

had been built. He had the enthusiastic collaboration of White House counsel Harry McPherson Jr., and an invaluable plug from Jacqueline Kennedy, who "saved the undertaking in a farewell call on President Johnson," Moynihan recalls. Thereafter, he says, Johnson "took Mrs. Kennedy's wishes as something of a command."

Moynihan admits that, as much as he liked and admired Nat Owings, he did not care for Owings's formidable first plan. It was a "terrible plan," he now says, though he did not say so at the time. The young politician was perhaps a bit in awe of the elder Great Architect—lots of people were. The firm that Owings had started in the 1930s—Skidmore, Owings & Merrill—was by then world-renowned.

How flawed was that first plan? Well, typical of its time, it called for massive demolitions—including the National Press Club building and the Willard and Washington hotels. These were to be replaced by an impressively bloated National Square or by massive buildings all in a row.

Fortunately, time was not kind to this vision. We can judge how lucky we are by pondering the one building that actually got built: the FBI headquarters, that odd-looking, off-putting giant facing the avenue between Ninth and 10th streets NW.

It is possible that, even then, Moynihan suspected he was in this for the long haul. As it happened, he left Washington in 1965 but was backed by 1969—shockingly, to his liberal-Democrat colleagues—as top urban affairs adviser to Republican President Richard Nixon.

Once again, Moynihan had lots to say about Pennsylvania Avenue. It is no coincidence that during Nixon's first term the avenue plan was given real teeth in the 1972 legislation creating the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corp. And it was a very different, less destructive plan—much more in keeping with Moynihan's original admonishment to be "lively, friendly and inviting."

Nothing much got built during the '70s, but the PADC was quietly preparing the groundwork. By the time building got started in the early '80s, Moynihan was back in town, this time as a senator from New York. Since then, he has been there tirelessly for the avenue—out front or behind the scenes, in large matters or small.

How large? The Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center—the big mixed-use federal building at Pennsylvania and 13th Street NW—is one of his enthusiasms. Back in the Kennedy years, Moynihan's Labor Department office in the Federal Triangle had looked out on parking lot of "surpassing ugliness." He never forgot, and that lot is where the Reagan Building stands.

How small? Moynihan never forgot, either, that the Ariel Rios Building, at 13th Street, had been left incomplete when work on the Federal Triangle ceased; its brick sidewalk was left exposed "just like an amputated limb," in the words of J. Carter Brown, chairman of the federal Commission of Fine Arts. Moynihan, Brown believes, was the "eminence grise who was able to shake the General Services Administration by the lapels and get that thing finished."

But if in one way or another Moynihan had a hand in practically everything that was built—or saved—on this crucial stretch of Pennsylvania Avenue, he also worked for Washington in other ways. He helped mightily to preserve and find new uses for three of Washington's most notable historic structures—the Old Patent Office (now housing two Smithsonian museums), the Old Post Office (a mixed-use building because of a law Moynihan pushed through) and the Old Pension Building (now the National Building Museum).

Just about single-handedly did Moynihan arrange for the construction of the distinguished U.S. Judiciary Building next to Union Station. He was a crucial negotiator in the brilliant deal by which New York and Washington each get a share of the National Museum of the American Indian. Moynihan fought to get cars off Frederick Law Olmsted's Capitol grounds. He continues to wage an enlightened campaign for reasonableness about security in federal buildings. The list could go on.

Of course, it isn't simply Washington that has benefited. As might be expected, Moynihan's own state has profited immensely as well.

The new Penn Station—a complex, ongoing project involving federal, state and city bureaucracies and private enterprise—is just the latest of dozens of important examples. There's much talk of calling it "Moynihan Station" because he was its "guiding light and soul," says chief architect David Childs.

Nor is it just Washington and New York. It is the nation. Two examples of many: The Intermodal Surface Transportation and Efficiency Act of 1991 and its successor, the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century ("Ice Tea" and "Tea 21" for short), are Moynihan bills through and through and through. By encouraging mass transit and loosening the highway lobby's decades-old stranglehold on the nation's transportation policy, these laws do the country an estimable service.

And then there are his "Guiding Principles of Federal Architecture." They are straightforward and smart: There should be no official style; the architecture should embody the "finest contemporary American architectural thought." Regional characteristics should be kept in mind. Sites should be selected with care. Landscape architecture also is important.

The principles take us back to that committee report of 38 years ago. Nobody asked for a Pennsylvania Avenue plan and no one asked for architectural guidelines. Moynihan simply invented them and attached them to the report, and they have functioned as a beacon for high-quality federal architecture ever since.

Moynihan's act is almost impossible to follow. In the phrase of Rep. Earl Blumenauer (D-Oregon), another architecture fan, Moynihan possesses "a bundle of qualities" seldom found in a single politician: a good eye, a first-rate mind, a passion for the subject, lots of power, long experience, a certain flamboyance, a canny sense of timing.

Nor is there likely to be another politician alive whose favorite quotation is Thomas Jefferson's statement: "Design activity and political thought are indivisible."

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, today, I wish to pay tribute to the very distinguished Senator from New York, who will be retiring at the end of this Congressional session.

Senator MOYNIHAN, as his recent biography makes clear, has been an intellectual giant in the Senate and throughout his service to our nation. The breadth of his interests—and his knowledge—is extraordinary. From questions about the architecture and urban development of Washington, D.C. to the problems created by single parent families to the workings of the International Labor Organization, Senator MOYNIHAN has thought deeply and designed policy answers. I don't think there's a Senator who hasn't learned something from Senator MOYNIHAN's vast stock of personal experience, un-

derstanding of history, and ability to draw parallels between seemingly unrelated topics to enlighten our understanding of both.

I have had the particular pleasure of serving with Senator MOYNIHAN on the Finance Committee for eight years. As Chairman and as ranking member of the Finance Committee, Senator MOYNIHAN has been a true leader. Starting in 1993, when I took Senator Bentsen's seat on the Committee and Senator MOYNIHAN claimed his chairmanship, Chairman MOYNIHAN successfully guided the 1993 economic plan through the committee and the Senate. That budget, which I was proud to help shape and support, laid the foundation for our current record economic expansion. That same year, we worked together to expose the shortcomings of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

After Republicans took control of the Senate in the 1994 election, Senator MOYNIHAN was a fierce critic of their excessive budget proposals. We joined in opposing shortsighted proposals to have Medicare "wither on the vine," turn Medicaid into a block grant, and destroy welfare rather than reforming it. Senator MOYNIHAN was, as always, an especially passionate defender of teaching hospitals, warning that the plan to slash spending for Medicare's graduate medical education would threaten medical research in this country—a fear that has proved well-founded as teaching hospitals have struggled to survive the much smaller changes enacted as part of the compromise Balanced Budget Act that emerged in 1997.

The Finance Committee—and the Senate—will not be the same without him. Who else will be able to gently tutor witnesses on the importance of the grain trade in upstate New York in the early nineteenth century to a current debate about health care policy? Who else will call for the Boskin and Secrecy Commissions of the future? And who else will educate his colleagues on the inequitable distribution of federal spending and taxation among the various states?

Mr. President, I will miss PAT MOYNIHAN. But I have no doubt that he will continue to be part of the debate. As Senator MOYNIHAN retires to his beloved farm in upstate New York, I join my colleagues in looking forward to more and more insightful treaties on new and complicated policy issues.

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR J. ROBERT KERREY

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, when the Senate adjourns Senator BOB KERREY will be retiring from the Senate.

BOB KERREY served his beloved state of Nebraska as a highly popular and successful governor from 1982 to 1987. As governor, he was widely credited for his efforts to balance the budget and for educational and welfare reform. In 1988, he was elected to the Senate. But, BOB KERREY established himself as a man of great courage and intellect long

before he was elected governor or entered the U.S. Senate. He was an American hero long before he became a Senate hero. Now he's both. Time and time again, he earned his reputation as one of the most courageous members of this body by taking on the toughest issues around—from entitlements to health care, and speaking his mind no matter what. He took on sacred cows where others feared to act. He did so with tremendous dash and daring, with a wonderful youthfulness and enthusiasm. His speeches against amending the First Amendment of our Constitution relative to flag burning, for instance, have been speeches which I have often used as a resource back home to prove that the most courageous among us—those that have put their lives on the line for this country—also believe in its Constitution with great passion and believe we must not reduce its protections of our freedoms in response to the behavior of a few misguided or extreme individuals.

As a member of the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Agriculture Committee, BOB has earned a reputation as a proponent of tax reform, Medicare and Social Security reform, and as a tireless advocate for the nations' farmers.

The Senate will sorely miss Senator BOB KERREY's wise and experienced voice on national security matters. And, I will deeply miss his presence, although I trust that we will see him often and that his new role at the New School University will not keep him from weighing in on public policy issues that so need his special touch.

I have often thought, only half in jest, that Senator KERREY should be awarded a second Congressional Medal of Honor for his many brave stands in the Senate to match the one he won in war. It has truly been a privilege to serve with BOB KERREY and I will miss the noble passion and purpose he has brought to so many causes.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my good friend Senator BOB KERREY. I have mixed emotions knowing that the United States Senate, the State of Nebraska, and the nation are losing a valued public servant at a time when we can ill afford to lose a person of such great talent. I am saddened thinking about the loss of his valued presence in this chamber. But, I also recognize that my friend is leaving by his own choice to take on the challenges of a new adventure as president of the New School University of New York City. New challenges and new accomplishments are about to be added to his already legendary list of achievements that include Medal of Honor recipient, entrepreneur, governor, and Senator.

I smile as I think about the good company my colleague has been at the Senate Committee on Agriculture. I always felt as if the hearing room brightened up a notch when Senator KERREY entered the room. I appreciated greatly the fact that we never failed to share a

few light moments together, even as we worked to help the farmers and ranchers we represent. His collegial approach crossed the aisle, too. Senator KERREY moved landmark agricultural legislation to passage with hard work and the respect he garnered from his colleagues on both sides of the aisle, as he did this session with the crop insurance reform bill.

We also served together on the Senate Finance Committee, where Senator CONRAD has been an absolute bulldog on the issue of entitlement reform. Senator KERREY headed up the bipartisan entitlement commission and served on the Medicare Commission. He was a particularly active participant in the centrist coalition, which worked to find common ground on budget issues during the partisan stalemate in 1995 and 1996—an effort that helped produce the 1997 Balanced Budget Act. On these very difficult issues, Senator KERREY has always been willing to consider policies that make sense for the long term even when these policies carry a high political price in the short term. He was a leader in insisting that the Senate version of the Balanced Budget Act contain long term Medicare reforms as well as short term fixes. Yet throughout these discussions, Senator KERREY has also been a strong defender of the most vulnerable among us—from children in low income families struggling to get by with cash assistance, food stamps and Medicaid to rural seniors who depend on adequate Medicare reimbursement to maintain health care in their local community.

All of us will miss his keen intellect, his insight and his candor. We will miss his terrific sense of humor. We will miss his positive attitude. We will miss the unique perspective he brings to every discussion. We will miss his integrity and his courage. But most of all, we will miss the boundless enthusiasm he brings to public service. There is no question the Senate will soon be made poorer by his departure, and there is no doubt Senator KERREY will make the university community he now joins richer by brining these wonderful attributes to his new position.

We thank you Senator KERREY for your service to the United States Senate.

And I thank you for your friendship.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Senator ROBERT KERREY of Nebraska. As Undersecretary, then Secretary of Navy for over five years during the war in Vietnam, I learned first hand the courage and sacrifice of the men and women of the armed forces who served our Nation.

Lieutenant, USN, BOB KERREY earned our nation's highest recognition for his valor and unwavering leadership during that conflict. Those same extraordinary personal attributes BOB KERREY brought to the Senate.

Serving with BOB is a reward all Senators will cherish. Though the challenges of education will be his next call

to duty, I predict he will someday soon be back in public office. Enjoy this respite, my friend, but harken to the bugle-call in years to come for another career to strengthen our nation with your "brand" of leadership.

I shall miss our vigorous floor debates, our trips abroad to visit our troops, our moments of levity as two old bachelors.

As we sailors say, "well done sir"!

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR SLADE GORTON

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, as this session of Congress ends, Senator SLADE GORTON of Washington will leave the Senate. Senator GORTON has long been a leader among the Republicans and a thoughtful voice in the Senate.

Senator GORTON, a hard-worker, has served not only on the Senate Appropriations Committee, where he chairs the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, but on the Budget Committee, the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and the Indian Affairs Committee. He has carried an impressive workload.

In addition, SLADE GORTON, a former Attorney General in the State of Washington, earned a reputation as a tough proponent of fighting violent crime, particularly international terrorism.

While proud of his conservative credentials, SLADE GORTON was often willing to reach across party lines to work with Democrats on issues like consumer affairs and an increase in the minimum wage.

I admired SLADE GORTON's work along with Senator Joe LIEBERMAN to fashion a sensible, balanced and expeditious way to consider the impeachment resolution sent to the Senate by the House of Representatives in 1998. While the plan was ultimately not adopted by the Senate, the careful and judicious effort to put such a plan forward reflected SLADE's commitment to the dignity of the United States Senate.

As this year winds to an end, I know that I am joined by my colleagues in the Senate in wishing SLADE GORTON and his wife, Sally, their three children and seven grandchildren, the very best in the years ahead.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to add my voice to those paying tribute to Senator SLADE GORTON upon his departure from the Senate.

I have had the privilege of serving with Senator GORTON on the Senate Budget Committee for the past eight years. During this time, Senator GORTON has fought hard for the principles he believes in: a stable economy and a balanced budget. He has made a significant contribution to bringing fiscal discipline to our nation. As part of that effort, in 1996 Senator GORTON and I, as part of the Centrist Coalition, worked with many other Senators to forge a compromise budget resolution that balanced fiscal responsibility with our nation's discretionary spending needs.