

HATFIELD leaves a lasting and inspirational model for all citizens, regardless of party, who aspire to public service. I am going to miss his advice and counsel. His service is going to be greatly missed by the people of Oregon and by the country.

We wish him and his wife Antoinette the best for the days ahead.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, in his capacity as a Senator from the State of Missouri, observes the absence of a quorum.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

THE RETIREMENT OF MANY GOOD FRIENDS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I have come to the Senate to make some comments on a sad occasion, as I witness the retirement of many good friends.

For instance, Senator MARK HATFIELD came to the Senate just 2 years prior to my arrival. We served in World War II during the same period, 1943-1946.

As a matter of fact, at one time we compared notes and we decided jointly he was probably the commander of a Navy vessel that was in Tsingtao Bay, China, when I flew into Tsingtao at the end of the war.

After the war, MARK became a college professor who displayed a great deal of independence. I have a photograph that I gave him a copy of the other day which was of MARK HATFIELD, when he was Governor of Oregon, John Tower, when he was just a new Senator from Texas, and I when I was a candidate for the Senate. It was when we met up at a conference former President Eisenhower held in Gettysburg. We have shared a great many concerns as Senators from Western States, and Senator HATFIELD has been very helpful to me over the years I have served as one of Alaska's first Senators.

I was actually the third Senator to represent my State and as a Western Senator and former Governor, he has been very helpful to me throughout the time we have served together. We went to the Appropriations Committee on the same day, and I have served with him as he has been chairman of that committee during the eighties and, again, during this Congress.

It has been a great privilege to serve with him. I have had the role on the defense side of the Appropriations Committee, and he has been very kind to me in allocating the funds necessary to fulfill that responsibility.

He was the author of a compromise in 1980 of great importance to my State on the issue of subsistence for rural people in Alaska. It has been a very

controversial compromise, but without that compromise, the bill that allowed Alaska and Alaska Natives to go forward with the selection of their lands would not have passed. It was a difficult situation through the 7 years of debate on what we call the D-2 legislation, and Senator HATFIELD was on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee at that time and served as an Alaska surrogate, really, in many ways.

I have cherished my relationship with Senator HATFIELD and his wife, Antoinette. We have really shared many private occasions together and visited each other's homes. It is the kind of friendship that is hard to witness coming to an end.

Now it is my hope that I will become chairman of the Appropriations Committee next year. He has left a great mark on the Senate in his terms as chairman of the Appropriations Committee and also when he was the ranking member.

I know that the Senate joins this Senator in wishing MARK and Antoinette Hatfield farewell as they return to their native State, and we hope they have many fine years there.

I am certain MARK HATFIELD is not going to retire. We will hear from him again and again as he pursues his former career as a professor and is involved in educating the people of his State, particularly in sharing with them the knowledge he has gained in the Senate.

Another Senator I find it hard to say goodbye to is Senator SAM NUNN. SAM came to the Senate in 1972. He had been a member of the U.S. Coast Guard prior to becoming a Senator. He has had a consistent commitment to our military forces and to a strong national defense. We have traveled together on many occasions throughout the world attending NATO meetings and, in particular, I remember the trips that we took into the Persian Gulf during the Persian Gulf war.

Actually, we have not talked too much about it, but Senator NUNN, Senator INOUE, Senator WARNER and myself were in the Israeli defense ministry one night when it was subject to attack by Scud missiles from Iraq. It was a very memorable occasion.

The next morning, we went out to look and see what happened to that Scud, and it had fallen short of coming into the center of Tel Aviv. We were fortunate. Those who lived in the homes where it fell were not that fortunate. But we both remembered the Patriot missile system and its deployment to Israel. Had it not been there, I am confident Senator NUNN and I would have departed the Senate much earlier.

I also thank he and Senator HATFIELD for the many wonderful mornings we have had together at the Senate prayer breakfast. And like my friendship with Senator HATFIELD, my wife, and I have had a wonderful relationship with Colleen Nunn and SAM, and have also joined them at their home for pri-

vate occasions. It has been the kind of relationship, as I said, that is very difficult to see come to an end. I spoke to Senator NUNN as he was leaving here, and I know we will see him again and again.

Senator KASSEBAUM has decided to retire. She brought to the Senate a legacy established by her father who had been a candidate for President in the thirties.

After coming to the Senate, Senator KASSEBAUM became the first woman Senator to chair a major Senate committee. Senator Margaret Chase Smith chaired a special committee back in the fifties, but NANCY KASSEBAUM was the first to chair a permanent committee, and demonstrated to the Senate the real skill and capabilities of a woman Senator as she chaired her committee and used her soft-spoken approach. I find that her approach works very well, particularly since we know her as a very tough, resilient negotiator. Whether she is an opponent or ally, depending upon the issue at hand, she is well known for her skills as a mediator, and we all admire her very much.

As chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, she brought to us on a bipartisan basis the best possible health care insurance legislation we could have, and she was very effective as part of the Republican health care task force as we studied for over 3 years the problem of our health care and health insurance systems.

I know her deep interest in education legislation, and she has repeatedly helped us in Alaska with the various problems we face because of the rural nature of our State and the real demands on our State and local governments for job training programs.

I recall very pleasantly NANCY KASSEBAUM's trip to Alaska, and we hope that she will return and visit us again and again.

Her deep interest in aviation product liability legislation brought us changes in that area of the law so that we hope we will, once again, start having small planes constructed in the United States of the type that we very much need in Alaska.

I know that she has indicated she is leaving to spend more time with her five grandchildren. I have to tell the Senate, I think we will see her most in airports, because one of her grandchildren lives in South Carolina, three live in Connecticut and one lives in Kansas. Our great lady Senator has a good reason in her grandchildren to travel the country, Mr. President.

She has been a good friend, and Catherine and I are sad to see her leave, also.

Senator EXON came in 1978, a year that I also was candidate for reelection, and in that year we also had the disastrous air crash that the Senate knows of in which I lost my first wife.

It was following that time that Senator EXON, having served in the Army in World War II and in the Army Reserve for many years, became one of

my traveling companions, in the early 1980's, as I was chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, and we went to many different meetings that related to the defense of our country and with the defense establishments of other nations.

I have to say, however, Senator EXON's fame in my State was overshadowed by his wife, Pat, who is a much better fisherman, I mean fisherwoman; in my State we say "fisherperson" now. When they came to Alaska we enjoyed having them with us. I note, now that he is leaving the Senate, he may be able to come up and meet the challenge and be able to leave a little bit better record and surpass the records established by his wife when she was fishing with us in Alaska.

In terms of a Senator whom I have known for many years, Senator ALAN SIMPSON—I actually met him before he came to the Senate, as the son of the late Senator Milward Simpson. He was very active in Wyoming affairs, and prior to being here in the Senate, I remember meeting him at a Republican event in Wyoming. I have gotten to know him very well since he has been in the Senate.

Senator ALAN SIMPSON has served the Senate as the Republican whip longer than any Senator in our history. He served 10 years. As a westerner with particular understanding of the problems that are experienced by those of us who come from the West, he represented us very well with his knowledge of small population, public land States. With his very quick wit and his pithy observations of the circumstances that we face, he has always been able to find a solution that was acceptable to the Senate on issues that affected our Western States. He has generated a bipartisan solution in many instances when many of us thought there was no way out. It has taken real courage on his part in many instances to find that bipartisan solution.

The Senate has witnessed that just recently in the immigration issue. Knowing his departure was coming upon us, many of us have worked with him long and hard to try to help him achieve his goal of the passage of sound legislation in the immigration field.

We wish him and Ann, his lovely wife, the very best as they now return to Wyoming and to other endeavors. ALAN SIMPSON is also a person we are going to hear more about.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the Senator that the Senator's time has expired.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I continue until someone comes. There is another Senator here. I will continue my comments later. Thank you very much.

Mr. BRADLEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

SENATOR BRADLEY'S SPEECHES

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, the Senate floor is a place where speeches

are made, sometimes longer than they should be, sometimes shorter than they should be. I have made my share of speeches on the Senate floor in the last 18 years. But a Senator is also called upon to speak off the Senate floor in gatherings in his or her State and in sites across the country.

I have often thought of the Senate speech as a form of communication, as a way of educating, as a way of leading. I have tried to do that on the Senate floor. In the last 2 years, we have had a number of restrictions that have made this kind of speech that I would give, which would be a very lengthy speech, more difficult in morning business as we have 10-minute time limits. For that reason, in the last 2 years I have given a number of speeches that have not been reflected in the RECORD but have been given at other forums across the country.

I believe that these were speeches that I worked on as a Senator. These were speeches that I thought about as a Senator and delivered as a Senator. Therefore, I believe that it is important that I share them with the Senate and for the RECORD. I see the Chair twitching a little bit. He need not worry that I am going to deliver all these speeches at this moment.

I would like to submit for the RECORD a speech called "America's Challenge: Revitalizing Our National Community," "After the Revolution: Rethinking U.S.-Russia Relations," "Race Relations in America: The Best and Worst of Times," "Harry Truman: Public Power and the New Economy," and the speech to the National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts on the occasion of the Freedom of Speech Awards Gala Dinner. I ask unanimous consent that all of these speeches be printed in the RECORD and that they be my last official act as a U.S. Senator on the floor of the Senate.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S CHALLENGE: REVITALIZING OUR NATIONAL COMMUNITY (By Senator Bill Bradley)

Two nights ago I attended a dinner in St. Louis, Missouri to honor former U.S. Senator Jack Danforth. Fifteen Senators from both parties attended along with several thousand Missourians. Nearly a million dollars was raised for an organization called Interact, to which Jack Danforth will dedicate much of his post-Senate energies. The organization's charter is to coordinate efforts by the religious community in St. Louis to support programs which will improve the life chances of inner-city, predominantly African children.

When I left Missouri for college back in 1961 the number of children in St. Louis born to a single parent was 13%; now it is 68%. Among black children it is 86%. Senator Pat Moynihan points out that this social crisis is taking place across the North Atlantic world (English out-of-wedlock births are 31%, and in France, 33%) and Jack Danforth has waded into this crisis in hope of developing a strategy that can turn these tragic numbers around.

I begin with this story because Jack has chosen to leave government to tackle one of

the nation's most intractable problems and he has chosen to do it through institutions of religious faith. His efforts may offer us a fresh perspective on our commitment to address not only single parenthood in poor neighborhoods, but what is happening to our sense of family and community in suburbs, cities and small towns across America.

Never in American history has a new vision begun in Washington. Never has it been the sole property of either political party. In fact, to initiate a frank discussion of our current American condition requires us to throw off many of the barnacle-encrusted categories with which we are accustomed to talking about this nation's problems. This could seriously disrupt the respective moral allegiances and political turfs of both the Democrats and Republican parties. I would like to start making that disruption happen, for out of such ferment might emerge the fresh ideas of a better American future.

Our contemporary political debate has settled into two painfully familiar ruts. Republicans, as we know, are infatuated with the magic of the "private sector", and reflexively criticize government as the enemy of freedom. Human needs and the common good are best served through the marketplace, goes their mantra.

At the other extreme, Democrats tend to distrust the market, seeing it as synonymous with greed and exploitation, the domain of Jay Gould and Michael Milken. Ever confident in the powers of government to solve problems, Democrats instinctively turn to the bureaucratic state to regulate the economy and to solve social problems. Democrats generally prefer the bureaucrat they know to the consumer they can't control. Of course, both parties are somewhat disingenuous. Neither is above making self-serving exceptions. For example, Republicans say they are for the market, but they support market-distorting tax loopholes and wasteful subsidies for special interests as diverse as water, wheat, and wine. Then there are the Democrats who say that they want an activist government but won't raise the taxes to fund it or describe clearly its limits or its necessity. Still, these twin poles of political debate—crudely put, government action versus the free market—utterly dominate our sense of the possible, our sense of what is relevant and meaningful in public affairs. Yet, the issues that most concern Americans today seem to have little direct connection with either the market or government. Consider the plague of violence, guns, and drugs; the racial tensions that afflict so many communities; the turmoil in public education; the deterioration of America's families.

Today I will suggest that any prescription for America must understand the advantages and limits of both the market and government, but more importantly, how neither is equipped to solve America's central problems; the deterioration of our civil society and the need to revitalize our democratic process.

Civil society is the place where Americans make their home, sustain their marriages, raise their families, hand out with their friends, meet their neighbors, educate their children, worship their god. It is the churches, schools, fraternities, community centers, labor unions, synagogues, sports leagues, PTAs, libraries and barber shops. It is where opinions are expressed and refined, where views are exchanged and agreements made, where a sense of common purpose and consensus are forged. It lies apart from the realms of the market and the government, and possesses a different ethic. The market is governed by the logic of economic self-interest, while government is the domain of laws with all their coercive authority. Civil