

not be translated into a commitment to solve the conflict for them. Stability in the Middle East, including the state of relations between Israel and the Palestinians, is a matter of great importance to the United States, but it is not our conflict. It is theirs. We can help them find common ground, but ultimately it is their ground to find.

This distinction is significant in light of the potential cost of a peace agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Figures ranging from \$15 billion to \$40 billion have been floated in the media over the past several days as the possible sums that U.S. taxpayers will be asked to contribute to a peace agreement. If history is any guide, this is only the beginning.

According to the Congressional Research Service, from 1979 through 2000, the United States has provided over \$68 billion to Israel, and over \$47 billion to Egypt to support the Camp David accords. That amounts to more than \$115 billion in U.S. tax dollars to two countries alone. Besides that, from 1994 and 2000, the United States has provided \$927 million—almost a billion dollars—to the Palestinians.

I wonder how many Americans are aware of this. I wonder how many Americans knew, at the time of the first Camp David summit, that the price of an Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement would be an open-ended financial commitment of U.S. tax dollars exceeding \$100 billion. Yet after more than 20 years of paying the bills, that is indeed the cost. And there is no end in sight.

Mr. President, there has been a lot of talk about President Clinton's legacy and Secretary of State Albright's legacy. I appreciate their zeal to achieve historic agreements and to be remembered for their achievements. I recognize that peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians would be a crowning achievement. But what legacy at what price? Are we going to be told somewhere down the line that in order for the Israelis and Palestinians to agree—and this does not include the Syrians—the Administration had to promise them billions and billions of dollars in U.S. taxpayer aid? Why is it the responsibility of the United States Congress to pay to implement an agreement that we are not a party to, and about which we have, so far, received no details?

There is a disturbing tendency on the part of the Administration, and it is by no means unique to this Administration, to negotiate agreements and make costly financial commitments behind closed doors, and then inform the Congress, in so-called "consultations," after the fact. I fear that is what is contemplated again, and I think it is wrong.

If consultations are happening, that is news to me. As ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I have not been consulted, and perhaps for good reasons. I am not aware of any other Senator who has been approached

by any administration official who has suggested what the price of implementing a peace agreement might be, or why it is the responsibility of the American taxpayers to pay that price. I say this particularly when it was only last year that the Congress provided a total of \$1.6 billion to Israel and the Palestinians to implement the Wye River agreement—another deal that was made without any prior consultations, as far as I know, with Congress. Again, I fear we are being led down the path of "sign now, pay later" without even knowing how much we are going to be asked to pay later, or why.

Now, I recognize that the discussions underway at Camp David may fail. There may be no agreement. That would be unfortunate. But whatever the outcome, I want to remind the administration, and the Israelis and Palestinians, that the negotiations are being hosted by the administration, not by the Congress, not by the Appropriations Committees of the Congress. No one should assume that the check is in the mail. No one should assume that we are going to dig another hole for ourselves the way we did the last time there was such a negotiation at Camp David.

We all want to see peace in the Middle East, and if there is a legitimate need for funding to implement a peace agreement, we can discuss what role the United States should play—but not after the commitments have already been made, not after the ink has already dried, not if this ancient Senator has anything to say about it.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

THE PASSING OF SENATOR JOHN O. PASTORE

Mr. REED. Mr. President, Rhode Island and the Nation have lost an extraordinary statesman and patriot, Senator John O. Pastore. Senator Pastore passed away Saturday at the age of 93. He served in this body from December 1950 until January 1977. He served with distinction, he served with integrity, and he served with the utmost commitment to helping the people of Rhode Island and the people of this Nation to achieve the noblest aspirations of this country. He committed his life to public service. Senator Pastore was, in turn, a State representative, an assistant attorney general of the State of Rhode Island, a lieutenant governor, a Governor, and then, for over 26 years, a U.S. Senator.

He began his life on March 17, 1907, on Federal Hill, the Italian American community in Rhode Island. It was an interesting combination of a young Italian American born to immigrant parents on St. Patrick's Day. He would never let anyone around forget that he was both proudly Italian and fortuitously Irish—at least for 1 day of the year. He grew up in an immigrant household that was experiencing all

the difficulty and travail of people who come to a new land to find themselves and make a better life for their children. It was not glamorous; it was difficult. He endured the difficulties with the same kind of determination that marked his whole life.

In his own words:

We lived in the ghetto of Federal Hill. We had no running water, no hot water. I used to get up in the morning and have to crank the stove and go out in the back yard and sift out the ashes and come back with a coal that I could recoup. I had to chisel ice with an ice pick in the sink so that I could wash up in the morning. And that was everybody in the family. That wasn't me alone. That was my wife's family. That was everybody's family.

The hard, difficult life of a young immigrant family in Providence, RI, in the early part of the century became even more difficult because when Senator Pastore was 9 years old, his father, a tailor, passed away. At the age of 9, he became the man of the family. His mother went to work as a seamstress to support Senator Pastore and four other children. She labored all of her life to do that.

Senator Pastore was a bright and gifted student. He progressed through the Providence public schools and finished Classical High School, which was the preeminent public high school in the State of Rhode Island. He did so well that he was offered an opportunity to attend Harvard College so that he could fulfill his dream to become a doctor. He did so well, not only by studying but at the same time supporting his family, working in a jewelry factory in Providence, RI. But the reality and the truth was, he was poor, he was without a father, and he felt the keen obligation to ensure that he protected and helped his family. And so he would forego that opportunity. He was without the funds. He had to work to support his brothers and sisters and help his mother. It is said—and he has said it, in fact—that he wept on the night of his graduation, thinking that his great talent would never be fully utilized, that he would forever be committed to a life of perhaps even menial work. But he did so willingly and voluntarily because he, too, wanted to help his mother and his brothers and sisters to make it in this great country.

As we all recognize, all of us who have in any way briefly come in contact with Senator John O. Pastore, he was a man of extraordinary determination. He went to work as a clerk at the Narragansett Electric Company, and during the day he worked hard. But in the evening he enrolled at the Northeastern University Law School extension, held at the Providence YMCA. Those were the days when you could become a lawyer without going to college and then going from college into law school. At night, while working and supporting his family, he became a lawyer. After he became a lawyer, he opened up his practice in the basement of his family's home in Providence. The clientele did not rush to him, frankly, but he also discovered that he

had a knack for politics. He ran as a State representative in the thirties. He was elected twice and, at that point, he began to create a name for himself as an articulate advocate, someone who was a hard-working, determined champion, not only for his people but for all people.

He was made an assistant attorney general for the State, and then he was selected to run as lieutenant governor. He served as lieutenant governor for the State of Rhode Island. And then, fortuitously—because the Governor accepted a position in the Democratic administration—he became the first Italian American Governor in this great country. Then, he moved on to the U.S. Senate to become the first Italian American Senator in the history of this country. An extraordinary individual. He came here and worked on so many different issues. He was the chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy at the time when atomic energy was becoming a powerful force in all of our lives.

He committed himself to the peaceful use of atomic energy to try to develop its potential to help rather than to destroy. He worked ceaselessly to ensure that we were controlling atomic energy throughout the world. He worked very hard on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. He worked with many colleagues—some colleagues who are here today—on that landmark legislation.

He also served on the Commerce Committee where he was the chairman of the telecommunications subcommittee. I daresay many of the fundamental foundations and principles that have guided this huge explosion of telecommunications that have opened up the cyberspace of the world began years ago under his deliberations on that committee.

Also, in 1974 at the end of his career, he was very active in campaign finance reform in the wake of the Watergate affair.

Those are accomplishments, but what is so compelling and so emblematic of the man is that his whole life represented something so fundamentally American. He was modest and humble. He seized the opportunity that is America—the chance to succeed. Then he committed himself in his public life, day in and day out, to ensure that every American had those types of opportunities.

That is why he and his colleagues in the 1960s embraced the idea of providing educational support to the talented but poor Americans who could get into college but couldn't afford to go to college. That was not some theoretical flourish he discovered in a lecture hall at a great university; that was from his heart, from having lived it, from having seen so many of his contemporaries with the talent, the skills, and the ambition frustrated and thwarted because they didn't have the money to go to college. In so many other ways, he tried to ensure that "opportunity" was the watchword of America.

His greatest contribution perhaps is the fact that he lived what we all think America should be and is—that someone can rise up from an immigrant household, from a place where English is not the first language, to the highest positions in this country through hard work, dedication, and commitment. That example alone, that inspiration alone, is extraordinarily important to all of us.

We in Rhode Island are very lucky because we have a chance to see our public officials close up. All of us have stories about our leaders. In Rhode Island, Senator Pastore was no exception. We all understood early on that he was one of the most extraordinary debaters and oral advocates this body has seen in a very long time.

In 1964, President Johnson asked Senator Pastore to be the keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention. I was 14 years old then. I, as every other Rhode Islander, was crowded around the television set on a hot summer's night waiting for our Senator to speak to the Nation. He spoke in his typical powerful and forceful way. He spoke about justice and opportunity. He spoke about the Democratic Party, and he spoke about our commitment to help everyone. He spoke with both passion and precision. He moved that convention, and he moved the Nation. We will never forget those words.

Also, again because of the proximity of everyone to everyone else in Rhode Island, I had the chance to see him when I was a younger person in my early teens because my parents would summer down at Narragansett, RI, and his family would summer there also. It was a very modest summer resort. My father was a school custodian. So this was not exactly the Riviera. But he was there because that is where the people were. That is where he went for his summer vacation.

I can remember going to mass on a hot summer's day. We were all lucky just to be in long pants because it was summertime. However, he would be there in his suit and tie looking every inch the sartorial master that he was, with a bearing and a dignity that was beyond senatorial, it was regal, but also with a kindness and a humility that came through equally well.

Finally, with a great deal of appreciation and gratitude, Senator Pastore was the individual who appointed me to the military academy at West Point. He gave me the greatest opportunity of my life. He did it in a nonpartisan, nonpolitical way. I had never really met the Senator. I had asked for the appointment. I sent him a letter. He had his staff direct me to take a test. I took a test. I took a physical. I took a physical aptitude test. I still remember the moment when his executive assistant called me and told me I was going to West Point.

In my office in Washington I have both his picture and the letter he sent me on that day. In my office in Rhode Island I have his picture and the tele-

gram he sent to follow up. He gave me a great opportunity. I like to think that the good things I have done in a way have been a response to that confidence he showed in me as a very young man.

He also was someone who had a great sense of humor about himself and about many things. He once quipped that he was very grateful his parents named him John O. Pastore rather than Giovanni Orlando Pastore because in the latter case his initials would have been "GOP," which is something he would have been hard pressed to deal with because of his very strong Democratic life and career.

I can remember also that Senator Mansfield spoke to me one time. He said: You know, every St. Patrick's Day, Senator Pastore insisted that he be the President pro tempore. It was his birthday. He wanted to preside. He also reminded everyone that his name was really John O. Pastore with the accent one would have if one were John O'Rourke, or John O'Neill, or John O'Donnell.

He was an extraordinary man. He graced us with a life of service. He graced us with a life that is an example to all of us. He has honored us by doing his best every day, by taking his work much more seriously than himself, and by doing this great work and then quietly and gracefully returning home, back to Rhode Island, to his beloved wife and his family—to his simple life with the people he respected and admired. He is beloved in my State of Rhode Island. He is well deserving of that great love.

To his wife, Mrs. Pastore, to his son John, to his daughters Francesca and Louise, to his sisters Elena and Michelina, our sincere condolences. But today we not only commemorate his passing but we celebrate his great life.

I yield the floor.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, for the information of Senators, as I understand it, the leader has announced that we would go next to the Agriculture appropriations bill. I further understand that leadership is discussing an agreement under which we will proceed to consider that bill.

Pending the completion of that discussion, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now go into a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 15 minutes each.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Pursuant to that request, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 10 minutes in morning business.

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