

constituents as best he could. As a veteran of the Vietnam war, HANK was especially sensitive and knowledgeable concerning issues that came before the Veterans' Affairs Committee, and he worked hard to ensure that America never forgets those men and women who have sacrificed so much to protect the interests and ideals of the United States. I have no question that should HANK BROWN have chosen to stand for reelection, the grateful voters of his State would have easily and overwhelmingly returned him to office.

Mr. President, in a case of life imitating popular lore, HANK BROWN is going to saddle up and ride west into the sunset at the end of the 104th Congress. As he makes his journey back to his home State with its glorious Rocky Mountains and crystal clean air, he can reflect on a distinguished and well respected career in the U.S. Congress. In the course of almost two decades, HANK worked hard to forge compromises, reach agreements, and to fight for what is right. His efforts benefited the people of Colorado and the United States, and his presence will certainly be missed in this Chamber. Some say that HANK may run for Governor, and if that is the case, the Mile High State, will be in good hands, but regardless of whether or not our friend seeks that office, we commend him for his service to the Nation and wish him great success in the years to come.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR SHEILA FRAHM

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to pay a tribute to Senator SHEILA FRAHM, who is retiring at the end of the current year.

Many of our colleagues will be leaving us at the end of the 104th Congress. Some of these people have been here for decades, and some for only a very short time. Today, I rise to pay tribute to one Member of this body whose service has been brief, but in no way less than sterling, Senator SHEILA FRAHM of Kansas.

Senator FRAHM joined us just this year after being appointed to the seat vacated by the resignation of the former majority leader, Bob Dole. SHEILA FRAHM came to this position well prepared to carry out its duties as she held a number of important offices during her years in State government, including that of Lieutenant Governor.

I came to know Senator FRAHM through her membership on the Senate Armed Services Committee. I was impressed by the determined manner in which she took her duties and responsibilities as a member of the committee. She worked hard in an attempt to make informed and considered decisions on the matters that came before us and were critical to the defense of the United States. It would have been easy for someone in her position to simply bide her time until the end of the Congress, but I think Mrs. FRAHM knew that the men and women of the

"Big Red One" at Fort Riley, KS, and that soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines throughout the world were grateful for her excellent service.

Mr. President, Senator FRAHM will leave this Chamber at the end of the 104th Congress and return to her native Kansas. Though the duration of her service was short, it was critical. SHEILA FRAHM can be proud of the contributions she made to governing of the United States and we will certainly be sorry to see her go.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR J. BENNETT JOHNSTON

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to pay a tribute to Senator J. BENNETT JOHNSTON who is retiring at the end of the current year.

As we all know, the South is a region that is rich in heritage and tradition, and one of its most time-honored practices is returning people to Congress year after year in order to build up power and seniority. For the past 24 years, J. BENNETT JOHNSTON has served his native State of Louisiana tirelessly and selflessly, and in the process, has gained great influence in the Senate, which he has masterfully used for the betterment of his constituents and his State.

First elected to the Senate in 1972 BENNETT JOHNSTON set immediately to work in behalf of the people who had sent him to Washington. He secured positions on several important committees, including the Committees on Appropriations, and Energy and Natural Resources, that were especially beneficial to the economy and people of Louisiana. For the next twenty-four years, Senator JOHNSTON dedicated himself to his efforts in this Chamber, accomplishing many significant things, including helping to create new jobs for Louisiana, spurring economic development in his State, helping to provide for the defense of the Nation, overseeing the creation of national parks and refuges in the Sportsman's Paradise, and having a significant role in the shaping of America's energy policies.

Mr. President, as many of our colleagues are doing this year, Senator JOHNSTON has decided to retire from this body. After more than two decades of commendable service, nobody can fault our friend for feeling his work here is done. As he heads back to Louisiana, BENNETT can take pride in his many accomplishments and the exemplary manner in which he has worked to make Louisiana and the United States better and stronger. Unquestionably, he is a man of integrity, ability, and dedication and we all appreciate the great service he has rendered this Nation. I join my colleagues in wishing him good health and great happiness in the years ahead.

I also wish to commend BENNETT's wife, Mary, for the great service she has rendered to the U.S. Botanical Gardens here in Washington. Additionally, she is involved in many activities that

benefit our Nation and her native State including being an advocate for immunization and historical preservation.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I revise my unanimous-consent request of a while ago so that, before commencing my 15 minutes, the Senator from New Jersey be given 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senator from New Jersey is recognized for 15 minutes to be followed by the Senator from California for up to 15 minutes.

#### ON MY RETIREMENT

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I always preferred moving to standing still. As a small forward with the New York Knicks, as U.S. Senator from New Jersey, I think I have had two of the best jobs in the world. Each kept me on the move, each offered a unique perspective on America, and in each there came a time to go.

Tomorrow, the Senate will probably adjourn and in a few months I will be leaving the Senate. I believe that U.S. Senator is the best elective job in the world. I thank the people of New Jersey who gave me their votes and their trust; each of my three senatorial races drew me closer to them and forced me to grow in new and different ways. Election day is democracy's most intimate and important ritual. For all the polling and media and political strategy, I believe that there is an essence in any campaign that conveys the bond between the candidate and the electorate on that particular election day. Ultimately, it is the bond that determines the outcome.

For nearly 17 years, almost 18 years now, my most memorable moments have come from the people that I have met. I thank those New Jerseyans who told me their stories through their letters and during our encounters along the shore, at commuter terminals and diners and town meetings and countless other settings. It is from the stories of people's lives that I have been moved and that I gained hesitancy about universal solutions. It is from their stories that I saw what a small role Government plays in most people's lives and, paradoxically, it is where I felt the impact of decisions taken here in Washington. I have received much more inspiration, insight, and good cheer than I could ever say. They reminded me daily of the resilience and the power of the human spirit.

Their New Jersey stories gave me substance and emotion, and lent both substance and emotion to abstractions about democracy. Now each of their stories has become a part of my own story. I have tried to listen to those I serve while using judgment that I believe they elected me to exercise. Sometimes they vented their anger and frustration, and just by my listening,

they seemed to feel better. I have included young New Jerseyans in my activities as a Senator because democratic participation must burst forth anew in each generation, like flowers in the spring. Unless the seeds are watered there will be no blossoms.

I have paid attention to the religious community in my State because I believe the right policy always starts with the right values. I have respected those who disagreed with me, especially when they took time to write long letters detailing their disagreements.

Flying north from Washington in a small plane as the Sun is setting, you reach a point where the sunlight on the Delaware River turns it into a metallic-looking band extending all the way up from Trenton to the Delaware Water Gap. And there, lying before you, is the New Jersey Peninsula, bordered on the west by the Delaware River and on the east by the Atlantic. New Jersey offers unexpected beauty, it gives surprising economic opportunity and reveals vital human diversity.

I have achieved greater understanding of the world with all its mixture of religions and ethnicities by simply representing New Jersey. I have become deeply attached to the Jersey shore, to the mountains of the northwest, the flat farmland of the south, and even to certain places on the Garden State Parkway and the turnpike. These New Jersey places have rooted me and given my life a sense of permanence. It has been an honor to represent our State in the U.S. Senate.

I was not in an elective body before coming to the Senate. I had no frame of reference. And in the early months, I remember sitting in the Cloakroom one night late around 2 a.m. and looking around at my fellow Senators in that Cloakroom. One was reading, and one was pacing, and one was telling a joke, and one was sitting quietly, and one was arguing. I thought to myself, "This isn't a lot different than the Knicks locker room." In fact, it isn't. Both team play and successful legislating are about getting different people from different backgrounds with different personal agendas to come together and agree on a common objective, and then work toward it.

During my time in the Senate, I have tried to balance the private interests and the public interests, the rights of property owners and the needs of society, the big players and the forgotten players. I haven't always pleased everyone, but I have tried to be consistent on the big issues, such as economy, race, America's role in the world.

I have also tried to take the long view, often passing up an occasional headline, to make sure when I spoke I knew what I was talking about. Questions of structure, whether on taxes or trade or the environment, always interested me more than issues of marginal gain or questions of blame or strategies for partisan political advantage.

I am saddened on occasion when the media and politicians ourselves convey that politics is mean, cheap and dirty; that what we hold in common as Americans is somehow less than what we harbor in our hearts and minds as individuals. I have never believed that.

Commentators have remarked that so many Senators are leaving this year that somehow the Senate will have lost its moderate pragmatic center. I strongly disagree with that. Many talented Senators with distinguished records are leaving, but the Senate remains, and power in the Senate rests in the middle. Future Senators will be no less interested in exercising power than do those who are departing. Therefore, they will head to the center where knowing what you are talking about, listening carefully, seeking common ground are the winning attributes. The Senate does not reward extremes of either right or left. It rewards competence.

It is not possible, though, to sum up my 18 years in the Senate in a few words, particularly when I recently took 427 pages to do it in a book. But above all, the Senate is a human institution, shaped by the talents and values and personalities of the Senators who are here at any one time. I owe much to those fellow Senators over the years, to mentors, such as Scoop Jackson and Russell Long, to my able New Jersey colleague and good friend, FRANK LAUTENBERG, to ROBERT BYRD, to PAT MOYNIHAN, to Jack Danforth, to AL SIMPSON, to BILL COHEN, to DICK LUGAR, to NANCY KASSEBAUM, to PAUL SARBANES, to George Mitchell, to WENDELL FORD, to Tom Eagleton, to DAVID PRYOR, to HOWELL HEFLIN, to SAM NUNN, and many, many others.

Over the years, I have been lucky to be assisted by competent staff in ways that are important for a Senate office. I always regarded the newest intern in the mail room to be as relevant to the mission of representing the people of New Jersey as the most senior legislative aide. All of us were here for the same purpose. I gave my trust to many, many members of my staff during my 18 years, and they honored that trust. They represented me in countless meetings with other Senate and House staffers and appointees of four administrations. They always made sure I had the information I needed to be prepared, they amplified my voice, extended my reach, they knew my values, and used their own creativity to serve those same values.

The nature of a good Senator-staff/staff-Senator relationship lies somewhere between the realms of family and team, with the mutual caring and sense of purpose that we expect respectively from each. I am grateful to those "family" members and "teammates" who have enriched my time in the Senate with their intelligence, humanity, sense of humor and, above all else, hard, hard work.

We didn't win every battle with the bureaucracy on behalf of individual

New Jerseyans, but we held our own and, in the process, gave Government a little more of a human face. We didn't adopt every amendment we wanted, but we were in the game, right there in the center, in the middle, where power is exercised and accomplishments accumulated in the U.S. Senate. By and large, and above all else, I believe those who served on my staff took public service seriously and believed they could make a difference in the life of our State and our Nation, and I believe we have.

So, Mr. President, I am leaving the Senate, but I am not leaving public life. The quest for a decent life and good wages for all Americans is shaped by many influences that work on many levels. The imperative to engage the world flows through many channels; the fight for justice occurs in many places.

I will continue to speak out and call it like I see it on race, on America's role in the world, on the economic plight of the middle class and the poor, and on the need for thoroughgoing reform that will remove special interest from elections and reduce their influence on Government. In the coming years, I will not lessen my efforts. To the contrary, I will increase them.

So, as I leave the familiar surroundings of the U.S. Senate, I don't know what the future will bring, but I recall the words of Robert Frost:

The woods are lovely, dark and deep.  
But I have promises to keep,  
And miles to go before I sleep;  
And miles to go before I sleep.

I yield the floor.

Mrs. BOXER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, before the Senator from New Jersey leaves the floor, I just want to thank him for coming to the floor to really put before us a very moving tribute to the Senate from the perspective of one great Senator. As he mentioned those greats that he looked up to when he came to the Senate, on the day that I leave here—and, of course, you never know if it is going to be voluntary or if it is going to be something you plan, as the Senator planned his departure—but whatever day that is for me, Senator BRADLEY's name will be on my lips.

I think he has just the right combination of hope and realism and intellect and heart and courage.

You will be missed, I say to my friend. For me to have had the privilege, in too short a time really, to work with you on environmental issues and children's issues, campaign finance, and other important legislation, I have always looked to you for leadership and for guidance. You do have many, many miles to go before you even take a nap, let alone sleep. Every one of us in the U.S. Senate—and really all the people in the country—I know I speak for California when I say—you are a hero to so many of my constituents—that we wish you well

from the bottom of our hearts, and we look forward to working with you. I know I certainly do.

#### HONORING RON BROWN AND TED WEISS

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, when Senator BRADLEY spoke and he said he believed that this Senate would continue forward despite the fact that so many fine people on both sides of the aisle are leaving, it occurred to me that he is right, that the incredible strength of our democracy is the fact that we move forward. When there is a void to be filled, somehow, even though you think it never will be—and it may take more than one person to fill the void of one person's departure; it may take three, it may take four—I just hope that we will all read the comments of the Senator from New Jersey, because one point he made is that he tried to stay away from the meanness of it all that we sometimes face.

I hope in that spirit we will in fact pass two bills that were just objected to by the majority, one to rename a Federal building in New York after Ron Brown and one to rename a Federal building in New York for Ted Weiss. Both of these men served their country so well.

Ron Brown, as Secretary of Commerce, did so much in his lifetime to move forward the cause of economic justice and to bring prosperity to all the people of this country. He died serving just that cause, that human cause. He died in a tragic plane crash with some other quite wonderful people. It seems to me we ought to come together as Democrats and Republicans and make this tribute to him and to his family.

Ted Weiss, someone I served with for 10 years in the House of Representatives, the toughest fighter for health care for those who need it. The people of New York want to remember Ted this way. We ought to come together and make that possible.

#### THE OMNIBUS PARKS BILL

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, we ought to come together on this omnibus parks bill that is so important to 41 States. It seems to me that when the House sent us over a bill which passed virtually unanimously—I think it had four or five or six opposing votes—that was a statement that the controversial projects were dropped from the parks bill.

If Republicans and Democrats in the House could come together on a parks bill, my goodness, why cannot we bring it up here and get it done? The majority leader says he wants to get it done. I have no reason at all to doubt that. But I must say, Mr. President, that I understand the rules of the Senate. I know it is in his hands to bring this bill before the U.S. Senate. He has chosen not to do that. If he had brought this bill up like he did the FAA bill, we

could have filed a cloture motion. Mr. President, I daresay we would have had 70, 80, maybe 90 votes in favor of bringing debate to a close and passing that parks bill.

How do I know this? Well, for one, I have spoken to most of my colleagues individually. I know that every single Democratic Senator is in favor of this bill, and I know that the vast majority of Republican Senators are in favor of this bill.

Forty-one States. Alabama has two important parks projects in the bill, a historic trail designation and funding for a historic black college. Alaska has 10 projects included in this bill. Arizona has four. Arkansas has two. California has 17. Colorado has nine. Florida has one. Georgia has two, Hawaii has one. Idaho has five. Illinois has two. Kansas has two, including the Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve, which is so important to the Senators from Kansas. Louisiana; Maryland; Massachusetts has four. Michigan has one; Mississippi two; Missouri one; Montana two; New Hampshire two; New Jersey two, and one of those is Sterling Forest, which is so important to make that land purchase.

New Mexico has five. I have spoken to both Senators from New Mexico, one a Democrat, one a Republican. They are most anxious to get this parks bill passed. New York has two projects. Ohio has one. Oklahoma has one. Oregon has eight. Pennsylvania has two; one each in Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas; four in Utah, including the Snowbasin exchange, the Sand Hollow exchange, the Zion Park exchange, and a ski fees proposal. Virginia three; Washington State has three. West Virginia has one. Wisconsin has one. Wyoming has three.

Then there are several others, including Martin Luther King Memorial; American battlefield protection, which is so key; Japanese-American Patriot Memorial, and some very important national park agreements.

Mr. President, no one could ever stand up here and say that this bill is perfect. I daresay no bill is perfect. It may only be perfect to the bill's author. But in this case, so many people worked on this bill. In many cases it took 2 years to get some of these provisions together.

Why am I so concerned? We have the Presidio in San Francisco, a former military base with an extraordinary history. We want to set up a nonprofit public trust corporation to ensure that this magnificent sight becomes a jewel in the National Park System. We know we can do it with this trust. If we do not have this trust, we are going to have to do everything we can to have vision to make this work. But we know, just as the Pennsylvania Avenue rehabilitation took a trust, that a trust would be able to really do this job for the Presidio.

We have other things in here for California that I worked on, bills that I wrote for Manzanar which would pre-

serve the very dark history of the days where our Japanese-American friends were placed into camps, internment camps during World War II. We want to preserve the history because we learn from history.

This bill is strongly supported by everyone in the House and in the Senate. We have a very important provision in here for the Cleveland National Forest. So we have many things in our State.

But I truly am not here simply because of what is in this bill for California, although clearly it is very important to our State. This bill is an excellent bill. It came over from the House with tremendous bipartisan support. There is no reason why we should not be voting on this bill.

The majority leader knows the rules, knows if he had brought it up, we could have filed cloture, we could have had the vote, and we would have had the bill.

He has chosen instead to say, I want to do this by unanimous consent. Well, that runs a bit of a risk, Mr. President, because just one Senator, in even an anonymous fashion, could object to this entire package. I just, frankly, do not think that is fair. Too much work has gone in, too much sweat, too many tears, too many expectations, too much work to allow, it seems to me, one Senator to stop this bill.

Now, I am hopeful that we can get every single Republican to support this bill. As I say, as far as I know, the vast majority do. I just want to say to those who would consider objecting to this bill because something they wanted did not get in it, the beauty of the legislative process is that you live to fight another day.

Now, this year I have been most fortunate in being able to accomplish a lot of my agenda. I am most appreciative of everyone, both in my State and on the committees here, who helped me do that on both sides of the aisle. I am most fortunate. It has been very productive for me. If this goes down, this will be a harsh loss to me, but I can truly say we will fight again. Why should 41 States be deprived of this bill? We have the votes here to do it. We should have seen the bill brought up. We should have had our vote. This bill should be on the way to the President.

Now, it can still happen by unanimous consent, but if one Senator takes a position that he or she is going to say, "I didn't get everything I wanted; I only got a few things for my State; I didn't get everything, therefore I am going to object," if one Senator does that, that is a harsh thing to do. I want to keep reminding the Senate about this. I know I will sound like a broken record, but that is a harsh thing to do.

For many years I have been working on an ocean sanctuary bill—started 14 years ago—to not allow the Federal waters off the coast of California to have additional oil drilling off that coast because of its dangers. I have a tremendous amount of support. Yet,