

Chairman HATFIELD to bring together a bill that would satisfy the priorities of all of those involved. Indeed the chairman has been extremely generous to my State of Kansas. But I must protest a process and a final product that abdicates Congress' responsibilities to unselected officials who have no constitutional role in the power of the purse; a role relegated by Constitution solely to the Congress. I am speaking of President Clinton's Chief of Staff who sat in, with veto power over the deliberations of the house and Senate conferees.

I am at a loss to explain why those who maintain such an abiding commitment to reforming Congress and to cutting wasteful spending have cast their vote in support for this bill. If nothing else this bill represents business as usual. It is 16 pounds, 2,000 pages, and has no accompanying report, making it impossible to determine exactly where the money is going. Eight billion to jump start the war on drugs is just one example. What does that mean? To what programs will that large sum be directed? It sounds like a positive move, but it has no accountability. We shouldn't be making political statements of that magnitude with the taxpayers' money. As I have noted, this bill represents a total abdication of our constitutional responsibility. In short, it is a cop-out in our responsibility to the taxpayer.

I do not favor another Government shutdown. As Lieutenant Governor and secretary of administration with responsibility for the State employees of my State of Kansas, we were forced to furlough workers from their jobs, through no fault of their own because the President wanted to make political hay. Sadly, it was the Congress that received the blame. It seems that in Washington, if you lose the battle of the spin control, good policy and good Government don't matter. So cowed by the specter of another Government shutdown are Members of Congress that the political courage to get our job done, to make the tough calls and to provide a responsible spending package evaporated with the hint of misdirected public ire. Spin has once again won over responsible policy.

Senator after Senator has come to this Chamber to express their concern over the process that cobbled this bill together. The pork and largess included have been decried. But I don't see much willingness to confront the problem and fix it. That is what troubles me. This is not a good bill and Members know it. They have said so. I am saying so.

When I came to the U.S. Senate I pledged to the people of Kansas that I was prepared to make the tough calls. From my first vote, a vote to balance the budget and get the country's financial house in order, I have been committed to that pledge. So it is in keeping with my pledge that I cast my vote against this bill.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR KASSEBAUM

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I have had the honor and privilege of serving with Senator KASSEBAUM on both the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources and, I must say, that service together has always been, for me, a pleasure.

Senator KASSEBAUM has served on the Labor Committee from the 101st through the 104th Congress. In the 101st and the 102d she served as the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities. During that period, we worked most closely and successfully together on matters such as the reauthorization of the Carl Perkins Vocational Education Act in 1990, Library Services and Construction in 1990, and the Higher Education Act in 1992. We worked in the strong bipartisan fashion that has traditionally been the hallmark of the subcommittee.

In the 103d Congress Senator KASSEBAUM became the ranking member of the full Labor Committee, and we continued to work closely together on such important matters as Goals 2000 and the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1994.

Most recently, I have been proud to work with her in her present capacity as chairman of the Labor Committee in this, the 104th Congress. Her Workforce Development Act provided a much-needed overhaul and consolidation of our job training programs, and it also contained a series of very strong and positive vocational and adult education provisions. I supported the legislation both in committee and on the Senate floor, and regret very much that the Senate bill did not prevail.

Similarly, Mr. President, we served together since the 97th Congress on the Committee on Foreign Relations. There, to my enormous regret, the tradition of bipartisanship is not quite as well entrenched, but partisan conflicts were never caused by Senator KASSEBAUM. She always conducted herself in the most rational, informed and moderate fashion.

I would add that, in her years on the committee, she developed a remarkable expertise regarding the continent and the countries of Africa and an accompanying—and admirable—dedication to the often neglected peoples of that continent. During those years she traveled often to Africa, came to know its geography, and developed relationships with its political and business leaders. I think it is fair to say that she was unrivaled as the Senate's expert on Africa and African issues.

In the years we have worked together on both committees, I can say without question that Nancy KASSEBAUM has always been thoughtful, considerate, and gracious. I can also say that she is tenacious and determined. But most of all, she brings all of those traits together in the most marvelous way. I

know that I am not alone in this assessment. Everyone in this Chamber knows that is the way it is with this gentlewoman from Kansas.

While I also will not be here next year, I know for sure that this body will not be the same without her principled and sensible approach to public policy. She will be sorely missed.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR PRYOR

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the departure of our dear friend the junior senator from Arkansas [Mr. PRYOR] from the Senate will leave a void that will be hard to fill. His special qualities of modesty and quiet accomplishment are all too rare. I have always greatly appreciated his decency and courtesy and his true sense of compassion. He epitomizes the sense of comity and civility which to my mind should pervade the body politic.

I wish for the sake of the Senate and the Nation that Senator PRYOR could stay longer. But he leaves now with the fullest possible measure of respect and affection of his colleagues. I wish all the best for DAVID and Barbara Pryor in the years ahead, and want them to know that they will always have my warmest friendship and admiration.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR NUNN

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, we who have the privilege of serving in this body soon find that we may not always be in agreement with friends and colleagues for whom we have high regard.

The senior Senator from Georgia (Mr. NUNN) is such a colleague. I have always found him to be a man of singular ability, rectitude and decency. He came here as a youthful successor to a legendary predecessor, Senator Richard B. Russell, and quickly established himself as a serious and studious Member who could and did thoroughly master the intricacies of national defense policy.

Senator NUNN's term of service coincided with the last two decades of the cold war, and he leaves his mark as one of the architects of U.S. defense policy during that trying epoch. I sometimes found myself in disagreement with his emphasis on large defense budgets, since I was primarily committed to the cause of arms control and restraint in the nuclear arms race. History seems to have demonstrated that it took a balance of the two views we represented to assure our national survival.

Senator NUNN and I not only shared a common preoccupation with the major international issues of the time, but we brought to the task one very basic common thread of experience which may have colored our responses, and that was the fact that we were among the few members of the Senate who had served in the U.S. Coast Guard. I served as an enlisted man on convoy duty in the North Atlantic in World

War II and SAM NUNN enlisted as a seaman some 20 years later when the world faced other stresses.

SAM NUNN leaves the Senate at a relatively early age with a solid record of accomplishment. I wish him well in the years ahead.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR HATFIELD

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, as my own time in the Senate draws to a close, I find myself reflecting on those people and events that I will remember always.

A man who holds a unique place in my regard and that of many others in the Senate is the senior Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD). He came to the Senate in 1967, 6 years after I did, and he has become a Senator known for his intelligence, acuity, grace, and for love of his State and country.

The State of Oregon has a fine heritage. Mr. HATFIELD has a number of distinguished predecessors. A fellow Oregonian, Senator Wayne Morse, voted in 1964 against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution that provided the congressional blessing for what later became the Vietnam War.

MARK HATFIELD was not in the Senate at that time. He was then Governor of Oregon. But in 1965 MARK HATFIELD cast the only vote at the National Governor's Conference in opposition to a resolution supporting President Johnson's Vietnam war policy.

He has taken other principled and unpopular positions over time. In 1981 he joined with my friend, the senior senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) in spearheading the Senate campaign for a nuclear freeze.

He has been a constant advocate of restraint in the nuclear arms race, limits on defense spending, an end to nuclear testing and a code of conduct in international arms transfers.

Some of Senator HATFIELD's efforts such as the Nuclear Freeze in the 1980's or the effort in the last several years to enact the code of conduct on arms transfers have not come to fruition. Other endeavors, such as his effort to bring about a comprehensive test ban have been smashing successes. It was Senator HATFIELD's own initiative in 1992 as ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations that led to the U.S. moratorium on nuclear testing and led to the eventual ending of testing by all the nuclear powers and the completion this summer of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Like John the Baptist, MARK HATFIELD has often been a voice crying in the wilderness. It is not however a role in life he has regretted. He has felt obligated to speak his convictions and to let his judgments be known throughout his Senate career.

Mr. President, as a naval lieutenant (j.g.) in the Navy, MARK HATFIELD commanded landing craft in some of the bloodiest battles World War II in the Pacific. He was one of the first military officers to enter Hiroshima after

the atomic blast destroyed that city in 1945. I was in the North Atlantic in Coast Guard escort duty during World War II, and I know some of the emotions MARK HATFIELD's experiences must have stirred in him and the feelings that remain after. I can tell you that, if you have seen combat, it is quite possible for you to become zealous in your desire to find solutions other than war and other than military buildups to the problems you face. Among other things, having seen combat, you do not want to capriciously subject your children or anyone else's children or loved ones, to the horrors of war.

The needless and pointless sacrifices of some conflicts, such as Vietnam, weighs heavily if you are in the position of participating in important national decisions, as MARK HATFIELD has been.

Senator HATFIELD has spoken to us all on the floor with great eloquence over time about the value of arms control and of the importance of peace to all Americans. In 1990, he told the Senate:

Peace is not the town in Pennsylvania which last year was forced to cancel its high school graduation because officials believed that a group of students planned to commit suicide at the ceremony. And peace is not here in Washington—where after leading the Nation in murders last year, children are beginning to show the same psychological trauma as children in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Can we really believe that the decisions we have made—and are making—do not have a direct relationship to the violence which plagues our Nation?

I suggest that we consider changing the motto on our coins. Mr. President, It now reads: In God We Trust—but by blindly pursuing the nuclear arms race, by putting the destruction of life over the preservation of life, we have forsaken our trust in God. We have shaken our fist at God—as E.B. White once put it, we have stolen God's stuff. Our motto ought to be: In Bombs We Trust. That is our national ethic—that is the example we are setting—here, on this floor.

In a time when too many opinions are formed on the basis of the latest polling results, it is good to have among us a Senator like MARK HATFIELD who moves unswervingly ahead toward what he perceives on the basis of his intelligence and experience to be the best course for the Nation and to continue the avid pursuit of what he sees as truly best for all of the people of America.

In his 30 years in the Senate MARK HATFIELD has tried time and again to do what is right. He has been willing to live with defeat, but he has been steadfast in his willingness to try and try again, so long as a chance at victory is in sight.

Mr. President, I am sure that the voters of Oregon, of Rhode Island, and of other States will do their best to make good choices in the next election. We will be replaced by people with different skills and capabilities, and many of them will have distinguished careers here in the Senate. There will

not be another MARK HATFIELD, however. The nation should be thankful that it has been blessed with Senator HATFIELD's service.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR SIMON

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I first met the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] some 40 years ago in Moscow when we found ourselves sitting next to each other at the Bolshoi Ballet. Little did we ever think that our paths would intertwine so closely in the years that were to follow.

After PAUL came to the House of Representatives in 1974, we found ourselves in close collaboration in advancing the cause of education. We worked together on a myriad of education issues when he was chairman of the House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education. When he came to the Senate more than a decade ago, he joined me on the Education Subcommittee and we have worked even more closely together on education issues since.

There is no Member of either House whose opinion on education issues I respect more. PAUL SIMON is the person we turn to for guidance on the subjects of literacy and adult education. His is the counsel I have valued most in higher education, on issues such as TRIO, institutional aid, international education, graduate education, foreign language instruction, and student aid. Even when we disagreed, as we did on direct loans, I listened to what PAUL SIMON said, and I have had a deep and abiding respect for his advocacy of that cause. While I have normally deferred to PAUL on library issues, I must candidly admit that the opinion of Jean, PAUL's wonderfully talented wife, carried equal weight on those matters.

During PAUL's first term in the Senate, our paths were to become further intertwined when he became a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. During his 8 years as a member of the committee he brought to its work the energy, creativity, and intellectual capacity which are his hallmarks. Much of that time he was chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa and he was tireless and eloquent in urging the committee's attention to the plight of that often neglected continent.

PAUL SIMON is very much an internationalist and he made important contributions in such areas as human rights, arms control, and foreign assistance. I deeply appreciate having him as an ally in the efforts to reinvigorate the Arms Control and Disarmament Administration and to restrain the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. He was a true stalwart.

Finally, Mr. President, he brought his passion for the teaching of foreign languages to the field of foreign policy. He consistently pressed the State Department to broaden its foreign language capabilities and every State Department nominee knew that, during a nomination hearing, Senator SIMON