

that technology in place now, they are greatly alarmed.

So I commend the principal sponsors of this bipartisan legislation, Senator COCHRAN of Mississippi and Senator INOUE of Hawaii, for their diligent efforts to ensure that all 50 States—indeed, all Americans—enjoy protection against missile attack.

My colleagues are aware that similar legislation has been brought before the Senate before—twice last year—and twice we failed, just one vote short of cutting off a filibuster. I am glad it appears we may not have a filibuster this time, that we can deal with the substance of this bill and we can vote on amendments and hopefully get to final passage, because it is clear there is bipartisan support and the realization that we need to move forward.

I know there are those who are concerned that it could be misinterpreted what we are trying to do here and what are the ramifications with regard to the ABM Treaty, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. My answer to that is that we should make it clear what our intentions are. This is a defensive mechanism; this is to go forward and develop the technology, and when we have that technology, then we should move to deploy it. But we would have time to explain to one and all—whether it is Russia, members of the Russian Duma or the federation in Russia, their leadership, or members of the Israeli Knesset—what our intentions are.

To make sure that is done, I have been discussing with the President and with Senator DASCHLE, and with others on both sides of the aisle, the idea that we should set up a working group, patterned after the example of the arms control observer group that served us quite well during the 1980s and early 1990s when we were dealing with the SALT treaties and we were trying to get disarmament agreements worked out in Europe and with the Soviet Union.

We had Senators and Members of Congress who met with representatives of the then Soviet Government. We went to the Soviet Union. We had them come here. We had meetings in Geneva. And I believe that Members of the Senate who were involved will tell you it was very helpful. I discussed it with Senator MOYNIHAN just yesterday at lunch, and he said clearly when he went to Geneva and met with the Russians and explained what our intentions were, and they talked about their concerns about cruise missiles in Europe, that everybody had a better understanding.

So what I have advocated is that we set up a group which would be entitled something like this, although I am not wedded to a title, but the national security and missile defense working group, and that Senator COCHRAN would chair that group. I understand Senator DASCHLE has some Senators in mind on his side of the aisle—it would be equally divided—who would be involved in this effort. It would be a fol-

low-on to what we are trying to do with the National Missile Defense Act. I hope that before this day is out we can set up this group and it will represent a broad cross section of the Senate so that everybody will understand what is intended.

There are real dangers here. "The threat is real, serious, and growing." That is not my quote. That is a quote of the Central Intelligence Agency, an analyst who works in this critical area.

Let me recite what has happened since March of last year: Pakistan launched a medium-range missile that it acquired from North Korea; China and North Korea continue to provide Pakistan with technical and other assistance on missiles and nuclear weapons; Iran launched a medium-range missile. The original design also came from North Korea. It was improved by technology that it has been receiving from Russia and China. Up to this day, Russian companies are still exchanging technology and information with Iran. They are developing greater capability. That is extremely dangerous.

While Congress has expressed its concern about this, the administration has even taken actions against certain companies in Russia. It continues to this very moment. We know that Iran is interested in developing and acquiring a long-range missile that could reach—yes—the United States as well as European capitals and that Tehran is benefiting from this extensive assistance from Russia and from China.

North Korea is a very nervous situation. That country launched a long-range missile last August that demonstrated both intent and capability to deliver payloads over extremely long distances. Having been advised of this development, the CIA now concludes that the North Koreans "would be able to use the three-stage configuration as a ballistic missile...to deliver small payloads to ICBM ranges." With minor modifications, this missile, the CIA notes, could probably reach not only Hawaii and Alaska but also the rest of the United States.

The People's Republic of China, PRC, likewise continues to engage in a massive buildup of its missile forces both at the theater level—that is aimed against our friend, Taiwan, their neighbor—and the strategic level—aimed at, perhaps, even the United States.

Today the PRC has more than a dozen missiles aimed at American cities. Yet, we are told on occasion there is not a missile aimed at the United States today. That is not true. The Chinese are in the process of developing multiple warheads for those and their next-generation mobile missiles, which are much more difficult to locate.

Sadly, there is a serious problem here, and it is one that is growing. Just recently, of course, is the situation brought to the public's attention regarding China's nuclear espionage and how we are dealing with that. There are those wanting to know, How did

this happen? Who did it? Who is to blame? All of that is interesting and we should determine that, but here is the real question: Is it still going on? Have we stopped it?

I think Congress should take a serious look at this situation. We need to deal with some laws to make it possible for us to stop this sort of espionage. Do they need additional money? We would need to have the appropriate briefing from the Energy Department and the CIA to judge whether or not additional money should be needed.

This post-cold-war era is a unique time, but it is also a dangerous time. It is a time when historically, reviewing what we have done in the past, we drop our guard when there appears to be times of calm and peace, but I think that is when we are at our greatest danger. Our inability to defend against incoming accidental or rogue-launched missiles is our Achilles' heel. It is where we are in the greatest danger. Would we not act? Should we not begin the process now? The truth of the matter is we should have already done it. If we don't, there will come a time soon—perhaps early in the millennium—when we will, in fact, be threatened and in serious danger.

This National Missile Defense Act will get us started. It will be the kind of progress we need. We will still have to make the decisions about the appropriations and when we actually go forward with deployment. I sense there has been movement in the Senate on this issue. I know there has been movement in the administration on this issue. Now is the time to act. I hope the Senate will do it in an expeditious and bipartisan manner. I believe we will look back on this bill and this vote as one of the most significant votes that we take in the year 1999.

I yield the floor.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Bill Beane, a fellow on my staff from the Department of the Army, be allowed floor privileges during the course of this Congress for all matters relating to defense.

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

COMMENDATION OF THE HONORABLE J. ROBERT KERREY ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS RECEIVING THE MEDAL OF HONOR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 61) commending the Honorable J. Robert Kerrey, United States Senator from Nebraska, on the 30th anniversary of the events giving rise to his receiving the Medal of Honor.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. It is my understanding there is 1 hour reserved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. There is 1 hour equally divided under the control of the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, the order we intend to follow to speak on this resolution will be myself first, followed by the Senator from Nebraska, Mr. HAGEL, Senator MOYNIHAN will speak next, followed by Senator REID from Nevada.

Mr. President, this resolution is supported by all Senators, other than Senator KERREY.

I will talk for just a moment about how I got to know Senator KERREY and what I have learned about him. Senator KERREY and I first met about 2 years ago when I was looking for a new job, the job that I presently have as U.S. Senator from North Carolina. At the time, Senator KERREY was the head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. I came here to Washington to meet with Senator KERREY and was grilled by him on why I was seeking this office, what my motivations were, and why I thought I should be able to represent the people of North Carolina in this esteemed body.

Over the course of brief time through campaigning and spending lots of time together, we have gotten to know each other very well. He is the definition of a leader, in my mind. Here is a man who is independent, clear thinking, always willing to speak his mind regardless of the politics, willing to speak against his own political party if he believes that his position is right and just, who cares a great deal and empathizes for the plight of others.

He has done an extraordinary job during the time I have seen him work here in the Senate during the brief time that I have been here. He is the kind of Senator who many of us young Senators would like to emulate.

I want to talk for just a minute about the events that give rise to this resolution. Thirty years ago this past Sunday, Senator KERREY, when he was a Navy SEAL, commanded a unit of Navy SEALs that were involved in an attack on the Vietcong. His unit scaled a 350-foot sheer cliff in order to position themselves for the attack.

During the course of the attack on the Vietcong, a grenade exploded at the feet of Senator KERREY. He was severely injured by the grenade, but in spite of these severe injuries, which eventually led to the loss of a part of his leg, he continued to direct the attack in a clear-thinking way that eventually led to victory by this Navy SEAL team.

The work he did on that day was extraordinarily courageous and showed the leadership that we have come to know over the last 30 years since that event occurred. He went from that event to winning the Medal of Honor for the events that occurred on that day, and from that place to a veterans

hospital in Philadelphia for a long, long period of recuperation.

I will first read the last sentence of that citation that he received at the time he received his Medal of Honor, which I think encapsulates what Senator KERREY did 30 years ago this past Sunday.

KERREY's courageous and inspiring leadership, valued fighting spirit, and tenacious devotion to duty in the face of almost overwhelming opposition sustain and enhance the finest traditions of the United States Naval service.

The courage and leadership that Senator KERREY showed on that day, as I mentioned earlier, led to his receipt of the Medal of Honor. From there, he went to a veterans hospital in Philadelphia for a long, long period of recuperation and, as he has told many of his friends and colleagues, it was a very difficult time for him. He went from there to becoming a successful businessman, and he eventually became Governor of Nebraska. That led to the time he has spent here in the U.S. Senate.

As I mentioned, Senator KERREY is a man who most of us look up to; he is clear thinking and independent minded. The thing that always inspires me about him is his willingness to speak up even when speaking up is not always in his best political interest or in the best political interest of his party. He, as I mentioned, is the definition of a leader.

I want to mention one quote that I think is critically important in understanding the kind of leadership that Senator KERREY has brought to this body during the time he has been here. It is a quote that he gave recently to a Nebraska newspaper:

It's odd to say, but this all became a real gift in many ways.

Speaking now of the events that occurred 30 years ago this past Sunday and the injuries he received as a result:

It's odd to say, but this all became a real gift in many ways. The world got bigger to me. I didn't realize there was so much pain in the world. Up until then, I presumed that if I didn't feel it, then it wasn't happening. But it's going on out there every day. In hospitals. In lots of homes.

I learned that the most valuable, priceless thing you can give anyone is kindness. At the right moment, it can be life-changing.

That is a perfect description of Senator BOB KERREY. It is the reason that he is the extraordinary man and the extraordinary leader and the extraordinary Senator that he has been in this body, and he is the reason that I support, with great enthusiasm, this resolution honoring him.

At this time, I yield for the junior Senator from Nebraska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska, Mr. HAGEL, is recognized.

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, I thank my friend and colleague from North Carolina for helping organize this recognition of our friend and colleague, my senior Senator from the State of Nebraska, BOB KERREY.

In 1979, on the cover of a Newsweek magazine, with a glorious picture of Teddy Roosevelt riding to the charge, the headline blared out, "Where Have Our Heroes Gone?"

Mr. President, that was in 1979, at a time when many Americans were questioning the very foundation and base of our Government and our society. They were reaching out for inspiration and courage and asking the Newsweek 1979 question, "Where have our heroes gone?"

There are heroes all around us. One in our midst is the man whom we recognize this morning, BOB KERREY. BOB KERREY is a hero for many reasons. Anyone who has been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, our Nation's highest award for valor and bravery, is a hero. But the mark of a hero is what happens after that recognition. What has BOB KERREY done with his life since that time 30 years ago when he, in a selfless, valorous way, led his men and put his men, his duty, his country and his mission above himself? What has happened to this man since?

Well, as he tells the story, in a rather self-effacing way—that is how we Nebraskans are, humble, self-effacing—the only flaw I can find in KERREY is that he was not Army. But other than that defect, he has conducted himself rather well.

The mark of a hero is what one has taken in life—the good, the bad, and all that is in between, and how they have applied that to make the world better, and what they have done to improve the lives of others. That begins with some belief—belief in oneself, belief in one's country, belief in others, belief that in fact God has given us all strengths, resources and weaknesses. As BOB KERREY has often said, there were so many who surrounded him after those days in Vietnam—in the hospital, in rehabilitation—who helped him put his life back together. That is what inspired him. He rose inspired as well. He rose and re-inspired, and re-inspired, and re-inspired. They lead and they never stop and they never stop. That is the story, to me, that is most magnificent about BOB KERREY.

It is appropriate that we recognize one of our own on the floor of the Senate today. I am particularly proud because I come from the State where BOB KERREY was grounded with foundations, with values, with standards, with expectations; and so I know how he has inspired our State. Our colleagues know how he has inspired this body and the people around him, and they know of the lives of the people that he has touched.

For all of those reasons, and more, Mr. President, I am proud to take a moment to share in recognizing the goodness and, yes, the heroism of our friend and our colleague, BOB KERREY. To you, good friend, I salute you.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

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

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I am honored, sir, to follow the distinguished Senator from Nebraska and his remarks. And might I begin with a phrase from the old Navy—by which I mean the old, old Navy—when a fellow was mustering out, he would say, “I’m going to put that oar on my shoulder.” And the reference was that you were going to put that oar on your shoulder and march inland until you reached a town where someone said, “Hey, fella, what’s that thing you’ve got on your shoulder?” And then you could settle down in comfort after years at sea. Nebraska would surely qualify for such a site. This extraordinary man, who left Nebraska, joined the Navy, brought such honor and distinction to himself, and now to the Senate is remarkable indeed.

You’ve heard of his work. Just a word about the man. Hemingway said that courage was grace under pressure. BOB KERREY has shown that grace from that very moment 30 years ago on that bluff. Michael Barone in the Almanac of American Politics recounts that when asked about the medals he had won, Senator KERREY answered, “One Purple Heart, one Bronze Star—one whatever.” Well, the “whatever” is, of course, the Congressional Medal of Honor. There have been—all told—five U.S. Senators to have won that medal. It was created during the Civil War. Four of the senators received the medal for service in the Civil War. And now, 134 years later, a fifth.

BOB KERREY does do such honor to this body, as he has done to his country, with grace under pressure. Perhaps nothing more distinguished him than the long and difficult time in the Philadelphia Naval Hospital witnessed by many, including the marine Lewis Puller, Jr.—son of the most decorated marine in history. He wrote of Senator KERREY, “His stoicism, though unnerving, was a source of amazement to all.” It continues such. It continues with an evenness that can be eerie at the same moment it is inspiring. Robert Novak has recently written that what sets Senator KERREY apart is how “unashamedly he preaches love of and service to country.” And so, sir, from another generation and in a far distant conflict, this lieutenant junior grade salutes him and would have the Senate know—those who don’t—that when a Medal of Honor winner appears anywhere on ship, the answer is, “Attention all hands.” He is to be so saluted on all occasions and honored throughout his life, and for the extraordinary legacy he will one day leave.

I salute you, sir.

I thank the Chair.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). The distinguished Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the junior Senator from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. ROBB. Thank you, Mr. President. I thank my friend from Nevada for yielding. I will be very brief.

Mr. President, I happened to be serving in the Republic of Vietnam at the time that this particular act of heroism was made. I am more than a little familiar with the criteria for the particular award that was given. Almost any major award for gallantry is subject to some degree of subjectivity. This is the one that is clearly proven beyond any reasonable doubt to have been awarded meritoriously under any and all circumstances.

I join all of my colleagues who are here, including those veterans who served in Vietnam with our distinguished Senator, and I thank my colleague for yielding. This is one that makes all of us proud.

I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, Groucho Marx used to say that he wouldn’t belong to any club that would have him as a member. I get that feeling about the very small club consisting of those who have been awarded the Medal of Honor.

Nobody asks to join, the price of admission is too high. Nobody applies, the rules don’t permit applications.

You get in this select club by doing something that no one would do, or should I say rarely does, and most of the time you pass the test by not surviving it.

I dare say that if BOB KERREY had been offered membership in this club as a volunteer, he would have declined. But membership isn’t voluntary.

Once you have performed those acts of outstanding courage, of valor, of heroism—above and beyond the call of duty—once you have come through the valley of the shadow of death and into the light—once you have, in the unique circumstances of military combat, saved lives and taken lives and in most instances, given your own life, to qualify for the medal—you are a marked man.

BOB KERREY bears that mark. That mark shows through his grace, and his intelligence and concentration and wit—aspects with which, I dare say, many in our body are handsomely endowed.

That mark shines above his hard work, love of country, and respect for his fellow members—qualities which most here share in ample quantity.

That mark transcends every other skill or point of character which makes us all unique human beings. The mark BOB KERREY bears is his having given one of his limbs for our country.

The mark BOB KERREY wears is his unique courage, his honor, his valor. He shows it in his daily life, in his political decisions, and in his dealings with the world.

BOB KERREY, when dealing with entitlements, education, Iraq, and farm issues, has shown unparalleled courage. But, to me he is simply my friend.

Thirty years ago, on an island in Southeast Asia, ten thousand miles

from the Senate Chamber, Navy Lt. BOB KERREY did something above and beyond the call of duty. If he did nothing else with the rest of his life, we would, as Americans, honor him for what he did on that island far away.

I suspect, however, when the time comes—as for all of us it must—to summarize this man’s contributions to his friends, his Nation, and the world—the Congressional Medal of Honor will be cited, not as an award which shaped the man, but rather as just one example in a life and litany of courage which has known no bounds and which serves as a Platonic example for the rest of us to pursue, but never to achieve.

Thank you, Senator BOB KERREY, for sharing with the people of Nebraska, this Nation, and each of us who serve with you—your exemplary life.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Arizona is recognized.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, “It was my duty.” So did my friend and colleague BOB KERREY recently respond to a question by CBS’ Bob Schieffer, who had asked my friend why he did it—why he led his elite SEAL team up a 350-foot sheer cliff and then down into the waiting enemy’s camp, suffering life-threatening injuries in the process but effectively commanding his team throughout their successful mission.

For then-Lieutenant KERREY, his duty was his honor, and his country’s cause was his highest calling. That a young man from the plains of Nebraska showed “conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty” in Vietnam, as his Medal of Honor citation recalls, reminds us that exceptional heroism can spring from the humblest of roots.

It was his duty, BOB says. Near the very beginning of the assault on the Viet Cong camp, a grenade exploded at his feet, injuring him terribly and threatening the success of the mission. In similar circumstances, many men, incapacitated and bleeding, might have given up. Not BOB. His sense of duty did not allow it.

His sense of duty compelled him to fight on, despite the trauma of sustaining multiple injuries, including one that would take his leg, and despite the chaos of battle, which has undone other good men who have found themselves in less dire circumstances.

BOB’s courageous leadership won that battle on a Vietnamese island in Nha Trang Bay thirty years ago. “I don’t remember doing anything especially heroic,” says the plain-spoken Nebraskan. Although I do not know the men BOB commanded on that fateful day, I do know that their testimonial to his selfless heroism ensured that history recorded my friend’s sacrifice.

That record, in the form of BOB’s Medal of Honor citation, has surely inspired countless Americans in uniform

over the past thirty years. As my colleagues know, it is with reverence and awe that uniformed service members and veterans speak of America's Medal of Honor recipients. They are, indeed, the heroes' heroes.

I myself am privileged to have served in the United States Navy, as did my father and grandfather before me. They would tell you, as I do today, how honored we all should be to know a man like BOB KERREY, a man whose fighting spirit earned him the nation's highest award for exceptional military service above and beyond the call of duty.

I am deeply honored to serve in the Senate with BOB. Ironically, he would be the first to tell you that he felt little calling for public service when he came home from Vietnam. For he came home not only with a broken body, but with an understandable resentment about the war, and toward those politicians in Washington who conducted it.

BOB's faith in our Nation and the values she embodies was reaffirmed by his military service. "It's a great country that will fight for other people's freedom," he says. But his faith in his Government was shaken, as was that of many Americans, after the divisive experience of Vietnam.

What restored BOB's faith in his Government? By his reckoning, it was the Philadelphia Naval Hospital where he spent months in surgery and therapy. As BOB has said, the fact that our Government would build and fund a hospital for people like him—anonymous people who had never contributed to a politician's campaign—and provide the medical care they needed, simply because they were wounded Americans, was inspirational. So were the medical staff and volunteers who helped heal his wounds.

Faith renewed, BOB went on to become Governor of Nebraska and a U.S. Senator. His independent leadership on some of the toughest issues we face today, including Social Security, education, and tax reform, demonstrates that this man, who gave so much for his country in military service, makes an important contribution to America's governance in peacetime.

In the words of BOB's Medal of Honor citation:

Lt. (j.g.) Kerrey's courageous and inspiring leadership, valiant fighting spirit, and tenacious devotion to duty in the face of almost overwhelming opposition sustain and enhance the finest traditions of the U.S. Naval Service.

That leadership and sense of duty continues to motivate his public service today.

BOB's contribution to America's governance may grow. Although he will sit out next year's Presidential race, he may be a contender in the future. In the meantime, I am honored and privileged to work with him in the Senate.

Thank you for your valued service, BOB.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished Senator from Arizona for his eloquence, as well as the Senator from Nevada, whom I also heard. I thank the Senator from North Carolina for making the effort to allow us this opportunity on the floor this morning.

Mr. President, last week, when Joe DiMaggio died, I heard many people say it is a shame how few heroes there are left among us. To anyone who believes that, I say: Meet my friend, BOB KERREY. To me and to many others, he is a genuine American hero.

As others have noted, on a moonless black night, 30 years ago this past Sunday, Lieutenant KERREY, then a 25-year-old Navy SEAL commander, led his squad in a surprise attack on North Vietnamese Army guerillas on the island of Hon Tre.

During the fierce firefight that broke out, an enemy grenade exploded on the ground beside him. The blast shattered his right leg below the knee, badly wounded his right hand, and pierced much of his body with shrapnel.

Despite his massive injuries, Lieutenant KERREY continued to direct his squad until the last man was safely evacuated. Days later, doctors were forced to amputate his injured leg just below the knee. Lieutenant KERREY had been in Vietnam only 3 months.

For his sacrifice, he was awarded the Bronze Star, the Purple Heart, and the highest award our nation bestows for bravery, the Congressional Medal of Honor. But it is not only what others pinned over his heart that makes BOB KERREY a hero. It is what is in his heart.

JOSEPH ROBERT KERREY returned from Vietnam angry and disillusioned. What he endured in Vietnam, and what he saw later at the Philadelphia Naval Hospital, where he spent nine months learning how to walk again, shook his faith—both in the war, and in the Government that had sent him there. It forced him to re-examine everything he had ever believed about his country. But slowly, out of his pain and anger and doubt, he began to acquire a new faith in this Nation.

Years ago, when he was Governor of Nebraska, he described that faith to a reporter. He said, "There are . . . people who like to say, 'You know all these subsidy programs we've got? They make people lazy.' And I like to jump right in their face and say, that is an absolute lie." Government help "didn't make me lazy. It made me grateful."

Another time, he put it more simply. While government "almost killed me" in a war, he said, government also "saved my life."

It was the United States Government, he said, that fitted him with a prosthesis and taught him to walk again. It was the Government that paid for the countless operations he needed. Later, in 1973, it was the Government that helped him open his first restaurant with his brother-in-law. Two

years later, when that restaurant was destroyed in a tornado, it was the Government—the people of the United States—that loaned them the money to rebuild.

As Governor and, for the last 11 years, as a Member of the Senate, BOB KERREY has fought to make sure Government works for all Americans. He has fought to make health care more affordable and accessible.

He has fought to give entrepreneurs the chance to turn their good ideas into profitable businesses. He has fought to make sure this nation keeps its promises to veterans.

He has also fought tirelessly to preserve family farms and rural communities.

For several years now, I've had the good fortune to serve with Senator KERREY on the Agriculture Committee. I know how deeply committed he is to restoring the agricultural economy.

In 1994, he played a key role in preserving the Federal crop insurance program, and today, with the Presiding Officer he is one of the leaders in the effort to strengthen it again, so we reduce our over-reliance on disaster programs and make the system fairer and more predictable for producers.

Senator KERREY is continually looking for new ways to create new opportunities for American farmers. He is a strong supporter of ethanol, and of increased agricultural research. He is committed to preserving the integrity of the U.S. food supply, so that we continue to have the safest, most abundant, most economical food supply in the world.

Like Senator KERREY, I come from a state that is made up mostly of small towns and rural communities, so I am personally grateful to him for his efforts to help agricultural producers. I am also grateful for his insistence that rural America be treated fairly on a whole array of critical issues, from expanding the information superhighway, to improving our health care system, and strengthening the schools America's children attend, especially in rural areas.

But Senator KERREY's greatest contribution to this Senate, and to this Nation, may be that he is not afraid to challenge conventional wisdom. In 1994, almost single-handedly, he created and chaired the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform. Conventional wisdom said, don't get involved with entitlements. You can't make anyone happy; you can only make enemies.

But BOB KERREY's personal experience told him that preserving Social Security and Medicare was worth taking a risks—risking some political capital. He has repeatedly opposed efforts to amend our Constitution to make flag-burning a crime. It is politically risky, even for a wounded war hero, to take such a position. But Senator KERREY has taken that risk, time and time again, because—in his words:

America is a beacon of hope for the people of this world who yearn for freedom from the

despotism of "repressive government." This hope is diluted when we advise others that we are frightened by flag burning.

He is, at heart, a genuine patriot.

He was born in Lincoln, Nebraska, one of 7 children. His father was a builder, his mother was a housewife. As a child, he suffered from such severe asthma that one of his teachers later said, when he breathed, he sometimes sounded like a fireplace bellows. Despite his asthma, he was on his high school basketball, football, golf and swim teams. Is anyone surprised?

After high school, he went to the University of Nebraska, where he finished his 5-year pharmacy program in 4 years. His asthma likely would have given him a legitimate way to avoid military service, but he wasn't looking for a way out.

Shortly after he graduated, he enlisted in the Navy as an officer candidate. The Navy was then just starting its elite SEALs program, the Navy's version of the Green Berets. Of the 5,000 men who applied for underwater demolition training with the SEALs, only 197 were selected, and only about 60 made it through the brutal training. His plan was to do his duty with the SEALs and return to Nebraska to work as a pharmacist. He made the SEALs, with asthma. Is anyone surprised?

But then that all changed on that black night 30 years ago. When he finally got the chance to practice pharmacy after he had been put back together at the naval hospital, he discovered he could no longer stand for as long as the job required. Changing courses, he and his brother-in-law started a restaurant. Eventually they would own several restaurants and health clubs and employ more than 900 people. Is anyone surprised?

In the beginning, they did everything themselves, from tending bar to flipping burgers to washing dishes. Is anyone surprised?

He entered politics in 1982, beating an incumbent Republican Governor in a heavily Republican State. At the time, Nebraska was in the middle of a terrible budget and farm crisis. Over the next 4 years, he replaced the 3-percent deficit he inherited with a 7-percent surplus. Knowing BOB KERREY, is anyone surprised?

He never received lower than a 55-percent approval rating for the entire time he was Governor. In 1985, when he stunned Nebraskans by announcing that he would not seek a second term, he was at a 70-percent approval rating.

After the Governor's office, he went briefly to Santa Barbara, CA, where he taught a college class on the Vietnam War with Walter Capps. In 1988, Nebraskans elected him to the U.S. Senate. In 1992, he ran for our party's Presidential nomination. He is a fierce defender of Nebraska's interests and a national leader as well.

This Senate is enriched by the contributions of many heroes from different wars, Mr. President:

MAX CLELAND, who lost an arm and both of his legs in Vietnam, holds a Silver Star. CHUCK HAGEL holds two Pur-

ple Hearts. FRITZ HOLLINGS holds a Bronze Star. DANNY INOUE lost an arm in Italy in World War II. He was awarded a Purple Heart, a Bronze Star, and the Distinguished Service Cross. JOHN KERRY holds the Silver Star, the Bronze Star, three Purple Hearts, the National Defense Service Medal, and two Presidential Unit Citations. JOHN MCCAIN spent 5½ years in hell as a POW. He holds a Silver Star, a Bronze Star, a Legion of Merit honor, a Purple Heart, and the Distinguished Flying Cross. BILL ROTH holds a Bronze Star. TED STEVENS was awarded two Distinguished Flying Crosses and two Air Medals in World War II. Many other Senators served with distinction as well in times of peace as well as in times of war.

One Senator among us holds the Congressional Medal of Honor. To him, this Nation is indebted for all that he did to achieve it.

I am reminded of a story Senator KERREY has told many times about a conversation he had with his mother 30 years ago. Doctors at the Philadelphia Naval Hospital had just amputated his leg. When he awoke from surgery, his mother was standing at his bedside. "How much is left?" he asked her.

His mother said, "There's a lot left." As Senator KERREY says, "She wasn't talking about body parts. She was talking about here." She was talking about what is in his heart.

For 30 years, BOB KERREY has drawn on the courage and compassion of what is here—first to rebuild his own life, then to try to make a better life for people in Nebraska, and then for people all across this country. He is to me a genuine American hero, and he is my friend.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Utah.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I can't pass up the opportunity to embarrass BOB KERREY. I know, as we all do, that he did not ask for this and that it is always uncomfortable to come to your own wake, but he deserves it. I want to participate in it and do what I can to not only add to his embarrassment a little, but to let him know how well regarded he is on both sides of the aisle and among those who may disagree with him on all of the great issues that the minority leader just listed.

I served in the military at a time when the only shots I ever heard fired were in basic training. After I got out of basic training, I ended up in classroom and spent my time trying to teach surveying to a group of draftees who didn't understand what the word meant. The only reason I was doing that is because my particular military specialty, for which I was being trained, was being phased out in the way the military always does. They train you for an obsolete skill and then make you an instructor to teach that skill to other people who do not need it.

I have absolutely no basis for identifying with the group, the very small group of people who have heard shots

fired in anger, who have faced the difficulty and the challenge of combat. I can only read about it. I can only hear about it. I cannot identify with it in any personal way.

So why am I taking the time to stand here and talk about the contribution of BOB KERREY when everyone who has had those kinds of experiences has talked about it? I am standing because of an experience I had 2 years ago—3 years ago now—with the former majority leader, Bob Dole. I was on the campaign trail with Senator Dole, and we were out making the usual kinds of stops. I was told our next stop was in Battle Creek, MI. Battle Creek, MI, to me means breakfast cereal. I had no idea why Senator Dole wanted to go to Battle Creek, MI.

We went into a building in Battle Creek, a Federal building. It was under renovation, but the lobby had not been renovated. I felt as if I had walked into a movie set. It was the 1940s all over again. This building, being renovated into a Federal office building, had been a Federal hospital. It was the hospital where Bob Dole spent, on and off, 3 years of his life. They had found the place—that is, the floor—where Bob Dole's bed had been when he was taken there in a condition where he could do nothing for himself. He couldn't brush his teeth himself. He certainly couldn't go to the bathroom for himself. He was just taken there and placed in a bed and left there, as they began to work on him.

We walked around the floor. As I say, it was being renovated. Finally, Senator Dole identified the place on that floor where his bed had been. He stood there and said, "Yep, that's the view out of the window; that's where the bathroom was, where I would be wheeled," so on, so forth. "Okay, let's go."

It was the working press that said, "Wait a minute, Senator. Don't leave. Tell us how you feel."

Probably for the first time in public, Bob Dole told us what it was like in a military hospital without any prospects, without any immediate hope, completely paralyzed by his condition. The thing that struck me the most and the thing that brings me to my feet today was his description of some of the other things that happened in that war.

He said, catching me completely by surprise, "Over there was where Phil Hart had his bed."

And he said, "Over there"—or maybe it was down the hall—"was DANNY INOUE." He said, "Phil wasn't hurt as badly as the rest of us, so he could get out from time to time. The Hart family owned a hotel down the street, and he would go down to the hotel and get some decent food for us and smuggle it in so that we didn't have the hospital food all the time."

He said, "DANNY INOUE was the best bridge player in the whole hospital."

Subsequent to that, I talked to Senator INOUE on the subway and said, "I understand you were the best bridge player in the hospital in Battle Creek." He said, "Oh, no, I wasn't very good; it's just that Dole was terrible."

Then Bob Dole said, "As I got a little better, they began to move my bed around the hospital, because I could tell jokes and I would cheer some of the others up."

Why do I bring this up? Of course, we all know Bob Dole. We have named a building after Phil Hart. I don't know what we will name after DANNY INOUE, but he is still here. I bring this up with respect to BOB KERREY because we honor these men not solely for what they did in the military, not solely for what they did to rebuild their bodies, but for the example they set to rebuild their lives. To me, that is more heroic than the instant in battle when your instincts take over and you do what your duty tells you you have to do. I say that without ever having been there. So I could well be wrong.

But how much heroism is involved in pulling yourself together when you are lying in a bed unable to brush your own teeth and say, "I'm going to rebuild my body, I'm going to rebuild my life, I'm going to go to law school or found a restaurant," or do whatever it is that has to be done to such an extent that you are qualified in the eyes of the voters in the State in which you live to represent them in the U.S. Senate.

We are surrounded by heroes, not just because of what they did while under enemy fire, but what they did in the years following when they gave our children and our contemporaries the example of never giving up, of never allowing what happened to them to destroy them. Bob Dole was such a hero; Phil Hart was such a hero; DANNY INOUE, JOHN MCCAIN, MAX CLELAND, and BOB KERREY.

I will never join the select group of people who receive military honors or military medals, but I am proud to be part of the select group that knows and works with these heroes, these men who have demonstrated to us that what you do over a lifetime is many times more important than what you do in an instant, and BOB KERREY stands at the first rank of that select group, and I salute him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Rhode Island is recognized.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, prior to making comments about the senior Senator from Nebraska, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator so much for yielding.

I say to the Senator from North Carolina, Mr. EDWARDS, and the Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. REED, for arranging this, thank you. I think it has been a very high moment in my career in the U.S. Senate. I say to Senator KERREY, I wish you never had been hurt in war, and I just want to thank you for coming back from that trauma,

because it has changed the lives of so many people.

To those who do not know BOB KERREY as well as his colleagues know him, I say this is a man of no wasted words. This is not a man of small talk. This is a man with big vision, big ideas, and little time to waste. One, I think, can make the leap that that experience, that brush with death, has made him understand, as many do not understand, that life is fleeting and life goes fast.

Although his rehabilitation must have seemed like an eternity, what he got out of that clearly was the love and support of many people, and it made him realize that he wanted to have a chance to give that kind of support to others.

I consider working with BOB KERREY an honor. It is always interesting. It is always exciting. It is always an experience you can never figure out until it actually happens, because he is not someone who is driven by the ordinary; it is the extraordinary.

I add my words of praise for my friend BOB KERREY. I also add words of praise for the people who rehabilitated you in your tough times. Because of their work, we have you here.

Thank you very much.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, before the Senator from Rhode Island proceeds, how much time do we have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM). Eight minutes 53 seconds.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for an additional 10 minutes so that Senators who are present will be allowed to speak.

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

Mr. REED. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, today is one of those rare moments on the floor of the Senate that we can, with respect and reverence and, indeed, humility, salute a true American hero, Senator BOB KERREY.

Senator KERREY is a man of great courage. That is obvious from his accomplishments, not just as a SEAL in Vietnam, but as a public figure for many, many years. He is also a patriot, someone who loves this country deeply and sincerely and fervently. It is this patriotism which caused him to join the U.S. Navy, although I suspect if you asked him back then, he would have made some type of joke about his joining the Navy and joining the SEALS. But in his heart, it was because of his profound love for his country and his dedication to his future.

Then I suspect also that in the course of his training, he began to realize that he had been given the most profound privilege any American can be given, and that is the opportunity to lead American fighting men. That privilege also implies a sacred trust, a commitment to do all you can to lead your troops with both courage and sound judgment.

He was leading his SEALs that night 30 years ago. He had brought them to a dangerous place, and he was bound and determined, at the risk of his own life, to bring them all back. He fought with great valor. He never lost faith. He always insisted that what he would do would be in the best interests of his men.

For him, the world then was very simple: his mission, his men, and then, and only then, himself. He was and is a hero. BOB KERREY saw war in all its brutality, in all its confusion, in all its senselessness, but he never surrendered his heart and his spirit to that brutality. He never let it harden his heart or cloud his judgment.

He came back from a war committed to continue to serve his Nation. He remains an idealist, and more importantly an idealist without illusions. And again in his acerbic way he would deny all this. But it is true.

He still believes deeply in his country. He still understands that it is necessary to lead. He still understands and keeps faith with those he led and those, sadly, he left behind. He is somebody of whom we are all tremendously proud. And there is something else about BOB KERREY which might explain how he could lead men successfully on virtually impossible missions, because he has that kind of talent to walk into a room when everyone else is depressed, feeling oppressed, feeling without hope, and the combination of his energy and his confidence and that glint in his eye convince people they should follow him, even if the task appears impossible.

Fortunately for us, he has brought these great skills to the U.S. Senate. He continues to serve his country. He continues to take the tough missions—not the milk runs but the hard missions. We all appreciate his courage and his valor.

We all have many personal anecdotes. Let me just share one. I admired BOB KERREY long before I ever got to the U.S. Senate. I met him several times before, but the first time I was really sort of speechless was on Inauguration Day in 1996, where I showed up outside there in the corridor a few feet away from here, ready to meet with my new colleagues in the U.S. Senate, and for the first time in my life, within a step away, I actually saw someone wearing the Medal of Honor. I looked at Senator KERREY as a star-struck teenager would look at a great hero. And, in fact, that was one of the most rewarding and impressive moments of that very impressive day.

But I will recall one other final anecdote. BOB and I were together in Nantucket a few years ago. We got up early one morning to go running. Now, I must confess, I thought I might have an advantage running against Senator KERREY. After all, I am younger. But at about the 3-mile mark, when he turned around and said, "got to go" and sped away, I felt a little chagrined. My youth and my other talents could not keep up with this gentleman.

He honors us with his presence. He has honored us with his service. We treasure him. We respect him. And today we are giving him his due.

Senator KERREY, thank you for your service to this Nation.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. KERRY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, who controls time? How much time is remaining?

Mr. EDWARDS. We yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues, Senators DASCHLE, HAGEL and EDWARDS, for placing this resolution before us today; and I would like to speak just for a few moments about both the event and the person that it commemorates.

This is an important anniversary in the life of one of our colleagues and one of our great friends, my personal friend, the senior Senator from the State of Nebraska. I first came to know BOB KERREY during the very time that we commemorate today. He and I were in the Navy together. We were in Vietnam together.

In fact, though we did not know each other, we knew of each other because it is inevitable that two young lieutenants with the same name, somewhat in the same vicinity, will hear of each other. And irony of ironies, I actually was on a couple of missions in the very area, Nha Trang Bay, just about 2 months or so prior to the event which led to BOB winning the Medal of Honor.

BOB and I also knew of each other afterwards when he came back and he was in the hospital and I had shortly thereafter returned. Our mail crossed, and we have had about 30 years of our mail crossing. On one occasion I think my newsletter from Massachusetts went to Nebraska, and people didn't know what that was all about. And on other occasions we have joked about the fact that he probably received a couple of real "Dear John" letters while he was in the hospital and quickly discerned they were not meant for him but for me. And I often had these images of what he might have been reading of my mail. But at any rate, that began sort of a strange odyssey for both of us long before our paths crossed in the U.S. Senate.

I still get letters about the wheat prices in Omaha and he still gets letters about the cod fishing in Massachusetts, and we somehow manage to work these things out. But, Mr. President, it is no light matter to suggest that I have always had an enormous special respect for BOB KERREY. I am honored, as I think all of my colleagues are, to serve with him here in the U.S. Senate.

It was 30 years ago this past Sunday that a 25-year-old lieutenant junior grade BOB KERREY was, as we know, se-

verely injured in Vietnam, sustaining those critical injuries that cost him his right leg. And over the years we have heard others describe, with great eloquence and great poignancy, the fighting on that island in Nha Trang Bay and the courageous way in which BOB fought on after a grenade had exploded at his feet, that he kept fighting even though he was nearly unconscious at the time, kept on the radio directing his men, leading—leading—in the way that we have come to know and expect BOB KERREY to lead, leading those SEALs under his command to suppress the enemy's fire and to try to safely get out of a bad situation.

I think, though, that what we really celebrate here today—and I think for those of us who have served in Vietnam, it is not so much the fighting there as the things that people faced when they returned. In that regard, I think BOB KERREY has also traveled a very special journey. And it is a journey that teaches us a great deal, as it taught him a great deal. It is a journey of personal recovery and of personal discovery.

In many ways, he struggled to put things back into perspective. It is not easy to lose people; it is certainly not easy to lose a piece of yourself, and come back to a country that has deep questions itself about why it was that it put you through that kind of turmoil. And BOB managed to sort all of that out, finding a special sense of humor, a kind of impish reverence, I think we might call it at times, that he shares with all of us to help keep a perspective in our lives.

He also forged a new patriotism out of that experience. Clearly, he went as a patriot because he chose to go. But he came back and struggled even with the definition of "patriotism" and of his concern and love for his country. He had to "refind" that, if you will, in those difficult times.

I think it is fair to say that he has come back more tested, more capable, and more understanding of what it means to care about the country and to give something to the country and to ask other people to join you in doing that. So he has the ability here to ask all of us in the Senate or our fellow citizens in the country to join with us in acts of giving in ways that others cannot.

I also say that it is not just for that that we celebrate his presence here, but he has been a steady friend and ally in the effort of a number of us here in the U.S. Senate to keep faith with the lingering questions over those who may have been left behind in the course of the war, and also to try to really make peace with Vietnam itself, and to help bring the Senate to a point where we were able to lead the country in normalizing relations and, indeed, putting the war behind us.

It is a great pleasure for me to say how proud I am to serve with BOB KERREY, not just because of the qualities that were celebrated in the Na-

tion's highest award for valor, not just for the qualities that people talk about for his military service, but, more importantly, for his humanity and for his sense of purpose, for his idealism and for his understanding of the real priorities in life. I am delighted to be here today to share in this special celebration of who our colleague is and what he brings us.

Mr. EDWARDS. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Five minutes 20 seconds.

Mr. EDWARDS. We yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from North Carolina for this resolution honoring our fellow colleague, Senator BOB KERREY of Nebraska. I want to add my voice to those who have spoken in salute to this individual and the contribution he has made.

The Vietnam war was like nothing else in my life politically—I am sure virtually everyone my age in this Chamber would say the same thing—the way it preoccupied the attention of this country, the way it dominated our political and personal lives, and the debate that went on for so many years. There were some who stayed and some who went and some who protested; there were some who served. Everyone was touched by that war in some way or another.

I was particularly struck by the story of our colleague, Senator BOB KERREY, and the contribution that he made as a member of the U.S. Navy and of course the injury which he sustained in his heroic effort on behalf of our country. Senator JACK REED of Rhode Island, a graduate of West Point, talked about his humbling experience of joining BOB KERREY for a race. He is a jogger—a runner, if you will. I have joined him for a race from time to time. You can tell by my physique I am not a runner. However, it is always a humbling experience as BOB KERREY comes motoring past you with a big smile and you realize that this man just can't be stopped. And I am glad he can't be stopped because he has made not only a great contribution to his State and his country but he continues to do so.

A few years back, Senator BOB KERREY got the notion that he wanted to run for President of the United States. There were some Members of the House of Representatives who stood by him and endorsed his candidacy—the few, the proud, the Members of Congress—who believed that BOB KERREY would have been an excellent President of the United States. I believe that today.

I have come to know this man even better as a Member of the U.S. Senate while serving with him. I know that he has courage. He showed it not only in battle, but he shows it every day on the floor of the Senate. I cannot imagine

what he has endured in his life. I only stand in awe and respect for what he brings to this institution because of that contribution. Very few people in the history of the United States have been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. It is my great honor personally to count one of those recipients as a personal friend and colleague.

I thank Senator EDWARDS and I salute my friend, BOB KERREY. I am happy to stand as a cosponsor of this resolution.

Mr. EDWARDS. Thank you, Mr. President.

I will conclude the remarks, and if Senator KERREY has remarks to make, of course we would love to hear them.

I have listened this morning to the remarks from all of these distinguished Senators on this wonderful day honoring this extraordinary man. This is a man who loves others more than he loves himself, a man who loves his country more than he loves himself.

I have to say, Senator KERREY, I think your mother had it right when you were lying on that hospital bed in Philadelphia after your operation that removed part of your leg when she said, "There's an awful lot left." There is an awful lot left, and we Americans are the beneficiaries of what is left.

Thank you very much, Mr. President. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. KERREY. I want to thank Senator EDWARDS, Senator HAGEL, Senator DASCHLE, Senator BOXER, Senator DURBIN, and all the others who have spoken. I appreciate very much and am very moved by these words and more moved by the friendships in this body.

Thirty years ago is a long time. I am reminded of a slogan at the beginning of any exercise to remember what happened, especially in combat 30 years ago, and I will give you the watered-down version of that slogan. The only difference between a fairy tale and a war story is, the fairy tale always begins, "Once upon a time," and the war story always starts off, "No kidding, this is true; I was there."

We don't necessarily have perfect memories when it comes to bringing back that moment and I, for one, have always been very uncomfortable—and BOB BENNETT earlier said he wanted to make me uncomfortable by saying some nice things about me. I have been uncomfortable for almost 30 years to be introduced as a hero, and it made me somewhat uncomfortable in part because I did do something that was simply my duty; I didn't feel that evening that I had done anything necessarily out of the ordinary.

Indeed, JOHN MCCAIN's father upgraded my award from a Navy Cross to a Medal of Honor. Otherwise, this event might not be happening at all. There are many men, Senator INOUE will tell you, who received nothing, whose actions weren't seen or were seen by somebody who didn't like them, or were seen by somebody who liked them

but couldn't write very well, or something else happened to their award along the way. So I am aware that there are many people who have done heroic things that were not so recognized.

As a consequence of being introduced all the time and being given many opportunities to think what it means to be a hero—and I again appreciate very much all this recognition—my heroes are those who sustained an effort. In my case, it was the effort of a single night. Who knows; in the daytime, I may have performed differently. I may have, under different circumstances, done things differently.

The heroes who are impressive to me are those who sustained the efforts, whose bravery, whose courage, is called upon every single day. I think of my mother; I think of my father. I think of millions of men and women who, as mothers and fathers, sustained the bravery and the courage needed to be a good parent. I think of all those volunteers who came out not just to my hospital—I watched Bob Dole on television in 1988 in Russell, KS, break down at the start of his Presidential campaign as he remembered what it was like to come home to Russell, KS, and be welcomed into the arms of people who took up a collection so he could travel to see his father.

The heroes in my life are the people in Lincoln, NE, who welcomed me home and who gave me far more than I thought I had a right to deserve. One of the people in my life who has been very important—I have never met him, but I read his work; indeed, he was killed shortly before I went to Vietnam. Although he was a great opponent of the war, he came back in an airplane, along with other men who had been killed in that war—is a man by the name of Thomas Merton. Merton wrote,

Human nature has a way of making very specious arguments to suit its own cowardice and its lack of generosity.

I find myself falling victim to that understandable human part of myself. I do sometimes exhibit cowardice. I do sometimes exhibit a lack of generosity. All of us, I suspect, have those moments.

It is the ever-present need to sustain the bravery to do the right thing that impresses me the most. Those whose brave acts are done, knowing there will be no recognition, knowing there will be no moment when they will be recognized and stand before their colleagues, trembling and wondering what to say in response—it is those brave acts that are done anonymously that are most important of all.

I have received a gift in many ways as a consequence not just of the award and considering what heroes are but also as a consequence of my injury. I don't know if Senator INOUE feels the same way.

I remember a night almost 30 years ago to the day, in 1969, when a nurse came into my room very late at night.

It was a difficult night for me. And among other things, she said to me that I was lucky to be alive and that I would get through this, I would survive it, I would get through this valley of pain that I was in at the moment. Well, I remember not believing that. I believed that I was not necessarily lucky to be alive at all at that particular moment of my suffering.

Today I recognize that she was absolutely right, that I was lucky to experience suffering and know that you do not have to feel pain for pain to exist, that it is out there as I speak, as we hear these words. That suffering is universal is a lesson I was given in 1969, and perhaps of all the lessons I was given, it was the most important of all.

I was also given a gift in discovering that the world is much bigger. It is not just us white men from Lincoln, NE, who grew up in a middle class home and had a great deal of abundance as a result of two rather extraordinary and loving people. It is a world composed of many colors, many creeds. It is a world composed of over 6 billion people, not just the 270 million who live in the United States of America.

I have been taught and had the chance to learn that you do not really heal until you have the willingness, courage and bravery to forgive people who you believe have done you wrong. I would not be back in public service, I do not think, were it not for Walter Capps, who invited me to come to Santa Barbara to teach a class on Vietnam, where in studying the history of that war I was able to forgive a man I hated—Richard Nixon. I doubt that former President Nixon felt any relief in that moment when I forgave him, understanding as I did then how easy it is to make mistakes when you are given power. But I was the one who was healed. I was the one who was liberated. I was the one who was able then to live a different life as a consequence of my having the courage in that moment to forgive.

I have discovered, through my own healing, that the most powerful thing that we can give, the most valuable thing we can give another human being costs us nothing. It is merely kindness. It is merely laying a hand on someone and saying to them, as that nurse said to me, that it will be all right; you are not alone here tonight; you are not alone with this suffering that you are feeling.

I also learned through service in the Senate. Oddly enough, at a time when people think that the only reason that we are given to vote a certain way is because there are financial contributions hanging in the balance, I have learned in this Senate that a nation can be heroic. I discovered on the Appropriations Committee, of all things, that that hospital in Philadelphia was not there by accident. It was there because a law passed this Congress—a law that was signed by Richard Nixon—authorizing that hospital to be operated, authorizing those nurses, those doctors

and all the rest of those wonderful people to be there to save my life. A law made that possible. I made no financial contributions in 1969. There wasn't a politician in America who I liked. Yet, this great Nation allowed its Congress to pass a law that gave me a chance to put my life back together.

In 1990 and 1991, as a Senator, I went back to Southeast Asia, with the Bush administration, trying to find a way to bring peace to Cambodia. We succeeded in 1992. But in going back, especially to Vietnam in 1991, and especially in the South, I discovered again something rather remarkable about the people of this great country—that though I still believed the war was a tragic mistake and that we made lots of errors along the way, the people of South Vietnam repeatedly said to me, "We know you came here to fight and put your life on the line for strangers, and that you were willing to die for us will not be forgotten."

I sat, along with my colleagues, and listened to Kim Dae-jung of South Korea say the very same thing in even more personal ways. Our Nation can be heroic by recognizing that we might write laws that give all of us a chance at the American dream, and by recognizing that as a great nation there will come a time when we must risk it all, not for the freedom of people that we know but for the freedom of strangers.

I did, as JOHN KERRY said earlier, come back to the United States of America an angry and bitter person. I did not have my patriotism intact. I had gone to the war patriotic because it was a duty, and I stand here today before you honored by your words, moved by your sentiment, and to tell you that I love the United States of America because it not only has given me more than I have given it, but time and time again it has stood for the right thing, not just at home but abroad.

I appreciate just the chance to be able to come to this floor and offer my views on what our laws ought to be. I appreciate very much more than I can say to all of you—Senator EDWARDS, Senator DASCHLE, Senator HAGEL, and the others who have spoken—your sentiment, your words and, most of all, your friendship.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, the courage and bravery and love of country that my friend, BOB KERREY, demonstrated 30 years ago in Vietnam is obviously still alive. For that, I salute you, sir. Thank you.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is an honor to join in this tribute to our friend and colleague, Senator BOB KERREY.

The Nation's highest award for bravery in combat is the Congressional Medal of Honor. Since its creation in 1861, 3,400 Medals of Honor have been awarded to America's bravest Soldiers,

Sailors, Airmen, Marines, and Coast Guardsmen for heroic action in battles from the Civil War to Somalia. Our colleague BOB KERREY is one of these brave American heroes.

Senator KERREY was awarded the Medal of Honor for risking his life above and beyond the call of duty during the Vietnam War. The leadership and courage demonstrated by this young, 25-year-old SEAL team leader during intense and ferocious combat are nothing short of extraordinary. These events occurred thirty years ago this month, but the same courage and leadership can be seen everyday in his work in the United States Senate.

I welcome the opportunity to commend Senator BOB KERREY on this auspicious anniversary, and I commend him as well for his outstanding service to the Senate and to the people of Nebraska and the nation. He's a hero for our time and for all times, and I'm proud to serve with him in the Senate.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to honor and to thank a true American hero. A man who risked his life to defend this nation and continues to serve this nation. I am proud to say that J. ROBERT KERREY is a friend and colleague.

Mr. President, thirty years ago this Sunday, on March 14, 1969, BOB KERREY led a team of Navy SEALs onto an island in the Bay of Nha Trang. In the course of battle, an enemy grenade exploded at his feet. He wound up losing his right leg below the knee, but BOB directed fire into the enemy camp, resulting in its capture. His extraordinary valor cost him part of his leg, but it earned him the respect of every American.

Mr. President, I am proud to join Senators DASCHLE, EDWARDS, and HAGEL on this resolution honoring the only Medal of Honor winner in the current Congress. The Medal of Honor is the highest military award for valor that can be conferred on a member of the American armed forces. It is awarded to a soldier, sailor, airman, or marine who "... in action involving actual conflict with the enemy, distinguish[es] himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life, above and beyond the call of duty."

It is that spirit we honor today, which has time and again moved ordinary Americans to rise to every threat to our nation and stand against great odds. It is the spirit that sustained the Revolution at Valley Forge, that carried the day at Gettysburg and Belleau Wood, and that made the difference at the Battle of the Bulge and Iwo Jima. This is the spirit that crashed ashore at Inchon, sustained our resolve at Khe Sanh and swept through the deserts along the Persian Gulf.

And BOB KERREY has showed courage in public life. Whether it's Social Security, Medicare, the budget or protection of the First Amendment, BOB KERREY is not afraid to take the unpopular position. Above all, I admire

his willingness to act and speak according to his conscience.

BOB KERREY has earned our utmost gratitude and our lasting admiration.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I am very pleased to see the time the Senate is taking this morning to pay tribute to Senator BOB KERREY, and to recognize his contribution during our war in Vietnam, and the recognition that he received as a Medal of Honor winner as a result of his sacrifice and his heroic actions during that conflict. I am certainly not, in any way, sad that we didn't spend the time that we had earlier set aside for the Missile Defense Act. I am very glad the Senate acted as it did to make this very important statement about his service and his contribution during that period in our country's history. He has certainly earned the respect not only of the Senate for his service but of the American people as well. I am glad to join with those who pay tribute to him this morning.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I am honored today to join my colleagues in saluting one of our own, Senator BOB KERREY of Nebraska, for the courage and heroism that he displayed as a U.S. Navy SEAL 30 years ago, and for the courage and determination that he continues to inspire today.

The United States Senate is no stranger to heroes. Through the centuries, this Chamber has embraced the souls of some of the greatest heroes of our nation. It still does. We are privileged to work among heroes every day, individuals like BOB KERREY, STROM THURMOND, DANNY INOUE, JOHN MCCAIN, and MAX CLELAND.

I hope we never take the courage of these individuals for granted, or lose sight of the great legacy of their predecessors. Certainly, among the history of heroism in the Senate, BOB KERREY's story is one of inspiration. Horribly injured by a grenade, he nevertheless carried on an attack against the Viet Cong and led his men to victory. His bravery won for him the highest honor that the United States government can bestow upon an individual for valor: the Congressional Medal of Honor. But his act of courage also took a great toll. It cost him his leg, challenged his spirit, and threatened to taint his life with bitterness.

BOB KERREY overcame those crises. He turned adversity to success. He recovered from the grievous wounds to his body and soul. He became a successful businessman, went on to become governor of the state of Nebraska, and in 1988 was elected to the United States Senate.

As I said before, Mr. President, the United States Senate is no stranger to heroes. But the Congressional Medal of Honor is something special. Only six Senators in our history have been awarded that honor. All of them, with the exception of BOB KERREY, fought in the Civil War.

As I listen today to the account of BOB KERREY's heroism, hear of the

bravery that he displayed at the youthful age of 25, I am reminded of another account of bravery, this one told by the poet William E. Henley who, as a young man, lost his leg as a result of tuberculosis of the bone. He wrote these words from his hospital bed.

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the Pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody, but unbowed.
Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the Horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Finds, and shall find, me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate;
I am the captain of my soul.

The year was 1875. The poem was "Invictus." The words belong to William Henley, but the spirit behind them belongs just as surely to Senator BOB KERREY. I salute him.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues in honoring someone who has already done more to serve his country than most people could accomplish in several lifetimes, BOB KERREY.

Many of my colleagues today have described the circumstances thirty years ago when a twenty-five year old Lieutenant KERREY led an elite Navy Sea, Air, Land (SEAL) team to successfully apprehend a group of North Vietnamese soldiers. I stand in awe as they have recounted the way in which Lt. KERREY continued to direct the team despite his serious injury. For his extraordinary valor, Lt. KERREY was rightfully bestowed the nation's highest award for military service, the Medal of Honor in 1970, by President Richard Nixon.

These actions alone are worthy of reflection by this body thirty years after the event. However, this was only one episode in a lifetime of extraordinary service to his country by Senator BOB KERREY. Luckily for our nation, he did not allow the unfortunate events of that day thirty years ago to stop him from reaching the lofty goals that he had always set for himself. After a trying rehabilitation in Philadelphia, KERREY returned to Nebraska and began his life anew, becoming a successful businessman and eventually winning a race for the state's Governorship. In 1988, he won election to the Senate after mounting a spirited campaign.

During his time in the Senate, BOB KERREY has continued to exhibit exemplary bravery and dedication. He has taken on some of the most important and difficult issues this body faces: Social Security reform, IRS reform and repeated farm crises. Senator KERREY focused on the issue of Social Security early in his career, and his many efforts have greatly enhanced the prospects for reform of this important and far reaching program. Senator KERREY

is a champion of American agriculture, working tirelessly to support and protect family farmers facing economic hardship. He has also dedicated himself to improving health care services in the United States.

Mr. President, we honor Senator BOB KERREY today because thirty years ago he exhibited extraordinary heroism under the most difficult of circumstances. Senator KERREY's duty and sacrifice on that day and his important contributions since continue to earn him the respect of the people of Nebraska and the United States. I am delighted to join my Senate colleagues in honoring Senator BOB KERREY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAPO). Without objection, the resolution is agreed to and the preamble is agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 61) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, is as follows

S. RES. 61

Whereas Honorable J. Robert "Bob" Kerrey has served the United States with distinction and honor for all of his adult life;

Whereas 30 years ago this past Sunday, on March 14, 1969, Bob Kerrey lead a successful sea-air-land (SEAL) team mission in Vietnam during which he was wounded;

Whereas he was awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions and leadership during that mission;

Whereas according to his Medal of Honor citation, "Lt. (j.g.) Kerrey's courageous and inspiring leadership, valiant fighting spirit, and tenacious devotion to duty in the face of almost overwhelming opposition sustain and enhance the finest traditions of the U.S. Naval Service";

Whereas during his 10 years of service in the United States Senate, Bob Kerrey has demonstrated the same qualities of leadership and spirit and has devoted his considerable talents to working on social security, Internal Revenue Service, and entitlement reform, improving health care services, guiding the intelligence community and supporting the agricultural community: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United States Senate commends the Honorable J. Robert Kerrey for the service that he rendered to the United States, and expresses its appreciation and respect for his commitment to and example of bipartisanship and collegial interaction in the legislative process.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the Honorable J. Robert Kerrey.

NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE ACT OF 1999

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 257, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 257) to state the policy of the United States regarding the deployment of a missile defense system capable of defending the territory of the United States against limited ballistic missile attack.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Cochran Amendment No. 69, to clarify that the deployment funding is subject to the an-

nual authorization and appropriation process.

AMENDMENT NO. 69

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be 1 hour of debate on the pending Cochran amendment No. 69, to be divided equally between the chairman and ranking member, or their designees.

Mr. COCHRAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi is recognized.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, yesterday, we began debate of the National Missile Defense Act of 1999. We have reached a point where we will soon be voting on an amendment that seeks to more clearly define the context for this legislation and the purpose we see that it will serve. This legislation is a statement of a new policy for our Government with respect to the need to develop and deploy a national missile defense system as soon as technology permits.

It is very clear from recent developments that we identified yesterday that we are confronted with a very real threat to our national security interests from ballistic missile technology, the proliferation of this technology, and the capacity of other countries to use it to deliver weapons of mass destruction against the territory of the United States.

Americans today are completely vulnerable to a ballistic missile attack. We need to see that that is changed. We need to see that the technology that we have available to us is used to develop and deploy a defense against ballistic missile attack to protect American security interests and American citizens.

During the discussion yesterday, there was some suggestion that administration officials and military officials in our country were opposed to this legislation. I must say that I heard some of these officials testify at hearings, and I disagree with that conclusion. I think there is ample evidence in the record of our Defense Appropriations Subcommittee hearings, and in other statements that officials have made, both civilian and military officials, to the media about their views on this subject, that we can draw a completely different conclusion from the conclusion that was expressed yesterday by some of those who participated in this debate.

Let me give you one example. The other day, on March 3, I was in a meeting of our Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. We were having a hearing reviewing the request for funds for the Department of Defense for the next fiscal year. The Deputy Secretary of Defense, Dr. Hamre, was a witness, and we started a discussion about whether or not the administration interpreted this legislation that is pending now in the Senate to mean that the Department of Defense should disregard measures relating to the operational effectiveness of developmental testing in determining whether the national missile defense system is technologically ready