

to foster personal relations among Members of Congress might seem to be stating the obvious, even trivial in light of all the challenges we face. This spirit and these relationships have suffered greatly in recent years, however, and can only be restored through focusing on them. Congress, and especially the Senate, is only as strong and effective as the links between its Members. Newcomers to the institution will soon learn the importance—the necessity—of working together and compromising. The basic point is to soften the lines of partisanship and division that often impede the legislative process.

Along with sincere efforts to increase bipartisanship, overall expectations must be lowered. There is a consensus in both parties and among the public at large that Government cannot be expected to do all things for all people. Constituents cannot continue to make contradictory calls for a downsizing of Government and a lowered deficit while at the same time demanding more services and benefits. Members must have the political courage to tell this truth and to point out this reality.

The realities of our two-party system dictate that there will be issues upon which the parties will never agree. After all, the parties do hold competing views for the future of the country. This is not necessarily bad. It creates alternatives and requires leaders to articulate a vision. But, there are enough large issues that confront us that bipartisanship is the best way—perhaps the only way—to achieve success. By focusing on broad goals that come about through compromise, Members do not forsake their parties or philosophies.

Where bipartisanship and working together are not possible, perhaps it is best to pull back and perhaps wait for another time to pursue action. This is in stark contrast to the tendency in recent Congresses to forge ahead, even where failure is certain, and then blame the other side or party for the failure. Sometimes legislation and ideas need to simmer and gel before being acted upon.

There should be a ladies' and gentlemen's agreement making it a taboo to demonize your political opponents. Far too much of today's debate consists of trying to promote one's position through the character assassination of an opponent. Even in circumstances where this tactic succeeds, the victory is inherently hollow and will not stand the test of time. Both major parties could have their campaign committees designed to work together to create less negativity and friction in political campaigns. The first agreement should be to ban negative campaign ads.

In the spirit of President Eisenhower, the status of his self-proclaimed moderation should be returned to that of a political virtue rather than a governing liability. Regardless of the personal ideologies and views of individual Members of Congress, the national legislature should reflect the moderate

course of a moderate populace. This does not mean that ideology and political passion do not or should not count; it does mean that sometimes they should be suppressed in the best interests of the Nation as a whole. In such a complex, diverse, and large country as ours, extreme, rigid views on either side can only perpetuate alienation from and dissatisfaction with Government.

It has always struck me as rather interesting that the vast majority of the policy foundations, issue study centers, and think tanks are either identifiably conservative or liberal in their orientation. There are very few that are seen as centrist in their outlook. Perhaps private sources could establish an Institute for reason and moderation or a center for responsible government to review and monitor legislation under broad guidelines designed to produce a scholarly moderate approach to and evaluation of issues.

As I leave the Senate and public service, I want to thank the people of my State for their faith and trust over the years. As I pass the torch to a new generation, I also want to thank my Creator for the blessing of health and energy during my lifetime so far, and for giving me the opportunity to serve our great Nation and my fellow citizens.

As my time in the Senate draws to a close, I am reminded of the fact that our Nation—the United States of America—is not based on any one language, culture, or geographic area as are most older nations. Instead, it is based on a set of ideals, which, while relatively few in number, really encompass all the elements that constitute the core of who we are as a people. These are liberty, freedom, democracy, equality, opportunity, human dignity, and respect for others. These are the great ideals that brought us to these shores in the first place, and which will take us into the next century.

Since our country is still so much a work in progress, I still believe that our best years are ahead. Sure, growing pains, in the nature of social problems, world threats, and ideological divides, will continue to occur. But by weathering these storms and finding remedies for them, we become stronger and better able to meet and adapt to changing demands and conditions. This adaptability and resourcefulness—benefits resulting from the genius of our Constitution and the Government it charters—have served us particularly well during the last several decades of intense social and technological change. This ability, with which America is uniquely equipped due to the ideals upon which it is founded and the Constitution which enshrines those ideals, can continue to guide and serve us well and will continue to be our greatest natural resource.

TRIBUTE TO RETIRING SENATOR MARK HATFIELD OF OREGON

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to bid farewell to our distinguished colleague from Oregon, Senator MARK HATFIELD. Senator HATFIELD's career in the Senate has spanned three decades, a record of service that the State of Oregon, as well as the rest of the Nation, should be proud of.

Senator HATFIELD has devoted his entire adult life to serving the people of Oregon, as an educator, a statesman, a public servant of the highest caliber. Senator HATFIELD's long and distinguished career began as college professor and dean at Willamette University. He has served in both the Oregon House and Senate, as Oregon's youngest secretary of state, its Governor, and, since his election in 1966, as the longest-serving U.S. Senator from the State of Oregon. Senator HATFIELD's commitment to the people of Oregon is unquestionable. In announcing his retirement, Senator HATFIELD explained, "Thirty years of voluntary separation from the State I love is enough." As I am sure my colleagues will agree, Oregon's gain is the U.S. Senate's loss.

Senator HATFIELD served as the chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee from 1981 to 1987, and in 1995 he returned to the helm of that committee. As chairman and in the Senate as a whole, he often helped fashion bipartisan compromises, putting the good of the country ahead of partisan politics. I had the good fortune to work with Senator HATFIELD as part of the Mainstream Coalition, which tried to break the gridlock surrounding health care reform.

Senator HATFIELD is not afraid to stand up for what he believes is right, even when it means going toe-to-toe with his own party or disregarding popular public opinion. In 1995, during the fight over the balanced budget amendment, Senator HATFIELD stood by his beliefs, in the face of enormous pressure from his own party, and voted against the amendment.

In addition to his tenure in the U.S. Senate, MARK HATFIELD also served his country as a Navy Lieutenant in the Pacific theater in World War II. He was at the battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, and served in the occupation of Hiroshima after the dropping of the atomic bomb. This experience gave him a deep and unshakable commitment to peace, leading him to vigorously oppose war and nuclear proliferation. As Governor of Oregon, he spoke out against Lyndon Johnson's policies on Vietnam. He helped author legislation passed by the Senate in 1992 calling for an end to U.S. nuclear testing, legislation that I supported. He also helped found the Oregon Peace Institute and the U.S. Institute for Peace.

Mr. President, I have the deepest respect and admiration for our friend and colleague from Oregon, and I say with confidence that he will be deeply

missed by every Member of this Chamber. I wish him all the best as he returns to his home State of Oregon and resumes his career in education, and I thank him for his dedicated service to this body and the Nation.

SENATOR BILL BRADLEY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I pay tribute today to the senior Senator from New Jersey, BILL BRADLEY, who has, unfortunately, decided to retire from the Senate after three terms.

BILL BRADLEY has brought to the Senate a keen mind and an athlete's drive to cut through highly complicated, but vital issues affecting the economy of the United States, especially the Tax Code's treatment of the middle class, and the need to eliminate the accumulation of deductions and special interest provisions which have skewed our tax code in multifarious and unfair ways.

In tackling the most vexing and wide-ranging problems affecting the economy, Senator BRADLEY had a central impact on the Tax Reform Act of 1986 after 4 years of hard work, perseverance, and studious attention to these very difficult issues. Using the springboard of his seat on the Finance Committee to grind away at his colleagues and the Senate as a whole as to the need for basic reform of the Tax Code, BILL showed that he could go the extra mile, and through sheer determination use the legislative process in textbook fashion. He produced far-reaching proposals on issues that have made a real difference for Americans, based on careful study and on convincing the rest of us to stand up, pay attention, and support the soundness of his position.

He has tackled a variety of other tough and central problems facing American society, including deficit reduction, pension reform, college loan programs, Medicaid reform, and a variety of initiatives in the energy area through his active membership on the Senate Energy Committee. In addition, he has been extremely industrious as a legislator on a wide range of issues in the education field, from community-based initiatives involving families, to reform of higher education. BILL BRADLEY has gone much further than legislative initiatives, however. He has sponsored a number of enduring seminars and special programs for high school and college students and athletes, all with a dual focus on effective citizenship and educational excellence.

Senator BILL BRADLEY added his engaging personality, integrity, and studious manner to the mosaic of the Senate, and gave this body another dimension. His unique background as a Rhodes Scholar, and as a former professional basketball player turned U.S. Senator sent a message to our young people that intellectual and athletic excellence need not be two competing worlds.

In all his work in the Senate, BILL has performed with dignity, grace, and

with great respect for the opportunity that the Senate affords for informed debate. Unfortunately, informed debate has not always been a great hallmark of recent years in the Senate, and I regret that this body will no longer have the benefit of BILL BRADLEY's keen mind and tenacious, yet gentlemanly approach to the issues of our day.

Senator BRADLEY is a young, vibrant, vigorous man with, God willing, a long span of productive years ahead of him. I am pleased to note that he has recently been writing and speaking out on a variety of fundamental issues concerning the Nation, including race relations; the need for a more responsible civil society where grassroots and local institutions assume more responsibility for our civic life; on the need for campaign finance reform; on the need for economic transformation and growth more fairly shared across the full range of economic groups in American society; and on the role of faith in the fabric of American society. Of particular interest is his comparison of American society with a three-legged stool made up of the private sector, government, and civil society. Obviously Senator BRADLEY is correct when he points out that our future depends on all three.

BILL BRADLEY is an independent, and thoughtful thinker on some of the most fundamental issues confronting our Nation.

Senator BRADLEY has focused his considerable mental powers well on a broad landscape of difficult problems which will trouble our Nation in the years ahead.

The breadth of issues on BILL BRADLEY's plate clearly shows that he intends to make an indelible mark on the continuing American dialogue about solutions to these problems, and I, for one, encourage him and look forward to his contribution. It would not surprise me to see citizen BILL BRADLEY at the witness table at future Senate hearings giving us his views on many fundamental issues.

I wish BILL and his wife, Ernestine, the best as he departs from this latest stopping place in his varied and successful life, knowing that there is much more to come, and with the hope that he will return frequently to include the Senate in his personal quest for a better America.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BRADLEY

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, today I want to pay tribute to Senator BILL BRADLEY's distinguished service in the U.S. Senate.

From his election to the Senate in 1978, BILL BRADLEY has influenced the policymaking agenda in Washington by plunging into the intricacies of an impressive array of interests and learning the strengths and weaknesses of his opponents' arguments better than they did. His sheer intellectual dominance of issues has allowed him to succeed against the political odds on issues as

far-ranging as tax reform and water-use policy.

Senator BRADLEY has been a true leader on tax reform and fiscal responsibility. He was an early and persistent voice urging us to put our fiscal house in order. If we had had more BILL BRADLEY's in the Senate in the early 1980's, we could have avoided the deficits of the Reagan era and subsequent years that have left us with our enormous national debt. Last year, I was privileged to work closely with BILL BRADLEY in putting together a fair share budget plan that would have balanced the unified Federal budget. His advice was absolutely central to developing the specifics of the plan and bringing together a coalition of supporters.

In 1986, BILL BRADLEY almost single-handedly pushed through a tax reform bill that dramatically reduced the number and size of tax loopholes, gave middle-class American families tax relief, and greatly simplified the Tax Code. Since joining the Finance Committee, I have had the opportunity of working with BILL on tax policy, and his knowledge of the intricacies and politics of our Tax Code is truly astounding. We will sorely miss his knowledge on these issues as we consider tax issues in the future.

Senator BRADLEY has also been a courageous voice on other issues that many politicians choose to avoid. For example, he has been one of a very few Members of Congress to move beyond sound bites and talk honestly and directly about the issue of race in America. And he was a strong voice criticizing those who seek to use race to divide us for political purposes.

Senator BRADLEY also devoted a great deal of time to foreign policy. Whenever a complex foreign policy issue forced itself upon the Senate, it seemed like BILL had found time to think through the options and U.S. and regional interests involved.

In short, Mr. President, BILL BRADLEY has been an intellectual giant in the Senate. The U.S. Senate is losing a champion for average American families and particularly for the least fortunate among us. But I do not doubt that he will continue these fights. As he said when he announced his decision not to seek reelection, there are other places where he can put his skills to work making our country better and stronger. I wish him well as he seeks out the best place and way to continue his calling to public service.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to proceed for up to 10 minutes as if in morning business.

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

SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise this morning to speak not to an issue but to speak to a man—about a man.