the industry. These fees also would go to the reclamation fund proposed by BUMPERS.

The Senator said the most important piece of legislation to him is the one requiring royalties from the industry. "It's pure politics," he said of his 9-year battles on the issue. BUMPERS said there are about 10 Senators from six Western States who have helped the mining industry to repeatedly block his reform legislation in the past. But he told the committee that the industry would be mistaken to sigh with relief when he leaves the Senate next year. Other Senators will take up the fight, BUMPERS promised.

Senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA), and a freshman Member of the committee, spoke up almost as if on cue. "When I came here a year ago, I remember Senator BUMPERS making one of his excellent, passionate speeches, trying to move us forward on this issue," Landrieu said.

"I was so moved that I joined him on the floor. I know he is frustrated about leaving without passing mining reform, so I have committed publicly to pick up his banner," she said. "I want to work in a bipartisan manner to bring reform, and I hope I'll be here for many years."

After the hearing, Landrieu said she believes "it's important that taxpayers understand the injustice of the current system. I'm from an oil and

gas State where the companies and the public both benefit [from the royalty system]. You can have a system where both benefit instead of just one side.”

BUMPERS was grateful. He said some other Senators, including Jack Reed (R–RI), Slade Gorton (R–WA), and Jim Jeffords (R–VT), have pledged to carry the ball on some of his other favorite issues.

“I have profound respect for Senator Landrieu,” BUMPERS said. “She has acquitted herself very well on an issue she cares about. I suspect it’s an issue that will be very much alive after I leave here.”



[From The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, October 18, 1998]

SENATORS EXTOL BUMPERS’ CANDOR, CONSTANCY

(By Susan Roth)

WASHINGTON—In the waning days of a congressional session, Senators tend to wax profound on favorite issues, but in the last 2 weeks, many have taken time to reflect on the impending retirement of Arkansas’ senior Senator, DALE BUMPERS.

BUMPERS, a Democrat who leaves the Senate in January after 24 years in office, inspires strong emotions in most of his colleagues. Some dislike him for his frankness and his unwavering stands on certain issues. Others admire him for the same reasons.

On October 10, which was intended to be the last day of the 105th Congress, BUMPERS, calling it “a very bittersweet time for me,” rose for his final speech on the floor of the Senate.

In the days before and after, several Senators from both sides of the aisle lionized him in floor statements. They hailed BUMPERS’ personal kindnesses, his skill as an orator, his accomplishments as a marine, World War II veteran and Arkansas Governor and, of course, his record in the Senate on issues like children’s health, rural development and the environment.

Arkansan Tim Hutchinson, the State’s junior Senator, started the speeches October 7 by remembering that “as a high school student, I followed DALE BUMPERS’ meteoric rise from an unknown country lawyer from Charleston, AR to the Governor of the State and a man who became known in Arkansas politics as the giant-killer, defeating such luminaries of Arkansas politics as Win Rockefeller and J.W. Fulbright.”

Hutchinson, a Republican who came to the Senate from the House less than 2 years ago, maintained a cordial, though cool, relationship with BUMPERS early in his term. The relationship has warmed; now they occasionally duck out for lunch together.

Hutchinson acknowledged that he has worked for BUMPERS’ opponents, as he did in 1986, when his brother, Republican Representative Asa Hutchinson, ran and lost. Tim Hutchinson has always opposed BUMPERS’ political views.

“That has always been the way with DALE BUMPERS. You either agreed with him passionately or you disagreed vehemently. While DALE has always been as smooth as honey, he has never tried to varnish his views or dilute his positions to make them more palatable to the general public, whether it was the Panama Canal or the space station.”

But Hutchinson said he saw BUMPERS’ human side in 1996, when Hutchinson was in a hard-fought battle for the Senate seat he now holds. BUMPERS and retiring Senator David Pryor were campaigning for Hutchinson’s Democratic opponent, Attorney General Winston Bryant.

Then Hutchinson's son, Timothy, was critically injured in a car accident. BUMPERS called Hutchinson at the hospital "to assure me of his thoughts and his prayers and to tell me that he and David were suspending campaigning until it was clear that my son was going to be OK," Hutchinson recalled.

"DALE, we will miss you around this place," Hutchinson said in his floor speech. "I won't miss your votes, but I will miss you. I will miss your stories, and I will miss your humor. I will miss your eloquence, and I will miss your passion. I am grateful that our Senate careers overlapped for these 2 years. Thanks for your advice and counsel, and best wishes on this next phase of your life." Senator Strom Thurmond, (R-SC), the oldest and longest-serving Senator at age 95, extolled BUMPERS' gift as a orator and storyteller.

"While each Member takes his or her duties seriously, I hope that I do not offend anyone when I say that not all are gifted orators," Thurmond said October 9. "One person who definitely can engage in articulate and compelling debate, and is also able to bring a little levity to our proceedings through his wit and ability to tell a story, is the Senator from Arkansas, DALE BUMPERS."

Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV), who has served almost as long as Thurmond and is known along with BUMPERS as one of the foremost orators in the Senate, lived up to his reputation with a lengthy speech last Saturday. "I pay tribute today to an exceptional United States Senator, a man with whom it has been my honor to serve and to have been associated with, a man of unusual conviction, passion, and resolve," Byrd said.

"He has been called the last Southern liberal, and he is proud of it. He often quotes from *To Kill a Mockingbird*. He is the commanding foe against the space station. The above discourse clearly references the actions of only one man—Senator DALE BUMPERS, Democrat from Arkansas." Byrd spoke of many of BUMPERS' legislative efforts—against the space station and the superconducting supercollider, in favor of mining-law reform, improvements in children's health care, improvement in the lives of rural farming families.

"While many a press story covered his crusades against alleged lost causes, Senator DALE BUMPERS is a man that leaves this Senate with a triumphant record for the American people," Byrd said, calling BUMPERS "a modern hero to the underdog." "In honor of his service to rural America, I am proud that this Congress, in the fiscal year 1999 Agriculture Appropriations bill, is formally paying tribute to his work by designating an Agricultural Research Service facility as the Dale Bumpers National Rice Research Center," Byrd said. He also mentioned that the University of Arkansas has designated the Dale Bumpers College of Agricultural, Food, and Life Sciences.

"As I say my farewell to DALE BUMPERS," Byrd concluded, "I want him to know that when the 106th Congress convenes, I will remember his thoughtful recital of the fictional Atticus Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird*: 'For God's sake, do your duty.'"

Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA), speaking Wednesday, lauded BUMPERS' "common-sense approach" to budgeting and appropriations as a senior Member of the Appropriations Committee. He also referred to BUMPERS' work with his wife on children's health, saying that "no one has fought harder for childhood vaccinations, and to make them universal, affordable, and accessible, than DALE and Betty BUMPERS."

In appreciation, Harkin recalled that the Appropriations Committee recently voted unanimously to name a new vaccine facility at the National In-



stitutes of Health after the Bumpers. The facility, now under construction, will be called the Dale and Betty Bumpers Vaccine Research Facility.

Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD), who spoke at length after BUMPERS finished talking last Saturday, recounted BUMPERS' battles, calling him "a champion for rural America, a consistent advocate for fiscal discipline, a tireless defender of the U.S. Constitution and the separation of powers it guarantees."

Before BUMPERS' last annual attempt to kill the international space station in July, Daschle noted that BUMPERS had "told a reporter that he expected to lose again but he would try anyway, because he thought it was the right thing to do." Then he added, "I probably lost as many battles as anybody who ever served in the U.S. Senate."

"I want to tell my friend as he prepares to end his Senate career, if you did in fact lose more battles than someone else who may have served here, it is only because you chose tougher and more important battles," Daschle said. "Even more than the outcome of your battles, you have earned your place in history for the dignity and the courage and the eloquence with which you have waged those battles."

Both Daschle and Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM), poked fun at BUMPERS' unconventional way of pacing the floor of the Senate as he addressed the body. "The normal rules are, you are supposed to stay at your desk," Daschle said. "Not Senator BUMPERS. Senator BUMPERS has the longest cord in Senate history." I joked the other night, when we finally see Senator BUMPERS depart, we are going to cut up his cord and give 10 feet to every Senator and save 10 more for the next. He goes up and down that aisle.

"Since, as we are prone to do in this body, we name things after our colleagues, I am going to start referring to that as the BUMPERS corridor. And I am pointing, for the record, to my left. For anybody who has served with DALE, I don't have to point at all. We all know what the BUMPERS corridor is." Like the others, Daschle also said he would miss Betty Bumpers, who is well-known in Washington for her work on behalf of children's health, but Daschle lauded her as much as the Senator.

"There is no question, as we all know, he over-married," Daschle said. "There is no question who the real force in the family is. There is no question who the visionary and the giant is. As Senator BUMPERS so capably noted, there is no question who is beloved in the State of Arkansas."

Daschle, who came to the Senate in 1987, said he has considered BUMPERS his model, "for how he speaks, for what he stands for, for how he interacts with his colleagues, for how he represents his State, for all of the courageous positions he has taken. I don't know how you do better than that.

"I don't know who it was who once said, 'If we are to see farther into the future, we must stand on the shoulders of giants.' DALE BUMPERS is a giant," Daschle said.

"And it is upon his shoulders that we have stood many, many, many times to see into the future, as I have seen. He persuades us, he cajoles us, he humors us, he always enlightens us. \* \* \* In the eyes of all of us, DALE BUMPERS will always stand as the giant we knew, as the respected legislator we trust, and as the friend we love."

[From The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, June 14, 1997]

IT'S BUMPERS' BIG DAY

(By John Brummett)

Today is the day. U.S. Senator BUMPERS will assemble friends, supporters and reporters at 2 p.m. at the old Lafayette Hotel in downtown Little Rock. The event is described as a news conference and reception. The Senator's staff says it will be "political in nature." I can go a step farther in describing the agenda. BUMPERS traditionally makes his formal campaign announcements at the Lafayette. In fact, he will declare this afternoon whether he will seek election to a fourth Senate term.

"Yes, I can say that that's the purpose of the event," said Martha Perry, BUMPERS' indispensable aide in his Little Rock office. "He's not going to get up and say, 'Well, I called you all together here today to discuss mining reform.'"

Well, he might. But it would be a laugh line.

If he runs, he will begin the race as a heavy favorite to preserve a shred of the status quo of Arkansas politics. If he doesn't run, the Arkansas political landscape will resemble a tornado's path. Everyone will ponder running for the seat: Rodney Slater, Jay Dickey, Bill Gwatney, Mike Beebe, Jim Dailey, Winston Bryant, even, yes, Mike Huckabee.

Republicans will champ at the bit knowing they suddenly stand a reasonable chance to secure Arkansas' other Senate seat. That would give Tim Hutchinson a Republican ally, completing a full turnover in the State's once solidly Democratic delegation in the Nation's leading deliberative body. Democrats will be forced to get their act together to find, unveil and promote a new generation. Or they could run Bryant again.

BUMPERS will begin the morning at the Pink Tomato Festival in Warren. He'll ride in the parade before coming north to Little Rock. David Pryor, maybe BUMPERS' best friend, once said of him, "DALE only needs two things—a podium and a parade." So this ought to be a good day. It also might be a signal of his leanings. Non-retired politicians tend to be offered more parades and podiums than retired ones.

But signals are often over-analyzed at times such as these in regard to the uncertain intentions of lofty politicians. Yes, BUMPERS is going to the tomato festival. That doesn't necessarily mean he's anxious to run vigorously for another 6-year term in the Senate.

Speculation among political insiders has been rampant all week, and all over the map. The most credible information has come from the Senator's intimates, who suspect he has two sets of mental notes, if not two sets of actual notes, and that he has not yet finally and unequivocally decided which to deploy. One set would explain his decision to run again. The other would explain his decision not to run again.

"I think that in the broad sense he'd love to remain a U.S. Senator," a friend said. "But I think that in this specific case he's disillusioned with the state of politics."

This friend said it wasn't so much the anguish of the debate and vote on so-called partial birth abortion that had put the Senator in a recent state of lament. He said BUMPERS' latest regret is that partisanship has reached such dreadful extremes that a simple bill to provide an essential service of government—disaster relief for people left tragically homeless by acts of God—could be held hostage by Republican riders to pre-empt future government shutdowns or change the way we count minorities for the census.

It is said that one of BUMPERS' Democratic colleagues in the Senate took him aside one day recently and pleaded with him to run again, telling him he was the conscience of the Senate. BUMPERS is reported to have responded that the Senate didn't seem to listen to any conscience anymore.

This seems to be the choice: He can run again because he loves being a Senator, doesn't want to risk losing the seat to the opposing party and still believes politics can be a noble profession, or he can decline to run again because he hates the current state of politics, despises the money-raising that will require more time and effort from him than ever before and desperately wishes to avoid the kind of overheated and destructive rhetoric now commonplace in political races.

BUMPERS was complaining 15 years ago that it was harder for him to beg for money than it seemed to be for Bill Clinton or Pryor, and that was when a Senate candidate in Arkansas needed to raise a half-million or three-quarters of a million dollars. Now some stealthy and unaccountable Republican non-profit might spend that much against him in a lone weekend of attack-ad saturation.

BUMPERS would need to budget a couple of million at a bare minimum, and I'm pretty sure he hates the prospect of raising it.

If somebody forced me right now, late Thursday afternoon, to lay down a \$10 bet on what he'll do, I would bet \$5 and a penny on his running and \$4.99 on his not running.

You seldom encounter uncertainty anymore in political announcements, so we ought to see a large and excited audience this afternoon. Unless, that is, credible word leaked Friday, which was always possible, assuming BUMPERS knew by then.



[From The Commercial Appeal (Memphis, TN), June 15, 1997]

AMID TEARS, BUMPERS SAYS HE'LL QUIT IN 1998

(By Joan I. Duffy)

Senator DALE BUMPERS (D-AR), will not seek a fifth term, he said Saturday in a choked-up speech expressing frustration with the Republican-controlled Senate and ambivalence about his decision.

His announcement drew somber moans of "no" from the crowd of 200 in the lobby of the Hotel Lafayette in downtown Little Rock, where he began his come-from-nowhere political career 27 years ago.

"We can't lose him," said Dewey Neely of Osceola. "This guy has a mind we just can't waste."

BUMPERS, 71, considered one of the leading constitutional scholars in the Senate, choked on tears as he said his heart told him to run again to protect the Constitution from what he sees as a growing move to undermine it with frivolous amendments.

"The Constitution is a sacred document. Some of my colleagues think the Constitution is just a rough draft," BUMPERS said. "If (Republicans) ever get 67 votes in the U.S. Senate, I promise you it's going to be a disaster for the Nation."

Despite his emotional attachment to his legislative role, BUMPERS said his head told him it was time to retire.

"I confess to an agonizing ambivalence about the decision and probably will suffer torment for the decision and ambivalence the rest of my life," he said as his wife, Betty, reached in a handbag for tissue to wipe her eyes.

“(Running again) is definitely what I feel in my heart. But intellectually, I know this is right for me.”

Called the conscience of the Senate for his oratorical lectures against tinkering with the Constitution, BUMPERS’s seat was one of three top targets of the Republican Party in its 1998 drive to win a 60-vote majority.

BUMPERS said his desire to keep the Republicans from that goal was a major force urging him to run. But he said the joy in serving in the Senate has gone, due to growing bitterness and partisanship.

“My frustration level has increased exponentially since I went to the Senate. It is quite a different place,” he said. “Many bills are carefully crafted to achieve maximum political benefit and little else. There’s nothing wrong with achieving a political benefit if the net effects to the Nation are great, but too often that is not the case.”

BUMPERS said he broke the news to President Clinton Thursday, but the Senator declined to tell what was said.

“We’ve been friends for so long we can let our hair down with one another. He doesn’t quote me and I don’t quote him,” BUMPERS said.

He is the third Democrat to announce his departure this year, joining Senators John Glenn of Ohio and Wendell Ford of Kentucky. Senator Dan Coats (R-IN), also is retiring. Republicans hold a 55–45 majority in the Senate and have 16 seats up next year. Democrats are in 18 races.

BUMPERS said he was leaving unaccomplished a list of goals—particularly balancing the budget and securing public funding for Senate campaigns.

BUMPERS was a little-known lawyer and school board president in Charleston, AR, when he announced his campaign for Governor in 1970. He derailed former Governor Orval Faubus’s comeback attempt in the primary and ousted incumbent Republican Winthrop Rockefeller to win the office. After two terms, BUMPERS took on Clinton’s mentor, former Senator J. William Fulbright (D-AR), and defeated him in the primary.



[From The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, June 15, 1997]

#### BUMPERS CALLS AN END TO POLITICAL CAREER

(By Noel E. Oman and Mark Waller)

His heart said yes, and his mind said no.

Senator DALE BUMPERS announced Saturday in Little Rock that he went with his mind in deciding to forgo a bid for a fifth 6-year term in the U.S. Senate.

“It defies what I feel in my heart, but, intellectually, I believe it is the right decision for me,” the 71-year-old Arkansas Democrat told about 200 supporters and reporters.

The 11-minute, emotion-laden speech marked the beginning of the end of a political career that began more than 27 years ago at the site of Saturday’s announcement—the Lafayette Building, once a downtown hotel.

The decision set off tremors in the major national parties. Democrats were dismayed that BUMPERS shunned another run and Republicans were relieved they will be able to target an open seat to increase a 55–45 majority in the Senate.

BUMPERS’ decision, reached several days before, was sealed within his family circle until Saturday. But he said he wrestled with the decision for months and could have changed his mind in the moments before he stepped to the podium.

But his breaking voice and the attempt by his wife, Betty, to hold back her tears moments into the speech betrayed his decision even before he said the words.

Some onlookers shook their heads. Sam Boyce, Arkansas Representative on the Democratic National Committee, whispered to people around him, "He's not going to run."

Minutes later, BUMPERS confirmed it:

"I will resist the well-nigh irresistible temptation to reminisce and philosophize with you—rather, simply say at the end of a political career that in 1998 will have spanned 28 years, I will retire from the political arena," said BUMPERS, a 2-term Governor with a penchant for knocking off incumbents.

A chorus of groans, gasps and whispered nos quickly followed.

"I'm sick," said Boyce later. "It's a sad, sad moment in the history of Arkansas when a man of the high honor of DALE BUMPERS chooses not to seek reelection.

"It speaks poorly for our system. This is a big, big slam to the Democratic Party," Boyce said.

BUMPERS, whose term ends in January 1999, declined to become partisan, but his frustration with Republican control of the Senate was clear.

"I must admit that my frustration level has increased exponentially since I went to the Senate," he said. "Many bills are carefully crafted to achieve maximum political benefit and little else."

The announcement ends a storied era in Arkansas politics dominated the past three decades by BUMPERS and two other former Arkansas Democratic Governors—retired Senator David Pryor and President Clinton, elected Governor five times.

"It's the end of the 'Big Three,' said Cal Ledbetter, a University of Arkansas at Little Rock political science professor.

BUMPERS and Clinton chatted privately Thursday afternoon.

"I have known and admired DALE BUMPERS for over 25 years," Clinton said in a statement issued by the White House on Saturday afternoon. "He was a great Governor, and he has been a great Senator for the people of our native State and the entire Nation.

"We will miss his courage to stand against the tide, his vision and his eloquence. Hillary and I wish him and Betty all the best. We will miss him. So will the Senate. So will America."

The announcement will throw open the race to replace him, especially among Democrats.

BUMPERS' exit also reverberated in Washington, where Democrats had hoped he would stand for reelection and thus help their chances to regain control of the Senate in 1998. He is the third senior Senate Democrat to announce his retirement this year.

BUMPERS' emergence on the national political scene began in 1970 with a run for Governor. In Charleston, a small Franklin County town in western Arkansas, BUMPERS was the local lawyer, school board member and Sunday school teacher at the Methodist church.

He proceeded to knock off three of the political giants of the era: in the 1970 Democratic primary, he short-circuited a comeback by former Governor Orval Faubus. He bested the two-term incumbent, Republican Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, in the general election that fall. In a 1974 Democratic primary, he defeated Senator J. William Fulbright, a 30-year fixture in the Senate who had been the one of the most outspoken critics of the Vietnam War.

BUMPERS' 4 years in the Governor's office were marked by relative prosperity and legislative good will that spurred State income tax reform and increases in education spending.

"We ran a very positive campaign, championing positions that resonated well with voters, such as improving primary health care, State funded kindergartens, free textbooks for high school, higher teacher salaries, prison reform, rehabilitation and expansion of the State park system and many other things," BUMPERS recalled Saturday. "I know it's ancient history now, but, in truth, we accomplished virtually everyone of those things."

In the Senate, BUMPERS has voted against anti-busing, school prayer and anti-abortion legislation and for the Panama Canal treaties. He opposed the Reagan tax cuts in 1981 and has opposed ardently the "Star Wars" missile defense system and other weapons systems he saw as too costly and unnecessary.

In Saturday's announcement, he defended his politics.

"I was taught at a very tender age and have always been acutely aware that not everyone is as lucky as I am," said BUMPERS, a child of the Depression who served in the U.S. Marines in World War II.

"A child born in College Station does not start out even with a child born in Pleasant Valley. Some people need more help than others. The government's the only source for that help. Sometimes that's called liberalism. So be it."

Many have labeled him an iconoclast for sometimes opposing the party line. That was on display Saturday when he took time to renew his criticism of the budget agreement reached by the Republican Congress and Clinton.

BUMPERS' popularity has remained unchecked. He considered at times seeking the Presidency, most seriously in 1984. Even in recent times, when Republicans have begun to make inroads into Arkansas politics, BUMPERS remained the man to beat.

In 1986, he defeated former U.S. Attorney Asa Hutchinson with 62 percent of the vote. Hutchinson now is a GOP Member of Congress from the 3d Congressional District.

In 1992, BUMPERS held off a former Baptist minister, Mike Huckabee, with 60 percent of the vote. Huckabee later was elected Lieutenant Governor in a special election and ascended into the Governor's office last year when Governor Jim Guy Tucker resigned after his Whitewater-related criminal conviction.

BUMPERS expressed an ambivalence about his decision that he said he fears might stay with him for the rest of his life, principally because he could not serve in a role others admiringly called the Senate's conscience.

"I have steadfastly defended the Constitution against often popular but misguided proposals," the Senator said. "I hope and pray that my fears about what could happen to that sacred document in the future will prove to be unfounded."

His old colleague, Pryor, has spoken glowingly of the satisfaction he has gleaned from teaching at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville—in a profession BUMPERS said he also may join in retirement.

Pryor called BUMPERS' plans to retire a "great loss for the State. But I don't think anyone went through as agonizing a process as he did."

Pryor said he spoke briefly with BUMPERS in Warren on Saturday morning at the annual Pink Tomato Festival parade, but did not ask BUMPERS what he decision was because "I didn't want to bug him."

"I guess I'm not too surprised," he added. "But I think it's a real loss. He's been an exemplary Member of the U.S. Senate and he has been as eloquent

a spokesman for this State and its people as any member the State has ever sent to Congress.”

After BUMPERS finished speaking Saturday, Betty Bumpers immediately made her way through the crowd to hug Archie Schaffer III, her sister’s son and director of media, public and government affairs for Tyson Foods Inc. in Springdale.

“It really doesn’t surprise me,” said Schaffer, who said before the announcement that he did not know what the Senator’s decision would be. “It doesn’t particularly please me, either. I just had kind of a gut feeling. I think Uncle DALE has a history of making the right decisions.”

Schaffer also said he thinks BUMPERS has gotten frustrated with the political system.

“He didn’t want to say this,” Schaffer said, “but politics in Washington has gotten so nasty in the last few years. I think that had a lot to do with it.”

State Representative John Paul Capps, D–Searcy, said as he arrived at the news conference that he had no idea what BUMPERS’ announcement would be.

“He has this uncanny ability to keep things to himself,” Capps said. “Judging from his public proclamations for the last few years, I could sense a cynicism about the system in Washington. Raising money, that’s the distasteful part that he’s never liked. He’s never liked to ask people for money.”

Maurice Mitchell said, “Of course I wish he would run.” Mitchell, a long-time BUMPERS supporter who served as finance chairman for the Senator’s last campaign, called BUMPERS “a great man, a great credit to the State. But at the same time I understand his position.”

State Senator Jim Argue, D–Little Rock, called BUMPERS his “political hero.”

“He just approaches it with so much courage and integrity,” Argue said. “DALE BUMPERS always had the courage to voice his convictions, even when it was unpopular. I hope the people of Arkansas will take a moment to reflect on the incredible sacrifices and contributions that DALE BUMPERS has made, whether they supported him or not.”



[From The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, July 6, 1997]

#### EXODUS FROM POLITICS

DALE BUMPERS’ ASSIGNMENT: TO VENT HIS FRUSTRATION WHILE DEFENDING  
THE SYSTEM

(By John Brummett)

Congress was in recess last week, but U.S. Senator DALE BUMPERS, feeling fine at 71 and “as mentally acute as ever, I’d like to think,” stayed busy Monday.

He helped clear poison ivy from the yard of Mary Hope Davis, the chief of staff in his Washington office. Then he went home—which is on Honesty Way in Bethesda, you might be interested to know—to hand-write responses to scores of letters he received about his recently announced decision not to seek reelection next year. And while talking by telephone with a newspaperman from home, he pondered the speech he was to give Thursday at Governor’s School in Conway.

What his staff always said was that the way to keep BUMPERS happy was to schedule him to speak to high school students or tour an industrial plant. He loves figuring out how things are made. And he loves the eager faces of bright youngsters. You must be careful what you say to kids, BUMPERS said. Then he explained.

Years ago his daughter, Brooke, told him that a friend with an English degree and no training in business had been hired right out of college by a bank in New York City. He asked why. She said bank officials had told her friend that they could teach anyone banking, but that they couldn't teach anyone to write a sentence. BUMPERS began telling the story every year in his traditional closing speech to Governor's School, seeking to impress upon modern-day high school students the eternal importance of basic skills such as applied literacy. He guesses he'd told it 5 or 6 years running when a man came up to him one day in Paragould to report that his son was graduating from college with a degree in English, and that his son had pursued the English degree solely because of a story BUMPERS once told at Governor's School about a friend of his daughter.

The lesson: Be careful what you say to youngsters, for it may affect lives. BUMPERS obviously labored over a conflict. He had announced his political retirement because of what he described as an exponential increase in his frustration level with the unproductive and overheated state of modern American politics. "But I don't want to say anything to discourage or dissuade anyone, especially our brightest and best young people, from entering the business of politics," BUMPERS said.

"Somehow I want to impress on them that politics can be a field of service with as great a reward as any, and that what we need more than anything are people committed to thinking for themselves—that our society and our culture depend on our finest young people thinking for themselves. I want to tell them the importance of being good citizens. I want to stir their curiosities."

One couldn't help but recall something BUMPERS said in announcing his retirement. It was that his friend and colleague who preceded him in retirement, David Pryor, had told him he believed they could mold young minds more effectively as college teachers than as Members of the U.S. Senate. "Boy, DALE got me in a little trouble there," Pryor said last week. "Some people accused me of talking him into retiring, but I didn't do it."

What had set BUMPERS to thinking about what he would say at Governor's School was a newspaperman's request. It was that he compare and contrast politics from the time he entered it in 1970 as a charismatic fresh face saying only positive things—constantly quoting his father's admonition that politics is an honorable profession—to that Saturday afternoon 27 years later when he decried what had become of politics as he announced his frustrated, if not disillusioned, departure from it.

"To tell you the truth, I haven't worked through the seeming contradictions of all that," BUMPERS said. It's important, he believes, to tell the unvarnished truth about the dysfunctional state of politics. But it's just as important, he believes, to defend our political institutions and not turn young people away from them.

BUMPERS would surely be concerned by the words of a would-be protege, former State Representative David Matthews of Lowell, in response to publicity last week that listed Matthews as a leading member of the new generation of Arkansas Democratic politicians. Matthews said: "Politics is too mean. It's too expensive. And it's too irrelevant to people in what they consider important to their every-day lives."



In BUMPERS' view, it's important to say that David Matthews' assessment is absolutely correct. But it's also important to convey to young people that we cannot concede to that assessment and let it become a permanent condition.

BUMPERS seemed fairly certain of four things, none remotely sanguine. (1) Politics is worse now than it was when he entered it. (2) Money is to blame. (3) Television also is to blame. (4) None of that is likely to change over the course of a new 6-year Senate term, and a man at 71 is not altogether enthralled by the prospect of 6 years spent with unrealized goals.

One other thing seemed certain: BUMPERS retirement will end an era in Arkansas politics spanning almost three decades. It generally began with him and was dominated by charismatic, modestly left-of-center Democrats of acclaimed personal political skills who rose from the backlash against the Old Guard politics of Orval Faubus and thrived until age or personal ambition set in. Now as BUMPERS fades out, Arkansas finally signals an interest in joining the Southern move to Republicanism.

"Yeah, I guess an era has passed," Pryor said. "It would be hard to ever put back in a bottle all that we went through. Of course, my explanation for why the South is becoming Republican is that all the Democratic programs worked," Pryor said. "People became more prosperous and decided the programs weren't needed anymore."

DALE LEON BUMPERS was born in Charleston on August 12, 1925, in a two-story frame house with a front porch and swing. His father, William R. Bumpers, had come from Alabama to run a hardware store and funeral service. As a youngster, BUMPERS worked in the cotton and bean fields and later as a meat cutter in a local grocery store.

After graduating from Charleston High School, BUMPERS went briefly to the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, but left to join the Marines. He was on a ship carrying marines to the Japanese mainland when the atomic bomb was dropped, and Japan soon surrendered. After the service, he returned to graduate from the University of Arkansas in 1948, then got his law degree in 1951 from Northwestern University at Evanston, IL.

While he was in law school, both his parents were killed in a car crash. That same year, 1949, he married a high-school classmate, Betty Lou Flanagan, from a fourth-generation Charleston family of farmers.

The seed for BUMPERS' life in politics was planted by his father, a former State legislator who'd been careful to teach his son that politics needn't be dirty. Brought up by a Democratic father through the Depression and New Deal, the young BUMPERS admired FDR and Truman, especially the latter.

By 1970 BUMPERS was a country lawyer in Charleston who was batting .500 in political races. He'd lost a race for his father's seat in the State House of Representatives. He'd handily won election to the Charleston School Board, and was a member in 1954 when it became the first school board in Arkansas to integrate after the Brown vs. Board of Education decision.

At 44, quite unheard of throughout the State except to respectful colleagues in the Arkansas Bar Association, BUMPERS announced in 1970 as a longshot candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor. He was concerned about the threatened return to power of Orval Faubus, who had left the Governorship 4 years earlier and was succeeded by Winthrop Rockefeller, a Republican reformer from New York who couldn't get along with the Democratic legislature.

To make a long story short, the voters of Arkansas in 1970 were too progressive for Faubus and too impatient for Rockefeller. BUMPERS, running

campaigns of positive generalities and conveying an image of friendliness, honesty, competence and charisma, drubbed both. He got more than 60 percent of the vote in a runoff with Faubus and a similarly impressive percentage in the general election against Rockefeller.

Faubus had tried to make an issue of BUMPERS' once telling his Methodist Sunday school class that the Red Sea might not literally have parted. Faubus backers spread rumors, all untrue, that BUMPERS had been charged with manslaughter as a youth and had engaged in illicit relationships.

BUMPERS didn't waver. He talked about how his daughter, Brooke, was the light of his life; how that everyone who knew him and Betty liked her more; and how his daddy always taught him that politics was an honorable profession even if not all the people in it behaved honorably.

Faubus ridiculed BUMPERS' campaign as "going from cocktail party to cocktail party." Rockefeller belittled BUMPERS by saying he was trying to become Governor on "a smile, a shoeshine and one speech."

Whatever, it worked. BUMPERS' Governorship was quietly revolutionary, implementing many of the reforms Rockefeller had failed to get enacted. State government was reorganized into a cabinet system. The State income tax was raised, an endeavor that required nine votes in the State Senate to obtain the necessary three-fourths majority. A surplus paid for public kindergarten and free textbooks. Betty led a childhood immunization program.

In 1974 BUMPERS chose to run against the world-famous junior U.S. Senator from Arkansas, J. William Fulbright. Some were surprised that BUMPERS would run against such an esteemed Senator of his own party. But BUMPERS cited private polls showing that Fulbright, who had been the Senate's chief opponent of the Vietnam War, would lose even to Justice Jim Johnson, a segregationist.

It was 1970 revisited. Fulbright complained bitterly that he couldn't engage BUMPERS in meaningful dialog. BUMPERS ran yet another positive campaign. Again he got more than 60 percent of the vote.

BUMPERS encountered early hostility from veteran Senators resentful of what he'd done to Fulbright, but in time he emerged as one the Senate's more widely admired Members. He won praise for iconoclasm, oratory, wit (occasionally acerbic) and for maintaining liberal principles and devotion to constitutional law and liberties in the face of strong countervailing public sentiment. He voted for the Panama Canal treaties, against anti-busing legislation, against school prayer and anti-abortion legislation, against the Reagan tax cuts of 1981 and against the Strategic Defense Initiative and the MX missile.

(The issue that irks him most after all these years? It's the Panama Canal. Try talking to BUMPERS about his career without having him bring it up. "My pollster in 1992 told me that even then it cost me 3 points in the polls," he said last week.)

Once, in a memorably bitter floor debate in the early 1980's, BUMPERS referred to Jesse Helms, the conservative icon from North Carolina, as the Senator from South Carolina. When the error was called to his attention, BUMPERS said, "I apologize to the other State."

BUMPERS was mentioned as a Presidential prospect in 1976 and more widely touted in 1984. He considered a Presidential run most seriously for 1988. In the end he chose never to run because he didn't want the lifestyle of a Presidential candidate or a President. He always seemed to make sensible decisions about such things.

So it was when he announced that he would not seek election to a fifth term in the Senate.

“There were three reasons I wanted to run for reelection,” BUMPERS said. “I wanted to be there for real campaign finance reform. I wanted to be there when we really balanced the budget. And I wanted to be there when we reauthorized the independent counsel, because we’re going to have to change the way we select people for independent counsels. But it occurred to me that the first two things, while they must happen someday, are not likely to happen in the next 6 years. And the third—well, I’ll just miss that one.”

BUMPERS, you understand, believes the tenuous balanced budget agreement between his friend, Bill Clinton, and the Republican Congress is smoke and mirrors. He does not believe that government can cut taxes and balance its budget. He didn’t believe it when Ronald Reagan proposed it, and he does not believe it now.

“I would be less than candid if I didn’t tell you that the quality of the Senate has deteriorated in the 22½ years I’ve been there,” BUMPERS said.

“It’s because of the money,” he said. “And TV. I’m talking about how much time it takes to raise money and about the 30-second spots the money pays for on issues like partial birth abortion or term limits or guns that dominate the political discussion. Those are important issues, but you can’t explain them in a single spot. And I’m talking about the way we elect people. Government is literally being sold off to the highest bidder. If you have the kind of money required, then you can take these extrinsic side issues and dominate the discussion in what essentially is a distracting process from the real issues like education or fair taxation or responsible budgeting.”

BUMPERS professes not even to be sure whether C-SPAN’s telecasts of Senate sessions is a good thing. “It takes up a lot of time and it causes a lot of posturing for the camera,” he said. “If I had it to do over again, I’m not sure I would vote for it.”

All that aside, the dominant factor in BUMPERS’ decision probably was age and a resulting mental, if not physical, fatigue.

After all, it wasn’t the state of politics alone that made him decide not to run again. The quality of Arkansas politics concerned him in 1970, but he ran to do something about it. Nearly every Senator who has quit in recent years has criticized the meanness, the expense and the dysfunction of contemporary politics.

No, the determining factor for BUMPERS was that he’d be 79 after another term, and he didn’t envision the state of politics improving dramatically by then.

“I’m not sure I’m being totally honest with myself,” he said. “I know that the frustration level is greater now. But I’m not unmindful of my age. I’d like to think I would have won again. It would have been mean and it would have been dirty. And it’s just that after all that, I didn’t see much respite from the things that caused my frustration level to rise.”

Here’s how David Pryor put it: “DALE BUMPERS and I came out of a time when we had to chop our way out of a thicket. We were fighting for a clear cause at the time, coming out of the Faubus years. There was a real sense that a spirit of change was sweeping the land. And we were using machetes and dynamite and anything else we could get hold of. And it takes young people to do that sort of thing.”

Those who would form the new generation today are left to deal with the obscene expense of modern-day campaigning, the more open meanness evident in campaigns and a pervasive apolitical mood that makes it appear that politics and government have less to do with people’s day-to-day lives than was once the case.

So it was that BUMPERS pondered that speech to youngsters at Governor's School. He wanted to convey that politics is too expensive, too mean, too dysfunctional. But he also wanted to convey that young people can't run from politics because of all that. They must enter it and change it if our constitutional democracy is to survive.

BUMPERS thinks politics must become less like it is in Washington in 1997 and more like it was in Arkansas in 1970. In those days people were inclined toward change, and vigorous young politicians, seeing a cause and a shot at winning by championing that cause, were willing to fight their way out of the thicket David Pryor was talking about.

"I'm not unhappy with my legacy," BUMPERS said. "The legacy—and I hope I can say this without sounding arrogant—is that you can cast unpopular votes and survive. People will understand and accept if they can see that you are guided by principle, even in today's environment. That's what I hope young people will take from my years in the Senate."



[From The News and Observer (Raleigh, NC), August 23, 1997]

#### WHAT DALE BUMPERS SAYS, HE BELIEVES

(By Mary McGrory)

WASHINGTON—Sometimes you wonder why the class acts quit the Senate. You would know more if you had been there July 22, heard Senator DALE BUMPERS' superb speech against the space station, seen who was there—no one—and watched him go down, just as he has for 6 years.

Arkansas' retiring senior Senator, 72, is a brainy liberal with a pungent sense of humor who Democrats hoped twice would be the first President from his State. From the day he came he has shown a passionate interest in priorities. He favors spending money on education and health rather than on fancy weapons. He is the Senate's best orator, and he was at the top of his form as he tried to topple the space station.

He was carefully prepared but not tethered to a text. He reeled off facts, figures, digressions, specifics, generalizations; he talked about his wife and her efforts for peace and children, the Russians, the Pentagon, the ways of Washington, science and folly.

It was his sixth try on the space station, and he predicted he would lose again. He gave compelling reasons why he should not; he cited the opposition of the scientific community, and added, "Unfortunately, they don't have enough political clout to fill a thimble." He quoted the eminent Harvard scientist Dr. Nicolaas Bloembergen who said witheringly that "microgravity is of micro-importance."

BUMPERS explained the futility of his effort: "There is no political price to pay, even if you do not have jobs back home hinging on going forward. \* \* \* There is no political price to be exacted against you for favoring something that people know very little about. \* \* \* We have become so inured to cost overruns, we just simply cannot stop a big project once it is started."

He cited a Government Accounting Office report: Since April 1996, the cost overrun for the space station has more than tripled.

"Does it not take nerve," he asked rhetorically, "to come here asking us to go forward with a \$100 billion project in the light of that?"

President Clinton requested \$2.1 billion for the space station. Since 1974, the government has spent \$20 billion on it; the GAO estimates that by 2015, it will be \$74 billion.

BUMPERS went on in his pleasant baritone for about an hour and 20 minutes talking about the significance of the Russian pullout from the project—the Russians were supposed to save us \$1.6 billion—and showing charts that traced the changing goals of the space station. He talked through three presiding officers. No one else was listening.

Occasionally, Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), NASA's home-state champion, looked in to see if he had concluded. She would shuffle her papers, then wander off, sighing.

Theoretically, the Senators could be in their offices following his logic on their closed-circuit screens. If they were, they were not moved. The vote against his amendment to close the space station was 69 to 31. He got 6 fewer votes than last year.

The problem is well-summarized by author William Greider in a recent Rolling Stone article: "Instead of a robust debate over post-cold war priorities or skeptical questioning of these fanciful premises, the political elites in both parties have settled into denial and drift."

BUMPERS is not going away angry after more than 20 years. It's just that he doesn't think that short of an economic crisis, the Senate will change. He sees no light at the end of the tunnel in Senate acquiescence to Pentagon extravaganzas.

Having a President from his home State has made little difference. BUMPERS voted against the welfare bill and the recent tax bill. His father, a country schoolteacher, was a fervently grateful New Dealer, and BUMPERS is not a new Democrat. He has often taken the floor to detail the blessings that government rained down on rural Arkansas in the 1930's.

It isn't that his colleagues do not appreciate BUMPERS. He is beset with stricken Democrats who promise him money and support if he will run again. People who have consistently voted against him beg him to reconsider.

He says he doesn't mind fighting for lost causes or speaking before an empty Chamber. He says he has won over the presiding officer a time or two. One fine night he took a full Senate with him when he argued eloquently for saving the battlefield of Manassas II and the site of "Marse Robert's" headquarters from malldom. He prevailed, too, on eliminating the Clinch River breeder reactor and the super collider. He believes that if the country had been tuned in on the space station debate, voters would have been 80-20 on his side.

"What does it take?" he mused the other day. Not knowing the answer, he's going home to teach.



[From The Democrat-Gazette, June 14, 1997]

#### BUMPERS' RETIREMENT STATEMENT

Senator DALE BUMPERS made the following comments in a statement Saturday as he announced his retirement:

I confess to an agonizing ambivalence about the decision and will probably suffer the torment of that ambivalence the rest of my life. It defies what I feel in my heart, but intellectually, I believe it is the right decision for me. Thomas Jefferson once said a person should change jobs every 10 years and in 1998 I will be 18 years overdue. I plan to remain active and involved. \* \* \*

I must admit that my frustration level has increased exponentially since I went to the Senate. Many bills are carefully crafted to achieve maximum

political benefit and little else. There is nothing wrong with achieving a political benefit if the net effect benefits the Nation. Too often, that is not the case. \* \* \*

My ambivalence is caused as much by my devotion to the Constitution as it is to any other single factor. I have steadfastly defended the Constitution, often against very popular, but misguided, proposals. I hope and pray my fears about what could happen to that sacred document in the future will prove to be unfounded. \* \* \*

Things have gone very well for me politically and personally during (these past) 27 years. I relate to Lou Gehrig, who once said, under different circumstances, "I consider myself the luckiest man on the face of the earth." Lucky in choosing my parents, lucky at living in a great country that cares about the less affluent and that paid for a very fine education for me. Lucky to have been born and reared in our beloved Arkansas, where people honored me time and again and made me one of only 1,843 men and women ever to serve in the U.S. Senate. \* \* \*

Most important, I have been lucky to have a great and close-knit family, (my wife) Betty and three wonderful, stable and common-sensical children, all well-educated, happy and in good health. \* \* \*

I was taught at a tender age and have always been acutely aware that not everyone has been as lucky as I. I have always believed in the Judeo-Christian principle that we have solemn duties to each other and that while we are all created equal in the sight of God, we are far from equal at birth. \* \* \* Some people need more help than others, and often the government is the only source for such help. \* \* \*

To the hundreds who have written, called or otherwise offered their total loyalty and support if I would run, my undying gratitude. To the people who have been forgiving when I disappointed them, my sincere respect and gratitude. To the voters of Arkansas, words can never fully express my thanks for your support and forgiveness, which have sustained me in elections since August 25, 1970. I have 1½ years left on this term, and I will work harder than ever to do as much as possible for Arkansas in that short period of time. I will keep with the people to whom I owe everything.

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