

I join my colleagues in honoring the memory of Edmund Muskie and I extend my sympathy to his wife Jane, family and many associates in Maine and across the country.

ED MUSKIE: A TRIBUTE

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I would like to take a moment to pay tribute to a colleague and friend of mine who has just recently passed away. To those of us who were here during the sixties and seventies, Edmund Muskie was more than a fellow legislator, he was a model of what a Senator should be. He was well liked and respected by all, and he listened to his constituents closely, and he effected change on their behalf.

To put it simply, Ed Muskie was the best. Today, with all the talk about the Government being too big, and all the public scorn for the establishment, it is easy to lose sight of the optimism that used to be a driving force of politics. Senator Muskie embodied that optimism; He looked upon government as an opportunity, as a solution to problems. Characteristically, he acted on these beliefs to get things done. He led the demand for fiscal responsibility. As the first chairman of the Senate Budget Committee in 1974, he virtually created the budget process. He will also be remembered as a great environmental legislator. The Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act: these were not a part of Muskie's political agenda due to pressure from lobbyists or special interest groups. They were things that he believed were necessary, and so he made them happen.

I knew Ed Muskie long before I came to the Senate, and he always felt things keenly. I used to joke with him about what I called his righteous indignation, but I always respected the moral conviction and strength that lay behind it. Senator Muskie detested the influence of lobbies and partisanship, and what they were doing to politics. He was in government to do a good job, not to play games. He was—and in this city, this is a great compliment—a man who got things done. The principles that he lived by came through in his work, whether as a Senator, a Secretary of State or as a lawyer and statesman. He knew the importance of character and of listening to the voter.

In 1970, Senator Muskie gave a memorable speech in which he said: "There are only two kinds of politics. They are not radical and reactionary, or conservative and liberal, or even Democratic and Republican. They are only the politics of fear and the politics of trust." As we head into another election year and another century, these are words to remember. Ed Muskie was a champion of the politics of trust. We will remember him fondly.

EDMUND SIXTUS MUSKIE

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, few who ever served in this body have been as

universally mourned as those of us from both sides of the aisle who knew him will mourn our former colleague, Ed Muskie, who died here in Washington early this morning.

The reports already circulating on the news wire services and the obituaries that will appear in tomorrow's newspapers, all will make much, and rightly so, out of his long and distinguished service as a public man.

Few men or women in our history have contributed so much to the Nation as Ed Muskie did as a U.S. Senator for 21 years and as Secretary of State; few have contributed as much to their native State as Ed Muskie did as a member of the Maine House of Representatives and as Governor of the State he loved so much; and few have contributed as much to one of the major political parties as Ed Muskie did to the Democratic Party, which he served as a Vice Presidential candidate in 1968 and as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

It is fitting that, upon his death just 2 days before his 82d birthday, Americans should be reminded of his long and faithful public service and leadership—but those of us who knew and served with Ed Muskie will remember him more familiarly as a man of principle, as a powerful personality, and, most of all, as our good friend.

One thing that I learned very quickly, serving with him on the Budget Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee, was that while he exhibited the gravitas—the character and substance—that might be expected of a man whose full given name was Edmund Sixtus Muskie, he was a very human, very good-humored man—most of the time—who was most comfortable simply as Ed Muskie, and who if he was your friend was your friend for life.

It is true that his good humor would sometimes momentarily desert him—he had a temper that verged on the volcanic, and he was capable of weeping public tears over an insult to the wife whom he loved—but those moments occurred, for the most part, because Ed Muskie never believed that a career in politics obliged his head to divorce his heart; despite a powerful intellect that won him a law degree, a Phi Beta Kappa key and a long, successful career both in law and in politics, he never believed that political feelings must somehow be set aside.

He was passionate about his politics—he believed the work we do here is important to improving the lives of Americans—and he believed that what he felt was as important to achieving that end as what he thought.

But though Ed Muskie sometimes wore his heart unashamedly on his sleeve, he was also very much a Yankee, very much a man of Maine, who put great stock in getting things done, and getting them done at the right price.

By that I am not referring so much to his chairmanship of the Budget

Committee—although he certainly exerted a strong hand at that helm, often to the dismay of bureaucrats throughout the land and not infrequently to Senate colleagues who failed to make a strong enough case for their favorite program—no, for him, getting things done at the right price meant achieving that meld of idealism and realism which we often say a democratic system of Government requires but which few of us ever achieve with the grace and consistency of an Ed Muskie.

The people of Maine understood that as well as we did here in the Senate, and he understood and loved them, as well.

I remember him saying one time, "in Maine, we tend not to speak unless we think we can improve upon the silence."

Out of his wisdom, out of his passion, out of his drive to get things done, Ed Muskie often spoke up for Maine and for America—and we need only feel the silence of his passing gather about us now to know how much he improved upon it during a long and accomplished life.

In the words of William Shakespeare, "he was a man, take him for all in all, [we] shall not look upon his like again."

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MUSKIE

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, this morning we were sad to learn of the passing of one of our most distinguished former colleagues, Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine.

Ed Muskie served our Nation in many ways. He was a soldier. A Governor. The first chairman of the Budget Committee. The Secretary of State. The Democratic Party's candidate for Vice President.

He also was responsible, in large part, for one of the most positive and profound legislative achievements of postwar America: the passage of the environmental laws of the 1970's, to clean up our Nation's air, water, and waste.

Remember what things were like 25 years ago. We had experienced decades of industrial growth without environmental protection. Lead in the air caused brain damage in children. Toxic waste dumps all across the country caused cancer. The Cuyahoga River even caught fire.

Something had to be done. And, as chairman of the Environmental Protection Subcommittee of the Environment and Public Works Committee, Ed Muskie saw that it was. He worked tirelessly to create bipartisan support for landmark environmental laws.

The Clean Water Act, requiring rivers and streams to be fishable and swimmable; the Clean Air Act, cutting emissions from cars and factories; the Safe Drinking Water Act; the Endangered Species Act.

These laws are not perfect. But, on the whole, they have been remarkably successful. Our air is cleaner. Lead

emissions fell nearly 90 percent. To put it another way, we took nearly five ounces of lead out of the sky for every American man, woman, and child. Emissions of sulfur dioxide, carbon monoxide, and particulates are way down, and half as many Americans live in cities with unhealthy air as in 1970.

Our water is cleaner. You can swim without getting sick and eat the fish you catch in twice as many rivers and streams. Even the Cuyahoga River has revived, to become a center for tourism in downtown Cleveland. The bald eagle is back from the brink of extinction.

Overall, because of the work of Ed Muskie and his colleagues, our children are growing up in a more healthy and beautiful America.

Mr. President, I am reminded of the Latin epitaph on the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral. It's inside the cathedral, and it says, "If you would see his memorial, look around."

So it is with Ed Muskie. If you wish to see his memorial, look around you: at the air in our cities; at the Potomac River, or the Cuyahoga; at a cleaner environment from Maine to Montana; at a nation that is more healthy and more beautiful because of his work.

He was a great environmental statesman, and his passing diminishes us.

THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, as of the close of business yesterday, March 25, 1996, the Federal debt stood—down-to-the-penny—at \$5,063,054,197,564.33. On a per capita basis, every man, woman and child in America owes \$19,141.70 as his or her share of that debt.

PUBLIC RANGELANDS MANAGEMENT ACT

The text of the bill (S. 1459) to provide for uniform management of livestock grazing on Federal land, and for other purposes, as passed by the Senate on March 21, 1996, is as follows:

S. 1459

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This title may be cited as the "Public Rangelands Management Act of 1996".

SEC. 2. EFFECTIVE DATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—This Act and the amendments and repeals made by this Act shall become effective on the date of enactment.

(b) APPLICABLE REGULATIONS.—

(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), grazing of domestic livestock on lands administered by the Chief of the Forest Service and the Director of the Bureau of Land Management, as defined in section 104(11) of this Act, shall be administered in accordance with the applicable regulations in effect for each agency as of February 1, 1995, until such time as the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior promulgate new regulations in accordance with this Act.

(2) Resource Advisory Councils established by the Secretary of the Interior after August 21, 1995, may continue to operate in accord-

ance with their charters for a period not to extend beyond February 28, 1997, and shall be subject to the provisions of this Act.

(c) NEW REGULATIONS.—With respect to title I of this Act—

(1) the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior shall provide, to the maximum extent practicable, for consistent and coordinated administration of livestock grazing and management of rangelands administered by the Chief of the Forest Service and the Director of the Bureau of Land Management, as defined in section 104(11) of this Act, consistent with the laws governing the public lands and the National Forest System;

(2) the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior shall, to the maximum extent practicable, coordinate the promulgation of new regulations and shall publish such regulations simultaneously.

TITLE I—MANAGEMENT OF GRAZING ON FEDERAL LAND

Subtitle A—General Provisions

SEC. 101. FINDINGS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) multiple use, as set forth in current law, has been and continues to be a guiding principle in the management of public lands and national forests;

(2) through the cooperative and concerted efforts of the Federal rangeland livestock industry, Federal and State land management agencies, and the general public, the Federal rangelands are in the best condition they have been in during this century, and their condition continues to improve;

(3) as a further consequence of those efforts, populations of wildlife are increasing and stabilizing across vast areas of the West;

(4) grazing preferences must continue to be adequately safeguarded in order to promote the economic stability of the western livestock industry;

(5) it is in the public interest to charge a fee for livestock grazing permits and leases on Federal land that is based on a formula that—

(A) reflects a fair return to the Federal Government and the true costs to the permittee or lessee; and

(B) promotes continuing cooperative stewardship efforts;

(6) opportunities exist for improving efficiency in the administration of the range programs on Federal land by—

(A) reducing planning and analysis costs and their associated paperwork, procedural, and clerical burdens; and

(B) refocusing efforts to the direct management of the resources themselves;

(7) in order to provide meaningful review and oversight of the management of the public rangelands and the grazing allotment on those rangelands, refinement of the reporting of costs of various components of the land management program is needed;

(8) greater local input into the management of the public rangelands is in the best interests of the United States;

(9) the western livestock industry that relies on Federal land plays an important role in preserving the social, economic, and cultural base of rural communities in the Western States and further plays an integral role in the economies of the 16 contiguous Western States with Federal rangelands;

(10) maintaining the economic viability of the western livestock industry is in the best interest of the United States in order to maintain open space and fish and wildlife habitat;

(11) since the enactment of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) and the amendment of section 6 of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16

U.S.C. 1604) by the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (16 U.S.C. 472a et seq.), the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture have been charged with coordinating land use inventory, planning and management programs on Bureau of Land Management and National Forest System lands with each other, other Federal departments and agencies, Indian tribes, and State and local governments within which the lands are located, but to date such coordination has not existed to the extent allowed by law; and

(12) it shall not be the policy of the United States to increase or reduce total livestock numbers on Federal land except as is necessary to provide for proper management of resources, based on local conditions, and as provided by existing law related to the management of Federal land and this title.

(b) REPEAL OF EARLIER FINDINGS.—Section 2(a) of the Public Rangelands Improvement Act of 1978 (43 U.S.C. 1901(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4);

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (5) and (6) as paragraphs (1) and (2), respectively;

(3) in paragraph (1) (as so redesignated), by adding "and" at the end; and

(4) in paragraph (2) (as so redesignated)—

(A) by striking "harrassment" and inserting "harassment"; and

(B) by striking the semicolon at the end and inserting a period.

SEC. 102. APPLICATION OF ACT.

(a) This Act applies to—

(1) the management of grazing on Federal land by the Secretary of the Interior under—

(A) the Act of June 28, 1934 (commonly known as the "Taylor Grazing Act") (48 Stat. 1269, chapter 865; 43 U.S.C. 315 et seq.);

(B) the Act of August 28, 1937 (commonly known as the "Oregon and California Railroad and Coos Bay Wagon Road Grant Lands Act of 1937") (50 Stat. 874, chapter 876; 43 U.S.C. 1181a et seq.);

(C) the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.); and

(D) the Public Rangelands Improvement Act of 1978 (43 U.S.C. 1901 et seq.);

(2) the management of grazing on Federal land by the Secretary of Agriculture under—

(A) the 12th undesignated paragraph under the heading "SURVEYING THE PUBLIC LANDS." under the heading "UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR." in the first section of the Act of June 4, 1897 (commonly known as the "Organic Administration Act of 1897") (30 Stat. 11, 35, chapter 2; 16 U.S.C. 551);

(B) the Act of April 24, 1950 (commonly known as the "Granger-Thye Act of 1950") (64 Stat. 85, 88, chapter 97; 16 U.S.C. 580g, 580h, 580l);

(C) the Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act of 1960 (16 U.S.C. 528 et seq.);

(D) the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1600 et seq.);

(E) the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (16 U.S.C. 472a et seq.);

(F) the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.); and

(G) the Public Rangelands Improvement Act of 1978 (43 U.S.C. 1901 et seq.); and

(3) management of grazing by the Secretary on behalf of the head of another department or agency under a memorandum of understanding.

(b) Nothing in this title shall affect grazing in any unit of the National Park System, National Wildlife Refuge System or on any lands that are not Federal lands as defined in this title.

(c) Nothing in this title shall limit or preclude the use of and access to Federal land for hunting, fishing, recreational, watershed