

Work Act are insecure about their ability to earn the support of the workers they purport to represent.

Opponents of the National Right to Work Act may also suggest that it is fair to require employees who enjoy the so-called benefits of union membership to share in their costs. Union leaders will complain that this Congress should not change this policy.

Mr. President, union leaders, having bought the horse, are just complaining about the price of oats.

Union bosses lobbied for and jealously guard the privilege of exclusive representation. They will not give it up. And if you have any doubts about that, then the answer is not to oppose this modest effort to limit union coercion, but to repeal exiting provisions of Federal labor law providing for exclusive representation. I recall that union lobbyists say that this is a free-rider bill. The National Right to Work Act is not so much a free-rider bill as existing Federal labor law is forced-rider legislation.

Doubtless, too, we will hear complaints that there are more important issues facing Americans. There will be claims that this issue is being pursued by a narrow special interest.

My colleagues should bear in mind that polls indicate that fully 76 percent of the American people—including a clear majority of union members—support the principle of right to work. Just yesterday, the administration and various lobbying groups were telling us that an increase in the minimum wage should be passed because 70 percent of the American people support it.

My suspicion is that that they find this high level of support for right to work to be less persuasive, just as they have failed to support our efforts to pass a balanced budget amendment, notwithstanding the support of overwhelming majorities of Americans.

After all, this administration's Secretary of Labor seems more interested in advancing the agenda of organized labor, rather than the rights and interests of all American workers. This is, after all, the administration which attempted to rewrite Federal labor law for Federal contractors, to deny to Federal contractors the right permanently to replace striking employees. The courts have rightly voided this usurpation of congressional authority.

Furthermore, the Secretary of Labor said, and I quote, "In order to maintain themselves, unions have got to have some ability to strap their members to the mast. The only way unions can exercise countervailing power is to hold their members' feet to the fire." Whether or not that mast is attached to a sinking ship in something that the Secretary seems not to have considered.

Make no mistake about it, Mr. President, those who oppose this bill today oppose freedom. They make clear their ratification of Secretary Reich's sentiments, that this Congress believes that union bosses know better than individ-

uals what is in the interests of individual American workers. I would respectfully suggest that this is a concept foreign to the American way of thinking. And does anyone seriously suggest that Republican majorities were sent to both Houses of this Congress in order to perpetuate the power of union bosses to force Americans to support their narrowly radical social and political agenda?

But perhaps there is another explanation. After all, look at the most vocal of opponents to this act. Is it mere coincidence that they benefit from the forced-dues, soft-money political contributions of big labor? Is it just an accident that the bulk of union political activities and contributions benefit my friends on the other side of the aisle almost to the exclusion of contributions to the GOP? Is it surprising that an administration which promises to veto this bill, if passed, has the nearly unanimous support of the leaders of the AFL-CIO?

I urge my colleagues to support the National Right to Work Act because it is the right thing to do. It is a vote for worker freedom, a vote for responsible unions. American workers deserve the protection of a National Right to Work Act, the protection of a basic personal freedom. American working men and women deserve to be able to work and feed their families without paying tribute to anyone, much less a class of specially protected organizations.

Mr. CONRAD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

(The remarks of Mr. CONRAD pertaining to the introduction of S. 1939 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

#### TRIBUTE TO JUDGE JOSEPH PHELPS

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I rise today in honor of Judge Joseph Phelps who was killed tragically in a car accident on June 22, 1996. Joe retired from his Montgomery circuit judgeship in 1995, after spending 18 years on the bench. He served the State of Alabama, the Alabama judicial system, and our Nation with dignity, prudence, courage, and honor.

Joe received both a bachelor's degree and a law degree from the University of Alabama. Even as a youth, Joe showed character in all that he did providing a glimpse into the future of the wise, Christian adult, leader, and honorable jurist he would later become.

In 1990, Joe was awarded the Alabama Bar Association's Judicial Award of Merit, its highest award for outstanding and constructive service to the legal profession in Alabama.

Joe's Christian values are reflected not only in the way he lived his life, but in the many positive organizations which he led, founded, belonged, and served. He was the past president of the Montgomery County Bar Association,

and has served as a member, past president, trustee, and founder. He also served diligently in the YMCA; Montgomery Lion's Club; Lion's Club International Youth Day in Court Program, which he founded; Jimmy Hitchcock Memorial Award; Fellowship of Christian Athletes; Salvation Army; Capitol City Boys Club; STEP Foundation; Blue-Gray Association; Leadership Montgomery; the Governor's Study Task Force on Drugs; Alabama Trial Lawyers' Association; Association of Trial Lawyers of America; American Judicature Society; Montgomery Magnet Grant Review Committee; and numerous other legal, civic, and Christian groups. He was an elder at Trinity Presbyterian Church, where he served on the Christian education committee, congregational involvement committee, and long-range planning committee. Joe also taught ninth grade Sunday School. In 1980, Joe was honored as YMCA Man of the Year in recognition of his service to youth in Montgomery.

Joe's list of accomplishments are reflective of the life he led, the type of friend he was, and the positive contributions he made throughout his life to his community and his fellow Alabamian. Not the least of which was his role as husband and father. My heart goes out to Joe's family.

Joe's lifelong dedication to community and country made our world a better place. His presence will be sorely missed.

#### 1996 JULY QUARTERLY REPORTS

The mailing and filing date of the July Quarterly Report required by the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended, is Monday, July 15, 1996. All principal campaign committees supporting Senate candidates in the 1996 races must file their reports with the Senate Office of Public Records, 232 Hart Building, Washington, DC 20510-7116. You may wish to advise your campaign committee personnel of this requirement.

The Public Records office will be open from 8 a.m. until 7 p.m. on July 15, to receive these filings. For further information, please do not hesitate to contact the Office of Public Records on (202) 224-0322.

#### THANKS TO DAVID O. COOKE AT THE PENTAGON FOR HIS CONTINUING SERVICE TO OUR NATION

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, several months ago, I participated in a ceremony at the Pentagon to open an exhibit honoring the office of the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This was a significant moment in recognizing the remarkable success of the Goldwater-Nichols legislation, which reorganized the Department of Defense. However, this moment would not have been possible without the help of the pentagon's Director of Administration and Management, David O. (Doc)

Cooke. Today, I would like to extend my personal appreciation to Doc Cooke for his help in establishing this exhibit but primarily I want to thank him for his long and continuing career in public service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article on Doc Cooke that was published in *Government Executive* be reprinted in the *RECORD* at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, Doc Cooke's association with our Nation's armed services began in World War II, when he served as an officer aboard the battleship U.S.S. *Pennsylvania*. In 1947, he became a civilian employee with the Navy in Washington, DC. He completed his law degree from George Washington University in 1950 and, shortly thereafter, was recalled to active duty during the Korean war as an instructor at the School of Naval Justice. Since that time, Doc Cooke has rendered outstanding service to 14 different Secretaries of Defense. In 1958, he became a member of a task force on Department of Defense reorganization that was led by Secretary of Defense, Neil McElroy. Under Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, he served on a briefing team that advised the Secretary on issues related to organization and management. In his dual role as the Director of Administration and Management and Director of Washington Headquarters Services, Doc Cooke has oversight responsibilities for more than 1,800 employees throughout an impressive array of offices at the Pentagon, including the Directorate for Organizational and Management Planning, Defense Privacy Office, OSD Historical Office, Quality Management Office, Directorate for Budget and Finance, Directorate for Real Estate and Facilities, Directorate for Correspondence and Directives, Directorate for Personnel and Security, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, Directorate for Federal Voting Assistance Program, and the Office of General Counsel. The high level of energy and competence that Doc Cooke brings to his job has earned him the title of "Mayor of the Pentagon" from his friends and colleagues.

Doc Cooke has always recognized that people are the driving force behind any organization's successes and shortcomings. His determination to never lose sight of the human factor in dealing with organizational and administrative issues has been a key contributing factor to the success that he has enjoyed throughout his career. Doc's ability and success in communicating with others is evident not only in his profession, but also in his involvement in community service. In 1992, he helped launch a program in Washington, DC, to encourage high school students to pursue careers in public service. This led to the establishment of a Public Service Academy. The Public

Service Academy works closely with Federal agencies in planning the school's curriculum, establishing internship opportunities for students, and providing counseling for both students and their families. Last year there were 28 seniors at the Academy. Of that total, 25 were accepted into college and 3 found employment. This type of success is a shining example of the integrity and compassion with which Doc Cooke approaches both his profession and his community.

Last year, Doc Cooke received the Government Executive Leadership Award from the National Capital Area Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. This award was given in recognition of his strong leadership throughout his outstanding career in the Federal Government. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate join me in thanking Doc Cooke for his continuing service to our Nation. I hope that he will continue to serve for many years to come. We wish him, his wife, Marion, and his entire family every success for the future.

#### EXHIBIT 1

[From the Government Executive,  
September 1995]

MAYOR OF THE PENTAGON

(By A.L. Singleton)

David O. Cooke, this year's winner of Government Executive's annual award for leadership during a career in federal service, may have a tough time deciding where to display his plaque. After 37 years in Defense Department management, Cooke has a Pentagon office that is crammed full of trophies and medallions praising his dedication to public service, executive development and good government.

Awards compete for wall space with photographs of Cooke and a variety of associates from pals to presidents. There's a shot of Cooke posing with radio/television personality Willard Scott, each man covering his bald pate with a silly wig. There's a picture of Cooke with President Clinton at the White House.

But perhaps the photograph that best represents Cooke's career shows him seated and grinning broadly in front of 9 of the 14 Secretaries of Defense with whom he has worked.

Cooke is director of administration and management and director of Washington Headquarters Services for DoD. This means, among other things, he is in charge of the operation, maintenance and protection of the Pentagon Reservation, which spans 280 acres on the Virginia side of the Potomac River and includes not only the Pentagon and its power plant but also the Navy Annex and numerous other DoD buildings in the National Capital Region. He oversees some 1,800 employees, controls 20,000 parking spaces, runs a quality-management unit and directs organizational and management planning for the Department of Defense.

Cooke is often called "the mayor of the Pentagon"—a nickname that reflects the power his office wields over day-to-day life in the Defense Department's huge headquarters operations. Beyond the mundane tasks of ensuring adequate cooling and equitable parking, Cooke's job requires a deep understanding of the theory and practice of management in one of the world's most complex enterprises. Yet most people, from the workers who clean his office all the way up to the Secretary of Defense, call him "Doc."

A man who doesn't take his many impressive titles too seriously, Cooke enjoys the familiarity.

#### FROM TEACHING TO TASK FORCES

The Doc Cooke story began 74 years ago in Buffalo, N.Y. His parents were school-teachers and that was what he also set out to be, receiving his bachelor's and master's degrees from the State University of New York. World War II took him out of the classroom and onto the decks of a battleship, the USS *Pennsylvania*, where he served as an officer throughout the war. Afterward, he returned to Buffalo to teach high school.

Then, in 1947, three events changed his life. He entered law school, met and married fellow law student Marion McDonald and accepted an offer to become a civilian employee of the Navy in Washington, D.C. Once settled in the capital, he resumed law studies at night and received an LL.B. from The George Washington University in 1950.

When the Korean War began, Cooke was recalled to active duty, this time as an instructor at the School of Naval Justice. Thereafter followed a stint as a maritime lawyer for the Navy in New York. In 1957, he was reassigned to the Judge Advocate General's Washington staff and a year later joined a task force on DOD reorganization spearheaded by Secretary Neil McElroy. This was the start of a highly specialized career in military organization and management that would lead him to the top ranks of federal civil service. "I never effectively got back to the Navy," Cooke recalls, even though he remained on active duty for nine more years.

One of Cooke's most vividly remembered assignments of those early years was to Robert McNamara's briefing team on organizational and management issues, which the new Secretary formed in 1961. McNamara intended to institute sweeping changes in Defense organization, and he wanted a small group to advise him.

Led by Solis Horowitz, a Harvard lawyer who eventually became DOD's assistant secretary for administration, the group consisted of Cooke, representing the Navy, Army officer John Cushman and Air Force officer Abbott Greenleaf. Cushman and Greenleaf "both retired as three-star generals," Cooke observes, "so two out of the three became eminently successful, and I was the guy who wasn't."

#### THE COOKE SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT

Such self-deprecating wit is classic Cooke. "He might make fun of himself, but not someone else," says DOD historian Alfred Goldberg. "He has a good sense of humor and uses it in dealing effectively with people."

Roslyn Kleeman, a distinguished executive-in-residence at the George Washington University's School of Business and Public Management who has served alongside Cooke in several public-employee organizations, agrees. "I've listened to a lot of Doc's speeches," she says, "and after an opening joke or two, he will invariably have his audiences in stitches."

Cooke readily admits to using humor as a management tool. One of the keys to success, he believes, is "taking your job, but not yourself, very seriously."

Another, Cooke says, is a managerial style based on people. "You can think about an organization in terms of its wiring diagram," Cooke explains, "or its skeletal structure or the task skills you need to make it function the way you want. Or you can think in terms of the people involved. And to loosely paraphrase the apostle Paul, the greatest of these is people."

"When I get complaints, and I get a lot of them, from managers who say that people who work for them aren't doing what they're

supposed to be doing, I always ask: 'Have you told these people? Have you explained to them what you expect?' Very often I find they haven't gotten the guidance and direction they should have gotten.

"People constitute our most important resource," Cooke concludes, "and so often, we treat them like dirt."

Cooke practices what he preaches, say three senior executives who have worked at the heart of his 11-member Pentagon management team.

Doc "is very good at getting along with people, no matter who they are," says Arthur H. Ehlers, who recently retired from his post as director of organizational and management planning in Cooke's office after 25 years.

Cooke has always maintained good relationships with members of Congress and with leaders in the executive branch, says Walter Freeman, another longtime top aide who is director of real estate and facilities for DoD, "and it's not because he treats them differently from anyone else."

Leon Kniaz, another key assistant who recently retired after a decade as director of personnel and security, elaborates. Cooke, he says, "has always had an open-door policy and listens well to people. There isn't anybody who walks into that office and talks with Doc who doesn't think that he or she has become a personal friend . . . [Cooke] is people-oriented, and I think that comes through."

Yet Cooke is no pushover. "He doesn't just tell people what they want to hear," says Kniaz. "He knows how to say no, and I've heard him do so in meetings where participants were expecting him to say yes."

And when Cooke is fighting for a cause in which he believes, he fights hard, his associates agree. Perhaps nowhere in his career is this more evident than in the stubborn campaign he waged to launch the current renovation of the Pentagon.

#### A BUREAUCRATIC COUP

Cracks in the walls, corroded pipes and frequently overloaded electrical circuits attest to 50 years of neglect in the upkeep of the Pentagon by the General Services Administration, the agency charged with maintaining and leasing most federal buildings. (See "Operation Renovate," February.)

"For years," says Freeman, who joined Cooke as a tenant of the Pentagon in 1983, "Doc tried to get GSA to renovate. But it was a very expensive job, and DoD was paying big rent to GSA and was sort of cash cow. So GSA was reluctant." Although the "rent" DoD paid GSA to look after the Pentagon injected hundreds of millions of dollars into the Federal Buildings Fund each year, GSA would not finance the sweeping renovations needed. Cooke saw that the only way out of the dispute was to stage a coup.

"Doc went to Congress and asked that the ownership of the Pentagon be transferred to DoD," recalls Freeman, "so we would be, in effect, our own landlord and could do the job ourselves. He set up what became known as a 'Horror Board,' and took it with him every time he would go up on the Hill to testify."

The Horror Board was a flat panel to which Doc affixed examples of Pentagon decay. "There would be pieces of rusting pipe, damaged wiring, pieces of asbestos and all sorts of things that showed the building was falling apart," Freeman says. "New exhibits would appear periodically, and Doc would point to these things and say: 'Just look at this. See how bad conditions are.' Finally Congress agreed, and one Member said, 'All right, Doc, but you aren't bringing that thing up here again, are you?'"

Now, Freeman points out, the Pentagon Reservation is owned by the Office of the

Secretary of Defense, and an orderly, 12-year renovation project is under way. "I can't think of anyone else who could have, or would have, done this," Freeman says. "There's even a special Pentagon Renovation Revolving Fund established to pay for the project." Estimates put the cost of the Pentagon overhaul at \$1.2 billion.

#### AFTER HOURS

Somewhere in between saving the Pentagon's buildings and planning the never-ending reorganizations of Defense management structures, Cooke has found time to be an active member of good-government groups and a leader of community service projects.

He also has played prominent roles in government-wide initiatives. He was, for example, a leader in the President's Council on Management Improvement (PCMI) while that group was active, and he currently chairs the Combined Federal Campaign's Washington-area coordinating committee. For years he's been a supporter of the Public Employee Roundtable—contributing a key staffer through an Intergovernmental Personnel Act assignment—and he often reflects with pride on the Roundtable's success in spreading the annual celebration of Public Service Recognition Week to dozens of communities. Today, if asked, he'll acknowledge with a chuckle the little-known fact that his office provides a good share of the funding for Vice President Gore's National Performance Review.

Cooke has been a leader in two professional groups in the field of public administration—the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA) and the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA).

Sometimes, with Cooke's encouragement, these groups combine in support of a single project. This was the case with a 1992 initiative to reach out to students at Anacostia High School in one of Washington's poorest areas. The idea was to set up a Public Service Academy, with the goals of sparking students' interest in public service careers—and in their academic work. NAPA the National Capital Area Chapter of ASPA and the PCMI were among those who offered early support. "I'm very pleased with that venture," Cooke says, beaming. "There's nothing else like it in the area."

Federal agencies lend three managers to the Academy each year to work with the faculty in establishing curriculum, arranging visits to and internships at government offices, coordinating special events and offering counseling to students and their families.

While Anacostia High has a graduation rate of only 55 percent, 90 percent of the Academy's students graduate. Of the 28 seniors who matriculated from the Academy this June, 25 were accepted by colleges, and 3 found jobs. "I think that's pretty good, by just about any standards," says Cooke.

Cooke also works to secure further education for government workers. Anita Alpern, a distinguished adjunct professor at American University's School of Public Affairs, notes that Cooke has been a strong supporter of the Federal Executive Institute and of American University's Key Executive Program, a master's program in public administration for government employees. "And," she says, "he does all this as a firm believer that education should not stop after you've got a job, it should continue so you can do that job better."

Cooke explains the volume of his extra-curricular commitments: "I don't think you can do the best job if you just put in your 40 hours and go home. I know that I can do better here in my office because of the extra time I spend networking and learning from others outside my office."

#### THEY CAN KEEP THE GOLD WATCH

For now, Cooke has no plans to retire, which is good news for his friends at the Pentagon. "I don't know anyone who would not shudder at the thought of Doc retiring," says Freeman. "And why should he? He's doing what's fun for him and good for the country. Why should he turn to something that's not so interesting?"

Federal management is still Cooke's passion. "There are not many higher callings," he says. He's passed this belief onto his three children, all of whom have federal careers.

Cooke's response to public cynicism about government is to say that, "on balance, our [governing] system has worked well. There have been enormous innovations, especially at state and local levels. We do face serious problems in our society today, but many of them have little to do with government per se."

Cooke maintains an external optimism. Citing, as he often does, classic philosophical literature, Cooke borrows from Voltaire as he says: "This is the best of all possible worlds because it is the only possible world. We just have to keep working on it."

#### THE LEADERSHIP AWARD

The NCAC/Government Executive Leadership award was established five years ago to recognize distinguished careers in the federal service. The award is cosponsored by the National Capital Area Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. The roster of winners:

1995—David O. Cooke, director of administration and management and director of Washington Headquarters Services, Department of Defense

1994—June Gibbs Brown, inspector general, Department of Health and Human Services

1993—Thomas S. McFee, assistant secretary for personnel administration, Department of Health and Human Services

1992—Paul T. Weiss, deputy assistant secretary for administration, Department of Transportation

1991—Robert L. Bombaugh, director, Office of Immigration Litigation, Department of Justice

#### THE MINIMUM WAGE BILL

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, yesterday, I voted for legislation to increase the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 per hour over the next 2 years. Though this is a necessary increase, regretably, Senators did not have a chance to vote for an ideal package.

First, it is essential that employers be given adequate time to prepare to implement the proposed increase. For this reason, I voted for the Bond amendment, though I felt delaying the increase to January 1, 1997, was too long. In my view, a reasonable effective date for the increase would have been September 1, 1996.

As passed by the Senate, H.R. 3448 would be effective retroactively to July 1, 1996, leaving employers with no adjustment period. This is unfortunate, in my view.

Second, I also believe a training wage is crucial for those entering the work force, particularly given our efforts to reform the welfare system. While many of my colleagues contend that increasing the minimum wage will encourage welfare recipients to obtain gainful employment, I am afraid the increase