

I yield the floor.

A FOND FAREWELL TO REV.
RICHARD HALVERSON

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, in 1988, when I ran for reelection to the House of Representatives, I was, shortly after that both surprised and also very privileged to be considered for appointment to fill the vacancy created when Senator Dan Quayle was elected to the Vice Presidency. I was fortunate enough to receive that appointment to the Senate. I then resigned my House seat, and I was appointed to the Senate beginning in 1989.

I had several thoughts when that decision came down, but one of the very first thoughts that I had was the fact that I would have the privilege of serving in an institution in which Rev. Dick Halverson was Chaplain. We are fortunate to have been graduates of the same institution, Wheaton College.

I followed Chaplain Halverson's career as minister of the Fourth Presbyterian Church and his chaplaincy here in the Senate. So I had an inkling of the kind of man he was and deemed it a great privilege to be able to come here and serve with him.

I have observed few, if any, people that in my opinion better exemplify the walk of the Lord and the love of the Lord than Dr. Halverson. He has been a great inspiration to me. He is a humble servant of God.

We see him publicly, and most of the world sees him publicly, giving the opening prayer to the Senate. And those of us who are privileged to serve in the Senate see him on Wednesday morning in our Senate prayer breakfast. We have the opportunity to see him on the floor as he listens to our debate. And we know of his work behind the scenes, in total confidentiality, and his counsel to the Senators.

But what most do not see is the work that Dr. Halverson has done throughout the Senate for the Senate family. I think the thing I appreciate the most about Dick Halverson is that he sees us as God sees us. He sees us all as one. He shows respect to all persons. It is the example of Christ embodied in this man, who has served us so faithfully as our Chaplain.

We have heard some wonderful tributes here this morning. But I do not think any of the tributes that we can provide could begin to equal the tributes that we would hear if the guards and the cooks and the clerks and the staff and all those who serve us in the U.S. Senate could come to this floor and tell us what Dr. Halverson has meant in their lives. The guard at the door, the cook in the kitchen, the maintenance man working in the basement, and the staffers working in the back offices, are just as important to Dr. Halverson's ministry as the Senators who speak on this floor. That is a story that will not really be told and which most of the world has not heard.

But that is the example of a Christ-like walk that has meant the most to me.

And so, if I could, on behalf of the thousands of people who support us so that we can come here and stand in the spotlight, I want to pay tribute to Dr. Halverson and all that he has meant in their lives and for all that he has done. I wish he and his dear wife many, many years of happiness together, rest, and well-deserved relaxation. I know he will keep us in his thoughts and prayers as he views the Capitol from his apartment and looks over this city that he loves so much and this institution into which he has poured his life and his love. We will miss you deeply.

Your successor, Dr. Ogilvie, is a fine man of God. He has huge shoes to fill. God's grace will allow him to do that. But you will be deeply missed. Your legacy lives in our hearts and in the hearts and minds of the thousands of people you have touched during your chaplaincy here, and we thank you for it.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is recognized.

A GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, this morning, we heard the Reverend Dr. Richard C. Halverson offer his last prayer before the Senate. Dr. Halverson has been an inspiration for all of us over these many years, throughout which we have been blessed by his friendship, his fellowship, and his pastorship. And we shall miss him.

Tennyson's words, "I am a part of all that I have met," applies to our association with Dr. Halverson. He has ministered to us and to our families. When Erma, my wife, was in the hospital a few years back, he came to the hospital and prayed for Erma, prayed with Erma, prayed with me. When I lost my grandson, the oldest of our grandchildren in April 1982, Dr. Halverson delivered the prayer and the message at the memorial service.

His life has touched my life in many ways. He has inspired us with his prayers, with his dedication to the service here, with his dedication to this large family of his, with his dedication to his spotless Savior, Jesus Christ.

As Dr. Halverson goes away, he takes something of us with him, but he leaves something of himself with us.

"Twas battered and scarred, and the auctioneer

Thought it scarcely worth his while
To waste much time on the old violin,
But held it up with a smile:

"What am I bidden, good folks," he cried,
"Who'll start the bidding for me?"

A dollar, a dollar"; then, "Two!" "Only two?"
Two dollars, and who'll make it three?
Three dollars, once; three dollars, twice;
Going for three—" But no,

From the room, far back, a gray-haired man
Came forward and picked up the bow;
Then, wiping the dust from the old violin,
And tightening the loose strings,
He played a melody pure and sweet,
As a caroling angel sings.

The music ceased, and the auctioneer,

With a voice that was quiet and low,
Said: "What am I bid for the old violin?"

And he held it up with the bow.

"A thousand dollars, and who'll make it two?"

Two thousand! and who'll make it three?

Three thousand, once, three thousand, twice,
And going, and gone," said he.

The people cheered, but some of them cried,

"We do not quite understand

What changed its worth." Swift came the reply:

"The touch of a master's hand."

And many a man with life out of tune,

And battered and scarred with sin,

Is auctioned cheap to the thoughtless crowd,

Much like the old violin.

A "mess of pottage," a glass of wine;

A game—and he travels on.

He is "going" once, and "going" twice,

He's "going" and almost "gone."

But the Master comes, and the foolish crowd

Never can quite understand

The worth of a soul and the change that's wrought

By the touch of the Master's hand.

Dr. Halverson spoke to us often about that Master from Galilee. Dr. Halverson was something of a master himself. As he ministered to his flock, he gave of himself. And he continued to serve when his body sought retirement. His ready smile, his kind voice, his ever-ready hand extended in Christian fellowship—all these, we will miss.

We live in a very skeptical town. It is full of doubters and skeptics and cynics. But Dr. Halverson always represented the solid rock of faith, a steadfast belief in a higher power that has governed the destiny of this Nation from its beginnings.

This town, and every other town in America, large and small, needs to turn back to the old values that made America great, the old values that Dr. Halverson taught and that he emulated and that he followed in his daily walk with us.

Emerson, a great contemporary of Thoreau, said:

The true test of civilization is, not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out.

This country needs to return to the old values that were taught by Dr. Halverson. The country would turn out better men, and those of us who are already turned out would become better.

Since its inception, the Christian movement has rested on the foundation of the personal witness of the individual believer.

During his several valuable years among us as the Senate Chaplain, Dr. Richard C. Halverson has served as a twentieth-century model of that ageless witness—one man, though an ordained clergyman of a distinguished community of believers, moving among us, sharing a love that he borrowed from his relationship with God, shedding light in darkness, drying the tears of "those who mourn," giving hope to the downcast, and, sometimes through his presence alone, reassuring thousands—thousands—here on Capitol Hill and, through the electronic eye, reassuring millions that life—even political life—has eternal meaning. It causes us,

or ought to cause us, to pause amidst the strife that we endure on the political battlefields, pause and be still and know that "I am God." There is life beyond the Senate. There is a life beyond a political party. And that there is a life beyond this life.

I pity—I pity—one who does not believe in immortality. I cannot comprehend a belief that is without God. I cannot comprehend the worth of a life on this Earth if there is no assurance of a life beyond the grave, no assurance of immortality, if there is no assurance that I will ever again see, with my tired eyes, my departed grandson.

We are daily caught up in the gewgaws of political life, and our social life. Many of these things are, of course, worthwhile. But there will come a day and a time, if my mind is still clear, when I will look forward to crossing that mystic sea to the eternal land where Michael, where my parents, and the couple who raised me, and the friends of yesteryear will be waiting to greet me. It is up to me to be prepared, when the time arrives, for the narrow gate that leads home.

No man is good. I do not pretend to be a religious man. We all have our faults and we all fall short of our duty. We are all unworthy. We get caught up each day in the little chores and the demands that are made upon us as public servants. It is easy to forget how really tiny we are, how really insignificant we are. I have often thought that I would like to have gone to the Moon, just to be able to look back on this tiny, tiny, tiny speck which we know as our earthly planet, and then try, while looking down from that magnificent orb, to imagine tiny man and how insignificant and how small man truly is—less than a particle of dust traveling through this ephemeral life. How vain is man! How proud, vainly proud, is mortal man! I sometimes wonder if I am not the vainest, the vainest of men.

Even in leaving this work here as our Chaplain, Dr. Halverson has caused Senators today to reflect upon things that are lasting, things that are eternal. Darwin, in his treatise—as he expounds his theory of natural selection and conveys his impressions regarding the selection of the fittest as a microscopic organism evolves from virtual nothingness—speaks of a Creator. Darwin speaks of a Creator—of God.

So it is that through all of the ages, men of all races, in all parts of the Earth, have believed in a Higher Power, a creator.

Throughout Dr. Halverson's tenure as our Chaplain, he led us to a greater knowledge of, and a closer relationship with, our Creator, and more than once I have benefited from Dr. Halverson's ministry—a universal ministry not restricted by sectarian or even other-than-Christian boundaries. Just as important, however, I have benefited by Dr. Halverson's personal friendship. That friendship has brightened my life and enriched my work here as a Sen-

ator, and for that, I am grateful to him.

In the years that lie before Dr. Halverson, I wish him every happiness and every fulfillment that his exemplary spirit and pure heart might enjoy. And in that Great Eternal Beyond, I look forward to continuing the friendship and fellowship that are the promise to all of those whose daily walk is as Dr. Halverson's walk has been among us here in the U.S. Senate.

I think of Dr. Halverson as one who exemplifies the faith of the poor couple who raised me. I think of my own coal miner Dad as one of the few truly great men whom I have met in this life. He had very little education acquired in the halls of learning, but he was a man who owed no man a penny when he died. I never heard him use God's name in vain in all the years that I lived with him—a humble, hard-working coal miner.

And the woman who reared me from the day my mother died—I was then 1 year old. The woman who reared me was a woman of great religious conviction. Not a religious fanatic—I hold no brief for religious fanatics or any other fanatics. She lived a simple, good life. Many times, when I have driven to West Virginia, arriving at 2 o'clock in the morning, she would open the door, and I would hear her say, "ROBERT, can I fix you something to eat?"

And when it came time for me to return to Washington, she would say, "Robert, you be a good boy. I always pray for you."

It is that kind of ministry that touches the human heart. And it was that kind of ministry that Dr. Halverson gave to us here.

As Dr. Halverson departs our company on this side of the Capitol, I say to Dr. Halverson, "Well done, well done. You have served us and your country well, and we will never forget you."

Last night, I passed beside the blacksmith's door,

And heard the anvil ring the vesper chime,
And looking in, I saw upon the floor,
Old hammers worn with beating years of time.

"How many anvils have you had," said I,
"To wear and batter all these hammers so?"
"Only one," the blacksmith said, then with twinkling eye,
"The anvil wears the hammers out, you know."

And so the Bible, the anvil of God's word,
For centuries, skeptic blows have beat upon,
But, though the noise of falling blows was heard,

The anvil is unharmed, the hammers gone.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. SIMON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). The Senator from Illinois.

CHAPLAIN HALVERSON HAS SERVED US WELL

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I would like to associate myself with the words of praise of Dr. Halverson that Senator BYRD just provided us. I cannot do it with the same eloquence. I hate to say it, the few poems I memorized back when I was in grade school and high school I cannot recite now. But I wish

I had Senator BYRD's recollections or ability to recall things so vividly.

Every once in a while someone says, "Why do you need a Chaplain in the Senate?" We go through the same pains and agonies that everyone else does, and we have, in addition, the stress of being here.

I hope I never have to go through what the Senator from West Virginia has gone through, seeing a grandchild die. I cannot imagine how tough that must be. But I know having a Chaplain, not just for Members of the Senate but for our staffs—Chaplain Halverson was there to help anyone associated with the Senate who had problems, and the same is true of Chaplain Ford in the House.

When I was in the House, I can remember one of my colleagues looked as if something was wrong. I sat down next to him. I said, "Everything all right?"

He said, "I just got word that my son committed suicide."

I will never forget it. He needed help, and it is important to each of us and important to the Nation that we provide that.

I have noticed Chaplain Halverson—yes, he is good to each of us who is in the Senate, but I think equally important, he is good to all the staff. I can remember serving in the House with someone who was always good to his colleagues, but he was mean to elevator operators and others. Frankly, I never had any respect for him, even though he was a person of great ability. One of the things I really appreciate about Chaplain Halverson's service is he was available to everyone. He has served this Senate, he has served all of us very well. I want to associate myself with the remarks of Senator BYRD.

Mr. GORTON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

THE IMPACT OF CHAPLAIN HALVERSON ON PEOPLE

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I would like to associate myself with the remarks of my friend from Illinois on the remarkable eloquence of our senior colleague from West Virginia. I was thinking during his remarks how much they will be appreciated in printed form by Chaplain Halverson himself during the course of his retirement. They show a thoughtfulness and a sense for history and our culture which is unique with our friend from West Virginia.

One particular set of remarks made by my friend from Illinois were particularly appropriate, I think, and they had to do with the impact of Chaplain Halverson on the other people, other than the Members in the Senate.

One of the great occasional pleasures I can remember would be to walk down one of the Hallways here or in one of the Senate office buildings with the Chaplain and see how the faces of all we passed, all of the people who serve us and serve this body, would simply

light up when they saw the face of the Chaplain and how he was never in too much hurry not to stop and have a good word or two of greeting for each and every person.

He was truly a Chaplain not just for 100 Senators but for all of the broad Senate family and for those in some sudden need who were just here as visitors as well.

As he retires and leave us, my own remembrance, my own memory of him will be of a man who comes closer in character to what we read about when we read about the saints and the great religious leaders in history, that he partakes of more of those qualities than any other individual whom I have been privileged to know, not just during my career here but during my life.

Chaplain Halverson, at some different time and some different place, might well end up being nominated a saint because his character was and remains a saintly character, who brings joy and sustenance and strength and peace into the lives of all with whom he associates.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank both of my colleagues.

Mr. President, I also thank Senator DOLE, the majority leader, for his thoughtfulness in asking Senators to come to the floor today, to come to the Chamber and to be present when Dr. Halverson uttered his last prayer here in the Chamber. I think that was a very good thing to do, and I appreciate very much the majority leader's having done that, and told him so when he was here earlier.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period of morning business for not to extend beyond the hour of 11 a.m., with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

Mr. GRASSLEY addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa.

DR. RICHARD C. HALVERSON

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I hope before the clock starts to tick that I can take 15 seconds to speak about Pastor Halverson, and to remind everybody that Pastor Halverson is just retiring as Chaplain for the U.S. Senate. He is not retiring from being a pastor for people. He is not retiring from being a servant for the Lord.

This morning, I asked him to pray for me, and as I have done for the last 14 years, I will continue to pray for his work daily because I know that work will continue.

CONCERNING PRESIDENTIAL ETHICS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, President Clinton was asked, at his most recent news conference, how he could explain the ethical controversies

surrounding his administration—and these are the words of an inquiring press—“* * * after [he] came into office promising the most ethical administration in history.”

I wanted to take this opportunity to discuss how the President reacted to that inquiry at his news conference.

First, he responded to allegations about Roger Altman's ethical troubles. President Clinton stated that:

Roger Altman resigned even though he had violated no law and no rule of ethics.

There are two problems with that statement. First, Roger Altman resigned because bipartisan members of the Senate Banking Committee found that he misled Congress in sworn testimony. I hope that President Clinton did not mean to suggest that misleading Congress in sworn testimony is ethical.

And, second, Altman did not really resign. Several months later, he was still performing functions for the Treasury Department.

That is not the commitment to ethics that the President promised the American people.

President Clinton also mentioned former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy. The President said that Secretary Espy's actions involved “* * * a few thousand dollars, all of which he has reimbursed.”

I think Secretary Espy made a number of significant contributions as Agriculture Secretary. But, once again, I have to take issue with the President. The purity of the Nation's food supply is vital. Laws have been on the books for decades to prevent the Agriculture Department personnel from taking any payment that might influence their decisions regarding food product safety. And ethics is about the adherence to rules. The fact that amounts involved might have been petty may relate to appropriate punishments. But it does not relate to or excuse an ethics violation, if one occurred.

The President's comments that Mr. Espy is the only Cabinet Secretary to resign based on ethics challenges to actions taken while in office is technically true. But this is only because Commerce Secretary Ron Brown has not resigned. It is simply not true, as the President has repeatedly said, that the charges relating to Secretary Brown concern only his conduct prior to taking office. Significant ethical issues arise from the manner in which he reported various financial transactions on his ethics disclosure forms once he assumed office. Various conflicts of interest are alleged to have arisen after he became Secretary of Commerce as well.

I am also concerned that the President seems to think that somehow it is a matter of less concern that a person in his administration is accused of ethical conduct prior to joining his administration than afterward. What does that say about the vetting process that was followed?

Does the President suggest that the ethics of a person he chose for his administration matter only with respect to actions they took while in office? Remember, Vice President Agnew resigned because of actions he took prior to assuming that office.

I think that it is not asking too much of the President, who promised the toughest ethical standards in history, that his appointees be ethical in their current positions and that they have records of acting ethically.

However, the President said that we are “creating a climate here in which a lot of people will be reluctant to serve.” Let me make crystal clear that, in fact, we are trying to create a climate in which people who are not ethical, including a number this President has appointed, are very reluctant to serve.

President Clinton also said that under the independent counsel law investigations cannot be controlled. The President said that if a certain number of Members of Congress ask for an independent counsel, then the prospect of a counsel is triggered. Mr. President, I am pleased to have supported the independent counsel law over many years in times of both Republican and Democrat Presidents. President Clinton made reauthorization of that statute a priority, so he should not complain about that law.

But we should be clear about the terms of the statute. A particular number of Senators cannot demand that an independent counsel be appointed. What Members of Congress can do is force the Attorney General to conduct an investigation and to make a decision. But the decision to ask for an independent counsel is the Attorney General's alone.

For instance, a majority of Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee wrote the Attorney General to ask that an independent counsel be appointed to prosecute Ira Magaziner on the contempt charges arising from the health care task force litigation that the Justice Department defended. Attorney General Reno conducted an investigation, but she decided not to ask for the appointment of an independent counsel. In the other instances in which an independent counsel was appointed, it was the President's own Attorney General who sought the appointment because the circumstances warranted it. Members of Congress cannot force an appointment.

President Clinton also said that with respect to his administration, “You would be hard pressed to cite examples that constitute abuse of authority.” In fact, it is very easy in regard to the health care reform task force. A violation of the Federal Advisory Committee Act by the health care task force is one example. Failure to immediately put assets in a blind trust, as all other recent Presidents did, while those assets included a fund that shorted health care stocks, is a second example. A third example is Travelgate;