

HOWELL HEFLIN of Alabama, JIM EXON of Nebraska, BILL BRADLEY of New Jersey, and HANK BROWN of Colorado.

All of these people served with distinction, each for different reasons, each for their own area of expertise. But when you look down through this list, if you are one of the people who handicaps political races, you would have to say, whether you were Republican or Democrat, the thing they each have in common is that each one of these Senators would have been reelected. The Democrats in this list would have easily been reelected. The Republicans in this list would have been easily reelected. A couple have literally run without opposition in the past.

Maybe it says something about this body. To me, it says two things. One is that we have fallen, both here and in the other body, fallen into the habit of allowing things to become too partisan, too personal, and, in many instances, mean. There is too much aiming for the special interest groups of the ultraright or the ultraleft, too often looking for legislation that is designed to be a slogan, rather than to be of substance for this country.

But the people I have mentioned here are the ones who have tried to stay away from that, who have tried to bring us back to the middle, back to the center, realizing at some point Republicans and Democrats have to come together.

I think of MARK HATFIELD and what he has done, both as chairman and as ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, where if there is ever a committee where individual interests sometimes go way over any question of ideology, it is in that committee. How many times he has brought us all together so we could come out for the good of the country.

Senator KASSEBAUM, who in her work, her quiet work but her steady and honest and complete work for this country and for this body, both as chair of her committee and as representative of her State, earned the complete applause of every Member of this body. There is not a Member here who is happy to see her retire. We all wish she would stay. That is obviously the way the people of Kansas feel.

Senator SAM NUNN, who is recognized by Republicans and Democrats alike as one of the foremost voices in this body on defense matters, someone to whom both Republican and Democratic Presidents have gone, as have the leaders of both parties in here, time and time again, for advice and help and support—again, one who brought Republicans and Democrats together.

BENNETT JOHNSTON, who is probably as able a legislator as I have ever served with, again, as both chairman and ranking member, taking legislation through this body that would have stymied anybody else.

ALAN SIMPSON, a person with whom I share a great friendship, as well as, I might say, the same barber. He has an

ability and a very candid, some would say earthy style of bringing us together. He is also a person who has always kept his word to both sides of the aisle.

BILL COHEN is a man who brings a legislator's expertise but a poet's soul to this body. He has worked so often with me and with others on this side of the aisle to craft bipartisan solutions to some of the most difficult issues in this body, ranging from the use of our intelligence agencies to our worldwide power.

HOWELL HEFLIN, with whom I sat in both the Agriculture and Judiciary Committees, the wise judge who, when we are unable to reach a solution, somehow seems to come up with one—again, that brings us together.

CLAIBORNE PELL, one of the most distinguished Members of this body, and most loved Members, a quiet man who, again, always seems to do what is right.

PAUL SIMON, historian, at the time when this body is losing so much of its sense of history, again, he will bring us back, over and over again, not only to what is right but also what is historically right.

You see HANK BROWN, BILL BRADLEY, JIM EXON, people with whom I have either served on committees or committees of conference with them or as cosponsors of their legislation, again, understanding that at some point we have to come together.

I believe I mentioned all in this list, except for Senator DAVID PRYOR. It is no overstatement to say DAVID PRYOR is the friend of all of us. We all understand DAVID'S motivation in leaving, both for his health, and for his family—primarily for family. DAVID PRYOR would not have been contested this year. He would have won virtually by acclamation in Arkansas.

There is hardly a Member in this body who has not gone to DAVID at some point and said, "How do we get out of this impasse? How do we work it through?" I must say, President Clinton, in good days and in bad days, has been fortunate to have DAVID PRYOR here, as one he could speak to and from whom he could get an honest assessment, and also one we could speak to, whether we had good news or bad news for the President.

All of these people will be missed, but I don't think we can overstate that what we have lost by these Senators leaving. They leave behind a body that grows increasingly polarized, and the country suffers, the Senate suffers. I have said so many times—it is a mantra almost to me—this body should be the conscience of the Nation. The conscience is one where we come together collectively and speak to the best instincts in the greatest democracy history has ever known. This requires men and women of good will in both parties to recognize the differences in each other's region of the country, in each other's philosophy, sometimes in each other's goals * * *

but, through all that, to understand ultimately it is the United States' goals that must be met. It is this country's goals that must be met, but it is also the history and the integrity of this body that must be preserved.

We are making decisions for our children and for our grandchildren. They are going to live most of their lives in the next century. Our decisions should be for that next century, not just for this week's partisan gain or this election's partisan gain or this evening's news.

So I hope when we come back into session in January—and I will be one who will be here—that all of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, will pledge to follow the examples of so many of these Senators I have talked about, and work to come together, not to further polarize, both this body and the other body. In the end, neither party gains or loses an advantage by that polarization, but the country does lose—it loses badly.

Every one of us will say goodbye with fondness and affection to these Members of the Senate. Each one of us will miss these Members of the Senate, no matter which party we belong to. But I might add, if we want to honor their distinguished service in this body, let's do it by pledging, as we come into the 105th Congress, that we do it with more a sense of comity, of accommodation, of bipartisanship and upholding the Nation's interests and the responsibilities and respect and proud history of the U.S. Senate.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN A. DURICKA

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an Associated Press article about John Duricka, written by my friend, Jim Abrams, be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

[See exhibit 1.]

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, John Duricka was not only one of the finest photographers I ever knew, but also one of the best reporters of the Capitol. His photos will illustrate our history books for decades and generations to come. He was a man who suffered greatly in the last few months of his life with cancer, but few of us knew how badly it was.

I had a conversation with him at the beginning of the summer in which he talked of going to the Republican and Democratic Conventions. I told him I was looking forward to seeing him at ours and would probably be asking him for tips on exposures and angles for my own photography at that convention. It became too much, and he did not make it there, and more is the pity.

Last week, there was a memorial service for him there. Many spoke in eulogies of him. They spoke of a man who always had to get the photo but never forgot there were other photographers he worked with. Over and over,

I saw him in a committee room where he would come in—you always get a nice smile from him—and I would see him go over, find a great angle, take a couple shots, and often, if there was a new photographer there, he would point that angle out to him.

The article that is printed at the end of this from the Associated Press speaks far better about him, as I think Mr. Abrams is far more eloquent than I, and that is why I want it included.

I was pleased to see the distinguished majority leader, Senator LOTT, also spoke about him last week. He well deserves that.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Associated Press, Sept. 24, 1996]

AP PHOTOGRAPHER PRAISED

(By Jim Abrams)

The Senate and House opened their sessions Tuesday with tributes to AP photographer John A. Duricka, a veteran of Capitol Hill photo coverage who died Monday.

"The Senate and all Americans lost a true professional yesterday," Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss. "The measure of John's professionalism and dedication is he was on the job almost up to the time of his death doing what he loved and doing it wonderfully well."

Lott spoke of Duricka's "combination of mature demeanor and tough determination" and added: "All who treasure our freedoms of the press and free expression will miss his outstanding contributions to that end."

In the House, Rep. David Dreier, R-Calif., said Duricka was "a great friend to me." Dreier recalled that he delivered the eulogy at the funeral of Duricka's brother, a photographer at the San Gabriel Valley Tribune who was killed in a plane crash several years ago.

"John Duricka was a great man and he took wonderful photographs and he's one of those institutions in this Capitol who will be sorely missed," Dreier said.

Jonathan Wolman, AP's Washington bureau chief, said: "From Bobby Byrd to Newt Gingrich, John captured all the great figures of Congress. He illustrated the legislative process with pictures of leaders, lobbyists and hundreds of ordinary citizens who appeared in committee hearings."

Duricka was "a professional's professional," Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., recalled Monday. "His work was seen by millions who never knew his name. He was a familiar presence on Capitol Hill and I always looked for him among the photographers. He was a friend to many, and he will be missed."

Duricka, 58, had a 30-year career as an AP photographer. He was chairman of the congressional Standing Committee of Press Photographers, which represents the interests of still photographers.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

OMNIBUS CONSOLIDATED APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1997

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, we are coming on to the end of this session. It is a very, very important session. I think we have accomplished a lot in this Congress. We have made changes, seen major changes in how the budget is going to be handled. We now have the President of the United States talking, for the first time—a Democratic President talking for the first time—in 60 years about balancing the budget. I do not think we have any choice in the matter. We have to move toward a balanced budget.

But we have to see change in welfare reform. For the first time we have actually done something to entitlement programs. We have certainly passed a whole raft of other bills that are outlined in the newspapers almost on a daily basis. I think people are amazed what a terrific and important Congress this has been.

I would like to just take a few minutes this morning to address some of the measures in the omnibus bill before the Senate. One such measure is the vast bulk of the immigration conference report. The American people expect the Federal Government to control our country's borders. We have not yet done so. The American people expect Congress and the President to strengthen the national effort against illegal immigration.

Despite the last-minute political gamesmanship of the President, we have included in the omnibus measure provisions dealing with the problem of illegal immigration. This omnibus measure includes the conference report on H.R. 2202, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, with certain modifications to title V of the conference report. The legislative history of the immigration portion of this measure includes the legislative history of H.R. 2202 and S. 1664, with their accompanying committee reports and floor debates and, in addition, a joint explanatory statement of the committee of conference in Report 104-828.

The American people should make no mistake about it. There is no thanks owed to President Clinton for this achievement.

On August 2, 1996, President Clinton wrote to Speaker Gingrich. Remarkably, he said unequivocally he would veto this bill even with the significantly modified Gallegly provision on public education for illegal aliens, a compromise which was not even yet at that point in final form. Republican conferees removed that provision from the proposed conference report, a draft of which was initially circulated on September 10, 1996. It was the only issue upon which the President said he would veto this bill.

The President had 2 weeks before the actual conference to register other objections to the draft conference report. Yet, only after the conference committee met and filed its report did the President interpose final objections related to title V of the conference re-

port, which addresses immigrants' financial responsibilities. The President was apparently willing to shut down the Government or kill the immigration bill on his last-minute demands. The immigration measure in this appropriations bill now contains further concessions to the President. We have finally cleared away the obstructions, and it is my understanding that he no longer has any major objections.

This bill is an important bill. It cracks down on illegal immigration. Among other things, it builds up and strengthens the Border Patrol. It authorizes 5,000 new agents and 1,500 new support personnel for the Border Patrol over the next 5 years. This increase basically doubles the size of the Border Patrol. The proposal adds as many as 450 investigators and related personnel to combat illegal alien smuggling into our country over 3 years. The bill provides 300 personnel to investigate those who overstay their visas and thus remain illegally in our country.

The conference report requires the Attorney General to establish an automated entry and exit control system to match arriving and departing aliens and to identify visa overstayers. It authorizes acquisition of improved equipment and technology for border control, including helicopters, four-wheel drive vehicles, night vision scopes and sensor units, just to name a few things.

The bill adds civil penalties to existing criminal penalties against aliens illegally entering our country. Criminal and civil penalties for document fraud are increased. Criminal penalties against those who smuggle aliens into our country are also increased. High speed flight from an INS checkpoint is a felony punishable by up to 5 years imprisonment under this bill.

The bill makes it illegal to falsely claim American citizenship with the purpose of obtaining any Federal or State benefit or service or for the purpose of voting or registering to vote in any Federal, State or local election.

This bill gives the INS, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, wiretap authority in alien smuggling and document fraud cases.

The bill broadens the definition of "aggravated felony" for purposes of our immigration laws, even beyond the new Terrorism Act, to include crimes of rape and sexual abuse of a minor. It lowers the fine threshold for money laundering from \$100,000 to \$10,000. It decreases the imprisonment threshold for theft, violence, racketeering, and document fraud from 5 years to 1 year. That is the threshold. The broadened definition of aggravated felony adds new offenses related to gambling, bribery, perjury, revealing the identity of undercover agents, and transporting prostitutes. What does this mean? More criminal aliens will be deportable and fewer will be eligible for waivers of deportation.

To assist in the identification and removal of deportable criminal aliens, the bill authorizes the registration of