

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following my remarks and those of Senator REID, Senator HOLLINGS be recognized for up to 10 minutes.

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

FAREWELL REFLECTIONS OF THE
HON. RICHARD H. BRYAN

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, within the next few days, I will cast my last vote as a U.S. Senator, and by the end of this year, I will conclude 36 years of public experience.

Permit me to reflect for a moment on this experience and share with you some observations.

The last decade of the 20th century has witnessed more change than any decade in human history. When I began my Senate service in January of 1989, the world was a very different place than it is today. The Soviet Union and the United States faced off in a cold war, a cold war that dominated global politics from the end of World War II. The ancient capitals of Eastern Europe were satellite appendages of the Soviet Union. There were two Germanys and a wall divided Berlin. The economic pundits were telling us that the Japanese economic model represented the wave of the future, and it was feared that America was in decline.

All of that has changed. The Soviet Union has imploded. It no longer exists. Eastern Europe is no longer a series of satellite states of the Soviet Union, but nascent democracies are developing in most of eastern Europe. The Berlin Wall has come down. Germany is reunited. And once again, Berlin is the capital of that country. The Japanese economy for the past decade has remained largely stagnant. And here at home, America enjoys the longest economic expansion in the Nation's history.

The way in which we live our day-to-day lives has experienced dramatic change as well, from the omnipresent cellular telephone to the advent of the Internet and the world of e-commerce.

What about the Senate, this place where we spend our working hours. It has seen much change as well: The great debate that preceded a resolution of support for operation Desert Storm was in the finest traditions of Webster and Calhoun—many have said that this was our finest bipartisan hour—the unpleasant duty of sitting in judgment of a fellow colleague and ultimately rendering the appropriate judgment; and the awesome responsibility of determining the fate of an American President, only the second Congress in our Nation's history to be so charged.

There have been moments of inspiration as well. None of us will ever forget listening in those joint sessions of Con-

gress to Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel share with us their struggle to achieve democracies in their own countries. The democratic spirit may be suppressed but never extinguished.

In the history of the Senate, there have been 1,581 men and women who have served, only 23 of them from Nevada. It has been a great honor and privilege for me to be one of those and to represent the State of Nevada. How effectively I have discharged that responsibility awaits the verdict of history.

As a youngster, I dreamed of serving as Governor of my own State. It was my life goal. Serving in the Senate of the United States is like adding a little frosting to that cake.

I have thought often of my parents during these past 12 years. My father, like so many Nevadans of his generation, came from a poor family. His dream was to become a lawyer. But America was gripped in a great depression. This city and the patronage of Nevada's Congressman James Scrugham made it possible for him to achieve his goal. While attending law school in the Nation's Capital, he met my mother, a native Virginian. The following year, I was born in this city. So in a sense, I have been here before.

I spoke about change a moment ago. The Senate today is a very different institution than it was a decade ago; I fear in many respects a diminished institution. Those of us who seek election to the Senate today frequently denigrate it and seek public favor by demeaning it. This has taken a toll on the public esteem in which we are all held. A media that is appropriately critical of our shortcomings is not always able to find its voice in telling the American public of its successes. We are more partisan, more polarized than we were a decade ago. And for some, compromise has become a nasty word, forgetting our own heritage, because the Senate itself is a product of the great compromise of our Constitution—a Senate with equal representation for each State, and a House of Representatives based on population.

The role of money: Yes, it is fair to say that it has always been a factor in American politics, but today it has become too much of a dominant force. It consumes more of our time. It drives our schedule. It is a corrosive force that threatens to undermine public confidence in our institutions of government.

I believe there is a direct correlation between the decline of citizen participation in government and voting, to the public perception that politics is all about money. Most Americans feel they are excluded from this process.

Perhaps less visible to the public, the rules which have served this institution so well for decades and which govern the way in which we process legislation have broken down.

There is much that I will miss: My colleagues, who represent a broad spectrum of political views, who bring their

varied experience to the Senate, dedicated men and women who labor mightily on behalf of the constituents they represent, most especially my senior colleague with whom I have worked in this body, as well as the State legislature, and on issues affecting the State of Nevada for the last 37 years.

My personal staff, both here in Washington and at home—I have simply loved our working relationship. It has been a joy for me to come to work each morning. I have appreciated their hard work, the long hours, the personal sacrifice. Nevadans have been well served by their dedication. Without their support, any success I might have had would not have been possible.

The people who make our hectic lives a little more manageable—the elevator operators, the Capitol Police, the food servers, those who staff the Cloakrooms, our floor staff and many, many others.

This building in which we work, so rich with the history of our country—there has not been a single day in the past 12 years that I have not felt a sense of awe when coming to work.

And this city, with its magnificent cathedrals of governance that serve as the guardians of the American dream—I will miss that as well.

My wife joins me this morning in the gallery of this great Chamber. Nothing I have been able to do, nothing I have been able to achieve, would have been possible without her support, her personal sacrifice, and those of our three children, Richard, Leslie, and Blair, who have all been a part of my life and a part of public service in my life. Whatever I have become, whatever I am, is largely because of their support of my efforts to pursue my own dreams and goals.

I leave the Senate with a great sense of respect for this institution, which has been so much a part of my life for the past 12 years. It is troubled in many ways, as I have said. However, none of those problems is insurmountable. If we can resist the temptation to seek momentary partisan advantage, if we can restore civility in our public discourse as we debate the great issues and policy differences of our time, if we can apply the rules that govern the process by which we conduct the Senate's business fairly to all, and if we can work together for the common good, I am confident that the future of the Senate can be as bright as the past.

Mr. President, I yield the floor for the last time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada, Mr. REID, is recognized.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR RICHARD
BRYAN

Mr. REID. Mr. President, before my friend leaves the floor, I want to say a couple things to him and have on the record of the Senate for the remainder of time of this Republic the fact that

the State of Nevada has had 23 Senators, and never in the history of the State of Nevada on any level of government have there been two elected officials who have worked more closely together than Senators BRYAN and REID.

We took the bar together in 1963. He then began service for a short period of time as a private attorney. Then he became a prosecuting attorney and then Nevada's first public defender. We went to the State legislature together in 1967 where we were known as the "gold dust twins." We were the only two freshmen in that 60-body legislature. That was the beginning of our love for the legislative process.

Senator BRYAN went on to serve, after the Nevada Assembly, in the State senate, then to serve as attorney general of the State of Nevada, as Governor of Nevada, elected twice, and then he came to Washington as a U.S. Senator. No one in the history of the State of Nevada has had such an electric and exciting political career as Senator RICHARD BRYAN. I feel so fortunate that this partnership we have developed over the years is one we both feel good about.

As strong as the partnership is of Senators REID and BRYAN, as he mentioned, the knowledge that we in Nevada have as to the relationship of Richard and Bonnie Bryan is very significant. She literally has been with him every step of the way. She was a wonderful first lady who is still talked about as to her proficiency.

It is with a great deal of sadness that occasions such as this have come since he announced his retirement. The first came when he announced at a press conference in front of his alma mater, Las Vegas High School, he wasn't going to run anymore. I shed about all the tears I could on that occasion. I don't think I have shed any tears since then publicly, but I have privately. My life will never be the same without Senator RICHARD BRYAN working with me. We have had a wonderful run. I hope that at least I can speak from his perspective that the people of the State of Nevada have benefited as a result of his service. He has done some wonderful things—helping local government in Nevada, State government in Nevada, and helping people throughout America, especially with his consumer advocacy.

So I wish there were something I could say that would translate into the love and affection and admiration I have for Senator BRYAN, but I can't do that, other than to close by acknowledging our unique friendship and the love we have for one another.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, as I understand it, I have 10 minutes as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR RICHARD BRYAN

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, let me say that no one has really performed more distinguished service than our colleague from Nevada, RICHARD BRYAN. I have seen them all now over my 34 years. Senator BRYAN has judgment. It comes from his hard experience as a State's Governor, and it comes from a tremendous sense of history. I have always been impressed with his fascinating knowledge of historical facts, and he brings history into focus in regard to present-day realities. We are going to miss that. We are going to miss that here in the Senate. We are going to miss his charming wife Bonnie. We have worked with both of them, traveled with both of them, and they have made a magnificent contribution to the future of this country.

I have said time and again that, more than a balanced budget, what we need is balanced Senators, balanced Congressmen. If anyone is one who is really balanced in his approach to the needs of the Nation and the way we go about doing our business here in the Senate, it is RICHARD BRYAN of Nevada. I didn't realize that was what we were going to have here this morning, but I jump at the chance to say something about a distinguished Senator such as Senator BRYAN.

BUDGET FRUSTRATIONS

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I am going to go into my frustration that, I take it, is well known. I am back almost like George Wallace some 30 years ago when he said there wasn't a dime's worth of difference. Both Republicans and Democrats pass these trade bills on the premise that they are going to create jobs in America, when the truth of the matter is they are going to create jobs outside of America. We are going to transfer the fine, good manufacturing jobs from the United States—more or less the middle class of the country—to countries offshore and to Mexico and the Caribbean. Otherwise, we constantly talk of saving Social Security—both Republicans and Democrats—when the truth of the matter is we are squandering Social Security.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD "Trust Funds Looted to Balance Budget."

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

TRUST FUNDS LOOTED TO BALANCE BUDGET

(By fiscal year, in billions)

	1999	2000	2001
Social Security	855	1,009	1,175

TRUST FUNDS LOOTED TO BALANCE BUDGET—Continued

(By fiscal year, in billions)

	1999	2000	2001
Medicare:			
HI	154	176	198
SMI	27	34	35
Military Retirement	141	149	157
Civilian Retirement	492	522	553
Unemployment	77	85	94
Highway	28	31	34
Airport	12	13	14
Railroad Retirement	24	25	26
Other	59	62	64
Total	1,869	2,106	2,350

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, it shows that last year—the year 2000—we owed Social Security some \$1.009 trillion. That is a significant figure. The year before that—1999—we owed \$855 billion. But you can see it is jumping in increments of \$150 billion.

These are the trust funds that we are borrowing from when they talk about surplus, because both Republicans and Democrats are talking about the surplus. Governor Bush and Vice President GORE are out on the campaign trail talking about how we are going to spend the money.

Yesterday, in USA Today, the headline was "Clinton announces record \$237 billion surplus."

I ask unanimous consent that this article and headline be printed in the RECORD.

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

CLINTON ANNOUNCES RECORD \$237B SURPLUS

(By Jeannine Aversa)

WASHINGTON.—Flush with tax revenue from a booming economy, the federal government posted a record \$237 billion surplus for the budget year that ended Sept. 30, the Clinton administration announced Tuesday.

It marked the third straight year of surpluses, something that hasn't happened since the late 1940s. Social Security taxes provided nearly \$150 billion of the surplus.

"This is the third surplus in a row—the first time our nation has done that in 51 years, since 1949, when Harry Truman was president," Clinton said on the White House South Lawn during an event to push his education initiatives.

Clinton said that in 1993, the federal deficit was \$290 billion, the national debt had quadrupled in 12 years and economists predicted that this year, instead of a \$237 billion surplus, the United States would have a \$455 billion deficit.

Clinton then used the new surplus numbers to plug Vice President Gore's bid for the presidency. "Working together, we turned that around—not by chance, but by choice," he said. "I believe we have to first stay with what got us here—pay down the debt, strengthen the Social Security and Medicare systems . . . and we need to then seize this opportunity to take the money that's left to invest in our future, especially education."

The official announcement of the surplus came two weeks before voters elect a new president. A major point of contention between Gore and Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the Republican nominee, has been what should be done with surpluses that are projected to total \$4.6 trillion over the next decade.

Bush has proposed a \$1.3 trillion across-the-board tax cut; Gore has proposed smaller, targeted tax cuts and more government spending.